BOOK REVIEWS

Carter, Donald Martin. 2010. *Navigating the African Diaspora. The Anthropology of Invisibility*. **Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press. 328 pp. Pb.: $30.00. ISBN: 9780816647781.**

This is a wide-ranging, poignant, meditation upon contemporary black subjectivity and presence, which explores the lives of Senegalese migrants in Italy with whom the author has conducted fieldwork since the late 1990s. The book provides a platform for an interrogation of the challenges facing those who belong to the African Diaspora. It demonstrates the importance of attending to colonialism's role, and the historical legacies of the experience of diaspora in the making of contemporary Europe, despite 'the symbolic violence implicit in the selective "forgetting" of European colonialism' (p. 64). Donald Martin's stated aim is to extend the notion of diasporas as primarily about the movement of people through territory or space or time. He contends, 'Diaspora seems to be as much epistemological adventures into conceptual space as it is actual marches through "real" spatial coordinates, territories or regions' (p. 68).

Martin is an African-American who describes himself as an 'itinerant scholar traveling the byways of academic life'. He extends the trope of the voyage from his own life journey and his attempts to locate himself within the African diaspora to those who have travelled from various parts of the African continent to Europe. In a very personal account, Martin reflects upon what he terms 'the surplus value' of anthropological field trips as he reports the hostility of Turin grade-school children he experienced while strolling through the city and more generally on the shift to 'body surveillance' post 9/11.

The author mines an eclectic range of theoretical perspectives and wide-ranging contexts. He draws upon anthropology, psychology, the films of Ousmane Sembene, and the poetry of Leopold Senghor. He examines the work of such authors as James Baldwin, Ralph Ellison, Paul Gilroy, Giorgio Agamben and Hannah Arendt in order to explore the metaphors of visibility and invisibility and 'the power to establish or manifest a state of invisibility for specific categories of persons in a given space, location, time, or position' (p. 22). He posits three modalities of invisibility: '(1) that orchestrated by the state or through its functionaries; (2) that concerned with bodies and discourse associated with embodiment, sexuality, gender, race … (3) some forms of scholarly enquiry' (p. 13). Martin's main guide, however, is Frantz Fanon, whom he characterises as 'a diaspora theorist' (p. 17) and with whom he identifies as someone who, in Fanon's phrase, is 'overdetermined from without' (p. 55). The author also draws repeatedly on the work of anthropologists and commentators such as Mary Douglas, Claude Levi-Strauss, Edward Said and Renato Rosaldo.

Examining the observations of such commentators as Walter Benjamin, Susan Sontag and Deborah Willis, Martin explores what he terms 'the photographic imaginary'. He draws attention to the importance that photographs hold for Senegalese migrants in their experience of exile; 'images of migrant familial contexts, religious leaders and even home villages and cities provide tokens of identity and comfort' (p. 107). Martin reminds the reader of Bourdieu's observation that what is 'photographable' is 'a social product with a history' (p. 133). The author identifies a shift in the making of the visible world of

Senegalese migrants in the manner in which they substitute Italian television (where they rarely figure, except as a problem) with videotapes of subjects of particular interest to them. These include Senegalese soap operas and wrestling, as well as videotapes of Senegalese ceremonies performed in Italy such as those commemorating religious festivals or the birth of a child. Martin observes: 'Creating a world of visions and sounds that envisions the larger community of Senegalese, the migrants for a time block out the host society that holds no image of them, or rather that trades images of migrants as so many tokens in a political battle over their presence in the country' (p. 141).

In chapters five and six, Martin frames his exploration of what he terms 'sites of erasure' through the work of Senghor and Sembene with a discussion of an incident that occurred during the Second World War in the outskirts of Dakar, 'variously described as a mutiny or uprising of returning soldiers of the French black forces', the Tirailleurs Senegalais, who insisted on their rights guaranteed by the minister of the colonies, among them the provision of back pay and demobilization premiums. Martin argues that these colonial soldiers, though 'confined to the shadows of the master narrative: empire, nation, and progress' (p. 207), 'experienced a kind of transitional status – a state somewhere between colonial subject and postcolonial subject' (p. 174). He goes on to record the later claims of young Senegalese migrants to the right to immigrate to France based upon the contribution of the Tirailleurs Senegalais in the two world wars and the 'refusal of responsibility' of the European former colonial powers.

