
BOOK REVIEWS

Stephanie C. Kane

Indiana University

Where the River Ends: Contested Indigeneity in the Mexican Colorado Delta

Shaylih Muehlmann (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 2013)

The environmental movement's most difficult and important twenty-first century challenge involves aligning efforts to preserve habitats with the priorities of social justice. Muehlmann's ethnography contributes to this undertaking by humanizing those most affected by environmentalists' failures to grasp sociopolitical realities. She also illuminates the cascading negative consequences of poorly defined yet basic concepts of water law such as "beneficial use" when implemented nationally and internationally. A strong ethnographic trope, the Colorado River draws the ethnographer from its U.S. headwaters, through dams and diversions, to the Cucapá people living beside its dead end. Transformed by war, law and engineering, the river is now too short to reach the sea, too meager to function as their traditional subsistence base. In 1963, the U.S. Supreme Court sealed the Colorado's fate in *Arizona v. California* (373 US 546), which determined the river rights of Arizona, Nevada, and California and quantified reserved rights for five native American reservations along the lower Colorado, leaving out other native tribes in the U.S. and all of the indigenous people who lived downstream in Mexico. In 1994, the implementation of NAFTA enabled the already diminished river to be devastated by new industrial factories (*maquiladoras*) on the border, which were given license to suck out and pollute almost all of the water remaining. This legal pillaging leaves little for the people, animals, and plants of the drying delta.

Irony and shock accompany this text. The Cucapá fisher people are now put in the position of having to protect the remnant delta habitat, restricting their own subsistence practices according to rules that are not always pragmatic, and in some cases, counter-productive. For example, Cucapá rules governing when people can fish have traditionally been based on lunar cycles which track the time that fish swim away from developing eggs, while government rules, based on the tidal rhythms, make it legal to kill only when the eggs are still inside the fish (p. 72–3). And as a further irony, to get fishing permits at all, the Cucapá now must qualify linguistically for indigenous status, yet throughout the twentieth century, assimilationist policies have viciously repressed their language insuring that only a handful of elders can still speak it. In addition, their constitutional right to livelihood is formally protected by the Mexican constitution, yet the environment upon which their livelihoods depend has been destroyed by users upstream.

Upstream users and their practices are largely overlooked by Mexican government officials. No government or inter-governmental agency gazes critically with the author at places like the Marriott Hotel in Palm Desert, California, where the lobby's indoor lake and waterfalls take more than fifty million gallons to fill. Yet plenty of police and military attention turns to the area's narco-traffickers who, compared to fishing and ecotourist ventures, present a sometimes viable and oddly respectable employment alternative to Cucapá in the delta. With unfair structural forces and limited avenues to exercise agency characterizing this contemporary Mexican border region, the readers of *Where the River Ends* can grasp the allure of the idealized *narcotraficante* inhabiting the role of Paredes' *bandito* of old.

But such forms of dispossession have become all too familiar to scholars through other ethnographies about indigenous peoples who have been trapped by the eco-legal constructions of parks and reserves. Cast as natural conservationists (a permutation of the stereotype of noble savages) puts the Cucapá at odds with their own subsistence requirements. Muehlmann focuses on how indigeneity has become a categorical imperative that grinds fantasy and history in the bureaucratic mills that regulate remnant fishing grounds. What she offers is not an analysis of environmental discourse or of people's relationship with the river. Rather, the river and its discourse serve as a point of departure for discussion of work, gender, language, and the drug war.

Muehlmann also asks: how is a social group's identity articulated when their historical and ecological connections to place have been severed or dramatically altered? Through thoughtful analysis of Cucapá interactions with NGO representatives, she sheds light on the subversive power of deviant language. Like tricksters, the young people applying for a mapmaking job with an NGO convinced the NGO representative of their linguistic competence by saying swearwords (*groserías*), the only words they knew in the traditional Cucapá language. Incomprehensible to the conservationist, the swearwords nevertheless gave him the confidence to enlist their authenticity in his project. For their part, the youth actively deployed illegibility as a tactic of resistance even as they got the jobs, as James Scott suggests happens. Through examples such as this, readers will understand why NGOs often fail in their mission.

Through hard-earned, long-term participant observation in a Cucapá village, Muehlmann's ethnography adds flesh and bone to Stuart Hall's theory of hegemony and identity, the "construction of a collective will through difference" (Hall 1991:58). Never flinching from the abject or the contradictory, she unties the knots of apprehension and misjudgment. Her most dedicated teacher, who makes sure she understands key concepts and systematically introduces her to interlocutors important for her study, also happens to be a methamphetamine addict. His struggle with masculinity in an indigenous culture where women, despite the patriarchal character of the governing nation state, dominate local fishing politics elucidates the intersectionality of gender, ethnicity, class, and nation as dynamic processes. Merging participant observation with life history narratives rich with reflexive detail and folklore, readers come to understand larger political ecological struggles through the turning points and quandaries of individuals and collectivities. I believe that the book will work well in the classroom, not only for its vivid stories but because of the way that Muehlmann

brings the scholarly literature to bear in every argument, showing which ideas she brings along and where and how she has to modify and develop ideas. In this way, the book can be used to teach about fieldwork and analytic methods as well as provide a strong lesson in ‘how environmental conflicts are never just about “the environment”’ (p. 172).

