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Book review: Ana Cecilia Dinerstein, *The Politics of Autonomy in Latin America*

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Ana Cecilia Dinerstein, 2014, *The Politics of Autonomy in Latin America: The Art of Organizing Hope*. Basingstoke & New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan (282 pp., hardcover, \$105.00).

Autonomous politics have experienced a global resurgence from practice to theory in recent decades. Latin America has been at the forefront of this resurgence where, “radical pedagogies, cooperative work, art and entertainment, care, new forms of defending and revitalizing indigenous traditions and customs, environmental awareness and territorialized resistance [have] developed imaginatively into forms of social, political and economic survival” (pp. 1-2). For Ana Dinerstein, in her latest book, *The Politics of Autonomy in Latin America: The Art of Organizing Hope*, these innovative forms of communal organization have been circumscribed theoretically by the old debates of the political left: reform v. revolution, or taking state power v. not taking state power. Perhaps a sign of the times, “The use of old tools, to judge the politics of autonomy is a symptom of the difficulty of the political left to engage with new visions that might enrich and innovate their revolutionary projects” (p. 9). Dinerstein’s book offers the reader a necessary rethinking of autonomous politics, by problematizing “the coordinates of the debate and the terms of the questions” (p. 8).

Dinerstein succeeds in this endeavor, in many respects, providing the reader with three principal theoretical nuances that break the stranglehold on autonomous politics. Firstly, Dinerstein argues that autonomous struggles aren’t something new, but since the 1980s they have been marked by what she characterizes as their emerging connection to hope. Drawing extensively from the work of humanist Marxist Ernst Bloch, particularly his Magnus opus three-volume, *The Principles of Hope*, Dinerstein approaches the prefigurative autonomous projects of Latin America as educations in hope - a much-needed alimentation for the radical imagination. She suggests: “Prefiguration, I argue is a process of learning hope. Autonomy is the organizational tool of this process. That is, autonomy is a hypothesis of resistance that encompasses the delineation of new horizons beyond the given truth” (p. 2). Autonomous prefiguration thus challenges the playing field of given reality, engaging in the present possible futures that are yet to be determined; “an unrealized materiality that is latent in the present reality” (p. 62).

Working in what she calls the key of hope – “as a composer, I use hope as my basic material” (p. 58) – Dinerstein investigates four modes of autonomous praxis that make up a second fundamental theoretical nuance in her analysis. Instead of focusing on one specific mode, Dinerstein brings together the politics

of negation, creation, contradiction, and excess to better understand the complexity of autonomous struggles in Latin America. This particular point, guides the reader away from the dichotomous dead-end overwhelming autonomous politics, opening up various lines of thought hidden beneath the conventional approaches to the politics of autonomy. Creatively engaging these autonomous modes within the context of a politics of hope, Dinerstein covers four of the most well-known of autonomous experiments in Latin America in the last few decades: the Zapatista struggle in Chiapas, Mexico; the urban autonomous experiments in Argentina in 2001-2002; the indigenous-popular uprisings in Bolivia; and the MST movement of landless peasants in Brazil.

Dinerstein's third theoretical nuance that persists throughout the book is her insistence on the difference between indigenous and non-indigenous autonomous struggles. This insight again ruptures the occidental autonomous debate, contributing to the growing number of voices that are seeking to decolonize critical thought. Dinerstein makes two important points in this regard. First, Indigenous peoples are located differently in their relation with the state and capital - she argues their subsumption into capitalism is characterized through a specific form of exclusion. She writes, "By real subsumption by exclusion I mean that racial oppression and invisibilization were necessary conditions for the formation of the working class and the foundation and expansion of capitalist modernity in Latin America" (p. 55). In this way, Indigenous peoples are located differently in the process of colonial and capitalist expansion making the position from which they constructed autonomy different.

Considering their location, Indigenous struggles find the affirmation of their identity and their historical traditions as fundamental modes of autonomous struggle and of organizing hope. This is a fundamental point for many on the socialist left, who have failed to engage the politics of identity as a basis for a revolutionary politics. For Indigenous struggles, "the past is mobilized and articulated with political imagination in a new fashion" (p. 51). Thus, identity and historical knowledge serve as active influences in the formation of autonomous organizing. Concluding from this, Dinerstein importantly rejects notions of universalized autonomous struggle, stressing the differences between indigenous and non-indigenous organizing. However, her point might have been better said had she stressed the diversity of Indigenous struggles as well, emphasizing that not all colonialisms are the same, just as not all Indigenous autonomous struggles work from the same location.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter is found toward the end of the book, where Dinerstein offers a 'prefigurative critique of political economy' drawing from the tradition of open or critical Marxism. Following the lead of Marx, who sought to denaturalize the abstract terms of political economy by uncovering the social relations and class struggles from which they emerge, Dinerstein takes the practices of autonomy as real abstractions that are engaged in struggle: "a category and practice that is necessarily embedded within the struggles in and against the value form" (p. 206). As both value and hope, in the Marxist and

Blochian senses respectively, are “unrealized materialities [...] not mental creations, but material dynamics that are not yet” (p. 209); autonomy is the materiality that confronts the production of value with the organization of hope. In the prefigurative autonomous struggles that escape subsumption by capitalist translation, political economy is being critiqued and hope is being organized.

While Dinerstein’s book is successful in many respects of undoing the leftist stalemate on the autonomy debate, at times her own location within this tradition weighs upon her innovative approach. One such example is her unproductive attacks on anarchism and autonomism - ideological straw men that allow her to differentiate her own position, while ignoring the complexities and diversity of both traditions. This is not to say that anarchism or autonomism have it all right - for example there is plenty of work being done now trying to decolonize components of the anarchist tradition - but to treat them as static and singular traditions, and to make sweeping claims of their failures, hinders rather than helps a more fuller debate on the politics of autonomy. This particular discussion has deep roots tracing back to the First International where anarchism and Marxism had an unfortunate split.

Another more subtle example of Dinerstein’s ideological location is a brief suggestion she makes on the depoliticized history of peasant organizations. She writes:

Rural workers and families played a significant role in the struggle for the land and agrarian reform against neoliberal structural adjustments. Latin American peasants are now aware of the exploitation they have suffered for centuries and are determined to end it. The politicization of peasant movements began in the 1930s. When their revolts against landowners and local authorities were sporadic, diffuse, and inorganic. Today we see a proliferation of much more formal organizations. (p. 172)

This narrative has been used by various scholars who hold tightly to a certain interpretation of historical materialism that argues specific conditions must be in place in order for class-consciousness and revolutionary organizations to fully emerge. For this reviewer, this is not only historically incorrect, but also works to undermine a fuller understanding of the longer history of prefigurative autonomous organizing that has existed.

Despite this, *The Politics of Autonomy in Latin America: The Art of Organizing Hope* serves as an exciting contribution to emerging discussions, debates, and struggles that go by the name of autonomy. Not only does it provide new trajectories for thinking about autonomous struggles, but it also serves as a review to many of the philosophical debates that have taken up autonomy in the past. Dinerstein’s analysis is accomplished through an exciting conversation between her unique theoretical approaches to autonomy, and the on the ground practices of autonomous movements in the Latin American context. It is here

particularly, that the book garners its usefulness from practice to theory and everywhere in between.

About the review author

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Book review: Colin Barker, Laurence Cox, John Krinsky, and Alf Gunvald Nilsen (Eds.), *Marxism and Social Movements*

Review author: Christina Heatherton

Colin Barker, Laurence Cox, John Krinsky, and Alf Gunvald Nilsen (Eds.), 2014, *Marxism and Social Movements*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books (473 pp., paperback, \$36.00).