This volume is written in an accessible, at times almost conversational, style. Martin is to be commended for his skill in weaving together his ethnographic narrative with his substantial store of theoretical source material. However, the volume would have benefited greatly from much more careful and stringent editing. As it stands, the book reads as a series of stand-alone essays. Yet the text contains endless, unacknowledged, repetitions and returns to events such as incidents involving the Tirailleurs Senegalais and to theoretical observations such as, to name just one example, Fanon's refrain of being 'overdetermined from without'. Despite this, the book offers thought-provoking insights into the African diasporic experiences and usefully extends the study of migrants as cultural nomads of the contemporary world.

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Geiger, Martin and Antoine Pécoud (eds.). 2010. *The Politics of International Migration Management (Migration, Minority and Citizenship Series).* Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 320 pp. Hb.: €67.99. ISBN: 0230272584.

This book collects papers dealing with a topical issue of migration management from three different aspects. First, migration management is discussed as a backdrop concept that facilitates the oversight of mobility across nation-state borders. Second, it is a set of nation-states' policies to target migrants and tap into the international discourse of management of human resources. Third, migration management is a discursive practice of international (IOs) and intergovernmental organisations (INGOs) framing social, political and economic processes. These three aspects of migration management have always been around all, yet rarely have they been discussed comprehensively in a single publication, making this book a welcome and timely addition to scholarship.

Three interpretations of what migration management is recur throughout the volume, with some contributions tapping into all three understandings of migration management outlined above, others dealing with only one. This need not present a problem on itself, yet one does miss a chapter arrangement that would have presented a more powerful narrative. The chapter by Martin Geiger and Antoine Pécoud undertakes to introduce the reader to developments in the global discourse, and the actors and practices of migration. It draws interesting comparisons informing the research on migration, such as the conflicting provisions for individual liberties versus states' managerial approach in domestic security, as well as tensions between the neoliberal economic incentives for development versus the difficulty in access to host states' labour markets. Overall the introduction provides but a fragmentary overview of the book's chapters.

The first two chapters of the volume engage meta-narratives to make sense of the political processes in migration management. Sara Kalm's chapter on political rationality argues that 'global migration management must be understood in relation to other more general complexes of power-knowledge, most importantly neoliberal governmentality' (p. 23). Kalm's contribution uses Foucault's governmentality to criticise current approaches to migration management as a part of policy framework facilitating economic exploitation, rather than social responsibility. The normative appeal and a critical review of migration management are further asserted in Fabian Georgi's chapter. His chapter inquires about the beneficiaries of the activities of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) 'from a historical and materialist perspective' (p. 47) tapping the Foucauldian governmentality. Similarly, Sabine Hess discusses the work of the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) reflecting on impressions collected during her internship, the experience that allows her to contextualise the ICMPD as 'one of the decisive actors of European migration management' (p. 98). Bernd Kasparek presents the framework from which the Frontex, the European Agency for Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders, operates on the ground. Kasparek has to be commended upon a highly detailed account, enlivened by unique insider observations and attention to Frontex's limitations. These three chapters stand out in their effort to dispel the view of the INGOs and IOs as migrants' advocates and frame the organisations as instruments in the hand of

governments they serve. This is an interesting point, yet the news come across as somewhat banal especially given that the authors themselves are writing about the limitations states impose on IOs (which they help establish in the first place) and the INGOs (which rely on state financial support and cooperation).

The following chapters investigate the politics of migration management with much interesting observation in contrast to INGOs and IOs in their operations across a set of countries. Martin Geiger analyses the IOM's involvement in Albania, emphasising the crucial role of the EU as an IO that supports development and sponsors the implementation of distinct interpretations of migration on the ground. Chiara Marchetti looks into details of preventive *refoulement* as is exercised by Italian maritime authorities to police the refugee influx from Northern Africa. Antoine Pécoud looks at the IOM's experience in providing information on the benefits and dangers of migration to individuals with the potential to move away from their home countries in search of better economic conditions. Philippe Poutignat and Jocelyne Streiff-Fénart discuss how migration processes have been contextualised in the nexus of economic development and individual liberties in analyses of Mauritanian policymaking. Claire Baker uncovers domestic policy dynamics as the backdrop of the Pacific Solution, the Australian policy blueprint for migration management, in the context of international obligations of the country in need to respond to the migratory movements reaching the continent. Giulia Scalettaris discusses the UN High Commissioner on Refugees' approach to interstate mobility in the region around Afghanistan, particularly into Pakistan and Iran, providing a neat classification of permanent humanitarian migrants, refugees, as well as temporary economic and social migrants. Scalettaris' discussion of the UNHCR actions in building local capacity to coordinate migration, alongside Matt Backer's chapter on attempts to develop a comprehensive migration management regime between the US and Mexico round up the volume's focus on IOs with perspectives on negotiations between the involved states.

