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Books reviewed this issue:

Zibechi, Raúl. Translated by Ramor Ryan. (2012). *Territories in resistance: A cartography of Latin American social movements*. Oakland: AK Press. 364 pp. Paperback (\$19.95, £14.00).

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Reviewed by Jonny Keyworth

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Reviewed by Hleziphi Naomie Nyanungo

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Scholl, Christian. (2012). *Two sides of a barricade: (Dis)order and summit protest in Europe*. New York : SUNY Press. Paperback \$29.95

Reviewed by Ana Margarida Esteves

Te Punga Somerville, Alice. (2012). *Once Were Pacific: Māori connections to Oceania*. University of Minnesota Press. 296 pp. Paperback.

Reviewed by Ella Henry

Zibechi, Raúl. Translated by Ramor Ryan. (2012). *Territories in resistance: A cartography of Latin American social movements*. Oakland: AK Press. 364 pp. Paperback (\$19.95, £14.00)

Reviewed by **Colleen Hackett**

In his book, *Territories in resistance: A cartography of Latin American social movements*, Raúl Zibechi undertakes the massive task of synthesizing the forms, achievements, potentialities, and challenges of the multitude of popular resistance movements throughout Latin America over the past four decades. His case studies are based on popular resistance movements throughout the southern cone and other parts of Latin America, such as the piqueteros of Argentina, the indigenous Mapuche of Chile, the landless workers' movement of southern Brazil, the Zapatistas of Mexico, the reclaimed territories of El Alto, Bolivia, the community schooling projects of Bogota, Colombia, the citizens' movement of Ecuador, and the women-led self-managed kitchens in Lima.

Zibechi argues that neoliberal economic models, such as free trade agreements and other privatization programs, have resulted in the re-colonization and displacement of historically excluded groups such as indigenous groups, Afro-Latinas, and those living in extreme poverty. This populace often physically and socially occupies the "subterranean level of society" (p. 55), geographically living on the periphery of urban centres and socially stripped of access to citizenship. With this in mind, Zibechi then provides a rich theoretical basis for understanding the resilient capacities, as well as the susceptibility for dissolution, among several communities in the face of the many destructive forces of neoliberal capitalism in Latin America. He situates the depth of historical oppression and struggle of each group under investigation, but he often spends more time on the ways in which these groups "are opening up their own spaces in a process of struggle in which they develop as subjects; spaces that they create, design, and control" (Zibechi 2012: 67).

Central to Zibechi's analysis is the notion of the 'territorialization of movement.' Zibechi defines territory as "the space in which to build a new social organization collectively, where subjects take shape and materially and symbolically appropriate their space" (p. 19). These spaces are shaped by the need to collectively survive from the predatory consequences of capitalism, and as such communities premise their social relations on mutual aid, cooperation, and horizontal decision-making. Dense networks of social reciprocity help to constitute, and are in turn constituted by, a community's fulfilment of local emancipatory needs, whether they be popular education, health care, or the production of food and other necessities.

Zibechi further points out that those groups who have such strong internal affiliation and who have fulfilled their own material needs are less susceptible, although not necessarily invincible to, interference such as state repression, economic crises, or political cooptation. Just one example Zibechi uses for this

(and there are many other cases in point) are the recuperated factories in Argentina. One of the worker-reclaimed and horizontally organized companies that, under privatized rule had massive closures throughout the 1990s, sought to enhance community solidarity. The workers at El Aguante Cooperative in Buenos Aires not only provided the affordable bread to the residents of their shared community, but they also organized and participated in neighbourhood assemblies, festivals, May Day ceremonies, and public dialogues. The cooperative was able to resist eviction with help from neighbourhood residents who camped with the workers for forty-five days. As Zibechi states, “this exceptional case reveals how a social struggle can redraw territories and establish linkages where indifference was once the norm” (p. 96). The new boundaries drawn by the mutually cooperative partnership between factory workers and the community exclude capital’s power to organize social relations, alienate workers from their labour and from the consumers of their product.

I believe that one of Zibechi’s greatest contributions in *Territories in Resistance* is the detail in which he pays to the construction of non-capitalist social relations within popular resistance movements. These alternative spaces are ‘ways of life,’ or counter-hegemonic worldviews, that are espoused by many ‘societies in movement’ as a crucial component to the maintenance of political autonomy and the resistance to neoliberal forms of repression and governance. According to Zibechi, these subaltern perspectives are often partial, incomplete, or fragmented, as there are no recipes or templates for spontaneous and emancipatory alternatives. It is this ‘other-world’ view that Zibechi finds favourable to the homogenizing force of the state that, to the behest of those people living on the margins, collapses all differences based on ethnicity, gender, or class into a generalized, superficial category that eludes meaningful societal transformations. Instead, the cosmovision among indigenous cultures and those popular groups that prioritizes non-capitalist relations also “strives to make intercultural learning an art of understanding and translation, allowing us to fertilize our thoughts with different agendas, arising from different cosmovisions that are not intended to be all embracing, but rather local experiences that are just as important as those considered ‘central’” (p. 57). The honour given equally to all ways of thought, worldviews, and lifestyles are part of the decolonization project that, in conjunction with other aspects of movement building, should eliminate the propensity for domination.