Socialism, the pundits tell us, is eking back into fashion. From thousands of young Bernie Sanders supporters, Fight for \$15ers (campaign for a \$15 minimum wage), and even softened libertarians comes a cautious chorus of chirps. Not quite class struggle, these emerging activists cast their arguments in the more capacious language of “working families,” “the middle class,” and “the 1%.” While the culprit may be capitalism, young scholars and activists find it easier to invoke a more palatable proxy: inequality.

Pulsing beneath the power of Black Lives Matter protests and movements against mass incarceration, mass deportation, mass surveillance, and militarism, is another less obvious form of class outrage. Racialized state violence has mobilized people into U.S. streets in record numbers. After the police killings of Black, Brown, and Native people, commentators like Keeanga-Yamahatta Taylor have concluded that, “freedom and justice aren't compatible with capitalism.” Yet without being articulated as class demands, these struggles are often less recognizable as class struggle.

At this moment of intense energy and outrage, we find ourselves in something of a bind. Incipient social movements, while left leaning, remain largely allergic to the language and categories of Marxism. At the same time self-professed Marxists are less willing to recognize movements for racial justice as central to class struggle. Compounding this is a well-documented non-profit industrial complex funding structure, one that apports movements into separate silos and forces activists to translate their demands into recognizable injuries, fundable grievances, and provable outcomes. The academic study of social movements more often than not follows suit. What then is to be done?

Into this fray come Colin Barker, Laurence Cox, John Krinsky, and Alf Gunvald Nilsen, editors of the volume *Marxism and Social Movements*. This collection is one part guidebook for activists looking for grounding in Marxism and Marxist concepts (what precisely is “the system”?) and one part theoretical study. Taking global, historical, and comparative perspectives, this volume seeks to develop a theory that might explain the “emergence, character and development of social movements.” A Marxist theory of social movements, it argues, can expand our capacity to evaluate, compare, and learn from social movements across different contexts.

For the first time since 1848, the editors suggest, the *lingua franca* of emerging social movements is not Marxism. Accordingly the book addresses young activists who have limited familiarity with Marxist concepts. It also addresses young scholars who enter the academy “pre-inoculated against Marxism” and who see as their enemy not capitalism but rather the Marxist straw men of orthodoxy, dogmatism, and economic determinism. To these audiences, the book presents Marxism not as a monolith, but as a “theory of and for movements,” dynamic, shifting, and responsive to struggle.

The collection is also directed to self-avowed Marxists. It emphasizes the evolving and dialectical nature of Marxist theory, as “an engaged practice,” one that “develops and learns alongside those with whom it participates in the effort to change the world.” This mission beautifully reflects Angela Y. Davis’ injunction to work with social movements in order to learn and grow, rather than to prove what we already know. This is admirable bridging work, addressing both newcomers and veterans, the fresh faced and the grizzled alike, in an effort to speak across difference and develop language across struggles.

But this is no small task. At the very moment when neoliberalism has accelerated the exploitation, dispossession, immiseration, and premature death of people on a global scale, and while social movements and popular protest have arisen in dramatic response, we, especially in the U.S., find our explanatory frameworks enfeebled. The editors lay fault in the very study of popular political movements. Contained in discrete academic silos, struggles of organized labor and trade unions, for example, are relegated to labor studies; studies of everyday resistance become matters for cultural studies; and revolution becomes an object clinically dissected in subfields of political science. Most pernicious, for the editors, are the offenses committed by mainstream social movement theory.

Rather than seeking to change the world, mainstream social movement theory instead seeks to “explain, celebrate, or condemn.” Social movements, under this analysis, appear disconnected and singular, linked with other struggles only in broad thematic ways. While Marxism offers tools for connecting crises and struggles, social movement theory assiduously avoids mention of Marxism or the use of Marxist categories. As Gabriel Hetland and Jeff Goodwin demonstrate in their essay, social movement theory has even abandoned the very term capitalism. This theory, as the editors describe, insists on analytical separation of social movements that are themselves enmeshed in and necessarily responding to a globally interconnected capitalist system.

How then to make sense of popular protests erupting around the world, each pitched against a “system,” but often not articulated “in the language of ‘class’”? How does a Marxist theory of social movements help us understand the world in which we live and the struggles in which we are engaged? How might such a theory help us change the world rather than interpret it? *Marxism and Social Movements* approaches these questions from multiple angles.

The book is organized in three parts. The first section outlines the theoretical frameworks of Marxism and social movements. It also directly responds to the lapses and limitations of conventional social movement theory. This section offers very helpful groundings in basic concepts: “Theory” explain Alf Gunvald Nilsen and Laurence Cox “is a tool activists use when their movements are not moving.” For Colin Barker, movements “are *mediated* expressions of class struggle.” Such clarifications are necessary, both as introductions to terminology and also as correctives to the half truths and partial borrowings of Marxist categories which are pervasive in the academy.

The second part of the book raises questions about the organization and institutionalization of social movements, particularly in their various engagements with the state. With a wide range of case studies from: an examination of class formation in local workplace struggles in China by Marc Blecher; popular opposition to the Narmada dam project in the context of broader global South struggles by Alf Gunvald Nilsen (building on from his earlier study *Dispossession and Resistance in India: The River and the Rage*); to Patrick Bond, Ashwin Desai, and Trevor Ngwane’s proposal for an “uneven and combined Marxism” to confront the organizing impasse among the poor and working class sectors in neoliberal South Africa; to Chris Hesketh’s examination of spatial claims and social relations of the 2006 uprising in Oaxaca, Mexico and the Zapatista movement from Chiapas, Mexico; among others, these chapters offer key insights into the variegated challenges and opportunities confronting social movements at present, when uniquely viewed through a Marxist lens.

The third section offers both historical and contemporary examples of Marxist social movement theory in practice. Several chapters interrogate how our own categories can sometimes interfere with our ability to comprehend struggles unfolding before us. Christian Høgsbjerg revisits C.L.R. James’ *History of Negro Revolt*, and notes James’ ability to differentiate the form of East African protests, couched in religion terms, from the content of those struggles, which, as James notes, sprang from “forced labour, land alienation, and colonial taxation.” Similarly, Hira Singh revisits interpretations of the “Revolt of 1857 in India” which was dismissed by historians in its time (and since) as a singular event, a religiously motivated struggle, or a reactionary fight. Singh analyzes the event and recovers Marx’s own assessment that the “mass insurrection” occurred in “response to the action of English bourgeoisie and their agents in the East India Company.” This, Singh says unequivocally, “was a class war.”

The final chapters invite readers to raise questions about social movements and class formation in relation to currently existing social movements. Chapters such as the conclusion by David McNally, describe the challenge facing Marxist theorists in comprehending social movements which do not articulate themselves or their goals or grievances in terms recognizable as class struggle. McNally’s brilliantly describes the dynamics of class movements emerging in different convergences of struggle, particularly those of rural campesinos and indigenous groups alongside urban working class movements in both Bolivia

and Oaxaca. These multi-dimensional dynamics, “co-constituted rather than mutually exclusive,” have bearing on the way we understand other struggles, such as those in seen in Tunisia and Egypt. Class, he reminds us, is a relation, not a fixed identity. Being able to comprehend the “changing terrain of class relations” unfolding before us, he describes, is necessary for liberation.