All in all, the volume presents a host of information on policy implementation and development, international negotiations behind and the role played by both the IOs and the INGOs in the process. The editors' project to make sense of what migration management is about (p. 1) is indeed laudable. However, the analyses provided throughout the book, whether the contribution of non-state actors in the implementation of, domestic policymakers' interest in or international pressures on the policies of migration management fall short of a comprehensive analyses. There are two reasons explaining this comparative weakness of the volume. First, the authors emphasise the role of IOs and INGOs in facilitating design and implementation of migration management, yet ultimately, no chapter in the book questions what non-state actors *can* contribute to policy development in a world where national interests remain so utterly prominent. Suffice to look at conundrums of migration management in Europe to make sense of difficulties non-state actors of all sorts and colours face when cooperating with national policymakers globally.

A more fundamental problem lies in the conflicting rationales driving IOs, INGOs and other actors' advocacy of migrant, minority and refugee rights, benchmarking practices and calls for better monitoring of implementation. Unfortunately, only William Walters' chapter attempts to untangle different logics behind the politics of migration management.

Walters' discussion makes clear that there are interstate, but not yet international regimes to address the push and pull factors that could potentially manage migration. As Walters makes clear, the discourse on migration, whether domestic or performed by the IOs/INGOs, only further obstructs the reasons and problems connected with migration. Thus, Walter's powerful engagement with the concept of governmentality, his case study of the ideational background in the European discourse on illegal migration, could have been an excellent introduction to the volume at large. Taking Walters' point seriously would mean looking at states, rather than at the IOs, INGOs and NGOs, to address migration. This has unfortunately fallen on the deaf ears of other authors and editors of the book: they all discuss failures and shortcomings in assistance to migrants and protection of refugees from an unambiguously normative perspective. Yet in disregarding the fact that it is nation-states that devise international policy regimes, national politics that create and implement domestic policies, political institutional dynamics that curtail work of IOs and INGOs, all authors identify the neoliberal world order as the root cause of the sluggish politics of migration management. However, only Walters makes a clear case about the agent of policymaking, and that is the (nation-)state and its political entrepreneurs. This points out that the organisations tasked with developing, implementing and monitoring migration policies will only be able to engage in discursive games *on* but never *in* migration management, and even less so in political processes with any potential to reshape understandings of migration.

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Collins, Peter and Anselma Gallinat (eds). 2010. *The Ethnographic Self as Resource. Writing Memory and Experience into Ethnography.* New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books. 261 pp. Pb.: $90.00/£53.00. ISBN: 9781845456566.

This volume explores personal memories, experiences and the self as fundamental components in ethnographic writing and anthropological research. Describing a researcher's steps in producing knowledge usually involves quantitative research. In cultural studies, self-reflection is taken as a part of writing ethnography: an ethnographer's age, gender, language skills, personality, religion, ethnicity, religion, race and nationality are acknowledged as they may affect and influence the way researchers are related to within the field, and are received by the interviewees, and how research material is constructed. This book takes a step forward, and makes the self visible through the use of the data of a researcher's memories and experiences. This has been one way towards an integrated ethnography.

The edited compilation includes 13 chapters from Europe and North America. The editors and writers of the volume are influenced by 'Writing Culture', 'Anthropology at Home', 'Textuality of Anthropology', and 'Auto-ethnography' traditions that emerged in the methodological discussions of anthropology in the 1980s. They were preceded by the late-modernity discussions on reflexivity and the self. Since then, ethnographers have become visible and human, and have subjectivities, in contrast to the times when they aimed at invisibility, objectivity and distance from the interlocutors. Even though they may have wished their subjective selves to vanish, they were nonetheless present in the analyses, although readers may have been unaware of a researcher's stance and background and its effect upon the analysis.

The collection is divided into three parts: 'Being Self and Other: Anthropologists at Home', 'Working on/with/through Memory' and 'Ethnographic Selves through Time'. In Part I, almost all the authors engage with the anthropologist's role as informant as well as with their personal experiences and memories as a resource and a guide to what is selected as ethnographic data. Anselma Gallinat looks at nostalgia for East Germany, her country of origin, and the *Ostalgie* parties that she participated in there. She shows how her own memories can be used as data, as well as and make the research more transparent and honest. Lynette Šikić-Mićanović suggests that ethnographers must constantly reflect their background, personality and position as influences upon their research. She has worked in rural Croatia, and shows how the ethnographer may also become the object of uncomfortable evaluations on the part of the people that are studied. The phenomenon of human interaction is focused on by Katherine Larsen. She has much experience in working with the farmers of a small Norwegian village and shows how the positions of the informants have changed during the research years shared together. In the contribution of Nigel Rapport, it is argued that ethical juxtaposition is needed in order to put oneself in different positions.