Another aspect of the symbolic defense used by the more successful resistance efforts in Latin America, as identified by Zibechi, is the fostering of a cultural identity and collective self-awareness that is nurtured by the relationship between political subjects and their territory. Zibechi states that the territorialization of resistance helps to crystallize liberatory identities and discourses by starting with the places occupied by marginalized groups who “refuse – explicitly and consciously – to accept the role of subordinates or ‘excluded’ that the system has reserved for them” (p. 87). Many indigenous ‘societies in movement’ are recovering traditional knowledges, especially in health care, as a way to decolonize information from the state and private industry, and to become more self-determined and autonomous. Movements

are also creating spaces for open dialogue among themselves and as a way of ‘performing’ revolution. It is this non-capitalist space that is thought to facilitate the challenge to oppressive forces, both internal and external to the movement.

Yet the specific discussion of how oppressive practices may be replicated within societies in movement is surprisingly absent in Zibechi’s book. For instance, Zibechi sporadically mentions the changing role of women and the new gender relations found in the territorial organizations of Latin America, yet his evidence for such change is quite sparse. He does reference the Zapatistas’ admission of the sluggish pace to improvements in gender equity (p. 139), yet does not afford any explanation to this, and instead glosses over this point to emphasize the slowness that may be inherent to the process of ‘reinventing tradition.’ Surely, relations rooted in centuries of patriarchy will take much effort to overturn, and generally speaking women within the Zapatista movement do occupy higher statuses. The Revolutionary Women’s Law passed in 1993 by the Zapatistas establishes concrete declarations of the equal standing that women should hold. Yet we cannot omit the gaps “between rhetoric and reality”, and, as Subcomandante Marcos recognized in a 2004 communiqué: “Even though Zapatista women have had a fundamental role in the resistance, respect for their rights is still, in some cases, just a declaration on paper” (Klein 2008).

Zibechi concludes his book on the dangers faced by popular resistance movements in Latin America. His heedful warnings of the destructive capabilities of the ‘new forms of domination’ can benefit all types of activists from other movements around the world, which I find to be of particular value. Zibechi contends that extreme forms of political repression are outmoded and, because of their overtly violent nature, may actually encourage revolt by strong communities that act in self-defense. Instead, the threat emerges “under progressive governments, [*because*] current movements become weaker, more fragmented, and more isolated than ever” (p. 293). The reason is that leftist governmental regimes subtly operate their power in order to regulate social marginality and increase public loyalty through creating the illusion of participatory politics while simultaneously preserving the interests of the state. Zibechi aptly calls this the ‘art of governing the movements.’ Sometimes social movements are co-opted by the state’s encouragement of activists and movement ‘leaders’ to take governmental positions, which, as Zibechi illustrates, almost always results in the adoption of state interests (which also can translate to favouring capital), over the interests of the people. Zibechi concludes on the point that state co-optation destroys the intensive networks of mutual aid and social reciprocity that non-capitalist movements were originally founded on, while leaving these very movements susceptible to the state’s agenda.

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About the review author

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Dwyer, Peter and Leo Zeilig. (2012). *African struggles today: Social movements since independence*. Haymarket Books. 260 pp. Paperback.

Reviewed by **Jonny Keyworth**

In light of the uprisings across North Africa which have been sewn into the ‘Arab Spring’ discourse, Dwyer and Zeilig’s aim to strengthen and embolden activists and their movements in sub Saharan Africa by giving them their place in the political analysis of sub Saharan Africa, is particularly poignant, as activism from south of the Sahara is often overlooked from radical perspectives. Indeed, Dwyer and Zeilig see themselves carrying on the tradition of studying history from ‘the view from below,’ spearheaded by eminent Marxist historian E.P. Thompson who sought to shed light on “the blind alleys, the lost causes and the losers themselves” (pg. 4).

By arguing that there has been great neglect of African social movements in analyses of African society, the authors present their analysis as a midpoint between the two dominant viewpoints of: seeing social movements as authentic and ‘of the people,’ and merely being the puppets of their Western funders. The ‘great neglect’ that African social movements had experienced in relation to analyses of modern African society is the drive of the authors -- they hope to “place social movements at the center of the analysis of postcolonial African political change” and underline their capacity to unite the “coalitions of the discontented” (pg. 2).

The authors adopt a historical materialist approach in a relatively Orthodox Marxist style, as they seek to restore the agency of social movements and activists and draw an overview of the dialectics of political change in modern Africa, so they thus reject orthodox studies of social movements that conceptualise politics as governance and social movements as the embodiment of the Gramscian civil society, with the masses merely passive victims. We can thus see the last 50 years of African history as part of a process of: An Epoch of Uprisings - Cracks in the Monolith - Frustrated Transitions. This allows us to understand a sometimes messy and disjointed history and social movements’ place within these historical stages.

The central disjuncture for African social movements that the authors pinpoint is the difficulty of the transition from movements as anti-colonial coalitions, to movements within the framework of the State. It is this movement that has presented opportunity yet challenge, and is one that movements are still struggling with today. Dwyer and Zeilig use the examples of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe, and South Africa to highlight this point. Indeed the authors aptly term this phenomenon as ‘Frustrated Transitions’ -- the fervour surrounding independence has failed to be turned into progressive political change, with the three chosen countries as good examples of this

‘frustration.’ The DRC’s move from Lumumba’s populism to the patrimonialism of the Mobutu era to the ongoing conflict in the Kivus today; ZANU-PF’s descent from party of liberation to party of oppression and authoritarianism, and the ANC’s gradual move towards neo-liberalism, each offer testament to this argument.

