

individual celebrity program hosts to depart significantly from the Kremlin's official position at moments of heightened national conflict. Chapter 4, for example, documents significant differences across channels in coverage of nationality issues in 2010–2011, often in ways that foreshadowed the hardening of the Kremlin's own line on migration in 2012.

Hutchings and Tolz trace these multiple, often contradictory or incomplete attempts by Russian television producers to reflect ethnic relationships and conflict across several genres that are not often brought together in studies of Russian mass media: news coverage analyzed quantitatively, but also comedy series, talk shows, and the coverage of several specific "media events" including the new (as of 2005) "National Day of Unity" holiday and the broadcast of "Shkola" ["School"] a controversial dramatic serial that itself stirred up significant cultural conflict over its representation of ethnic and religious hostility in a Russian school. Scholars interested in the literature on "media events" will appreciate the skill with which the authors document the crucial role of television in creating "media events" out of a variety of happenings generated by artists, television producers, the state, and nationalist activists, among others. At the same time, a second theme that runs throughout the book – the diverse and contradictory ways in which television generates new and frequently contradictory modes of balancing unity and diversity – will interest scholars and students of multiethnicity, nationality, and migration. Throughout the book the authors are careful to attend to similarities and differences in the response to migration in other European countries in the same period, pointing out the many shared dilemmas while not neglecting Russia's distinctive position. Indeed, they highlight how, when it suits their purposes, Russian commentators often construct Russian ethnic relations as a positive counterexample to Western Europe's ethnic and confessional conflict.

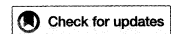
This masterful and revealing study shows us how state-aligned, but never entirely controlled, media navigate between state and public in the context of a hybrid democratic-authoritarian regime. It strikes a fascinating balance between documenting the shift on Russian television toward a more anti-migrant and Russian nationalist position, and pointing out the myriad ways that Russian television's many genres, as well as local broadcasting services in ethnically diverse regions, often create new ways of envisioning an ethnically diverse *and* harmonious Russia. This book has broad value beyond the specific case of Russia for understanding how television can shape public responses to social issues that affect many countries, both generating and foreclosing other possible worlds.

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Putin's Olympics. The Sochi games and the evolution of twenty-first century Russia,

by Robert W. Ortung and Sufian N. Zhemukhov, Abingdon, Routledge, 2016, xiv + 135 pp., \$138 (hardback), ISBN-10: 0415823722

Given that Russia is due to host the largest and most popular (by a wide margin) global sporting – the FIFA World Cup – next year, now would seem an appropriate time to reflect on the last Sporting Mega Event held in Putin's Russia – the 2014 Sochi Winter