The danger, of course, in any collection that attempts this magnitude of scope, is the potential to offer short shrift to otherwise complicated debates. One subject that would have benefited from deeper elaboration is the critique of “identity politics.” The introduction does not fully sidestep the regrettable narrative that identity politics in the Anglophone world was partially responsible for the decline of class-based politics in and out of the academy. Future commentators offering a brief gloss of these developments might refrain from the “identity politics” shorthand as it subsumes the insurgent and radical critiques of capitalism by anti-racist, feminist, queer, and non-normative lenses; critiques which the editors would no doubt agree have advanced not inhibited Marxist theory. Such shorthand is significant since the easy dismissals of “identity politics” have made many social movements perceive Marxism as inhospitable to their struggles. Mainstream social movement theory is but one site of liberal politics that is all too happy to cultivate and nurture this discomfort.

All in all, this important collection could not be better timed. In the present moment of political ferment, young scholars and activists are searching for new language, concepts and political alternatives. Such a search should not be surprising. Given that the most formative experiences young people in the U.S. have had with capitalism are the economic crash of 2008, an obscene absence of the rule of law, and the bloodless promises of debt-laden futures, conservative commentator and former Regan speechwriter Peggy Noonan asks, “What other conclusions could the young possibly come to?”

Should a disavowal of capitalism gain wider consensus among the young, the question will remain, what then? The answer lies in the conversations and conceptual tools that will be available to them. In this respect, *Marxism and Social Movements* is a special collection, offering scholars and social movements not just tools, but also the keys to an otherwise locked box of necessary radical theory and practice.

About the review author

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Book Review: Anne Alexander & Mostafa Bassiouny, *Bread, Freedom, Social Justice*

Review author: Stephen M. Strenge

Anne Alexander & Mostafa Bassiouny, 2014, *Bread, Freedom, Social Justice: Workers & The Egyptian Revolution*. London: Zed Books (400 pp., paperback, \$24.95).

With just under two million Egyptians rallying in Tahrir Square, Egypt's 2011 Arab Spring revolution captivated a global audience as the masses demanded the removal of their long-standing ruler, Hosni Mubarak. Yet the revolutionary fervor that removed Mubarak would soon yield to another revolution in 2013, overthrowing Egypt's first democratically elected leader, Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood. This perplexing revolutionary situation, if not revolutionary outcome, is tackled in Anne Alexander and Mostafa Bassiouny's *Bread, Freedom, Social Justice*, which traces Egypt's revolutionary turmoil through an analysis of workers' movements.

This work centers on the authors' observation that Egypt's revolution was not a spontaneous eruption; rather, it grew over the preceding decades. By 'revolution' they thus refer to a long process and not a specific, singular event. Moreover, their main argument is that this was more than a political revolution; it was one requiring the intertwining of the social and democratic souls of the revolutionary process. They state that one of their major goals is to emphasize the importance of the revolution's social soul which they argue manifested itself most strongly in various labor movements. Yet, as they illustrate, the social and democratic souls were not in harmonious synchronization throughout this period; they would soon find themselves in a state of flux and conflict following the initial 18 Days Revolution in 2011.

Broadly, the authors' analysis oscillates between two major themes: the complicated and dynamic relationship between the revolutionary social and democratic souls, and the strategic influence and power of labor movements. At a macro-level, Alexander and Bassiouny frame Egypt's revolutionary process within the intertwining and sometimes conflicting relationship between the social and democratic souls. Their theoretical framework is rooted in Marxist notions of class struggle, Marx and Trotsky's concept of 'permanent revolution,' and Rosa Luxemburg's (1906) notion of 'reciprocal action,' which she describes as:

the economic struggle is the transmitter from one political centre to another; the political struggle is the periodic fertilisation of the soil for the economic struggle. Cause and effect here continually change places; and thus the economic and political factor in the period of the mass strike, now widely removed, completely separated or even mutually exclusive, as the theoretical plan would have them,

merely form the *two interlacing sides of the proletarian class struggle*. (cited on p. 13, emphasis in original)

At a micro-level, the authors focus on how organized labor movements formed a strategic core of the revolutionary process, thereby becoming, as Lenin would hold, the revolution's vanguard. In viewing revolutions as a longer-term process, the authors begin by demonstrating how changes in the relationships between state, capital, and labor over the past thirty-five years on both local and global scales fertilized revolutionary fervor by increasing economic inequality. They attribute this catalyst to the adoption of neoliberal economic policies, which disproportionately affected the working class, and a wider culture of protest that permeated the region following the Palestinian Second Intifada.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 focus on the coordination, growth, and mobilization of labor movements, addressing the latter theme of the strategic importance of workers' movements. With the introduction of neoliberalism, workers lost their collective social power as the working class was restructured through an assault on the Nasserist social contract that managed discontent for decades. During this time workers' protests were isolated, easily contained by the regime, and often viewed as unrelated explosions of anger. However, this would soon change following a reawakening of workers' self-organization that led to a significant eruption of strike activity in the mid-2000s, resulting in, most notably, the Misr Spinning strike of December 2006 (also known as the Mahalla Strike). This eruption resulted in subsequent strikes across the textile industry, particularly in Mahalla, that reached a critical mass in 2008. An analysis of collective action in the preceding ten years of Egypt's revolution shows an average of 319 episodes of "contentious action" occurred per year, with an average of 523 episodes per year in the preceding three years (p. 108). This wave of activity underscores two important factors. First, the Egyptian Trade Union Federation (ETUF), which historically served as an extension of the regime to monopolize workers' organization under the guise of addressing their discontent, critically failed at quelling unrest. Second, it demonstrated the ability of workers to self-organize completely independent of any formal structures as evidenced by the coordination of hundreds of wildcat strikes and the creation of multiple independent unions. The explosive growth and increasing success of these movements, combined with the failures of the ETUF to channel discontent, slowly eroded the powerbase of the regime's control. Crucially, these movements served as an embryonic model for other groups which could trial and build upon the principles and lessons learned from hundreds of mobilizations.

Important as the workers' movements were in heralding forth the initial January 2011 revolution, they failed to unite their efforts into a significant political force. Conflicting economic and political interests allowed better-organized groups to co-opt the revolution's social soul. The latter chapters of the book address the inability of the revolutionary forces to forge a unified message due to 'trade-unionist politics' that were often too narrow in scope, failed

attempts to cleanse the state bureaucracy, issues with Parliamentarianism and the electoral system, and the role of Islamist currents with particular attention paid to the Muslim Brotherhood. Returning to their theoretical framework, Alexander and Bassiouny find that the counter-revolutionary force heralded forth by then-Minister of Defense Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, who is now President, and the military is indicative of the pendulum-like motion of reciprocal action in that it “is not a process that points inevitably in a single direction” (p. 14). Indeed, this counter-revolutionary force actually put the process of reciprocal action into reverse.

The authors conclude by discussing that throughout Egypt’s revolutionary period, multiple manifestations of ‘the people,’ that is, the revolutionary force, appeared. Indeed, society was not in a static state throughout this period and the ‘ebb and flow’ of the revolutionary process vitalized and activated different segments of society at different levels and times. Building upon the authors’ earlier discussion on the intersectionality of local, regional, and global crises, their findings bring them to the broader question of what makes a democracy, specifically what would a democratic Egypt look like? As they reflect, 2011-14 Egypt “confirms that democracy from below needs both practices and institutions of its own: democratic practices which revolutionary activists seek to apply wherever they can, and institutions which are the kernels of alternative organs of state power” (p. 324). Ironically, this mobilization from below, which will likely provide the strongest avenue for the people to shape Egypt’s future and the state’s transformation, faces its steepest uphill battle not against the state but from within. The key takeaway is that the working poor and middle class (the primary labor force) will likely play a crucial role in how the ship of Egypt’s fate is steered but its outcome will depend upon their ability to institutionalize and serve as the kernels of state power—a power whose basis is yet to be determined. Perhaps most importantly, as the authors caution, organizing democratically at the workplace level is not the same as democracy for all of the exploited and oppressed. They must first motivate workers to take action in politics and then to bring those decisions into wider societal struggles.