The authors rightly ask -- democratic transition to what? It is here that they draw conclusions about the nature of the African state which has been left with limited capacity to either crush social movements outright due to hostile global economic conditions for African states, or have the ability to listen and respond to their demands, again because of economic restrictions but also because of political reasons. Dwyer and Zeilig note that whilst it has been a process of profound disappointment, they refrain from nihilism that often populates radical Africanists, that is, ‘the tragedy of Africa’ narrative. The authors conclude that this process has opened up the space for social movements to pursue their demands and due to globalisation’s stripping of the state’s sovereign decision-making power, social movements can now look across borders for allies to present alternatives to capitalist globalisation. Yet the key issues that African social movements are struggling around have not been adequately articulated by African social movements; and according to Dwyer and Zeilig, this is due to the fractured nature of globalisation.

Thus the central question of the book is a crucial one -- which way forward for African anti-capitalism? The authors are concerned with the concept of ‘transition’ due to their historical materialist approach, and hence the aforementioned question is tackled in the form of a response to where activists are in the current transition in their section on ‘an epoch of uprisings’ which takes us from 1945 and the rush to independence, up until 1998 and the period dubbed as the ‘democratic transition’ period. Dwyer and Zeilig skillfully trace social movements’ rise and fall throughout the end of the 20th century, demarcating the key strands of radical politics in Africa since 1945---the labour movement, religious movements, the womens’ movement, the peasantry and students/intellectuals. However the book does not focus specifically on any strand of the African anti-capitalism in the attempt to paint a broad overview of the current political situation. This perhaps would have been useful as it would have drawn greater attention to what the issues and ideologies that African social movements are struggling over.

It is from here that Dwyer and Zeilig draw their critique of civil society organisations and the social forums in Lusaka 2003, Harare 2005 and Nairobi 2007, and also the first World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil 2001. The main issues for social movements in the current historical stage are outlined as unity, organisation and globalization. Yet the authors’ overriding critique is a contradictory one, in that they note the significance of what Hardt and Negri have called “a new democratic cosmopolitanism, a new anti-capitalist transnationalism, a new intellectual nomadism, a great movement of the multitude” (pg. 210), and the move away from hierarchical forms of organisation that dominated the global Left in the 20th century.

Dwyer and Zeilig follow this by claiming that anti-hierarchical forms of organisation are problematic, and lead to ‘informal elites’ -- a brush they also use to tar the women’s movement. Dwyer and Zeilig conclude that the anti-capitalist movement in Africa has failed in developing meaningful alternatives to “actually existing” globalisation (pg. 234), and note the declining significance of the social forums in recent years. African social movements have been unable to build unity due to the divergent of perspectives of how globalisation affects the region.

The authors discuss The World Social Forum in Nairobi in 2007 as a useful example that underlines the issues for the global Left in the 21st century. The Forum highlights both points for optimism but also points for disappointment. It was perhaps the largest continent-wide non-governmental event in sub-Saharan Africa and was organised and facilitated by movements themselves. Yet the Forum was in many ways a ‘talk shop,’ with little desire to discuss a common agenda and most of the sessions revolved around the event itself. The professionalisation of movements, from the influence of NGOs and development discourse, narrows movements into sectoral single issues machines (often to satisfy funders) rather than political vehicles for disgruntlements and radical ideas. It is here that it might have been worthwhile for the authors to discuss either Abahlali baseMjondolo from South Africa or Bunge la Mwananchi from Kenya, as possible different organisational structures. The authors are quick to question the post-Seattle social movement activists and their brand of anti-globalisation and related organisational structures, and indeed the ‘horizontalist’ trend has not borne much political fruit. But Dwyer and Zeilig offer of the models of Latin America and China as possible alternatives to this situation is problematic.

The book indeed allows us to ‘navigate through the mess, clear up confusion, and expose contradiction’, and by articulating sub Saharan African movement’s ‘constrained agency’. Dwyer and Zeilig’s book is a significant step forward in the discourse of radical politics in sub Saharan Africa, and should be applauded for its intention to break stereotypes, and also ignorance, of African struggles. What the authors offer us is a solidly Marxist approach to Social Movements in Africa which seeks to explain the transitions in African society, that have led to current political situation of social movements, and offer us insights to the nature of African anticapitalism, and the fractured process of the transition to independence, the difficulty surrounding unity and a lack of a cohesive organising agenda around issues relating to neo-liberal globalisation. Do the authors offer a path forward for activists organising and struggling in Africa today? Perhaps not, but the succinct history and narrative that they have drawn is a useful tool for activists across the continent, to learn from previous struggles and understand the struggles of today in their wider historical context. There is a debate to be had as to whether the authors ‘revolutionary socialist’ analysis is a relevant model to African activists today, but at least Dwyer and Zeilig have begun that debate.