In Part II, two chapters are especially noteworthy. Alison Phipps examines the memories of her own language-learning and views it as an important element shaping her own fieldwork experiences. It is like an echo that resonates in the field. In his chapter, based on dance ethnography, Jonathan Skinner considers shared embodied experience,

and how this can be reflected on together with the interviewees. Skinner made his interviews about dancing after sharing the dance classes with his informants. He shows how his study has benefited from reflexive memories, incorporated senses and perception in a phenomenological perspective.

From Part III, this reviewer would particularly like to mention three chapters. Vered Amit discusses serendipities and the ethnographer's experience, and what the limitations of making generalizations in anthropology are. Simon Coleman looks at how memory can be used as an anthropological tool to explain another's world. The self and being reflexive are explored more deeply by Peter Collins. He sees the self and reflexivity as integral narrative components of ethnographic study. Collins reminds us that the self is constituted by engaging with others.

In the Epilogue, James W. Fernandez, an emeritus professor at the University of Chicago, points out that all societies are ultimately self-seeking, and that ethnographic research involves understanding of both the self and others. The ethnographer's self is the main instrument in communicative interaction.

This volume is useful in bringing to our attention an awareness of the limitations of producing knowledge in anthropology and in providing a collection of different perspectives. The topic of cultural translation could be included in the analysis, as it also engages the previous memories and experiences of any ethnographer. This book reminds us that the shifting contexts are variable, but we still need better tools to organize information about ourselves. The volume's division into sections may be confusing for the reader, as the chapters overlap, and engage with very similar personal stories of ethnographers. This book is recommended as useful for anyone writing ethnography in that it acknowledges the difficulties of engaging in anthropology, but also its challenges and rewards compared to other disciplines.

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Prado, Italo and Giuliana B. Prato. 2011. *Citizenship and the Legitimacy of Governance:*
Anthropology in the Mediterranean Region (Collection: Urban Anthropology Series).
Farnham, Surrey, Burlington: Ashgate. 221 pp. Hb.: £55. ISBN: 9780754674016

A collection of scientific papers is one of the most popular means of publication of academic
production in social sciences and humanities. Several collections are assembled as a consequence
of a specific event (symposium, conference or anniversary) and have an ambition to present
and critically discuss certain problematic or thematic fields through different contributions. The
latter is the main reason for promotion of such collections: not as coincidental or arbitrary, but
as planned and reflected selections of texts that share common themes. Despite that, we can
frequently find that such collections are assembled of rather diverse texts (both regarding con-
tent and methodology), that have little or nothing in common. The editors of such collections
seem to try to bridge (or conceal) this problem with vague titles, which define their thematic
scope so indeterminably that (almost) any text from the field of humanities or social sciences
could be included. Several exceptions exist regardless of this wide-spread trend. The collection
Citizenship and the Legitimacy of Governance is one of them.

This collection presents revised and expanded versions of papers discussed at
one of the IUAES's (International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences)
workshops, and addresses the complex relationship between citizenship and governance in
different societies of the 'Mediterranean Region'. In the introduction, the editors provide
an in-depth critical analysis of the establishment of ethnographic research in Mediterranean
Region, which has been demarcated by the ethnocentric perspective and exotisation of such
communities since 1960s: 'The social organisation of Mediterranean societies was claimed
to be sufficiently idiosyncratic, un-Western to be classified as exotic – not quite part of "us"
but at the same time representing "our own" history' (p. 4). Several problematic concepts
and categories have been formed on the basis of this false and oversimplified perspective
(for example, patronage), which authors of this collection are attempting to overcome.

In addition to critically examining established anthropological concepts, this collecti-
on also deals with the current problem of the crisis of legitimacy of governance and addresses
the question of how governance is experienced by different groups of individuals/citizens. As
in several other contemporary anthropological texts, the concept of citizenship is defined not
only in legal and political terms but includes also socio-economic, civil and cultural rights.
The contributions of this collection demonstrate, through different yet complementary themes,
governance's failure to meet citizens' needs as 'all too often definitions of citizenship serve
the interests of the rulers at the expense of responsible governance, emphasising the point
(Prado 2000: 5) that, as rulers fail to establish a "fundamental accord" between their morality
and people's requirements, they fail the democratic process' (ibid.: 12).