Reference Cited

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Kabir Tambar

Stanford University

The Make-Believe Space: Affective Geography in a Postwar Polity

Yael Navaro-Yashin (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012)

Since 1983, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) has claimed sovereignty over the northern half of Cyprus. However, no nation-state or international body has recognized the legitimacy of this declaration of statehood, except for Turkey. From the vantage point of most of the world, the TRNC is an illegal state. Yael Navaro-Yashin’s *The Make-Believe Space* offers a theoretically imaginative and ethnographically grounded account of socio-political life in an internationally unrecognized state. The book is largely based on research that Navaro-Yashin conducted between 1998 and 2003, just prior to the opening of checkpoints along the border of northern and southern Cyprus. The author reflects at length on experiences of citizenship in a context saturated by feelings of entrapment, impermanence, and political illegitimacy. Unmoored in this context are distinctions that are conventionally understood as central to modern statecraft and sociality—between legality and illegality, legitimate violence and criminal looting, the homely and the uncanny, and loyalty and contempt for the state. Crucially, Navaro-Yashin argues that this situation should not be interpreted as a deviation from international norms; rather, it renders visible the ideological work that is necessary to fabricate such distinctions in the first place.

The book’s nine chapters are divided into three parts. The first part (“Spatial Transformation”) examines how the TRNC has sought to ideologically reshape northern Cyprus as an ethnically Turkish space—for instance by renaming places (villages, forests, fields, and so on) that previously carried Greek names and repopulating northern Cyprus with settlers from Turkey. Navaro-Yashin stresses the sense of disaffection and estrangement that many Turkish-Cypriots felt toward these practices. Part two

(“Administration”) analyzes the development of the “illegal” state’s administrative apparatuses and practices, as well as the critical attitudes of Turkish-Cypriots toward those apparatuses. Particular attention is given to the state’s documentary practices and the forms of affect they produce. Part three (“Objects and Dwellings”) elaborates the theorization of political affect in greater depth, describing how Turkish-Cypriots relate to the spaces, objects, and debris left behind by Greek-Cypriots who fled to the south in the 1970s.

The text is suffused with evocative ethnographic images. As part of a conceptual exploration of the material and affective dimensions of state documentary practices, Navaro-Yashin describes the stamping procedures employed by TRNC border officials. Border officials recognize that many entering foreigners do not want their passports stamped by the TRNC. Such a stamp can be grounds for barring entry into Greece or southern Cyprus. TRNC border officials often exercise the option of stamping a sheet of paper instead of the passport, a sheet of paper that can later be discarded. In this act of border control, state officials negate “the existence of their state in the very act of asserting it”(p. 114). Navaro-Yashin argues that the materiality of state documentary practices such as this one foster a political sensibility—an affect—of tentativeness and insecurity.

Navaro-Yashin describes the various ways that Turkish-Cypriots relate to the objects left behind by previous Greek inhabitants. In some cases, the Turkish Cypriots accommodated these older objects, as in the case of Latife who found a Greek-Cypriot’s engagement ring that she now sometimes wears (p. 180), or a family that has held on to pictures that the earlier, Greek-Cypriot inhabitants of their house had left behind. In other cases, however, some Turkish Cypriots consider the expropriation of property and goods—which was authorized and organized by the TRNC—to be looting. Many subjects of the TRNC are dependent on such property and goods, even as they are deeply critical of the regime that re-distributed them. Here as elsewhere in the book, Navaro-Yashin emphasizes how boundaries between legality and illegality and between the legitimate violence of the state and the criminal violence of the looter are difficult—perhaps impossible—to establish.

While ethnographically engrossing, the book is also highly theoretically motivated. Indeed, theoretical discussion is privileged in the book to such an extent that it is worth commenting on its relationship to the ethnographic presentation. Theory is not simply deployed to frame and analyze the ethnographic material; more commonly, Navaro-Yashin mobilizes ethnography in order to interrogate various currents of contemporary social theory. Of particular interest to this book are recent studies of materiality, affect, and non-human agency, especially works written (and inspired) by Latour, Strathern, Massumi, and Gell. (This list is by no means exhaustive—among others discussed in the text are Spinoza, Freud, Benjamin, Bataille, Tarde, Bachelard, Derrida, Deleuze, Kristeva, and Agamben. In this review I cannot do justice to the range of theory the book engages.) As a continual refrain in the text, Navaro-Yashin returns in various chapters to the task of critically augmenting this body of work, specifically by emphasizing the mediated and qualified character of affective experience and the co-constitutive relationality between human interpretation and the material agency of non-human objects.

Ethnographic vignettes restlessly spur conceptual critique throughout the text. One result is that Navaro-Yashin often introduces striking analytical concepts, such as the “legal uncanny” and “spatial melancholia,” but then does not return to them later in the book where they might be conceptually developed. The central notion of “the make-believe,” along with related notions of the phantasmatic and phantomic, are elaborated at length in the early portions of the text, but these concepts largely fall out of the book’s lexicon by the end.

