

Book reviews: *Interface* 10 (1–2)

Review editors: Bjarke Skærlund Risager, Sutapa Chattopadhyay¹, & Dawn Paley

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David Alan Nibert and Sue Coe, 2017, *Animal Oppression and Capitalism*. Santa Barbara, California: Praeger (644 pp; Two Volumes; \$164.00); Atsuko Matsuoka and John Sorenson, 2017, *Critical Animal Studies: Towards Trans-Species Social Justice*. London; New York: Rowman and Littlefield International (374 pp; £29.95)

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Wolfe, Mikael D. 2017. *Watering the Revolution: An Environmental and Technological History of Agrarian Reform in Mexico*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. (317 pp. Paperback \$26.95).

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James Kelly, 2017, *Food Rioting in Ireland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The 'Moral Economy' and the Irish Crowd*. Dublin: Four Courts Press (hardback; 272pp.; €45)

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Pierpaolo Mudu and Sutapa Chattopadhyay, 2017, *Migration, Squatting and Radical Autonomy*. New York: Routledge (294 pp.; €32–114)

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¹ Sutapa Chattopadhyay has not been involved in editing the review of their own book published in this issue.

Zeynep Tufekçi, 2017, *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest*. London: Yale University Press (360 pp.; CA\$30)

Review author: Pascale Dangoisse

Anna Feigenbaum, 2017, *Tear Gas: From the Battlefield of World War I to the Streets of Today*. New York: Verso (218 pp. + Bibliography and Index; US\$ 19.95 paperback)

Review author: Alexander Dunlap

Sabrina Zajak, 2017, *Transnational Activism, Global Labor Governance, and China*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan (xi + 286 pp.; US\$129, ebook US\$99)

Review author: Melanie Kryst

Gonzalo Villanueva, 2018, *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement, 1970-2015*. Basingstoke: Palgrave macmillan (284pp., hardcover, 84.99€)

Review author: Marie Leth-Espensen

Lee A. Smithey and Lester R. Kurtz, eds., 2018, *Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements*. New York: Syracuse University Press. 368 pp. \$65.00 (hardcover), \$34.95 (paperback).

Review Author: Ayman Alsadawi

Review essay: Social activism, academic belligerence, and critical animal studies

Review author: Andrew Kettler

David Alan Nibert and Sue Coe, 2017, *Animal Oppression and Capitalism*. Santa Barbara, California: Praeger (644 pp; Two Volumes; \$164.00).

Atsuko Matsuoka and John Sorenson, 2017, *Critical Animal Studies: Towards Trans-Species Social Justice*. London; New York: Rowman and Littlefield International (374 pp; £29.95)

As part of a recent academic sojourn, I joined a conference on Thinking about Animals at Brock University in Ontario, Canada. The forum offered a delightful representation of the internal workings of a social movement that has the emotionality and aptitude to create considerable change, but still faces both substantial internal discord and aggressive external resistance that prevents serious influence within the public sphere. The Sociology Department at Brock offers some of the leading voices for Animal Studies, and provided their symposium as an activist space for scholars to voice philosophical concerns with the pace of Animal Liberation and as a book launch for two new editions that summarize the field of Critical Animal Studies (CAS). This review essay offers attention to those two editions, a multi-volume activist project from David Nibert and Sue Coe and a single volume academic edition collected by Atsuko Matsuoka and John Sorenson. These publications, and the debates that were offered at Thinking about Animals, suggest that CAS is at an electrifying but troublesome crisis point. Like many social movements that offer activist scholarship for public consumption, CAS must avoid floundering in onanistic tendencies.

Externally, Critical Animal Studies (CAS) faces the intense and multifaceted power of the Animal Industrial Complex (AIC). The AIC, the governmental, media, and corporate links that combine to support various animal product industries, provides the general public a sense of detachment from the horrors of the slaughterhouse through both semiotic manipulations and material controls that conceal the pain animals experience on the disassembly line. The many cultural and physical forms of the AIC work to prevent Animal Liberation, a social state wherein nonhuman animals retain legal protections as individuals and are not used for human consumption, material creations, or medical research. Simply, the AIC works to limit social and nutritional spaces for common persons hoping to avoid using animals in their diets and fetishized lives. Westerners rarely question whether meat is healthful as a central part of the human diet, an example of the hegemonic influence of the AIC to conceal

and shift connotations to create an alimentary culture amenable to corporate gains.

Internally, CAS faces increasing academic discord. For a present field essentially founded on activist projects out of Peter Singer's *Animal Liberation* (1975), CAS has always voiced more public concerns than academic discussions. The central internal threat to *Animal Liberation* is whether increasingly accumulative academic deliberations will take the movement from the sidewalks before slaughterhouses to new spaces of class privilege only accessible for those versed in the vestiges of critical and environmental theory. The advanced scholarship presented at *Thinking about Animals*, and within the editions under review, expose that CAS is primed to meet the public through more direct, broad, and emotional forms of advertisement and progressively more widespread modes of political agitation.

Animal Oppression and Capitalism and *Critical Animal Studies* are specifically for those scholars interested in animal rights from a legal, linguistic, and material perspective. The works demonstrate the contours of a field that must make choices on theoretical discussions to quickly establish narratives potent enough to change the minds of those everyday persons who live each day without a single care for the causes of early animal rights activist Jeremy Bentham or radical vegetarian moralist Leo Tolstoy. The debates in these editions portray that CAS must become increasingly introspective on issues of public change and less belligerent on dialectical issues of critical theory. Importantly for these concerns, both of these essential editions relay both academic and activist theses. Sorenson and Matsuoka's collection is decidedly more academic, while Nibert and Coe's volumes are patently more activist, especially due to the violent imagery of the slaughterhouse provided through Coe's images, which separate the sections of the two volume edition.