This widening gap between governance, key policies on the one hand and citi-
zens on the other is researched through different case-studies (from the 'rubbish crisis' in
Naples, urban waterfront renewals in Barcelona to the consequences of EU pressures on
Albania, Turkey and others). Four of the ten papers mainly focus on inter-ethnic relations
and reveal contradictions that arise from the imposition of governments' policies and
unequal, discriminatory distribution of social power (as can be observed from the research

of Arab-Jewish relationship in the Israeli towns of Haifa and Jaffa-Tel Aviv, a comparison between rights granted to Italian community and to other minorities in Slovene Istria, a case-study of media construction of racial hatred in Portugal and the ethnography of the South Lebanese Christian Enclave).

Besides already cited contributions, we also have to mention two excellent contributions (by Nebi Bardhoshi and Manok Spyridakis), which, through in-depth ethnographic research, succeed in presenting the whole spectrum of doubts and absurdities that derives from relationships between established moralities, national and international institutions on the one hand and individual members of community on the other. As Spyridakis states at the end of his insightful paper of long-term unemployment workers of shipbuilding industry in Greek Piraeus: 'In this context, social actors earn a living using the space created by the clash between dominant groups who hold financial and political power and the dominated's culture of everyday resistance through conscious engagement in the asymmetrical game and management of social reproduction. Their actions are regarded as unlawful by the official political world' (p. 167).

Even though this collection brings interesting contributions content-wise, it exhibits a notable weakness in methodology. The editors present the contributions of this collection as 'the anthropological essays that follow draw on urban ethnographies' (p. 1), while the reader will, on the contrary, note, that the ethnographic part is completely absent in almost half of all chapters. The authors (Prado, Weingrod, Sedmak, Delibaş) of these chapters usually briefly mention that they conducted specific field research in the introduction or notes, yet mostly they do not present the methodology of their research, while they are also not disclosing the key information on their interlocutors. What seems even more problematic is that these authors never cite the viewpoints of their interlocutors directly and they also fail to present their potentially diverse, heterogeneous responses to a certain problem. On the contrary: when presenting viewpoints of inhabitants of a specific place, the authors allow themselves inadmissible generalisation and homogenisation of interlocutors' opinions and reactions, while simultaneously presenting their relationship with the problem as static. Italo Prado, one of the authors and a co-editor of the collection, presents in such manner the relationship of Naples inhabitants towards 'rubbish crisis' as thoroughly one-sided, homogeneous, without any variations or contradictions – for instance: 'Ordinary people's dismay and anger combined with an increasing sense of embarrassment as this major crisis became widely reported' (p. 36). The essay by Mateja Sedmak presents perspective of inhabitants of Slovenian Istria in a similar generalising manner and exhibits the same methodological weakness; for instance: 'The residents of Slovene Istria do not identify with national costumes of folk music; when they speak about other people from Slovenia or travel to another Slovenian town, they say that they will visit Slovenes and they will "travel to Slovenia"'(Sedmak 2011: 60). Similarly generalised is Fernando Monge's writing of Barcelona's inhabitants.

Despite the fact that the other half of contributions does not display the outlined problems, we still have to wonder how it is possible that contributions of this collection are being promoted as ethnographies?

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Gdaniec, Cordula (ed.). 2010. *Cultural Diversity in Russian Cities. The Urban Landscape in the Post-Soviet Era (Space and Place Series).* New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books. x+196 pp. Hb.: $60.00 / £35.00. ISBN: 9781845456658.

Including seven ethnographic case studies set in four Russian cities of varying sizes, *Cultural Diversity in Russian Cities* explores how different cultural groups engage with urban space. The volume considers not only cultural diversity deriving from ethnic heterogeneity, but also other factors of differentiation, such as age, socio-economic status, sexual orientation and affinity to subcultures. Thus, the 'cultural groups' that are discussed include migrants from within and without the former Soviet Union in very different situations: Chinese students and entrepreneurs in St. Petersburg (Dixon, pp. 21–49), irregular migrants from the Caucasus and Central Asia in Moscow and Novosibirsk (Kosygina, pp. 50–69), female labour migrants from former Soviet republics in St. Petersburg (Brednikova and Tkach, pp. 70–93), and African refugees and (former) students in St. Petersburg and Moscow (Boltovskaya, 94–114), as well as a Sochi youth scene centred on skating and rollerblading (Kosterina and Andreeva, pp. 115–137), Moscow lesbians (Sarajeva, pp. 138–163), and beggars and others involved in St. Petersburg's street-level economy (Scattone, pp. 164–178).

The contributions show how, while all these groups inhabit, navigate and use the urban space, they do so in very different ways: They frequent different places, for different reasons or at different times and pursue different activities there. While busy underpasses in the centre of St. Petersburg constitute anonymous and hardly noticed spaces of transit for most, they are work places for Scattone's informants. Whereas tourists come to visit St. Petersburg's famous bridges, these remain mere imaginations for the market women interviewed by Brednikova and Tkach, whose spatial understanding of the city revolves around frequently changing places of work and sleep, connected by the grid of the metro.