The Make-Believe Space will appeal to readers in search of an analysis of statecraft that troubles the grounding of its legitimacy and authority in the law. As an ethnographic encounter with critical theory, the book also offers rich material to scholars studying the politics of affect and the socio-materialities of natural and built environments.

Blair Rutherford

Carleton University

***The State and the Social: State Formation in Botswana and its
Precolonial and Colonial Genealogies***

Ørnulf Gulbrandsen (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012)

Norwegian anthropologist Ørnulf Gulbrandsen richly draws on his thirty plus year research experience in Botswana to craft a substantive analysis of the first decades of state formation in Botswana. He argues that state formation in this southern African country is best understood as resulting from a complex dialectic between Western ideas and practices with indigenous structures of power and cosmologies. He draws on some of the concepts and analyses found within the traditions of political anthropology as well as those with more currency in political anthropology today coming from Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. In so doing, he provides a rather compelling analysis of the relative success of the postcolonial Botswana state.

Gulbrandson argues that one needs to examine how wider social contexts and forces came together in a project to help indigenize the state, at least in the case of Botswana. In doing so, he is going against the grain of some current trends in the anthropology of the state that focus almost exclusively on “state effects,” and thus, are putting the focus of analysis on the state and its discursive and institutional machineries. In this argument, he puts great weight on the role of the elites of the main precolonial polities (*merafe* in Setswana) and in the postcolonial state itself.

Similar to some of the older models in political anthropology, the argument of the book is quite straight-forward: British colonial policy in Bechuanaland both undermined precolonial authorities while expanding their authority over wider social territories and peoples, ensuring the continual importance of indigenous practices

and symbolism of rule as they adapted to the new colonial reality. Postcolonial elites incorporated indigenous authority hierarchies into state practices, materially enabled initially by wealth generated through the export beef industry and then particularly through the success of the diamond industry. These processes guaranteed legitimacy of the state as a combination of a hegemonic discourse of development and an indigenous cosmology centered around the authority of the leadership of the *merafe*. Seeing the state as “superstructural” in a Foucauldian sense which controls a series of existing power networks within society, Gulbrandson’s analysis shows how the population of Botswana has become integrated into the state apparatus. At the same time of this expanding state control, the state apparatus itself generates and encounters nomadic social flows and assemblages that have potentialities to evade the state and transform into new forces either supporting or challenging the state.

Gulbrandson supports his analysis thoroughly and persuasively. In addition, many of his historical and ethnographic examples illuminate particular dynamics of power and social action very effectively. He provides rich, detailed descriptions of late pre-colonial polities in terms of their various hierarchical axes of rank, division and unity via kinship, territorial units, clientship, and political leadership, amongst other social forces. The discussion of the colonial period and the incorporation and transformation of the *merafe* is also very insightful. He offers a careful analysis of the emerging cultural politics over newly defined traditional authority vis-à-vis British colonial authorities, providing an important focus on the particular language and practices of rule that drew on syncretic symbolic fields.

He also attentively examines party politics, dynamics of wealth accumulation in cattle and mining, the hegemonic establishment of a coalition of elites, the changing emphasis in the politics of ethnicity, the roles of customary courts, and the politics and anti-politics of development (amongst many other topics) through historical analysis and extended case studies from the first decades of postcolonial rule. Gulbrandson also attends to the challenges and protests that have occurred since the 1990s built around the politics of ethnic recognition and discourses of ritual murder, forces of rhizomic potentialities in the Deleuzian sense that can challenge and destabilize state authority.

At times, the argument can appear a bit functionalist, as in his use of the concept of cosmology as a blanket term to argue for an underlying set of symbols and existential dispositions that can be used to socially reproduce hierarchical relations ensuring social peace and harmony. To give an example: “the network of power that has been centred in the hierarchies of customary courts . . . have proved highly instrumental to the state administration of justice, exercised predominantly on the basis of the indigenous normative repertoire of *mekgwa le melao* which is held in high esteem by everybody as cosmologically anchored ancestral morality, yet pragmatically adapted to changing societal circumstances in time and space” (p. 186). But in most cases, the argument is more nuanced and anchored in analysis of particular historical contexts. Though he provides a compelling analysis of why the Botswana state has been quite stable, he is not sanguine about recent trends, noting the contradictions anchored in globalized economic policies and growing protests over government secrecy and

repression. These are protests, he shows, that are anchored in fields of meaning that draw on both indigenous symbolic repertoires and a more globalized language of rights and democracy.

In conclusion, Ørnulf Gulbrandsen's *The State and the Social: State Formation in Botswana and its Precolonial and Colonial Genealogies* is a very important contribution to the study of Botswana, the anthropology of southern Africa, and political anthropology. I may have preferred a bit more consistent nuance in conceptual argument at times, but find the overall argument and substantive examples to provide enduring importance which will offer much to African Studies specialists and scholars in political and legal anthropology.