Bread, Freedom, Social Justice focuses primarily on the historical and contemporary underpinnings and developments of ‘revolutionary Egypt,’ as opposed to a strong discussion and testing of theoretical frameworks and applications. This makes the book accessible to both the casual reader and the academic. However, those familiar with social movement literature will likely find themselves ‘reading between the lines,’ applying existing theories and understandings of movement development and will likely gain much more. Those with an interest in class-based analyses of social movements and revolutions will be most interested in this work.

This work does not trace the overall development of Egypt’s Arab Spring revolution. Focusing exclusively on labor movements, the authors ignore other mobilizations and their effect on the revolutionary process, though they acknowledge this openly. For instance, they state that they have ignored other forms of ‘street politics’ (such as those organized at the neighborhood level

instead of the workplace) but argue that workers' movements saw the richest experiences in 'democracy from below.' In all fairness, this is not detrimental as it is outside the scope of this work, which is to illustrate the strategic importance of workers' movements despite their presence as only a minority of those mobilizing.

In sum, Alexander and Bassiouny provide a rich source of empirical data and historical context that offers an unparalleled and much needed insight into workers' movements and their strategic importance to Egypt's revolutionary process.

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About the review author

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**Book review: James S. Ormrod,
*Fantasy and Social Movements***

Review author: Andrew Kettler

**James S. Ormrod, 2014, *Fantasy and Social Movements*.
Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (308 pp., hardback, \$29.95).**

James Ormrod's *Fantasy and Social Movements* describes the prominence of fantasy in creating the psychological motivations necessary to instigate collective social movements. Ormrod works to deconstruct the idea, originally found in the work of Sigmund Freud, that fantasy is relatively unimportant in the making of reasoned human action. The essential Freudian idea is that agency in the lived world is not compatible with the irrationality of the unconscious. Ormrod forcefully disputes and deconstructs this long-standing ideal. In this project of deconstruction, Ormrod hopes to expand New Social Movement Theory out of a perceived stasis borne from a lack of engagement with psychoanalytical theory. Though Ormrod understands the advances of New Social Movement Theory regarding the application of subjectivity and concepts of affect, play, and creativity to analyzing social movements, he believes that a prevalent lack of engagement with psychoanalysis has stalled the theoretical field. This has led to fresh utopian discourses that assert narcissism and the exclusion of the other. Essentially, New Social Movement Theory has been willing to become more introspective, but in that introspective search has displaced other perspectives, leading to a narcissistic mode of fantasizing that concentrates performativity in social movements rather than progress for social movements. For Ormrod, attending to the unconscious, as a formative space for fantasy and the social movements that emerge from fantasy, is essential for understanding whether narcissist utopian urges should be a part of New Social Movement Theory and the social movements that theoretical field hopes to articulate.

Fantasy is seen as disengaging in most psychoanalytical analyses, and has therefore been understood as incompatible with social action. By exploring psychoanalytical understandings of the links between unconscious fantasy and conscious thought, Ormrod creates a possible avenue for the conscious commitments necessary for social movements. Ormrod follows in a specific post-Marxist tradition, exposed by Ernesto Laclau, which attends to consciousness as something other than false. Rather than completely a part of hegemonic superstructures, consciousness can be used to resist and strategize, and is not inherently irrational. Though most modern-day Marxists agree that agency can exist outside of false consciousness, Ormrod points to Laclau, and the work of Judith Butler, to expose important dialectical assertions of post-structuralism against older forms of Marxist structuralism. He exposes this dialectic in an effort at historicizing ideas of fantasy and how fantasy functioned

historically to either create, reinforce, or deconstruct different forms of the utopian imaginary. Though much of Ormrod's work, especially his analysis of the Pro Space Movement, has been published elsewhere, readers will find new intellectual force in this edition, especially concerning Ormrod's analysis of narcissism, identity politics, and populism as the contemporary world faces a new political vanity arising in the wake of economic collapse and the decline of theoretical utopianism.

Ormrod's work is separated into three parts. Each of these three sections are proficiently summarized in both brief prologues to each section and in the last chapter of each section. These areas of synthesis offer Ormrod spaces to cogently define new ideal typologies of both fantasizing and the application of fantasy for social movements. The first part of the edition exposes psychoanalytical theories of fantasy in the works of Freud, Melanie Klein, and Jacques Lacan. Despite the intensity of Ormrod's psychoanalytical analyses, this critic was surprised by a curious lack of analysis regarding the work of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, especially as Ormrod discusses Marxism, the possible force of the unconscious on conscious action, and forms of identity in the neoliberal capitalist moment. Nevertheless, in the first chapter Ormrod offers a deep reading of how Freud understood the manner through which pre-conscious fantasies become conscious by a process of 'reality-testing'. Only through this process, from pre-conscious fantasizing, through 'reality-testing', and into secondary processes of reasoning about potentiality, can a fantasy become a conscious thought about taking social action. Klein's work is analyzed next, especially through the canon of her intellectual progeny, Susan Isaacs. Unlike Freud, Klein and Isaacs understood fantasy as possibly emerging out of something other than a previous repression. Ormrod analyzes Klein's assembling of the 'paranoid-schizoid' position (based on the infant's fear for the self, splitting of good and bad in the child's mind) and the 'depressive position' (based on negative emotions at the loss of the good object when the simple binary of good and bad are transcended) to show how both forms of consciousness can work to create social action. For Ormrod, the 'depressive position' creates the most proper form for social action because that position, unlike the 'paranoid-schizoid', can understand reality through the other, and not simply from the self.

Ormrod next takes on the depths of Lacanian theory to argue that Lacan asserted that fantasy was central to the creation of the self and most forms of identity. For Lacan, meaning arises not simply from language, material conditions, or biology as in Freudian traditions, but from what is included within linguistic structures and what is not or never could be incorporated. Fantasy within the Lacanian Real is therefore about the symbolic order that makes up conceptions of perceived reality, rather than language that produces reality. Ormrod reads Lacan through Christopher Lasch's understanding of narcissism, the work of Slavoj Žižek on the Name-of-the-Father, and Joan Scott's idea of how the "fantasy echo" informs dreams of the future, to show how Lacan conceptualized fantasy through this more prospective form of the symbolic, rather than biological, unconscious. Ormrod combines the analysis of

these three chapters on Freud, Klein, and Lacan and intellectualizes their matters into a new triad of fundamental psychoanalytical modes of fantasy. These three dominant forms are: narcissistic (possible social action, although mostly as part of an agency that includes an ineffectiveness to properly understand the consciousness of the other), hallucinatory (lack of action, dearth of distinction between fantasy and reality), and depressive (best chance for proper action, through a potential ability to transfer subjective fantasies of the self or group to the consciousness of the other). The blurred lines between categories in previous analyses of the psychological motivations for social movements made it difficult for both scholars and social actors to formulate psychoanalytical critiques of social movements that could expose flaws enough to alter social movements to focus more upon accessing the other. By exposing new typologies, Ormrod shows the forms of fantasy that best access the consciousness of the other, therefore exposing the place for social movements to grow, rather than die within their own adulterated forms of narcissistic identity politics.

