Book Reviews

Managing African Portugal: The Citizen-Migrant Distinction. Keisha Fikes. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009. 224 pp.

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In Keisha Fikes's engaging ethnography, *Managing African Portugal*, she offers a detailed account of how European Union accession has meant the production of the social, political, and economic distinction between migrants and citizens. In particular, this distinction is characterized by the loss of the myth of social intimacy inherent in "Lusotropicalism," an ideal that flowed in the colonial era from Brazil to Portugal and also included the former African colonies; at least in part, it envisioned the Portuguese miscegenation as proof of antiracism. In a postcolonial social and political economy in which "miscegenation [has now been] interrupted," Fikes shows how contemporary Lusophone life is characterized by new forms of racialization, in which the "African" in Portugal becomes a migrant as opposed to a citizen, and the space for mixing disappears.

Fikes investigates this process through the lives of Cape Verdian fish mongers who reside in Lisbon. Cape Verdians, she reveals, are not the ideal typical Africans in Portuguese colonial history. Unlike other African colonials, they were not only socially and racially ambiguous (reflecting one version of the Lusotropical fantasy), but they were also legally considered to be Portuguese citizens. Fikes's account is largely a story of becoming unambiguously Other.

With the move toward European modernity, also marked by the postcolonial move to the Portuguese metropole, the Portuguese citizenship of Cape Verdians ultimately fades. The citizen-migrant distinction, then, becomes a process of mutual constitution. The new Portuguese citizen needs the African domestic to become a "white" European, just as the emerging status of European-ness produces the now unambiguously African subject as the tolerated migrant.

By focusing on the scene of the informal fish markets from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s, Fikes shows the development of this process as part of the concrete articulations of racism and citizenship in everyday European life. In

this instance, the reader sees the extent to which becoming European also means becoming middle class. This becoming requires social and economic distance from the African migrant. It also requires massive European investment and policing.

The policing that Fikes describes, however, comes not in the form of explicit border control (those marked as racially Portuguese also move from the former colony to the metropole) but, rather, in the regulation and criminalization of the African fish mongers, *peixarias*, women who must wake up in the middle of the night to buy fresh fish from Portuguese wholesalers, and then sell the fish from temporary stands to middle-class, wealthy, and poor Portuguese and African buyers near train stations, bus stations, and sea ports in urban Portugal. With the implementation of European norms, however, this practice (originally carried out primarily by Portuguese men and women) comes to be seen as unhygienic, illegal, and African. As European social and economic investment in standardized and regulated processing facilities and major grocery stores become the norm, police begin to regulate the symbolic stench of the unregulated urban fish scenes. African women who also had part-time second jobs as urban domestics, janitors, or kitchen help must calculate running from the police as part of their regular business practice. They sustain racialized verbal injury from the police, street sweepers, and Portuguese drug addicts who compete both for social legitimacy and urban space, the same spaces in which the *peixarias* hide their fish to make quick escapes from uniformed authority possible.

In part, Fikes explains, the second jobs the *peixarias* hold as domestics, janitors, or kitchen help become requirements for legal Portuguese residency. Portuguese employers must guarantee at least a year's worth of employment in order for those now increasingly viewed as "migrants" to get legal permission to stay in the country. With the moves toward democracy, modernity, and European accession, those from the former colonies who don't sustain residency in Portugal ultimately forfeit their formal Portuguese citizenship (from one generation to the next) if they cannot prove racialized Portuguese heritage. Thus, residency permits become part of the social, legal, and economic regulation of the migrant-citizen distinction. In the process of the move toward European modernity, Portugal becomes

Arab—cultural practices, culinary specialties, local histories, and so on. Admittedly, this national reorientation gave Arab Israelis greater visibility within the Jewish polity. However, the terms of this new visibility—namely, that they perform their ethnic identity as tourist commodity, as object of consumer desire—had the effect, once again, of dispossessing them of their own agency and historical experience. The discourses of tourism, in other words, were one of the means by which Israel accommodated itself to its newly emerging proximity to the Arab world while, at the same time, consolidating a normative national culture emphasizing Israel's Jewish and European identity, and, thus, its civilizational difference from its Arab and Palestinian citizens and neighbors. As Stein persuasively argues, tourism, and the stories and images it circulated, helped regulate the norms of perceptual experience and memory that sustained Israel's evolving political geography.