Madeleine Reeves

University of Manchester

Building Fortress Europe: The Polish-Ukrainian Frontier

Karolina S. Follis (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012)

How is social life governed and human movement regulated in the name of the EU's mandate to secure freedom, justice, and security for its citizens? Karolina Follis's ethnography of European rebordering provides a compelling and devastating response. Follis shows how the Schengen agreement's logic of free movement for EU citizens coincides with harsh and often arbitrary forms of exclusion along the Union's external borders, drawing on ethnography in several sites where a border is being (re-)institutionalized along the Polish-Ukrainian frontier (in Warsaw offices, in 'capacity building' seminars, in detention camps and on border patrol).

More significantly, Follis shows how the practical and institutional logics of the Schengen agreement unfold "faster than, and to a large extent independent from, the political debate about constitutional treaties, the future of Europe and the role and place of immigrants within it" (p. 16). It is these logics, for instance, which consign large numbers of Ukrainian seasonal workers to a condition of legal precariousness and spatio-temporal uncertainty (obliged to leave the country after three months of work or risk administrative violation), and which ascribe to a majority of asylum seekers deemed not to qualify for refugee status under the Geneva Conventions the institutionalized invisibility of 'tolerated stay': un-deported but unable legitimately to look for work (p. 130).

To interrogate this dialectic, Follis conducts ethnography "on an awkward scale" (p. 18). This approach means that she jumps site and scale between chapters, and there is little connection between the characters we meet in one chapter and those who figure in the next. Nonetheless, this approach allows Follis to question the conceit that bordering occurs only at the territorial limits of the nation-state. After setting the scene in opening chapters, Follis explores how this social and institutional

work occurs. She begins with the experiences of female Ukrainian migrant workers in Poland. Between 1991 and 2004, the Ukrainian-Polish border was more open than it had been at any time in the post-war period, and border crossings increased tenfold. Competing nationalisms “ebbed into the background” as a new narrative of commonality and the pragmatic need for cheap labor on the one hand, and migrant remittances on the other, gave both states incentives to institute visa-free travel between them (p. 50). This changed after 2004, when, upon adopting the Schengen agreement, Poland instituted a visa regime with Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. Such mobility regulation did little to stem the flow of people looking for work, but it meant that Ukrainian workers were in an increasingly precarious situation, able to work for only limited periods before having to leave the country again to apply for a new visa (p. 64–66).

In the fourth and fifth chapters, Follis moves from the experience of Ukrainian women in the Polish labor market to the fraught work of manning the Polish-Ukrainian border. Policing Poland’s eastern border in a manner consonant with Schengen policy is not simply a technocratic process of upgrading laws and state service, but as Follis notes, “an inherent part of the complex cultural and technological shift of rebordering” (p. 92). At stake here are the questions of who should be granted asylum, whose presence should be quietly ‘tolerated’ without the accordance of refugee status, and who should be deported. Such decisions are politically fraught because many requesting asylum are Chechens from the Russian Federation (and hence Russian citizens). In this situation, should Russia be acknowledged as a country from which Chechens might legitimately wish to flee persecution?

In these chapters Follis deftly unpacks this social work of discrimination by examining institutions rarely subject to ethnographic enquiry. Chapter 4 follows Polish border guards on patrol as they use sophisticated EU-funded equipment to track down perceived illegals. The guards want their Ukrainian counterparts to apprehend the prospective border-crossers so that they become Ukraine’s problem rather than Poland’s. Chapter 5 explores the political work of granting and denying asylum, through a detailed ethnography of the Warsaw Aliens’ Bureau. In both cases, what emerge are the situated discriminations that fall to office workers and border guards alike to determine whose entry is legitimate.

Such logics unfold, precisely *not* through deliberate malfeasance of individual officials. Indeed, what emerges, with rich ethnographic detail, are the human faces of those charged with enforcing migration and asylum policies. Structural violence occurs, rather, through the tensions that emerge between national and supranational modes of governing territory and population (p. 20). Practically, this means that the Ukraine has become enrolled in the process of apprehending and detaining prospective illegal immigrants. As Follis argues brilliantly in chapter 6, which explores the architecture of this emergent border regime in Ukrainian-run but EU-resourced detention centers, the EU “[has] conditioned its promises of easing the visa requirement for Ukrainians on their willingness to, in effect, become a holder of the unwanted” (p. 162).

Follis has crafted a masterly work, which deserves to be widely read by scholars of citizenship, migration, and borders, as well as by political and legal anthropologists interested in understanding contemporary mutations in state and sovereignty. With feet in both anthropology and political theory, *Building Fortress Europe* demonstrates the capacity of ethnography to intervene in contemporary politico-legal debates, by revealing the multiple situated discriminations that fall to those charged with policing and protecting the new EU. At the same time, the book highlights the tendency for well-intentioned principles to be subordinated to the pragmatism of best practice and migration management as well as the ambiguous imperatives of national security. Some readers may find that they crave a little more ethnography, particularly in Chapter 7, which expands back out from the work of rebordering, to the contexts of research. Nonetheless, this is a highly readable work, and Follis's conceptual framework, while carefully elaborated, is never heavy or imposing. As a prompt to unsettle how scholars think about when, where, and by whom Europe's borders get made, this text deserves to be widely taken up in advanced undergraduate courses. I hope that it will also become compulsory reading for EU officials charged with determining the institutional architecture of an expanding Europe, and a provocation to reflect on whom this rebordering excludes.