The second section of Ormrod's work summarizes the successes and failures of New Social Movement Theory through an application of the works of Max Weber, Theodor Adorno, Gustave Le Bon, and Neil Smelser to Ormrod's previous summaries of psychoanalysis and his innovative typologies of fantasy. The first chapter in this section explores an inherent flaw in the categorization of social movements in many historical contexts, not solely within New Social Movement Theory. That theoretical defect is that traits within social movements are commonly shared, and scholars have been unable to classify which traits fit within specific movements as those movement change over time. For many scholars, this lack of clarity emerged because Weber separated rationality and emotion in his original typologies of social action. Though Ormrod disagrees with the most ardent assertions of Weber's lack of precision, he does attempt to address the derivative muddling of categories by placing fantasy as central in his new classification of social movements. Ormrod creates this new categorization that includes less blending and blurring between forms of motivation for collective social action by exposing how the psychological motivations of actors within social movements change over time. To create this typological system, Ormrod explores Smelser's *Theory of Collective Behavior* (1962) to show the important "depth ontology" of psychoanalytical forces within social movement theory, especially how members of a movement apply different levels of fantasy, at different moments in the social movement process, to understand their place in the activist structure. Out of these readings, Ormrod creates a new triad of social movements that he associates to each of his three fundamental forms of fantasy: hedonistic (hallucinatory mode: indulgence, stasis, carnivalesque), hostile crazes (narcissistic mode: binaries of good and bad, protection of the group as essential to continuing action), and institutionalized (depressive mode: understandings of co-dependency, appreciation of the other).

The third section of Ormrod's work analyzes the Pro Space Movement through the different forms of fantasy and social movements that can apply fantasy, which Ormrod categorized in the first two sections. In the most entertaining

section of the book, Ormrod discusses the Pro Space Movement's application of fantasy from the early 1970s until recent years, with a keen eye to analyses of gender, science fiction, and the social construction of knowledge. Through a series of interviews and surveys, Ormrod conceptualizes the movement as part of post-modern narcissism. The movement believes in the idea that man should enter space for colonization and exploration in large numbers. Those within the movement are obsessed with their own private sphere of "filk" music (folk music about space exploration), their highly deferent political hierarchies, and different intensively organized bureaucratic organizations. Through applying these cultural constructs and political bodies, the movement functions as a cyclically reinforced fantasy project. In general, Ormrod sees those who participate in the Pro Space movement as members of a hostile craze. He labels the movement in this manner because the members of the program are incapable of understanding reality due to a group-think mentality that perpetuates fantasies that do not correspond with reality beyond binaries of good and bad. The goal of the movement, in this fantasized understanding, is to recover a lost sense of unity that previously had destined mankind for an eschatological transcendence on earth. This repetitive focus on a flawed historical memory asserts the good of the past as part of a 'paranoid-schizoid' mindset that removes nuanced discussions of reality. The patterns of honest 'reality-testing' that must occur for a movement to properly strategize are not apparent in the Pro Space Movement because the members of the movement share collective images of their utopian dreams without fully testing those dreams within a reality that involves the opinions or consciousness of those outside of the group. Members of the movement are searching for a lost romantic frontier for man to conquer, and the fear of losing that frontier creates a narcissistic mode of consciousness.

Rather than offer how social movements can progress, Ormrod provides an explicitly academic treatment. However, Ormrod's work implicitly shows how essential psychoanalytical theory can be to fully access the motivations of the other, and the fantasizing that underlies all choice, either of the other or the self. Through exposing how movements change over time, and how movements can access different forms of fantasy to create those moments of change, Ormrod prepares the academic, and the willing social activist, to understand the underlying forces driving the self and the other in the postmodern neo-liberal moment where it remains vital to separate identity politics from utopian dreams. Consequently, Ormrod's work offers a central question for modern social movements: to what extent does fantasy obscure or enhance social movements? Ormrod's analyses are often intellectually challenging, exceedingly edifying to those hoping for moments of intellectual pressure and otherworldliness found in works such as Deleuze and Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus* (1972) or Lacan's *Écrits* (1966), and vitally important for academics hoping to understand mass movements and the potentialities that remain for Marxist and post-Marxist praxis. Categorically, this reviewer must applaud Ormrod for his deep theoretical engagement. Especially in the modern political world where insider/outsider identity politics is the Name-of-the-Game, it is essential to

understand the place of the unconscious, fantasy, and imagination in the making of social movements, be they intellectually progressive or simply forms of populist or fascist conceit.

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**Book review: Michelle D. Bonner,
*Policing protest in Argentina and Chile***

Review author: Tomás Mac Sheoin

**Michelle D. Bonner, 2014, *Policing protest in Argentina and Chile*.
Boulder, CO: First Forum Press (xiv, 248pp., hardback, \$65.00).**

Bonner's useful book could do with a subtitle clarifying its subject: many readers would expect a book on policing protest to focus on the history and practice of policing protest – police strategies and tactics, police-protester interactions, differential treatment of different protests and protesters, protesters' experiences and responses and the like. While Bonner provides two excellent chapters on the history of policing protest in Argentina and Chile, the main focus of her book is on what she calls 'discursive accountability' for repressive policing protest, which she studies in the form of discourse among what she calls police experts (drawn from political and administrative structures, police themselves, social movement activists and journalists) and the media. The book's main contribution, then, is the application of a social movement studies method – frame analysis – to discourse about policing protest.. As she writes: "The purpose of this book is to understand the role of discourse in accountability for protest policing" (p. 16).

Bonner sets out her approach in Chapter Two which begins with the statement "Discourse on policing protest matters" and continues:

debates regarding when policing protest is deemed repressive, who is responsible, why, and how they should be held accountable are important. They reveal dominant and opposing understandings of acceptable and unacceptable policing protest. The dominant frames employed, and the justifications used, help us better grasp why policing protest occurs the way it does in any given country. More importantly, discourse can act as both a precondition and technique for accountability. This is what I call 'discursive accountability'. (p. 19)

Bonner's essential argument is that moving from repressive protest policing requires the development of accountability methods and changes in the framing of policing protest is necessary for these forms of accountability to be put in place: "the possibilities for establishing nonrepressive protest policing begin with reframing repressive protest policing as wrongdoing and establishing democratic discursive accountability" (p. 204). This is also why Bonner looks at her two exemplary protests at which repressive policing protest was condemned, to see what may be learned as to how in these circumstances the frames of policing protest changed so that repressive policing was condemned. The material on which she bases her analysis includes interviews with over one

hundred police experts – 56 in Argentina, of whom two are anonymous, and 48 in Chile, twelve of whom are anonymous – along with an analysis of 64 articles from an Argentine newspaper about an ‘emblematic’ example of policing protest and a similar analysis of 35 articles from a Chilean newspaper about a similarly ‘emblematic’ example of protest policing from that country.

The book is structured as follows: the first chapter provides a short introduction to policing protest; the second lays out Bonner’s thoughts on accountability; the bulk of the book then consists of separate case studies of Argentina and Chile, beginning with a chapter on the history of policing in each country, followed by a chapter on dominant and counter-frames of policing protest based on Bonner’s interviews, a chapter on media and policing protest, and an examination of media framing of an ‘emblematic’ protest which undermined the dominant policing protest frames. A final short chapter compares the situation with protest policing in Argentina and Chile.