Olympics. That event will live in infamy mainly because it holds the record for the fastest ever squandering of an Olympic legacy. One hopes this is not a record that will be broken. However, the annexation of Crimea that began even before the end of the Sochi Games may cause people to forget some of the important lessons of Sochi. Robert Orttung and Sufian Zhemukhov's book is thus an excellent and timely guide to some of the most interesting features of the Sochi event before Crimea. The connections between Sochi and Crimea are fascinating and even more so as the authors see the common origins of these events, saying that "the nature of the Putin regime led to both the Sochi games in the corrupt, authoritarian manner they occurred and the subsequent invasion of Ukraine" (1). But comparison does not just occur between these events, and one of the great strengths of the book is the authors' consistent comparison to other similar Olympic Games in other countries – a strategy which brings out just how ridiculous some of the features of Sochi were and makes the book of interest to scholars of the Olympics generally, as well as Russia. The substantive chapters of the book look at the political economy of the games, how preparations affected civil society, the security implications of the games, and international issues. While some of the chapters have been published at least in part elsewhere (e.g. Orttung and Zemukhov 2014), this book concentrates them all in one place and provides the definitive overview of the Sochi event itself. The political economy of Sochi is treated as a case study of the "larger phenomenon" of mega-events in the Putin system and how they create space for mass embezzlement. The overspend of the Sochi Olympics was infamous – rising as high as \$55 billion according to some estimates. Orttung and Zhemukhov show the reader how much of the money (as with the earlier 2013 Universiade in Kazan, which itself cost as much as a "regular" Winter Olympics) ended up in the pockets of Putin's cronies. In this as in so many other ways, Putin's games proved to reflect and refine features of the system. There is a similar story with political and civil society, where the authorities worked to prevent opposition leader Boris Nemtsov from running a credible campaign in the 2009 Sochi mayoral elections, paid lip-service to environmental ideals, priced locals out of the housing market,¹ and brought in new laws which had deleterious effects on the LGBT community. The chapter on security addresses the very real threats to the safety of the Games that staging them in a *de facto* war zone (the North Caucasus) presented. The chapter charts the evolution of security concepts during the advent of the Games, highlighting the regime's *ad hoc* approach to problems. Perhaps the concept with the most significant legacy was the idea of pretending that Sochi was not part of the North Caucasus, and creating a separate administrative division (the North Caucasus Federal District or *okrug*) for the problem areas. Bad news could thus be blamed on another administrative district. This approach may have worked in protecting a single city, but one wonders if such a haphazard approach to conflict will work as effectively in 2018. The leading international issue with which the authors deal is the Circassians well-founded claim to recognition during the Games, which fell, tragically, on the 150th anniversary of their forced exile from native lands complete with a forced retreat from the very beaches at Sochi. The comparison with how Canada treated its "first peoples" during the Vancouver Winter Olympics speaks volumes about the nature of the current Russian regime. Finally, the authors also remind us of the hesitancy of the Kremlin to alienate the West too much prior to the Sochi Olympics. How quickly times change. This leads to final speculations about the legacies of the Games and the role they played in the annexation of Crimea. Since the Games occurred just three years ago, any suggestions about the legacies of Sochi must by nature remain speculative. Where the authors are more assertive is in suggesting that "though contradictory from an outsider's perspective, the Sochi Olympics and annexation of Crimea were logically connected from the Russian perspective. Both

events were part of the Kremlin's narrative of Russia standing up from its knees" (98). Although at some points the authors address the counter-factual (would Crimea have happened had there been no Sochi?), they ultimately decide that the Crimean gambit was so important to Russia that it would have happened anyway. It is with this point that I think there is room for more interpretation or justification: had the games been more of a success, would the Russian state still have annexed Crimea? Similarly, what role do the considerably larger and more complicated FIFA World Cup sporting events play in the narrative of Russia rising from its knees? Is this Russia not just rising from its knees but also entering into the select club of World Cup host cities? What would a comparison of the World Cup and the Sochi Winter Olympics tell us about Russian government and politics generally? These are all questions that could be addressed in a hoped-for sequel or new edition.

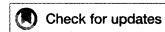
Note

1. As, indeed, the authorities are currently doing in Moscow itself, trying to demolish Khrushchev-era apartments and relocate tenants to the rather distant "new Moscow." Local residents fear that the land on which their apartments stood will be used to build skyscrapers.

Reference

- Orttung, Robert, and Sufian Zemukhov. 2014. "Munich Syndrome: Russian Security in the 2014 Olympics." *Problems of Post Communism* 61 (1): 13–29.

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Advanced introduction to nationalism, by Liah Greenfeld, Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, 2016, 137 pp., \$108 (hardback), \$19.96 (paperback), ISBN 9781785362545

Liah Greenfeld is a professor of sociology, political science, and anthropology at Boston University and the author of a number of books and papers on the subject of nationalism, which have made her an authority in this field. In particular, Greenfeld wrote a trilogy on modern culture composed of *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (1993); *The Spirit of Capitalism: Nationalism and Economic Growth* (2003); and *Mind, Modernity, Madness: The Impact of Culture on Human Experience* (2013) (all published by Harvard University Press). In this *Advanced Introduction to Nationalism*, she offers a compelling and succinct compendium of the research she has carried out over the last three decades.

Greenfeld's particular understanding of nationalism as "the cultural framework of modern reality" – clearly fleshed out in the introduction – sets her apart from most other authors in the field, who tend to focus on nationalism as a form of politics. Greenfeld instead looks at nationalism as a form of consciousness – one based on the principles of equality, secularism, and popular sovereignty – that permeates the modern world and has consequences for all areas of modern experience. Greenfeld puts culture, the human