About the review author

Jonny Keyworth is a graduate of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London, where he studied a Masters in African Politics, with his dissertation researching Trade Unions and the challenge of informalism in Tanzania. Currently working in employment support in Edinburgh where he is a member of the Unite union, whilst working in an advisory role for a Tanzanian rural development charity based in Edinburgh. His email is jon.key AT googlemail.com.

Bush, D. Roderick. (2009). *The End of White Supremacy: Black Internationalism and the Problem of the Color Line*. Temple University Press, Philadelphia. Paperback.

Reviewed by **Hleziphi Naomie Nyanungo**

In *The End of White World Supremacy*, Roderick Bush critically discusses the various social movements that sought to bring about racial equality in the United States. With detailed examples, Bush demonstrates how the 1960s social movements in the United States of America were part of a global social movement that challenged white supremacy the world over. For instance, Bush locates the “the New Negro, civil rights, and Black Power phases of the Black freedom struggle in a larger tradition with sites in the United States, the Caribbean, and Africa and among the social and national movements of the Three Continents” (p. 12).

Bush argues that racist oppression and humiliation did not only affect Africans in Sub-Saharan Africa, but also people of African descent who were in the Americas and Europe. In the Americas, blacks were enslaved, while in Africa blacks were colonized. It is within this intellectual framework that Bush argues that the Black Freedom struggle is part of an international struggle for freedom. According to Bush, in their struggle for freedom blacks utilize the ideology of Black Nationalism as the vehicle for resistance. He defines the ideology of Black Nationalism as a “reaction of formerly disparate groups of African descent to a sense of mutual oppression and humiliation” (p. 16). The struggle for Black freedom, that is to say freedom from racial oppression, was organized around this common experience, and not a common cultural heritage, loyalty, or tradition. Black Nationalism was therefore an international struggle in that black peoples were considered to be one nation fighting different manifestations of racial oppression across the world.

In great detail, Bush lays out the rich historical background of the Black Nationalist movement in the United States and beyond. He draws on the works of scholars and activists such as W.E. B Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., Marcus Garvey, and C.L.R James to contextualize his thesis. The author specifically looks at various movements that were a part of the civil rights movement. These include the student movement, the civil rights movement, and the womanist (or black feminist) movement. The point made is that the movements were not isolated but connected to broader social movements against equality and prejudice along the lines of race, class, and gender.

Bush uses the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU) formed at North Carolina A&T State University as a case study of Black Nationalism that is internationalist in essence. SOBU, later renamed to Youth Organizational for Black Unity (YOBUB), is described as a Pan-African student organization that

was “national in form and internationalist in scope” (p. 44). According to Bush, the work of this organization and others like it reveals their recognition of the international nature of the black struggle as they supported anti-apartheid movements in South Africa and nation-building movements in other countries of Africa while at the same time challenging the racist system in the USA.

Bush also explores the inherent dilemma of social movements where on one hand social justice issues are interlinked and yet it is not possible to address them all simultaneously. He points out that the movement to abolish slavery did not only challenge racial configurations of American society, but also challenged the constructions of labour and treatment of workers. Although not explicitly and certainly to a lesser extent, the movement to abolish slavery also challenged patriarchal notions embedded in society. The same is true for the civil rights movement and black student movements. Perhaps the lesson here is that no cause is isolated from other causes. Thus, when a social movement focuses on one cause and ignores or neglects related issues, it is likely to weaken the movement or perpetuate the oppression of a certain groups.

A question that arises from this debate is: How do activists make the decision about which cause to prioritize? The book reveals that there is no easy or clear cut answer to this but it is an important consideration in social movements as there are significant implications to deciding what issues to make priority. One of those implications is that the choice determines who becomes ally or enemy to the movement. Allies and enemies is a recurring theme in the book. Allies and enemies from both within and beyond the specific movements in the African-American struggle for equality are brought to light in the book. Bush explains the forming and breaking of alliances within the movements. One example of such is what appears to be a rather contentious relationship between two key figures in the African-American struggle for freedom, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B Dubois. Bush describes Washington as an accommodationist whose approach to addressing racial oppression was in direct contrast to the more radical Dubois. For readers who are familiar with these names but do not have a good grasp of their positions and approaches to the race issue, *The End of White World Supremacy* provides a rich descriptive and balanced explanation of these and other prominent well known (as well as lesser known) figures in the African-American struggle.

Although activists and scholars of colour in particular will find this book useful, the book offers critical insight for radical activists who are interested in building social movements that are based on anti-racist values. The most important lesson that I took out of the book is the importance of cultivating solidarity among social movements. While not a new idea, this notion invites social activists to explore new possibilities for bridging connections and strengthening social movements all over the world.

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Rahier, Jean Muteba. (2012). *Black social movements in Latin America: from monocultural mestizaje to multiculturalism*. Palgrave Macmillan. 250 pp. Hardcover.

Reviewed by **Mandisi Majavu**

'Black social movements in Latin America' is a collection of essays that explore the situation of Afrodescendants' political activism in Latin America. According to Jean Rahier, the editor of this volume, for years, the official history of many Latin American countries did not acknowledge the presence of Afrodescendants in Latin America. Rahier explains that in the early 1980s, Afrodescendant organizations developed in accordance with the specificity of their national political climate and demanded full recognition of Afrodescendants as citizens. And, between the 1980s and the late 2000s, these organizations went through a similar political trajectory--from ideological monocultural mestizaje and "invisibility" to multiculturalism and state co-optation.