Peter Benson

Washington University in St. Louis

Balkan Smoke: Tobacco and the Making of Modern Bulgaria

Mary C. Neuburger (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012)

Balkan Smoke is a remarkable achievement. Mary Neuburger succeeds in presenting a valuable historical assessment of tobacco's rootedness and spread in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union at the same time as she provides a nuanced perspective on the wider politics of health, consumption, and state regulation during socialism and in the post-socialist period. The specific focus of the book is the tobacco trade in Bulgaria, which has been a main source of tobacco leaf and tobacco products for decades in the Soviet Union, home to a large-scale state tobacco monopoly. Bulgaria was once the world's leading cigarette exporter. By telling this story and looking in nuanced ways at politics and culture, this book adds greatly to our knowledge of tobacco's history.

The reader learns many vivid things about the history of tobacco in Bulgaria and what this lens illuminates when it comes to understanding life under the Soviet Union. Neuburger shows how producer and consumer histories overlap, tracing how the rise of tobacco agriculture and production in Bulgaria in the nineteenth century was linked to the growth of local and global consumer markets, including across segments of Ottoman and post-Ottoman Bulgarian society. The book probingly analyzes key contradictions of health and politics in the last century, while looking

at the competing regulatory inclinations and interventions of the Soviet state, which both promoted and regulated tobacco, and of the fraught relationship of communism to a commodity and a habit that came to represent market freedom, advanced consumerism, leisure, and pleasure. Neuburger looks at different ways that the communist ideology engaged with tobacco during different points in the twentieth century, so that tobacco was a defining touchstone for articulating wider debates about moral strength and character, communism and consumerism, class and leisure, and nationalism, among many other themes. Tracing tobacco in Bulgaria from the Ottoman period, through the Soviet decades, to recent history, this book does a great service. This is not simply because it provides a kind of sweeping panorama in ways that feel concrete and grounded, but also because it tells this story in such nuanced ways. This book is exceedingly well written and a pleasure to read.

As someone who also studies the tobacco industry, and the history and anthropology of industrial modernity more generally, *Balkan Smoke* is perhaps most helpful at a methodological level. It provides a model for how to study the tobacco and other industries. This book combines rich social history of changing patterns and practices of consumption with well-honed analytical perspectives that take on matters of state policy and public health politics, the integration of industrial interests into popular culture, and the role of the state and industry in promoting forms of public culture and mass publicity around tobacco. In this way, the book fits with a host of other recent books that reconstruct the history of tobacco by working up and down multiple levels of industry and society and emphasize a multifaceted approach involving interconnected analyses of public policy and statecraft, social and cultural history, and the study of material culture and everyday life. Through this approach to looking at multiple levels and scales, the book instructs the reader as to the multiform processes by which tobacco became predominant in Bulgaria as a producer commodity and a consumer item, and the geopolitics and biopolitics that must be recounted to apprehend this social life of tobacco consumption.

This book will find an interested readership across a range of fields, from history and anthropology to public health. It will be most useful for students of modern Eastern European history and the history of the Soviet Union. But it is also a crucial addition to the historical literature on tobacco and adds to this growing body of work another case study with which scholars can glean how tobacco, both production and consumption, have become historically embedded in different parts of the world. In this way, readers in fields like public health, history of medicine, and medical anthropology should gravitate to *Balkan Smoke* because it represents one of the best books on the history of tobacco. This book also makes a distinctive contribution to the study of socialism and post-socialism. What is most striking perhaps is the ways that it parses and analyzes the many contradictions of governance that defined the place of tobacco in Soviet society. Thus, readers interested in the central place of health, the politics of health, and efforts to regulate health in the context of state communism and during the Cold War will also find this book to be a welcome addition to the literature. All in all, this is a well-written, masterfully researched, and incisive study

of changing times and places, a commodity, its consequences, and the many layers of contradiction that define its history.

Greg Beckett

Bowdoin College

Markets of Sorrow, Labors of Faith: New Orleans in the Wake of Katrina

Vincanne Adams (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013)

Markets of Sorrow, Labors of Faith is an outstanding ethnographic and theoretical exploration of the profound structural transformations taking place in the social, economic, political, and moral institutions of the contemporary world. Adams begins with a warning that this book is “not about Hurricane Katrina” (p. 1). The hurricane and flood do, however, provide an analytic space for a deeper understanding of the underlying vulnerabilities that predated it and the spectacular failures of civic infrastructure that followed. “Katrina,” writes Adams, “was not just ‘another’ disaster. It was an indictment of the restructuring of America’s political economy as well as a visible window into the effects of this restructuring over the long haul. It was also a foreshadowing of a future that could belong to anyone, a catastrophic revelation of vulnerability not just of a few Americans but of an American way of life” (p. 181). In New Orleans, readers glimpse not just a failed recovery but also a new way of thinking about what recovery means and about what it means to be a subject who can—or cannot—make claims on social institutions for support and security.

