

***Citizenship and the Legitimacy of Governance: Anthropology in the Mediterranean Region.* eds. Italo Pardo and Giuliana B. Prato. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011. xi, 221 pp. \$99.95, hard bound.**

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This book brings together contributions on urban anthropology with case studies from Albania (Tirana), Greece (Piraeus), Israel (Haifa and Jaffa), Italy (Naples), Lebanon (Alma el Chaab), Portugal (Lisbon), Spain (Barcelona), Slovenia (Istria), and Turkey (Aydin). As such, the geographical sweep of the book and the consciously comparative ethnography of the Mediterranean urban spaces are both exciting and refreshing, but unfortunately the book also has some stylistic and conceptual shortcomings. Many chapters seek to describe and explicate facets of the crisis of legitimacy that all of these states have been facing since the late 20th century, mostly due to the massive economic transformations they have been undergoing, including in Albania, Greece, Spain, and Turkey. We see that political elites in many of these countries are thoroughly discredited, and new forms of legitimacy are urgently needed. Many chapters also focus on the ethnic dimensions of some of these crises of legitimacy, in particular in the case of Lebanon, Israel, Portugal, and Slovenia.

Italo Pardo's study of the political and societal crisis around the uncollected rubbish in Naples demonstrates that not only the ex-Communist elites in charge in Naples but also governance *per se* has been thoroughly discredited and the relationship between citizens and the state has been severely damaged. Pardo blames the manipulative control of the media and the judiciary exercised by the political elites of Naples to be among the sources of their irresponsibility and unaccountability. Although we understand that "the 'rubbish crisis' reached a breaking point in the summer of 2007," I lost track of the timeframe in reading this chapter. There are also very few names mentioned throughout the chapter, and hence the identities of the "political elites" that were in charge during the rubbish crisis (apart from being ex-Communists, and their opponents being neo-fascists) were unclear to me.

The next three chapters focus on the ethnic and racial dimensions of the crisis of legitimacy that the Israeli, Slovene, and Portuguese states are facing. Comparing two Israeli cities that have significant Palestinian populations--Haifa and Jaffa--Alex Weingrod asks, "How are Israeli Palestinians to accept the state and society which endlessly proclaims itself to be 'Jewish' and consequently limits their allegiance and involvement?" (p.55). Haifa "is unique in Israel for sponsoring an active joint Israeli Palestinian-Jewish centre that brings youngsters and others together, and a yearly 'festival of the three faiths' [as] a citywide celebration" (p.51), despite the fact that "the emerging urban pattern" in Israel in general, including in Jaffa, is one of "cooperative conflict" (p.54) and certainly not one of multiculturalism.

Focusing on the most ethnically diverse region of an otherwise ethnically homogenous state, Mateja Sedmak juxtaposes the rights and privileges of the small Italian minority (deemed “autochthonous”) in Slovene Istria with the lack of such rights and privileges for the more numerous post-Yugoslav minorities (deemed “immigrants”) in the same region, including Croats, Serbs, Bosniaks (Muslims), Albanians, and others. The study shows how the discourse of being “autochthonous” often functions as a discursive mechanism of exclusion. I also observed a similar justification of exclusion in Germany, where numerically miniscule Sorbian, Frisian, and Danish minorities are defined as autochthonous and consequently have their languages taught in schools, but the much larger Turkish, Greek, Italian, Arab, and other immigrant minorities are deprived of any linguistic or cultural rights.

Fernandes and Morte’s study of the heavily racialized (and, as it turned out, fictional) “rampage” at Carcavelos beach near Lisbon highlights the role of the media in creating the image of a mass robbery and rampage committed by the black youth, although no such rampage ever took place. Despite the fact that “[b]y the evening of the same day, there was a clear understanding that the whole thing was a scam” (p.77), both print and visual, domestic and international media, with a few notable exceptions, continued for weeks to circulate the news of hundreds of black teenagers raiding the beach and mugging a large number of people. In all three cases described in these chapters, the legitimacy of the states (Slovene, Israeli, Portuguese) is tied up with ethno-racial and religious exclusions and inclusions, thus leading, on the one hand, to a legitimacy deficit among citizens of minority backgrounds, while on the other hand strengthening the association of the state with a particular ethnic group.

The next three chapters look at the recent political economic transformation of Barcelona and Tirana under ostensibly democratic conditions following decades of fascist and communist dictatorships, respectively. Barcelona’s conscious imitation of Baltimore and Boston in the renewal of its port area, especially poignant in the creation of a waterfront marketplace in order to reinvigorate the port area, is a brilliant example of isomorphic mimicry at a global scale. Oriented towards neoliberal consumerism, Barcelona and Baltimore become indistinguishable at the waterfront marketplace. The mechanisms of such imitation could have been better explicated, but Fernando Monge does mention that, “Pasquall Maragall, the mayor of democratic Barcelona (1982-1997) who has been instrumental in the transformation of the city, had lived in Baltimore” (p.107). Bardoshi and Prato’s ethnographies of Tirana emphasize the relationship between citizenship, state legitimacy, informality and reciprocity, a nexus readily observable in many other postsocialist transformations, including that of Russia. About half of the houses in Tirana are built without building permits and on plots that are illegally seized by their occupants. The chapter on Greece unfortunately is too abstract with little ethnography (for example, the conclusion does not mention any location, incident, episode, context, or person) whereas the chapter on Turkey does not have any ethnography at all, which sets these two chapters apart from the rest of the book. In general, most of the chapters, although brief and readable, are not very well written, often with too abrupt a disconnect between a lengthy and abstract literature review and the ethnographic interviews, and I identified quite a few grammatical errors and

typos. The chapters on Barcelona, Naples, and Tirana are very well-written chapters in which the theory and ethnography are better integrated, and I highly recommend them to readers interested in urban anthropology of the Mediterranean region.