Monocultural mestizaje refers to the historical fact that national identities of many Latin American countries were, for many years, imagined as a mestizo identity. As far as Rahier is concerned, the introduction of multiculturalism in the 1990s did not disrupt the hegemonic ideological mestizaje. Catherine Walsh argues in chapter one that the multicultural reforms that were introduced by some Latin American governments in the 1990s were not initially designed to meet the demands of Afrodescendant organizations. Rather the multicultural constitutional reforms "had as their conception and base indigenous recognition; African descendants, if mentioned at all" were an afterthought.

The theme that runs through the different chapters of the book is the exploration of strategies that Latin American states deploy to co-opt social movements. The notion of co-optation of leaders of black social movements refers to the fact that the late 2000s and early 2010s saw Afrodescendants participate at the higher echelons of state institutions in many Latin American countries. According to Rahier, the inclusion of leaders of black social movements in the apparatus of the state has complicated political struggles, while, at the same time, it has allowed for some improvement in the landscape of race relations in Latin America. Catherine Walsh argues that the inclusion of Afrodescendants in the apparatus of the progressive states of Latin America has benefited Afrodescendants. In these states the concerns of African descendant peoples are not only made visible, but racism and discrimination are named.

Additionally, progressive states in Latin America have gone as far as to adopt new constitutions that acknowledge Afrodescendants' existence. Carlos Benedito Rodrigues da Silva questions the idea of co-optation of social movements. In chapter ten, he writes that "if we hold to the notion of co-optation... we miss the opportunity to expand dialogue and increase the risk of self-entrapment in a straightjacket, reviving the difficulties faced by the

organizations that preceded us” (p. 195). Da Silva is of the view that as much as maintaining autonomy is important for black social movements, it is equally important not to lose sight of the need for a qualified dialogue with the state. He further points out that in Brazil the dialogue between the Brazilian government and black activists has facilitated the inclusion of racial issues in government agendas and drew attention to the processes of black exclusion in the sociopolitical life of the country.

In some countries like Honduras, however, co-optation of leaders of social movements has had negative effects. For instance, instead of passing constitutional reforms that recognize black rights, the Lobo government created the Secretariat of Indigenous and Afro-Honduran Peoples. The rationale behind the creation of the Secretariat is to legitimize a government that came to power through the coup, explains Mark Anderson. According to Anderson, Afrodescendant activists have critiqued the lack of consultation in the process of creating the Secretariat. Moreover, activists involved in the Assembly of Indigenous and Black peoples criticise the Lobo government for furthering “the invasion of indigenous and Black territories’ via the concessions of rivers to create private hydroelectric dams in the Mosquita and in Lenca territories; mineral exploitation; militarization of territories; tourist projects; and model cities” (Anderson 2012: 68).

Another theme that runs through the different chapters of the book is the exploration of how neoliberal projects and the politics of multiculturalism served as the backdrop to the development of Afrodescendant organizations. For instance, Carlos Agudelo points out that financial institutions like the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) were instrumental in the development of politics of recognition in Latin America. The IDB in particular was the first financial institution that gave attention to the situation of Latin American Afro-descendants, writes Walsh. According to Fontaine, the IDB and the World Bank have at one time or another designed and implemented programmes targeting the conditions of Afro-descendants. De La Torre and Sanchez writes that in Ecuador, the World Bank went as far as to create policies for ethno-development based on the idea of fomenting social capital among indigenous people and Afro-Ecuadorians.

The involvement of financial institutions in the development of multicultural policies in Latin America compels Catherine Walsh to ask whether the political gains made by Afrodescendants organizations “portend to radically transform the structures of domination and power that have intertwined the interests of capitalism and the rhetoric of citizenship and democracy with the use of the idea of race?” (p. 16). At this juncture it is important to remember that Audre Lorde once wrote that “the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house.” In many ways the essays in this volume grapple with Audre Lorde’s insight by investigating the politics of the Afrodescendant organizations and by trying to make sense of the political gains made by Afrodescendant organizations in different Latin American states. It is for this reason that social movements will find this book useful.

About the review author

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Scholl, Christian. (2012). *Two Sides of a Barricade: (Dis)order and summit protest in Europe*. SUNY Press: New York. Paperback \$29.95.

Reviewed by **Ana Margarida Esteves**

Two Sides of a Barricade has the wake-up call effect of a cold shower after a night of peaceful slumber. This is the kind of book that should be read by any academic who claims to use her or his scholarly authority for “emancipatory” purposes. It is a brilliant expose of how corporate globalization promotes, in the words of Vandana Shiva (2011), a merger between the corporations and the state and the emergence of a hybrid political form -- the corporate state. Such hybridization leads liberal representative democracy to turn itself against the freedoms it is supposed to protect when corporate interests are at stake.

Naturally, as Scholl points out, such context makes it necessary and urgent to incorporate social control studies in the analysis of liberal democratic regimes. Based on his insider position in European protest movements, Scholl makes an institutional ethnography of the biopolitical dimension of summit protest management in Europe. He basis his analysis on participant observation, as well as interviews and documents from which one can reconstruct the history of repression and surveillance of summit protest since the 2000 mobilizations against the meeting of the IMF and the World Bank in Prague to those of 2007 against the Heiligendamm summit.