The historical chapters do not hesitate in calling a spade a spade and are particularly interesting as they demonstrate that the role of the police historically has been to protect local state and capital – whether land-owning, extractive or manufacturing – from a variety of threats: anarchists, communists, immigrants, indigenous, peasants, radicals, socialists, syndicalists and trade unionists. Thus both countries’ police forces were developed to defend capital and state against the popular classes and, in particular, the ‘dangerous’ classes, with Bonner’s account featuring shocking examples of outrages committed against these classes: one example from many may be cited: “from June to July 1934, the Carabineros [Chilean police] confronted a protest by evicted peasant squatters, killing hundreds of peasants” (p. 124). Bonner notes that “the central historical role of the police in Argentina has been to defend the state or government in power by combating a political ‘enemy within’ which has always included the repression of protesters” (p. 40). She also reports the existence of international police cooperation as early as 1905, when the first South American police conference was held in Rio de Janeiro (p. 144).

Bonner does not hold back in her descriptions of policing protest recent and current.

Since 1980, police in electoral democracies in Latin America have used the following tactics and tools to manage protests: tear gas, water cannons (sometimes laced with acid), rubber bullets, live ammunition, mass arbitrary arrests, beatings, clubs, batons, grenades, cattle prods, rubber hoses, birdshot, buckshot, truncheons, and charging with police horses. (p. 2)

For Chile, she shows the continuation of policing tactics used during the Pinochet dictatorship:

Analyses of protests reveal that police procedures at protests regularly include the use of mass arrests, water cannons, tear gas, rubber bullets, and irritant liquid. Protesters are beaten and sometimes subject to psychological and sexual abuse. Tear gas is often used; sometimes it is thrown into confined spaces or at protesters' bodies. Police have infiltrated protests and instigated violent acts made to appear to be caused by protesters. On occasions, firearms with lead bullets are used. All these procedures have been used to manage both peaceful and violent protests. (p. 144)

While protest policing in Argentina operates under a civil rights frame, police violence also continues with police response to food riots in May 1989 leaving 14 dead and 80 injured, while 39 died during massive protests in December 2001. Bonner's appendix of deaths and casualties from 16 post-authoritarian countries from the 1980s to 2011, based on reports from Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and the US State Department, provides a total of 1,005 civilian deaths and 13,913 civilian injuries. She also notes that these figures are probably underestimates: "NGOs in Argentina and Chile that collect this information report that the number of protester deaths in Argentina during this period was in fact 60 (not 39) and in Chile it is 12 (not 8)" (p. 215).

These histories, not only of policing protest but of the accompanying political context, set the context for Bonner's investigation of the framing of policing protest in the two countries. Argentina and Chile provide Bonner with contrasting case studies. In Argentina, the dominant frame is that policing protest should not be repressive, though a counter-frame allows for some repression where protesters do not have political protection and when the different responsible groups – judiciary, police and politicians – can obfuscate responsibility through transfer blaming. Some of the causes behind the dominance of that frame are the strength of a human rights movement, a fractured political elite and fragmented and disputatious media. Further, the police are not trusted, not only because of their history during the dirty war, but also because of involvement in various criminal activities, including the bombing of the Jewish community centre AMIA in 1994. Finally social movements are a trusted source for the media, collecting information of police violence that the police understandably fail to provide. By comparison, in Chile the media are predominantly conservative, the political elite are fearful of the return of the military dictatorship and the police are highly respected, though Bonner notes this 'respect' may not be unconnected with fear (p. 138). So the dominant frame here is that repressive policing protest is justified, because it supports public order, it is targeted at groups (shantytown dwellers, workers, indigenous) which threaten public order and protesters are violent. There is a strong argument that the differences in protest policing framing between both countries result partly from the differences in the 'democratic transitions' from authoritarianism both countries experienced: as well as the factors mentioned above, in the case of Argentina, atrocities by the security forces were investigated and perpetrators punished, while strong human rights movements 'eventually captured the support of the majority of Argentines, support they have

maintained to this day” (p. 52). In Chile, investigations were more limited, the army and police were not discredited, the 1980 constitution ensured military regime representation in the senate, the media were dominated by right wing interests and ‘many Chileans felt that the human rights abuses were unfortunate but justified’ (p. 129).

One surprising omission from Bonner’s book is the role of the US, which is mentioned only twice in the book, both times in relation to Chile: a paragraph on page 125 mentions how “as the 1960s progressed, the Carabineros, aided by the US, became more focused on combating ‘subversion’”, with the US providing \$2.4 million worth of equipment, police advisors and training at the US School of the Americas, while page 160 provides details of CIA subventions to the conservative Chilean press, which totalled more than \$12 million between 1963 and 1973. While it’s good to see a book on Latin America which prioritises local ruling class action and interests rather than presenting everything as a result of US conspiracies, it’s going a little too far in the other direction to neglect the role of the US almost entirely, particularly given the US influence on policing in Latin America, especially through training programmes (Huggins 1987, 1998), and its continuing interest in police ‘reform’ in the continent (Johnson, Mendelson Forman and Bliss 2012).

The book is useful in balancing the recent literature on policing protest, which is heavily weighted towards core countries, and in reminding us of the high stakes involved in protesting in some countries. As to what social movements may learn from the book, the obvious message is the need to contest frames that legitimise, and develop counter-frames that undermine, repressive protest policing, though this is a long struggle: as Bonner notes, “discursive accountability is usually not immediate but rather is accumulative” (p. 27). One specific tactic movements may embrace is to compile information on police brutality and violence, as social movement organisations have done in Argentina, which increases social movements’ credibility as sources for journalists, ensures the voices of social movements are covered by the media and thus increases support for the emergence of a civil rights frame on protest policing.

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**Book review: Arthur Manuel & Grand Chief
Ronald M. Derrickson, *Unsettling Canada***

Review author: Maja Curcic

**Arthur Manuel and Grand Chief Ronald M. Derrickson, 2015,
Unsettling Canada: A National Wake-Up Call. Toronto: Between the
Lines (320 pp., paperback, \$29.95).**

Unsettling Canada: A National Wake-Up Call (2015) is well-documented narrative about the history of colonial and neo-colonial exclusion of Canadian First Nations and their ongoing struggle for self-determination, sovereignty and ancestral land. The book is written by Arthur Manuel, a First Nations political activist, leader of the Secwepemc nation and spokesperson for the Indigenous Network on Economies and Trade (INET). His work has had significant impact on the establishment of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2002) and on both legal and political decisions that acknowledged Indigenous title and status in Canada. His collaborator and author of the afterword is Ronald Derrickson, a prominent First Nations leader and successful businessman who has been named Grand Chief by the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs in recognition of his successful political and economic leadership.

The main purpose of the book is to decolonize both Canadian property rights (based on colonial seizure of Indigenous land) and Canadian society that has historically reproduced colonial and neo-colonial system. The book follows, what Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999, 189) names as a “counter-hegemonic approach to Western forms of research” as it aims to decolonize our minds and create clarity in relationship to our positionality with social justice. *Unsettling Canada* is a valuable work about the active, consistent and strong anti-colonial struggle for political and economic Indigenous rights, both within the system – in the forms of legal acts – and outside of it (e.g. radical Indigenous socio-political movements).