Places may also be given different meanings and experienced in different ways, as Sarajeva shows: only those 'in the know' are aware of the specific lesbian character and use of an otherwise random Moscow square, which makes this lesbian space invisible to passers-by even if they are physically right in the middle of it. Similarly, Kosterina and Andreeva in their discussion of the Sochi Fun Box, a skate, rollerblade and BMX area, demonstrate how simply being present is not enough to become part of the youth group meeting there. While the place is a major factor determining the group's identity, belonging requires further characteristics such as specific forms of behaviour and appearance, which are difficult to attain for outsiders.

Furthermore, different groups in the city are perceived and treated in different ways: while some are welcomed, tolerated or ignored, others are met with rejection, exclusion or even violence. Many cultural practices are restricted to specific parts of a city, while others take place in secrecy, limiting the visible claim to urban space to a minimum. The way in which particular groups are allowed to be part of a city or not also depends on the context and history of the specific city as well as local and national policies on cultural diversity, a point raised by Gdaniec in her introduction (pp. 1–20). Comparing Moscow and Berlin, she shows that while the former's administration promotes diversity on a

discursive level, this is removed from the residents' everyday experiences and practices, which are often shaped by xenophobia and intolerance. This concerns in particular the African communities portrayed by Boltovskaya, whose interaction with urban space is largely determined and effectively limited by fear of violence.

Following Hannerz' work on world cities, the contributors consider cities as sites where meaning is constantly transformed and recombined through the practices of their inhabitants. While city residents live within and depend on the pre-existing framework of the city, which shapes their interaction with space, they are at the same time able to appropriate, manipulate and transform it, as several contributors show. However, these appropriations are always mediated by the existing cultural context: Dixon demonstrates how apparently Chinese spaces, such as Chinese restaurants, are in fact adapted to Russian culture and expectations, representing mainstream assumptions about 'Chinese' culture more than the owners' cultural background. Similarly, the debate around the 2005 Moscow gay pride parade discussed by Sarajeva has shown that Western cultural practices regarding the use of public space could not simply be imported to the Russian context, where a different relationship to space prevails.

In total, this volume provides accessible, interesting and detailed empirical studies and offers compelling insights into various aspects of urban cultural diversity as related to space and spatial practices. By focusing on Russian cities and incorporating many contributions from Russian researchers, it also adds a new perspective to our understanding of this region. However, not all the chapters engage with the topic of the book – the urban landscape – in the same way: while a group's spatial practices and negotiation with space are explicitly examined in some contributions, in others the city serves merely as a background. Furthermore, not all chapters provide an explicit theoretical framework and analysis for their empirical work. A shared theoretical basis elaborated in a separate chapter could have helped to more productively unite the individual case studies and better demonstrate their relevance and contribution to the field of urban anthropology. Another topic which could have been addressed in such a context is the notion of 'majority' or 'mainstream society'. It is present throughout as an implicit contrast for the specific (minority) groups in question, which are defined by their deviance from this 'majority' and more or less explicitly have to defend themselves against its impositions of homogeneity, but who exactly constitutes this majority or by what it is characterised remains obscure and is never explicitly discussed. While there might be a general opinion or 'mainstream' culture in relation to some aspects, it is highly questionable whether this majority is not in itself much more diverse, changing and even contradictory than is implied.

Despite these minor weaknesses, the volume is highly recommendable particularly for its detailed empirical material and range of well-presented, thoughtful analyses.

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Derricourt, Robin. 2011. *Inventing Africa: History, Archaeology and Ideas*. London, New York: Pluto Press. 200 pp. Pb.: £16. ISBN: 9780745331058.

In his book *Inventing Africa*, Robin Derricourt examines different narratives of Africa's prehistory and past, which were mainly constructed by outsiders during the 19th and 20th centuries. The eight chapters are arranged in chronological order, but can be read separately. In summary, it is an argument against the simplification of histories with regard to both romanticised and negative stereotypes about Africa.

In the first chapter, Derricourt describes the geographical boundaries of 'Africa', beginning in prehistoric times. He argues that the shape and perceptions of 'Africa' have changed over time: 'Africa' was used in Ancient Egypt, the Classical World, Pre-Islamic Arabia and Medieval Europe to describe different regions. Areas beyond the known were labelled with *Punt* or *Aethiopia*, sites which remained symbolically important as a mythical land that inspired literature. The depiction of the spread of Islam, European interests in West African gold, the spread of the massive slave trade and the search for the famous *Prester John* complete his description.