Scholl presents protesters as “brokers” between groups oppressed by global capitalism and the elites that meet and negotiate their interests at summits. The focus of Scholl’s analysis is the barricade, presented as a moment of confrontation between manifestations of the hegemonic forces of global capitalism and its counter-hegemonic opposition, materialized in the bodies of police and military forces on the one hand, and those of protesters on the other. Such confrontation lays bare the political nature of social control in summits, and more generally the structurally violent nature of the liberal democratic state in the context of global capitalism. Scholl’s standpoint indicates that the purpose of the social control of protests in summits is not to protect people, property, or civil rights, as it is usually claimed by authorities, but to make sure that summits happen and global elites coordinate their interests without disruption, despite the protests on the streets. However, the political nature of such form of social control is supported and reinforced by a proceduralist approach to politics that is “anti-political,” in the sense that it uses the logic of bureaucratic administration to silence counter-hegemonic dissent and render it invisible in the public sphere. Such totalizing logic reduces the antagonistic character of social relations to a mere procedural matter to be managed according to supposedly “objective” technical criteria by expert administrators. It also renders invisible the actual lack of “objectivity” of those criteria, which reveals itself in the way in which the conflict mediating function of the liberal

democratic state tends to be biased towards the defense of dominant economic interests.

Through the study of the interaction between authorities and protesters in such context, Scholl develops an analytical framework focusing on four contested sites of struggle that structure those interactions: the use of bodies, of space, of communication, and of legal means. Such framework is used to analyze how four tactics used by street protesters to contest global hegemonic power relations asserts a “disobedient body” versus the “hegemonic docile body”, a product of disciplinary control. Such tactics are the “White Overalls,” “Pink & Silver,” the “Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army,” and black blocks. Situating these tactics in the street in the context for disciplinary tactics, Scholl shows how the interaction between summit protesters and authorities, between 2000 and 2007, resulted in an escalation in methods of social control to a level that one normally tends to associate with the “Years of Lead” in 1970’s Europe. Such methods include the preemptive arrest of scholars for the simple fact of befriending protest organizers. They also include forms of infiltration and surveillance that have the effect of promoting the internalization of social control, to the extent of eroding or creating barriers to the emergence of a collective memory of struggle, therefore leading to a depoliticization of conflict and the framing of moments of struggle as separate, isolated disruptive events. That happens through the enforcement of a level of self-censorship among protestors that limits the sharing of information among protesters and the co-creation of narratives that counter the “official” accounts of the status quo. Still, the escalation and increasing transnational coordination of social control by authorities is responded with increased transnational coordination among protest groups, which in its turn promotes tactical innovation. Scholl does not make a normative assessment of this process, focusing instead on how it is socially coordinated by trans-local power relations that exceed the moment of street interactions. Instead of explaining control in terms of preexisting categories, the author explores how the doing of dissent interacts with the controlling of dissent.

Scholl’s book also raises bold questions about the disciplinary effects of the institutional dynamics of academia on social movement research. For instance, Scholl’s standpoint and frame of analysis invites the reader to ask uncomfortable, but necessary questions about the extent to which the methods used for social movement research mimic the proceduralism of the corporate state by constructing a “truth” that depoliticizes conflict and contributes to sustain and reproduce its ruling regime. To what extent does the methodological individualism that characterizes much of social movement research, explicit in its focus on the identity and agency of protesters, end up creating knowledge that contributes to the reinforcement of the status quo? The invitation to ask uncomfortable questions is implicit in the critique that Scholl makes to the use of police data as the main source of information in certain prominent transnational social movement research projects. It is also implicit in the author’s deconstruction of the concept of “social movement,” with the argument that it tends to obscure the contentious nature of anti-systemic collective action.

Besides, Scholl's criticism of the state-centric nature of social movement research, shows how this field of social enquiry tends to become complicit with the "anti-political" practices of ruling of the corporate state. On top of that, there is the criticism of the very notion of "objective" social scientific knowledge, which according to Scholl bureaucratizes social analysis and reduces methodological questions to administrative problems. The author contrasts such form of knowledge with the "locally organized, reflexive knowledge of individuals in the everyday world," which is supposed to be the basis of a "sociology of the people" (p. 15).

Scholl's methodological criticism implies that it is necessary and urgent for social movement scholars with aspirations of socially engaged scholarship to question not only the methodology they use, but also the institutional and disciplinary foundations of their work and identities. Under what circumstances does social movement scholarship become an instrument of social control and, despite the good intentions of its scholars, part of the practices of ruling that supports the status quo contested by the movements they study? To what extent does the "publish or perish" mentality, the politics of employability and tenure, and the geographical mobility associated with employment precariousness promote self-censorship and prevent the establishment of the social ties that are necessary for the elaboration of effectively engaged and politically empowering scholarship? On top of that, how does the socialization of scholars turn them into "docile bodies," impacting their capacity to think outside the box and develop strategies aimed at circumventing such institutional limitations? Because, in the words of the author, the biggest lesson one can take from *Two Sides of a Barricade* is that social control "works." And so does strategic innovation and inventiveness, which become possible only when the internalization of social control hasn't reached a level that neutralizes the capacity to imagine alternative futures to those engendered by the status quo. That happens within social movements, as well as among the (generally) well-meaning scholars that study them.