Manuel and Derricksons’ book starts with a strong chapter about the colonisation of Canada that has been based on the appropriation of Indigenous land, the oppressive coloniser-colonised relationship and the ongoing struggle of First Nations people for their land and self-determination. He addresses issues of colonialism, racism and capitalist exploitation within a sociological frame: considering historical, structural and cultural factors of social life. The work highlights ongoing social harm such as poverty, unemployment, high incarceration rates and racial discrimination that have significant impact on the well-being of Indigenous communities in Canada. Manuel connects present issues with the colonial past. He has a clear political standpoint in addressing these issues and is never subjected to the pseudo-theoretical and conformist position of ‘being objective’. *Unsettling Canada* can therefore be read as

Manuel's autobiography, his journey as a chief and political activist who was strongly influenced by his mother Marceline and by his father George Manuel who was a prominent leader of the National Indian Brotherhood and the founder of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples.

In illuminating the historical and structural system of white privilege on the one side and the accumulation of disadvantages suffered by Indigenous communities on the other, Manuel maintains land acts and other legal decisions by the federal government that appropriated the land from First Nations and consequently, stripped them of their traditional livelihood. He critically analyse strategies, both 'legal' and illegal but in both ways racist and exclusionary, that were used to legitimise colonisation in the 18th and 19th century and neo-colonialism since the 20th century: from the doctrine of discovery and proclaiming 'new' lands as *terra nullius* (an empty land) to legal acts and assimilation policies (e.g. the 1927 Indian Act amendments) that separated First Nations from their land.

Influenced by his father, other First Nations activists and activists around the world such as Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party, Manuel draws on ideas of intercommunal anti-colonial struggle by oppressed communities (see Newton, 1972). Manuel closely describes his domestic and international anti-colonial struggle resulting in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) in which he had a significant role. But although Indigenous peoples in all four Anglophone settler states (Canada, USA, Australia and New Zealand) have been acknowledged by the UN that recognised Indigenous historical grievances Manuel maintains that they continue to struggle both economically and culturally, especially because of the ongoing neo-colonial system and the separation with the land that continues to be, together with self-determination, a focal point of the struggle. In other words, Manuel argues that because of the appropriation of their land, a dominance of a white settler society with its social institutions and political economy, the social harm issues and the accumulation of disadvantages (see Alfred and Corntassel 2005; Workman and McIntosh, 2013) continues to be strongly present within the First Nations communities:

it is the loss of our land that has been the precise cause of our impoverishment. Indigenous land today account for only 0.36 per cent of British Columbian territory [...] In Canada overall the percentage is even worse, with Indigenous peoples controlling only 0.2 per cent of the land [...] our lives are seven years shorter than the lives of non-Indigenous Canadians. Our unemployment rates are four times higher [...] Our youth commit suicide at a rate more than five times higher. We are living the effects of this dispossession every day of our lives, and we have been living this misery in Canada for almost 150 years. (Manuel and Derrickson, 2015, 7-8)

In multiple places in the book Manuel highlights one of the main social harms that have had significant impact on the First Nations communities – incarceration. He asserts that

it is not uncommon among Indigenous peoples to have family members go to jail. It is part of the system that we live with, in which a young Indian man still has a greater chance of going to jail than he does of finishing high school. (p. 15)

According to David Garland (2001), this identifies mass incarceration with significant inter-generational impact. Maori sociologist Tracey McIntosh (2011) maintains that all settler societies (Canada, USA, Australia and New Zealand) are characterised by high Indigenous incarceration rates. As is clear in Manuel's narrative, this is paralleled in contemporary neo-colonial policing of Indigenous struggle for self-determination.

Both Manuel and Derrickson went to Native Residential schools. Residential schools were government-sponsored Christian schools established to assimilate Indigenous children into Euro-Canadian culture; they operated from 1830s to 1996 (Miller, 2012). First Nations children were therefore forcibly removed from their families and deprived of their ancestral history, traditions and language. The main assimilation strategy missionaries had was a mission to 'civilize' Indigenous children and to denigrate Indigenous spirituality, their customs and beliefs, and their way of life in order to assimilate them into the mainstream, white dominated capitalist society. For Manuel, this was very sad period of his life. He mentions that sexual abuse was suffered by many children – a well-known fact about the residential schools – “[b]ut even without this extreme abuse, I remember the residential school experience as a time of great loneliness and alienation” (Manuel and Derrickson, 2015, 23).

Throughout the book, Manuel focuses on legal acts and recent historical events in which he has had a significant role. He sees the government's hostile response to strong and consistent political action by the National Indian Brotherhood and contemporary movements such as Idle No More and Defenders of the Land as a continuation of Canadian racist and (neo)colonial politics. He highlights the battle against the Government's 1969 White Paper that “proposed abolishing the Indian Act and at the same time sweeping aside Indian status and Indian lands and turning First Nations people into ethnic group – like Italian-Canadians or Irish-Canadians – to be gradually absorbed into the melting pot” (pp. 29-30). On the other end, he maintains a significant victory for his people in the 1973 Supreme Court Calder decision that recognised 'Indian title' as a property right of First Nation peoples in Canada.

Manuel recounts the 1990 Oka Crisis, a protest by Mohawk protesters against the appropriation of their land (a peaceful protest that was violently suppressed by the police and army) which resulted in establishing the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. The Commission's findings suggested the assertion of the right of self-determination and sovereignty for First Nations, together with the

rejection of the doctrine of discovery that was historically used to confiscate Indigenous land. He also recounts a range of other acts of activism and direct action that demonstrate the ongoing resistance and struggle of Indigenous peoples to reclaim rights and resources that were alienated from them.

In the final chapters and in the Derrickson's afterword, the book focuses on plans and concrete examples of sustainable economy based on Indigenous knowledge and principles. The main focus is the commitment for the well-being of First Nations communities and the care for the environment:

We are, after all, the children and the defenders of the land. Our Indigenous economies have been based on cultivation, herding, hunting, gathering, fishing – and their related technologies – all integrated into the natural cycles of the earth [...] If you damage any one of these to satisfy your immediate needs, you are literally harming yourself. Watching today's rapacious industrial development of the land by the Western world is like watching a person with a serious mental illness causing self-harm. But our people, because we are so deeply connected to the land, are generally the first to feel the pain. Our duty to protect our lands is primordial, and the assault on our lands and resources today is unprecedented. (p. 179)

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**Book review: Óscar García Agustín,
*Sociology of Discourse***

Review author: Alexandra Ana

Óscar García Agustín, 2015, *Sociology of Discourse: From institutions to social change*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Publishing Company (xi, 217pp., hardback, €99.00/\$149.00).

In Argentina, the *piquetero* movement contested, through road blockades, the neoliberal measures of the 1990s, which favored growth at the expense of social inequality and poverty. Their actions culminated with protests that led to the resignation of President Fernando de La Rúa. In 2001, in Brazil, The World Social Forum (WSF) opposed a world dominated by capital. In 2011, Chilean students protested against privatization. In Italy, Tute Bianche fought globalization. In Spain, the Indignados camped in Puerta del Sol, to fight for 'real democracy' and, the Platform for People Affected by Mortgages (PAH) fought for the right to housing, with Ada Colau, former spokesperson of the Platform, winning the mayoral elections in 2015, in Barcelona. During the last two decades, social movements have produced discourses that have entailed an alternative conception of society and attempted to create new institutions or substantially modify the existing ones.

But how do social movements bring about social change? What are the ways in which their discourses challenge the existing institutions and build-up new social meanings and collective action? How do their discourses become accepted and articulated in policy documents? How to provide continuity and stability to social struggles? To answer these questions, *Sociology of Discourse: From institutions to social change* develops a comprehensive theoretical framework complemented with rich and up to date empirical examples. The central idea is that discourses produced by collective subjects develop processes of institutionalization to promote social change, by questioning the established institutions and creating the conditions for the emergence of new ones. Discourses constitute alternative institutions that foster and give continuity to social change. Agustín's book ambitiously opens the path towards a 'sociology of discourse' by originally approaching the relation between discourse, institutionalization and social change.