Adams begins with an overview of the alignment of federal disaster response with neoliberal market fundamentalism. Perhaps the clearest example of this is the merger of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) with the Department of Homeland Security, which led to “government subcontracting processes that undermined the humanitarian capacities of the organization and enabled FEMA itself to become an instrument of profiteering” (p. 31). Much like foreign aid in the global arena, the billions in federal recovery funds after Katrina were disbursed through nongovernmental channels. In New Orleans, these nongovernmental organizations were mostly for-profit institutions that were given control of government aid programs without competitive bidding processes. In many cases, these same organizations were allowed to *create* the very programs they managed and were saved from any formal public accountability or oversight. Take for example ICF International, which designed the Road Home Program “in a way in which ICF would not have to show a record of successful or effective running of the program before obtaining the contract” (p. 83). As Adams shows, companies like ICF have taken over the responsibilities of managing the social safety net in a manner that has transformed access to public goods from a right that citizens have by virtue of membership in the political community to a choice managed by the market. Proponents of this shift claim that governments are inefficient compared to markets at distributing such goods, but what is really

happening is the transfer of public money to private organizations who use it to draw a profit with minimal risk or accountability. Private for-profit companies are neither accountable to the governments that give them contracts nor to the publics who ultimately fund them and whom their programs ostensibly serve. Rather, they are accountable to shareholders. "In order to show profits to stockholders," notes Adams, "companies like ICF must orchestrate a type of *bureaucratic failure* in order to allow profits to stay within the company long enough to raise quarterly and year-end fiscal calculations rather than being distributed downward to recipients who bring essentially no profit to the company" (p. 89).

The effects of this structural transformation have not been lost on the residents of New Orleans. Their collective experience with an unresponsive government and with private organizations that are unable or unwilling to disburse recovery funds to those in urgent need has contributed to the sense of a chronic crisis, in which a disaster that began with the hurricane continued in new form through the collapse of the main pillars of social security. Adams analyzes the resulting trauma by drawing on recent anthropological scholarship on affect. The results are quite remarkable, as Adams makes effective use of this framework to draw together two crucial aspects of the world she describes: the individual and collective experience of the unmaking of a way of life and the displacement of the right to recovery into a framework of moral choice bolstered by an ethics of volunteerism. Key to her analysis is what she calls the production and circulation of surplus affect.

Adams defines affect as "both a symptom of conditions of oppression and an overproduction of emotion that exceeds the conditions of its production and spills out over its edges like a pot too full" (p. 123). The surplus affect generated by this overflowing of emotions produces traumatized subjects. At the same time, it gives rise to a new economy in which emotions circulate and drive an ethical response to suffering. Just as this affect economy shapes international medical humanitarianism, so too does it shape the so-called grassroots response to Katrina, in which countless organizations participate in what Adams calls a "faith-based recovery." Yet again, this nongovernmental sector is said to offer a separate channel for the delivery of aid that is unmediated by the state. But in bypassing the state, the volunteer sector hides the fact that the supposed inefficiencies of the state are due to problems within the elaborate system of subcontracting and privatization. In economic terms, the circulation of affect pays big dividends through lucrative contracts and an elaborate system of unpaid labor. In political terms it transforms the foundations of the citizen-state relationship and makes recovery itself a moral choice. In the end, Adams shows how the case of New Orleans offers "all of us a privileged insight on the future that is in store for others who think they are out of harm's reach" (p. 188).

Written in a clear and concise style, with nuanced arguments and rich case histories, this book will appeal to a diverse audience and to readers interested in a wide range of topics, including: nongovernmental politics, political economy, political anthropology, the ethics of care, disaster studies, social justice, and theories of affect.

Connie McGuire

University of California, Irvine

Barrio Libre: Criminalizing States and Delinquent Refusals

Gilberto Rosas (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012)

Gilberto Rosas' book, *Barrio Libre: Criminalizing States and Delinquent Refusals*, gives an ethnographically and theoretically rich account of the lives and subject positions produced by multiple boundaries between the United States and Mexico, including the borders between licit and illicit economies, above and below ground, and civil (policing) and military responses to perceived threats to sovereignty. Rosas theorizes the U.S./Mexico border under neoliberal economic and security policies, describing this space as the "new frontier". This new frontier emerges literally at the border between the United States and Mexico, but it also extends to other social relations, including, for example, between people seeking housing and U.S. landowners who require potential tenants to present proof of status. The book narrates the lives of racialized and criminalized youth who inhabit sewer systems, a world literally beneath the land between Nogales, Sonora on the northern border of Mexico, and Nogales, Arizona, on the southern border of the United States. The youth survive, in part, by robbing or eliciting bribes from migrants attempting to pass through from Mexico to the United States. The book details the experiences of the marginalized youth who live in Barrio Libre as subjects of policing practice from both the U.S. and Mexican forces. Rosas argues that the youth who inhabit this dark, illicit, violent, and dangerous space called *Barrio Libre* (Free 'Hood), paradoxically also embody a unique sense of freedom produced in the contemporary moment of neoliberal globalization.