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About the review author

Ana Margarida Esteves is a scholar-activist and educator, born in Portugal in 1975. She has lived, worked and studied in several locations in Portugal, Great Britain, Belgium and Brazil and travelled extensively across Europe, Africa, North and South America. She teaches and does research on Solidarity Economy, popular education, community-based finance, participatory action research, alternative food systems, local development, direct and participatory democratic decision-making, and how to promote a dialogue between mainstream western science and "indigenous" knowledges, with the purpose of deepening our understanding of the world. She is the author of several articles and edited book chapters on these topics. She is also a co-founder and member of the international spokescouncil of *Interface: A journal for and about social movements*. Ana Margarida is currently working on a book manuscript entitled "Insurgent Economics: Democratic innovation and the promotion of a cooperation-based economy by the Brazilian Solidarity Economy movement". She can be contacted at [anamargarida.esteves AT gmail.com](mailto:anamargarida.esteves@gmail.com)

Te Punga Somerville, Alice. (2012). *Once Were Pacific: Māori Connections to Oceania*. University of Minnesota Press. 296 pp. Paperback.

Reviewed by **Ella Henry**

Alice Te Punga Somerville has written a scintillating text that explores the relationship between Māori and our Pacific forebears, using as the narrative metaphor for her analysis the painting by Tupaia of the first encounter between James Cook and tangata whenua at Uawa in 1769. That painting features inside ‘Once Were Pacific: Māori Connections to Oceania,’ in which a Māori male is holding a koura (crayfish) for trade, whilst Cook holds out a piece of *tapa* cloth, previously acquired in Tahiti. Cook was surprised by the ‘extraordinary fondness’ Māori displayed towards the *tapa*, ignoring the European trinkets also being offered. This acknowledgement of the value of *tapa* forms the basis of Somerville’s argument that, despite the hundreds of years of separation, Māori still maintained a bond with the cultural remnants of their Pacific heritage.

This work from literature studies draws on a wide range of literature, including creative texts such as poetry, fiction, music, art, journalistic writing, visual texts, scholarly, and historical work, to interrogate Māori connections with the Pacific, “rather than in establishing (or proving) whether or why these connections might exist” (xxvi). In the ensuing chapters, Somerville explores Māori and Pacific relationships and how these relationships have been articulated throughout long periods of time and across a variety of sites. She locates this work within the project of decolonisation not by erasing colonisation, but by remembering it.

In Part I, entitled ‘*Tapa: Aotearoa in the Pacific Region*,’ Somerville focuses on the ‘realm of *tapa*,’ “exploring the ways in which Aotearoa is articulated as part of the broader Pacific region on the basis of cultural and geographic proximity” (p.3). Chapter I, ‘Māori People in Pacific Spaces’ concludes that, “it is through the lived, negotiated, ongoing, and specific interactions between Māori and the Pacific that articulations of connection, or otherwise, have any meaning and, indeed, any possibility of change” (p.35). Drawing on the work of Pacific-Based Māori Writers’ Wineera, Patuawa-Nathan, and Sullivan in Chapter 2, she identifies the dichotomy of Māori *departing from* an originary home, Aotearoa, whilst *returning to* an originary home in the Pacific, referring to double-directional mobility between departure and return, which extends the Māori literary canon, whilst challenging thinking about the pivotal relationship between Māori, the Pacific and Indigeneity. Somerville prefaces Chapter 3, ‘Aotearoa-Based Māori Writers,’ with the question: if one does not stop being Māori when living in the Pacific, does one stop being Pacific when living in Aotearoa? She refers to a Hinemoa Baker poem about the migratory pattern of eels, beginning their lives in tropical sea water, migrating to the rivers of Aotearoa, and returning to the tropics once more to breed, and states, “the

migratory cycle of the eel suggestively shadows the process by which these Aotearoa-based Māori writers articulate their connection with the Pacific – the question of which end of the trip is ‘home’ and which is ‘away’ depends on the place from which you’re looking” (p.80). Ultimately, for Somerville, the ‘realm of *tapa*’ produced throughout the Pacific from the *aute* (paper mulberry) plant, brought from the Pacific and lovingly nurtured in the inhospitable Aotearoa climate, until its ultimate extinction, exemplifies the notion that *tapa* could and should be reproduced in Aotearoa, so as to remind us of our connections to the Pacific and the context of our Pacific origins.