A key virtue of Stein's analysis of Israeli political culture lies in her attentiveness to the tensions and fissures continuously produced around the discursive borders of national citizenship, not just by political events but, instead, by routine interactions between Israeli tourists and Palestinians that refuse the terms set by the dominant ideological frames. For example, despite the attempt to dispossess Palestinian Israelis of their experience of marginality and oppression by transforming them into objects of tourist consumption, the commodified cultural forms that Palestinians produced often maintained the ability to unsettle the norms of consumerist recognition. In the course of getting to know about the daily life and cares of Arabs, an increasing point of interest and delight for tourists during the mid-1990s, Israeli tourists at times would find themselves confronted with historical experiences of expulsion, expropriation, and discrimination. Such tensions are explored with considerable subtlety and ethnographic depth in the fourth chapter in which Stein describes the post-Oslo "culinary geography" that brought growing numbers of Israeli Jews to seek out "authentic" Palestinian Arab food in the Palestinian village of Abu Ghosh. These explorations of the instabilities and contradictions within the political field articulated by tourist practices and representations point to the contingency and mutability of what are often viewed as fixed political realities.

In the last chapter, Stein examines how the regional opening initiated by Oslo came to be reversed in the early 2000s as Israeli Jewish society, faced with a wave of Palestinian attacks on civilian targets, retreated to a national and subnational spatial imaginary. In the context of this "rescaling" process, the European-style coffee house emerged as a symbolic anchor for a new consolidation of Israeli national identity. Within Israeli newspaper and television coverage, the café became a privileged icon of Israel's new self-understanding, as an outpost of civilized European culture under attack by its non-European, uncivilized neighbors.

Stein writes: "As a place holder for the European nation-state, the café could also be marshaled to recast the conflict as a civilizational war. In this rendering, the Israeli occupation recedes from view" (p. 144). Here and throughout the book, Stein provides the reader with a powerful and insightful analysis of the cultural forms and practices through which a shifting geographic imaginary comes to be instantiated within Israeli public life. This is a work of exceptional merit and deserves to be widely read.

The Tourism Encounter: Fashioning Latin American Nations and Histories. Florence E. Babb. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011. 264 pp.

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In *The Tourism Encounter*, Florence Babb uses tourism as an analytical lens for considering shifting relations of culture and power that emerge in transitional societies marked by conflict or resolution. Her main thesis is that tourism in postrevolutionary nations (Cuba and Nicaragua) and post-conflict "hot spots" (Chiapas in Mexico and Andean Peru) acts as a major agent not only for economic recovery and political stability but also for the refashioning of interpretations of the past (i.e., cultural heritage) and desires for the future (i.e., national identity). Babb argues that tourism, as a trade in nostalgia for either revolution or cultural heritage, "often takes up where social transformation leaves off and even benefits from the formerly off-limits status of nations that have undergone periods of conflict or rebellion" (p. 2).

In modern-day Cuba, cultural tourism both undermines and supports one of the last bastions of socialism. On the one hand, there are the constantly recycled notions of revolution, best symbolized by the iconic presence of Che Guevara throughout the tourism circuit. On the other hand, vintage American cars and the legacy of Ernest Hemingway in the streets of old Havana mark the type of commoditized heritage tourism that is nostalgic for prerevolutionary (capitalist-identified) extravagance verging on decadence. Babb suggests that these two faces of tourism are not always separable as they are "two versions of the same nostalgia" (p. 30). Thus, tourism both saves the fading revolution from collapse and acts as a compelling catalyst for social and political change (through the increased engagement with the global market economy).

Nicaragua has had a real makeover since its revolutionary period (1979–90), a change that is nicely reflected in its tourism business. While the 1980s attracted mainly *sandalistas*, "political tourists" from the West showing their support for the Sandinista government, present-day tourism heavily romanticizes the revolution, turning the mainstream outside image of Nicaragua from "dangerous" into "different." Following the dictates of the global experience

economy, this Central American nation now represents itself in various ways to different potential tourism market segments. At the same time, Nicaraguan culture is depicted in rather homogenized ways (e.g., with little marketing of local crafts and other products). As has been documented in other parts of the world (Bruner 2005; Salazar 2010), such cultural tourism imaginaries both frame and are framed by how local people view and construct their identities.