Barrio Libre exemplifies what Rosas calls "the necessarily incomplete sovereignty in the age of late neoliberal globalization" (p. 7). Barrio Libre can only exist because of neoliberal economic policies like NAFTA that naturalize conditions that encourage massive flows of migrants from Mexico to the United States. At the same time, Barrio Libre's hazards are created by the neoliberal security policies, that, in turn, have been developed to keep undocumented migrants out of the United States or deport them once inside. Expanding Agamben's notion of the camp as the space to which the marginal are relegated, Rosas theorizes Barrio Libre as the excess that cannot be enclosed into the camp.

The concise book uses well-chosen vignettes to show the reader ethnographically and theoretically what the point of view of the youth in Barrio Libre can teach scholars about contemporary racial and national politics with regard to migration and the construction of national security threats in Mexico and the United States. The first substantive chapter tackles three chunks of history to illuminate the origins of contemporary racial discourses about immigration from the United States to Mexico that have emerged from centuries of boundary making in the disputed

territory between the present-day Mexican northwest and the American Southwest. Academically, the chapter makes an excellent contribution by performing a border blurring itself, bringing into conversation literatures from Latina/o Studies and Latin American Studies that reveal and deconstruct the politics of disciplinary boundaries and the limitations of both fields on their own. A pair of chapters, “Against Mexico” and “Against the United States,” examine the instrumental role that state policing and security apparatuses played in the emergence and consolidation of Barrio Libre and the intensification of violence there. This is a dynamic also documented in Central America where Central American and U.S. policing and security interventions on supposed gangs also contributed to increasing consolidation of loosely organized groups of youth into more robust gangs. Another chapter argues that when the youth of Barrio Libre, *cholos*, or gang members, that target migrants, *chúntaros*, they act through the same racialized logics of official state apparatus that aims to control migration. Thus, the cholos are the dark underside enforcers of official state security policies. In the final substantive chapter, Rosas draws on ethnographic material from interviews with youth who move in and out of Barrio Libre, and argues that they can be characterized as neither victims of their circumstances, nor as resistant heroes. Rather, Rosas claims that the youth of Barrio Libre embrace the precariousness of life below and its proximity to death to defy the configuration of the neoliberal border, the new frontier.

As security plays a central role in the U.S. Congressional debates about comprehensive immigration reform, this book should be read by those who support progressive movements and promote the notion that migration is a human right. Rosas aptly denaturalizes the assumptions behind liberal immigration reform advocacy platforms and draws attention to the conditions of violence and inequity that compel people to migrate. Readers are reminded that many migrants might rather stay home, or that, in the case of the youth of Barrio Libre, they may find freedom in the dark underworld at the new frontier. Building on the notion of “*el derecho de no migrar*” [the right to not migrate], the book focuses on the structural conditions and politics that produce migrants and the policing bodies and criminal bodies that manage migrants on both sides of the border. Ultimately, Rosas argues against normative assumptions about the politics of migration and, instead, advocates embracing the marginal, delinquent, and the deadly as productive, alternative imaginings of the future.

Omolade Adunbi

University of Michigan

Resources for Reform: Oil and Neoliberalism in Argentina

Elana Shever (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012)

Global oil politics, which is one of the defining issues of neoliberalism, is nevertheless frequently neglected when scholars analyze neoliberalism. Using Argentina as a

case study, Elana Shever begins to address this gap by opening a new ethnographic window towards understanding how big oil continues to play a key role in shaping national politics. The ethnography's framing event is the national—and interestingly, state-organized—boycott of Shell and ExxonMobil. *Resources for Reform* points out that the boycott, which came to be known as La Pueblada, should not be seen as a rejection of neoliberalism, but rather that scholars should see neoliberalism as a family tree with “multiple roots and tangled shoots whose web is denser in some spots than in the others” because neoliberal practices differ from place to place (p. 210). She suggests that, “For too long anthropologists took neoliberalism as the ground undergirding the problems they were analyzing but not as an object of analysis itself,” pointing out anthropologists' propensity to focus on marginalized communities' resistance to neoliberalism, without paying attention to the communities actively engaged in promoting neoliberal ideals (p. 6). It is within this context that the Argentine state's role in organizing the national boycott becomes crucial, for the boycott rejects some modes of neoliberalism while also reproducing others. Furthermore, the state used the boycott to promote a neoliberal model of citizenship that is fuelled by the corporatization of state-owned public services. The boycott thus becomes a form of “resurgence of petroleum nationalism that characterized twentieth century Argentina and an expression of the configuration of society with its polarization of wealth and privilege” (p. 15).