In subsequent chapters, Derricourt elaborates how ideas about Africa's deep past, created since the colonial era, have influenced our conceptions of the continent. Trade, political relations and military encounters sustained the contact between Africa and Europe, and the interior became the location for stories of exotic, mystical and romantic places, peoples and events. In Chapter 2, Derricourt explores how the imagery of Africa was a blurring of fiction and truth, such as the myths that surrounded *Prestor John* or the biblical place of *Ophir*. He claims that centuries of fictional writing, for example the adventure novels by H. R. Haggard or traveller accounts about 'the lost city of the Kalahari', inspired expeditions as well as historical interpretations and European perceptions of the African past. However, such mystic accounts of Africa's past, blurring the boundaries between non-fiction and imagination, have not only been created by Europeans, but also from within, such as by the South African Credo Mutwa.

The third chapter is about 'the enigma of Raymond Dart', the man who shaped the image of paleo-anthropology. Dart's claim that *Great Zimbabwe* was built by non-Africans reflects the recurring image of Africans as inferior. In Chapter 4, Derricourt reviews how in the 20th century, paleo-anthropology was centred around a few 'fossil hunters', who, as he claims, were motivated by monetary interests, personal fame or nationalism and have shaped the image of archaeological fieldwork. Focusing on Louis Leakey and his family, he reviews the debate on human origins and ancestry. The following chapter traces how the theory of the African origins of modern humans has become widely accepted and other theories, including multi-regionalism, have been dismissed. Derricourt further reflects on the increasingly important role of studying mitrochondrial DNA and the debates about what it means to be truly human.

Chapter 6 examines the debates around the source of civilisation, which has been claimed to lie in Africa and particularly Ancient Egypt. While the earlier Hamitic hypothesis suggested that social and technological innovations were brought to Sub-Saharan Africa from north eastern parts, later theories claimed that civilisation spread from the African

continent, emphasising Egypt as part of Africa. These Afrocentrist ideas formed an essential part of Black identity politics in the US and the *négritude* movement. However, it has been questioned whether Ancient Egypt was part of Africa at all. While many of these ideas were dismissed in academia, the position and importance of Ancient Egypt for Africa and the world remains contested. Whereas Derricourt stands against simplifications and stereotypes, he states at one point that some fallacious ideas remained respectable in France and francophone Africa, 'in a culture where the beauty of ideas is sometimes valued higher than their factual accuracy' (p. 111), thus stereotyping 'the French'.

The next chapter reviews Basil Davidson's writings that popularised the grand narrative of powerful, centralised and glorious past states, while contrasting this with the observation that much of the continuing Afro-pessimism is fed by a critique of the new elites in modern African states. In the last chapter, Derricourt shows how the contemporary image of Africa is shaped on the one hand by persistent romanticism around assumed timeless wilderness and authentic communities, and on the other hand by pessimism regarding Africa's future. The book closes with the warning that the blurring between fact and fantasy as well as simplifications continue to be dangerous – not only for scientific development, but also with regard to potential political misuse. However, the dangers of simplification are not backed with empirical data, apart from the reference to the Rwandan genocide.

Robin Derricourt claims to have demonstrated how grand narratives about Africa have mainly been shaped by outsiders who have denied the continent's deep and complex history and its own cultural developments. However, it would have been interesting to read more about how 'Africa' was imagined from within. While the author gives detailed insights into constructions of Africa's past, he fails to explicitly offer counter-narratives. Derricourt seems to assume that the reader is familiar with Africa's 'true' history and therefore can follow his critique without further evidence. For those unfamiliar with paleo-anthropology, proper names and technical terms make it difficult to understand his detailed descriptions — this could have been addressed by the inclusion of a glossary and chronological diagrams. 'Incomplete' maps would also have helped to visualise varying conceptualisations of 'Africa'.

It is claimed that the book defends Africa against grand narratives. But while the book is difficult to access for lay readers, academics will not be surprised by the book's argument. It is therefore debatable which audience Derricourt wants to address. Furthermore, some chapters are dotted with biographical background information and myriad titles of articles and books and their respective editions, which although interesting, are only marginally related to his main argument and so should have been included as endnotes. Another weakness of this book is the lack of connections between the chapters. While this enables the reader to read each chapter separately, the lack of explicit cross references, links and conclusions impedes a proper understanding of the author's main argument.

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Kozorog, Miha. 2009. *Antropologija turistične destinacije v nastajanju: prostor, festivali in lokalna identiteta na Tolminskem*. Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete. 258 pp. Pb.: €20.00. ISBN: 9789612373429.