The violence caused in the 1980s by Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) in the Peruvian highlands seems to have been totally erased in tourism products and practices. Instead, ethnic tourism capitalizes on the globally circulating imaginaries of Inca history as well as present-day cultural life. The tourists' nostalgic longing for experiences of the "living past" is met by sanitized displays and performances of cultural heritage in popular destinations like Cuzco. Thus, in contrast with Cuba and Nicaragua, "in Peru tourism builds on past dreams of modernization and hopes of recovery from violent memory and economic need" (p. 91).

In Chiapas, Mexico, however, "that what had stalled tourism has also brought it back" (p. 105). The romantic appeal of the indigenous Zapatista revolutionary movement has helped to drive both solidarity and mainstream travel in the region. The Zapatistas may have had major issues with their country signing NAFTA, they rarely targeted tourism. In fact, Subcomandante Marcos is said to have called out to a group of foreign tourists, "We apologize for the inconvenience, but this is a revolution" (p. 97). Moreover, as in the case of Cuba and Nicaragua, the movement benefitted from international solidarity tourism. As Babb rightly remarks, the fact that Chiapas was off-limits for mainstream tourism and thus protected from overexposure, made the region much more attractive for visitors after the uprising.

The last part of *The Tourism Encounter* zooms in on the troubled relationship between tourism and issues of race, class, and gender. The discussion of sex tourism in Cuba and Nicaragua serves to "illuminate the particular challenges that more marginalized sectors confront in the tourism development process" (p. 123). Indeed, the mix of tourism with sex, romance, and politics in both nations is difficult and ambivalent. In Andean Peru and Chiapas, the cultural tourism encounter is highly gendered and racialized. Indigenous women, aware of their global image as "authentic" repositories of cultural tradition, "play a part in making the nation by becoming stakeholders in their own identity construction" (p. 154). These tourism stakeholders demonstrate high levels of creativity in marketing and selling both their cultural heritage and indigenous identities to rapidly changing tourist preferences.

Babb's elaborated analyses are punctuated by vivid ethnographic narratives, creating a rich understanding of cultural tourism in Latin America and its deployment in refashioning national identities and promoting highly selec-

tive histories. It would have been nice to read a little more about the "eclectic" (p. 14) ethnographic methods she used in this complex comparative research. And how can the "post-tourists" drawn to postrevolutionary and postconflict tourism be characterized? Although outside the scope of the book, I would be interested in knowing how the described dynamic processes play out in the context of mainstream tourism for both international and domestic visitors in the countries under study.

In summary, *The Tourism Encounter* is a very well-written monograph that provides four empirical examples of how the adaptation of tourism in transitional societies "may contribute to furthering not only postconflict stabilization and economic transformation but decolonizing projects that challenge imbalances of power by race, class, gender, and nationality" (p. 189). Being both readable and conceptually rich, this book would complement both advanced undergraduate and graduate seminars. It will certainly be of interest to scholars in anthropology, Latin American studies, tourism studies, and gender studies. The book should be considered essential reading for those interested in contemporary tourism in general, as it provides a unique comparative perspective, with implications that extend far beyond the Latin American region.

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The Moral Resonance of Arab Media: Audio-Cassette Poetry and Culture in Yemen. *Flagg Miller*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 2007. 525 pp., endnotes, appendices.

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In his theoretically complex and carefully illustrated study of *The Moral Resonance of Arab Media: Audio-Cassette Poetry and Culture in Yemen*, Flagg Miller addresses a set of timely questions: How do Yemeni poets succeed in making their poetry speak to the contemporary political aspirations, everyday concerns, and aesthetic expectations of their listeners? Where do they draw on long-standing conventions of verbal virtuosity to do so, and where might one discern departures from earlier rhetorical forms? In what sense do the new conditions created by a mass-mediated consumer culture affect the rhetorical and moral authority of the poets? On what changing forms of social subjectivity do these transformations reflect?