Shever argues that oil and neoliberalism are conjoined twins that the Argentine state considers both a national treasure and natural resource with the capacity to engineer social, political and economic change. Shever suggests a proper understanding of how *peronism* is embedded in oil politics is critical for a broader grasp of Argentina's production and reproduction of neoliberal rhetoric over the years. She first notes that Argentine *neoliberalismo* rests on three crucial aspects that differentiate it from neoliberalism broadly defined: “the privatization of state entities and services, the opening of national markets to transnational corporations, and the weakening of organized labor” (p. 11). If neoliberalism is about competition, Argentina's neoliberalismo, on the contrary, strengthens the hands of the state in regulating the economy. One of neoliberalismo's cardinal principles is the privatization of state-owned companies and public services, such as the oil company YPF. Thus, while neoliberalism is primarily seen in academic literature as the deregulation of the entire economy, *Resources for Reform* demonstrates how “YPF's privatization shows that the process of neoliberal restructuring did not eliminate market regulation . . . but rather replaced state management with corporate management” (p. 12). The outcome of this form of privatization for Argentina, as in many countries experiencing neoliberalism, is an increase in inequalities, poverty, hunger, and the erosion of the middle class.

Chapter 1 highlights how the privatization process in Argentina transformed state responsibilities into individual responsibilities. After YPF privatization, many of its workers, known as *YPFianos*, later became subcontractors for the newly privatized company. The shift from being public servants to becoming so-called independent business owners strengthened kin relationships among YPFianos. While the state envisaged the shift from publicly-owned to privately-owned YPF as moving Ar-

gentina, as well as its citizens, into the putative First World, this shift created its own rupture. Firstly, it transferred responsibilities for unemployment and a failed welfare system to the shoulders of workers, and secondly, it introduced a decentralized form of governance under which individuals become self-regulatory subjects responsible for themselves and their kin, allowing the state to shirk its obligations to its citizens.

Chapter 2 shows how the deployment of neoliberalismo further strengthened the Argentine state's hold on the oil industry through the process of creating a "privatized public" (p. 76). In privatizing the oil industry, the Argentine state claimed to create a space for private ownership of formerly state-owned corporations. But contrary to the rhetoric of inclusion, the privatization program ended up creating a fractionally "privately owned public company" (p. 95). In privatizing YPF, claims of national ownership exemplified by inclusion of workers and other Argentines were replaced by the claims of corporate overlords and their stockholders. However, Shever insists that examining the legalities alone is not sufficient for understanding the public effects of privatization process. La Pueblada was not, as many believe, an attempt at resisting neoliberalismo, but rather, it was an expression of anger over the perceived exclusion of many erstwhile YPFianos from neoliberalismo. YPFianos' kinship ties therefore become an organizing principle for framing La Pueblada as a social justice protest that might include many YPFianos in the privatization process.

Chapter 3, aptly titled, "Fuelling Consumer Citizenship," uses the boycott to illustrate the fluidity of citizenship claims. Peron's era in Argentina reformulated citizenship in terms of class whereas the Kirscher regime, building on this foundation, uses citizenship to advance an ideal mode of consumption, using "discursive techniques to encourage Argentines to choose certain transnationally produced commodities over others, rather than legal techniques to set prices or restrict imports" (p. 36). Good citizens are defined as those who consume what the state considers to be appropriate and in the national interest (in this case YPF-Repsol products). Those who consume otherwise (for example, by buying Shell or ExxonMobil products) act in a treasonable manner. By promoting citizenship this way, consuming brands sanctioned by the state becomes an act of nationalism. Shever shows how the boycott in itself is neoliberal, suggesting "it combined Peronist notions of citizenship with liberal ones in a way that was compatible with the globalized and privatized oil industry of the twenty-first century" (p. 134). This chapter most clearly articulates the book's argument that neoliberalism in Argentina is a process constantly being reproduced by different regimes, rather than a process that is new and in alignment with the global rhetoric of neoliberalism.

The last chapter builds on this notion of consumer citizenship by demonstrating how Shell and ExxonMobil responded in kind, embarking on a variety of corporate social responsibility programs aimed at reformulating their public image. What is new about this approach, as argued by Shever, is its effectiveness in feminizing Shell's public image in Argentina. Creating bonds becomes an attempt by Shell to redefine itself as a putatively caring corporate citizen whose interest is in protecting and nurturing relationships. Thus Shell projects itself as building partners within communities in

ways that symbolically feminize the company as a woman who cares for her family and neighbors.

Throughout the book, Shever draws attention to the fluidity of neoliberalism across time and space suggesting that neoliberal practices are dissimilar. If neoliberal practices are not similar, will its footprints of growing social inequalities occasioned by hunger, diseases, unemployment and erosion of the middle class also be seen as dissimilar? The book also fails to consider if the notion of corporate social responsibility as a one-fit-all solution by corporations should be seen more as a neoliberal form that attempts to transfer state's social responsibilities to its citizens and not merely as a means of creating bonds by corporations. Despite these limitations, *Resources for Reform* is a well-crafted contribution to the growing list of anthropological scholarship engaged in theorizing the relationship between oil and people.