Anthropologists' particular contribution to studies of tourism lies in their signature approach to tourism as a social process that hinges on looking beyond the polished photos of tourist brochures and on linking these images to the social actors and social processes that create them. In his Slovene language ethnography, whose translated title is *Anthropology of an Emergent Tourist Destination: Place, festivals and local identity in Tolmin*, Miha Kozorog focuses on an emergent tourist destination, which provides him the opportunity to engage a number of questions that have as yet not been fully researched in the anthropology of tourism, including inhabitants' reasons for transforming their homes into tourist destinations. The author advocates looking beyond the economic factors and benefits of global tourism as the central reasons for the development of tourist destinations. While he does not ignore the reality of tourism as an economic practice, he himself is interested in how identity politics motivate social actors to become tourism service providers. Aligning himself with analysts such as Marie-Francoise Lanfant, who defines tourism as a form of communication (p. 18), Kozorog argues that tourism can empower people to claim a space for themselves in the globalised world: 'As an anthropologist, I was interested above all in exploring the dynamics of identification on the part of local inhabitants who strive to make a place different, a place that stands out among others. I believe that in this context it is tourism that allows inhabitants to effectively place "their" location on different maps' (pp. 57–58).

Given the central question that drives this ethnography, it is not surprising that Kozorog's theoretical approach to the study of Tolmin is primarily place-based, meaning that he engages Tolmin as a social landscape shaped by the discourses and practices of a range of tourism actors striving to turn it into a tourist destination. Upon situating his approach among the existing work of anthropologists of tourism who have incorporated a geographical dimension to their tourism research, Kozorog outlines his particular understanding of a tourist landscape: 'A tourist landscape can thus be defined as a *matrix for the geographical arrangement of elements relevant to tourism* [...] of a particular place where these elements are physically present. On the one hand, this matrix represents a framework for thinking about tourism in a particular place; on the other, it is also a framework for social action' (p. 54).

Upon outlining his theoretical framework, the author explores the history of tourism in the region of Zgornje Posočje, in which Tolmin is based. The author outlines the main factors and actors that have structured the broader tourism landscape from which Tolmin's tourism actors draw as they strive to put Tolmin on the touristic map. What is particularly interesting in this chapter is that Kozorog outlines the roots of the use tourism as a strategy of identification in Tolmin, portraying the way that reading rooms were employed in the 19th century to promote tourism among Slovenes, encouraging them to visit this particular region so close to the Italian border during a period of nascent nationalism.

The second half of the monograph is dedicated to the present situation in Tolmin, its tourism actors, and the dynamics of identification through tourism. The author focuses primarily on two tourism actors: the Local Tourism Office (LTO), and young tourism actors. While both of these actors play quite different roles in Tolmin's tourism landscape, they do have one thing in common: they are both emergent tourist actors.

In his study of the LTO, Kozorog focuses on the institutional development of tourism in Tolmin in accordance with national tourism legislation, focusing on the mechanisms the LTO employs in its endeavours to assume the central role envisioned for it in Slovenia's national legislation.

The following chapter is focused on young tourism actors: a group of social actors that is often overlooked in studies of tourist destinations. Kozorog argues the significance of these young social actors, given their role in organising and bringing festivals to Tolmin and the potential that festivals have for Tolmin as a tourist destination. Having spent many years observing and actively participating in the organisation of these festivals, Kozorog outlines the development of festivals as an emergent tourism practice, portraying the extent to which the young people of Tolmin identify with festivals and the role that festivals plays as a marker of identity among the youth beyond the borders of Tolmin.

Researching emergent tourist destinations can be both a privilege and a challenge: this can represent an opportunity to witness firsthand the practices of tourism actors transforming a place into a tourist destination, yet exploring such places requires dealing with emergent processes that may be difficult to capture ethnographically. Kozorog's role as an active participant in Tolmin's festivals provided him with special access to a particular set of emergent tourism actors and practices. While this enabled him to put forth an ethnographically grounded argument for treating the youth and festivals as important elements of Tolmin's developing tourism landscape, it did not facilitate his discussion of the ways in which Tolmin residents relate to these festivals as a potential marker of local identity. This would have enabled Kozorog to complete the arc of his argument and provide the reader with a broader perspective on the emergent role of festivals in Tolmin's tourism landscape.

In this ethnography, Miha Kozorog explores a number of important issues, including the research of emergent tourism destinations, the role of the ethnographer as an activist in the field, the role of young tourist actors and the significance of tourism in the politics of identity in a globalised world. Kozorog's serious engagement of these issues renders his ethnography an important contribution to the anthropology of tourism as well as to broader discussions concerning the practice of anthropology in a global world.

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