Part II, ‘*Koura: The Pacific in Aotearoa*’ opens with the trenchant notion that, perhaps, “Māori people aren’t Pacific people in the same way that non-Māori Pacific people are Pacific people” (p.92). In the ‘realm of the *koura*,’ Māori have a specific role, as *tangata whenua*, literally translated as ‘people of the land.’ However, Somerville also refers to the hospitality dimension of the term ‘*tangata whenua*,’ whereby Māori are the ‘hosts’ in Aotearoa, and all others are ‘*manuhiri*’ or guests. Thus, Part II explores in more depth the relationship between *tangata whenua* and *manuhiri*, Pacific people who are indigenous to Aotearoa and Pacific people who are guests, new New Zealanders, Māori and Pasifika, and the ongoing migration of Pasifika people, not because they have been invited by *tangata whenua*, but because of their relationship with the nation-state of New Zealand. She explores Pasifika communities as guests, then citizens of New Zealand, (rather than Aotearoa), who are either compelled by -- or at least complicit with -- the attitudes to the position of *tangata whenua* that serves the needs of that settler nation-state. She notes that Māori and Pasifika communities have at least two avenues by which the connections between the two groups can be both articulated and practiced: one is the legacy of connections articulated in Part I of the book including cultural, linguistic and whakapapa links which pre-exist the arrival of Europeans; the other is “the shared experience and often physical proximity of Māori and Pasifika communities, which often come about as a result of both communities suffering at the hand of the racist colonial settler nation-state” (p.96).

Chapter 4 focuses on ‘Māori-Pasifika Collaborations,’ from the inclusion of Pasifika soldiers in the 28th Battalion during WWII, to the labour migrations from the 1950s to the 1970s, through Pasifika enrolments in Māori boarding schools, to living, working, and playing sports alongside each other, and the more recent emergence of *Kōhanga Reo*, language nests in Pasifika communities. These collaborations have built on both the genealogical connections (whakapapa) and the demographic ones, disenfranchised communities living in close proximity, so they could address their shared social predicaments and achieve mutually beneficial outcomes. These collaborations have produced activist and creative work, both expressing and embodying connections through relationships and shared artistic visions. Chapter 5, ‘It’s like that with us Maoris: Māori write connections,’ opens with a lament that there are few treatments of Māori-Pasifika connections in the body of published Māori writing in English, and reviews texts by Apirana Taylor, Patricia Grace and Briar Grace-Smith, whose works are “particularly significant because they

take for granted that the relationship between Māori and Pasifika people is a part of the Aotearoa they represent” (p.136). However, more Pasifika writers refer to their relationships with Māori, therefore, Chapter 6, ‘Manuhiri, Fānau: Pasifika write connections,’ explores this body of work, whilst acknowledging that Pasifika communities are caught on the horns of a dilemma, on the one hand they are as citizens and residents of New Zealand, the settler nation, but they are also guests in Aotearoa, *manuhiri* on Pacific islands which are populated by their kinfolk. Finally, Chapter 7, ‘When Romeo met Tusi,’ looks at the ‘disconnections’ and the problems that have arisen among Māori and Pasifika metropolitan communities, which at the most acute are reflected in sabotage, prejudice, and social and sexual prohibitions and even violent confrontation. Somerville concludes that, “as long as Māori and Pasifika communities insist that their primary relationship is with the New Zealand nation-state, relationships between these communities will struggle to function beyond the narrow parameters that the state provides... In the light of these mutual failures to render each other visible, it is difficult to reconcile the rapturous response to the arrival of *tapa* (with Cook) and the moments of present-day prejudice and suspicion” (p.175). In her summary of the ‘realm of the koura,’ Somerville acknowledges that, “treating disconnection between Māori and Pasifika communities is tricky because analysis risks lapsing into a discussion of Natives Behaving Badly, in which a moral position is asserted along with instructions for ideal interactions and reproaches for those failing to measure up. It falls on the critical scholar to be aligned with and contribute to the struggle for justice by carefully historicising and contextualising present predicaments, paying attention wherever possible to the role of power in the production of narratives and countering dominant configurations of power by ensuring that disempowered and marginalised voices have an opportunity to speak as well” (p.184).

Somerville, in her conclusion, draws together the strands of the narrative, and critically reflects on her own role, as an Anglophone Māori researcher within a university environment. She notes that the story of Cook’s first trade with Māori, after which he was astonished that Māori might value the Tahitian *tapa* cloth more than any of the European trinkets he provided, provides an ‘allegorical form’ for the relationship between Māori and the Pacific, and the academic context of the university, and that one of the most exciting things the academy might offer to Māori, in terms of literary analysis is the opportunity for Māori to connect with the Pacific through that analysis.

As a Māori scholar, embedded in the Māori Faculty at AUT, which is housed beside the Pacific Advancement division, I am continually reminded that we share both aspirations and cultural characteristics, but apart from a small group of close friends of Pasifika descent, this book chides me to acknowledge that I do not, and have not forged ties, built bridges, and explored a wider range of relationships with my Pacific relatives. Further, this book not only argues persuasively why these relationships are important and useful, but how they are a fundamental component of my identity and how enriching those relationships

are an integral aspect of the decolonisation project. Mauri ora Alice, for a book that stimulated, informed and excited me in equal measure!

About the review author

Ella Henry has a PhD in Māori entrepreneurship in screen production (2012). She has taught in the field of Māori development at the University of Auckland, UNITEC Institute of Technology and for the last five years at Auckland University of Technology. In 2012, she was the Chair of Ngā Aho Whakaari, the association of Māori in screen production. In 2013, she was appointed to the Auckland Arts Regional Trust (ART). She has also been actively involved in Māori screen production, as a producer, writer, actor and television presenter, and an activist, advocate and researcher for the Māori business development. She can be contacted at ella.henry@aut.ac.nz