The book challenges the idea of institutions as a constraint for discourse production or social change achievement, and of institutionalization as adapting and neutralizing social struggles. By exploring the ways in which discourses contest dominant institutions, contributing to the creation of new social meanings and collective action, *Sociology of Discourse* shows that institutionalization is actually what makes change possible. The first chapters of the volume are theoretical and match the integrated fields of social change,

discourse, communication and institutions, penetrated by empirical examples of institutionalization originating in two waves of global protests: the anti-globalization movement from the 1990s to Occupy and Indignados in 2011, and the Pink Tide in Latin America in between. The last chapter applies the developed sociology of discourse to explain the institutionalization of the right to housing struggle in Spain. In what follows, the analytical framework of the book is discussed, then its application to the empirical case is addressed, and, lastly, the potential and challenges of the sociology of discourse for analyzing social change are emphasized.

To conceptualize social change, Agustín develops the sociology of discourse based on relations between discourse and institutionalization. There is a widespread view among scholars as well as activists that becoming institutionalized translates into a move towards official politics and equates with social movements abandoning extra-parliamentary mobilization to participate in policy-making. In this way, institutionalization has a negative connotation, as a form of deactivation of social movements, diminishing their contributions to social struggles. The innovation of the sociology of discourse consists of understanding social change in relation to the dynamics of institutionalization, power and linguistic order, in which movements are involved.

Institutionalization, in this perspective, means building new discourses that challenge the heteronomous society, opening the path towards social change. This approach moves beyond the critique of the dominant order through lexical production and unveils the capacity of social movements' constituent discourses to generate an alternative scenario that allows for the development of a new discursive and institutional configuration of society in moments of rupture. The emerging institutions can radically question the system and be autonomous, or assume some of its aspects, and incorporate part of the social demands and be integrated. Nevertheless, both are ingrained in a conflictual process of institutionalization where maintaining the balance between stabilization and openness is crucial.

Agustín's analytical model, explains social change through the process of institutionalization, with communication, discourse and institutions, as central dimensions. Discourse is understood as a social practice that opens the possibility to question the dominant order characterized by social closure and to build on alternative claims made by social movements.

Beyond reacting against the dominant order and control, social movements engage in a process of de-euphemization of the language of power and move towards constituent moments of dispute and stabilization of social meanings, as part of the alternative discourse that fosters social change. Agustín gives the example of the "V for Vivienda" platform that in 2006 rose against the high price of housing in Spain and promoted change in public policies. The platform coined the term universal social rent, to grant effective access to housing to every citizen and developed a vocabulary opposed to the dominant discourse on housing, associating universal social rent with expropriation of use or limitation of the right to use.

Discourses take place in communicative events and relations between actors. Government discourses differ from social movement discourses regarding the power relations involved and the social space of production of communication of meaning. Communication becomes another constitutive dimension of institutionalization that either legitimates domination or challenges it. Going beyond the public/private distinction, Agustín proposes an overview of the communication processes composed of official, public and hidden discourses, to account for power relations.

The case of undocumented migrants in Madrid, working as street-sellers of pirate products, shows the importance of hidden discourses and how new collective subjects challenge the dominant public order. The migrant workers, extremely vulnerable because of their double illegality status – as migrants and workers – developed a system of communication to protect each other against the police. This hidden practice contributed to the build-up of an association for undocumented people to contest the system of domination that produces non-citizens through border policy and precarious workers through informal labor market.

Shaped by social practices and open to alteration, institutions are the last dimension of institutionalization. Continuous recognition assures their symbolic efficiency. To create alternative institutions, both new social imaginaries and collective acceptance are required. Drawing on Cornelius Castoriadis' theory of institutions, Agustín underlines institutions' potential towards change, rather than their constraining character. The identitarian and symbolic dimensions of society reflect openness and closure, answering both to the question of unity maintenance and that of change with alternative social meanings and representations building new institutions that break with the dominant order. Making use of imaginary, society self-alters perpetually.

To assess the potential of the theoretical framework of the sociology of discourse, Agustín analyses the institutionalization of the right to housing struggle carried by the Platform for People Affected by Mortgages (PAH). While the economic crisis challenged the neoliberal order, the discourse of PAH questioned the dominant institutions serving capital. The right to housing was the main claim of the movement, complemented with the rejection of illegitimate debts. The Platform aimed to stop evictions, to allow 'dation-in-payment' (a striking of debt for people who have been foreclosed on but still owe on their mortgage), which was supported by citizens and most political parties in Spain, and to establish social rents (the possibility for indebted homeowners to pay whatever they can afford, and the end of utilities cut-offs). Through a discursive articulation based on these demands, PAH enhanced both its collective identity and alternative discourse. For example, unlike the political parties, PAH did not frame evictions as a social problem but as a generalized fraud caused by the bankers. Housing was framed as an essential right, not a commodity used for speculation. This re-framing was part of a 'de-euphemization' through which the discourse of domination was revealed together with the hidden economic interests behind it.

The legitimacy of the demand for dation-in-payment came from the signatures collected to present a Popular Legislative Initiative (PLI)¹. Although rejected by the parliament, the PLI contributed to solving individual as PAH continued to reclaim dation-in-payment in every day actions without legislative backup. This suggests that people can sometimes act as if an institution exists even if it doesn't. Nevertheless, the lack of support from the ruling People's Party made it necessary to create an alternative social imaginary. Therefore, re-contextualizing *escrache* – a type of protest rooted in the Argentinian political practice of the 1990s – PAH shifted its attention to politicians whom they identified as just as guilty and responsible for the housing crisis as the banks. This contested the dominant order that blames the people for not having a roof over their heads. Moreover, the movement went beyond stopping evictions and engaged in social work. Its project of autonomy aimed at appropriating empty residences belonging to the banks after foreclosure, considered by Agustín a process of collective recovery and claiming of social rents. Through these actions, PAH was successful in articulating a discourse against the economic system, questioning capitalism and property, while offering concrete solutions to the problems created by political and economic elites. The practice and discourse of this alternative social imaginary amount to a process of institutionalization for Agustín.

The innovative theoretical framework proposed by *Sociology of Discourse* is analytically strong, maturely and discerningly complemented by empirical data from a broad specter of social movements. *Sociology of Discourse* reforms the current understanding about social change and institutionalization, fostered through discourses of resistance. It offers a great and novel contribution to the study of social movements, going beyond the diagnosis of institutionalization as depoliticizing and demobilizing civil society.

I would like to end by posing some questions for further development of the sociology of discourse that shed light on some of the themes not dealt with in the book. Since the book addresses social movements coming from the political spectrum of the left, it would be interesting to address the institutionalization of right-wing or extreme-right movements and the kind of social change they produce – does political ideology play a role within the process of institutionalization? Does the degree and distance of frame alignment between social movements' demands for change, and the dominant view of the heteronomous society about those claims, affect the closure and openness? How does time, cross-cutting all the dimensions of institutionalization, affect the possibilities of instituting new social imaginaries? Regarding hidden discourses and transcripts as supposedly free of power spaces, one should self-critically reflect on oppression coming from intersectional subordinate subjects as for example women within migrant movements, Roma (women) within right to housing movements, and so on.

¹ A Popular Legislative Initiative constitutes a procedure where at least 500,000 citizens support a proposal that the parliament is then obliged to debate.

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