Critical animal dialogues

Matsuoka and Sorenson lay out the contours of CAS in a summary introduction to their edition. They define speciesism, radical veganism, and eco-feminism to introduce their intersectional assertion of the importance of Trans-Species Social Justice, whereby *Animal Liberation* will create pathways to greater human liberation. Part one on Activism looks at language, resistance, and escape. Examining her own case studies in the wake of Jason Hribal's *Fear of the Animal Planet* (2011), Sarat Colling's chapter continues work to dispel the myth that domesticated animals are complicit because they contractually exchange their bodies for human protection. She expands a debate regarding how the language of animal resistance is often modified to define animals who escape the horrors of the slaughterhouse as exceptional, thus supporting the idea that the remaining billions of animals who do not escape remain complicit. Ian Purdy and Anita Krajnc follow with a chapter that links the radical veganism of Tolstoy with the idea that modern CAS should *bear witness* to the horrors of the slaughterhouse. The chapter summarizes how Toronto Pig Save creates a

model for introducing the public to the AIC through creating subjects of animals at ceremonial and demonstrative vigils.

Part two on Representing Animals starts with Karen Davis' antagonistic study of the ethical blindness that occurs due to reporter's indifference to animal escapes, childhood tales of animal complicity, and the performative pardoning of turkeys on Thanksgiving. Davis explores how even as animal cruelty becomes more visible, hegemonic structures of language and comedy develop to conceal suffering. Matthew Cole and Kate Stewart follow with a similarly representative analysis of television advertisements for meat in the United Kingdom. Their examination explores commercials for McDonalds, Aldi, and different breakfast cereals to show how childhood education on television primes the English mind for the dissociation necessary for the AIC to persist. Their analysis displays how meat is frequently normalized through imagery of farms that rarely include representations of actual animals.

Part three on New Disciplinary Advances productively looks at academic fields making inroads into CAS. Daniel Sayers and Justin Uehlein submit a chapter on the introduction of historical archaeology through evidence from the Great Dismal Swamp in modern Virginia and North Carolina. Their analysis offers a history of maroons who may have participated in anti-capitalist forms of agriculture that protected animal populations. Despite considerable historical issues related to questions of slave agency, the ideal of introducing digital mapping to questions of Animal Liberation is a noble goal. Paul Hamilton follows with a desire to introduce political science into discussions of Animal Liberation. He offers that many theorists often use animals in their discussions of othering and human politics, but rarely discuss the place of animal rights in modern political worlds. Hamilton astutely submits that in many modern discussions of cultural relativism, Animal Liberation is often sidelined due to respect for different concepts of consumption in diverse global communities. Richard White and Simon Springer continue to discuss the use of geography within CAS as a means to explore the space of the slaughterhouse as lived experience. They advocate for a form of anarchist geography that can apply a praxis of exposure. Gordon Hodson and Kimberley Costello hope to add the field of psychology to CAS. Their chapter focuses on deconstructing interspecies prejudices that link animalization and racialization. The authors explore conceptual links that show how populations who retain racialized belief systems are also often belligerent against animal rights.

Part four focuses on imperative discourses related to Animals and the Law. Maneesha Deckha provides a chapter on the different legal discourses used by CAS. Many legal scholars, following in the tradition of the Nonhuman Rights Project, apply the central idea of *practical autonomy* to achieve rights of personhood for specific species of animals that can be proven rational. However, because a legal concern has arisen amongst scholars in CAS regarding the cyclical assertion of human rationality as a prevailing classification, Deckha looks at new legalisms that do not use the language of rationality, as within *Tilikum v. Sea World* (2012). Krithika Srinivasan continues this discussion of

legality through cases where human reason is not used as a means to create protections. Reading *Animal Liberation* through Michel Foucault and specific Indian case studies, Srinivasan explores how stray dogs are protected through Animal Birth Control Rules and specific turtle species find protection from zoopolitical legalism based on a broad conception of bio-politics defined within a rubric of both harm and care.

The intellectually commanding fifth section focuses on Philosophical Arguments. Josephine Donovan offers an important chapter on consolidating debates between environmental theorists who support the New Materialism and scholars of CAS who resist equating animals and material objects. Donovan states claims against the scholarship of Jane Bennett, Donna Haraway, and Karen Barad, through asserting that the New Materialists falsely remake the subject within a quantum field of equivalencies that denies animals the subjectivity necessary for liberation. Successively, Elisa Aaltola puts forward another central philosophical debate in the field of CAS, proposing resistance to the idea that empathy is a failed pathway for Animal Liberation. She summarizes the work of T.J. Kasperbauer, who posited that empathy is such a limited emotion, and is so determined by other factors, that it becomes futile as an activist sentiment. Aaltola deconstructs his arguments piecemeal through exploring empathy in linguistic relations and as part of the Animal Liberation dialectic that still emphasizes Singer's pragmatism rather than modern forms of precarious sentimentality. Jason Wyckoff next provides a wonderful chapter that offers different historical understandings of language and power, proposing that CAS should explore diverse theories of mind to understand the meanings of words for both the speaker and within manipulated and relational fields of meaning.

Critical Animal Studies ends with an exploratory section on Indigeneity and Animal Rights. Margaret Robinson, a Mi'kmaw woman from Ontario, offers the penultimate chapter, which explores discord between indigeneity and veganism through providing how Robinson came to understand a new ethics through which to assert vegan ideals as an indigenous woman. Robinson exposes how using oral traditions about respecting animals helped her overcome indigenous critiques that veganism is simply a settler, upper class, and non-traditional manifestation that may further subdue First Nations. A similar analysis is provided in the concluding chapter to the edition, wherein Matsuoka relays the tale of Ruth Koleszar-Green, a Haudenosaunee woman who similarly battled with ideas of tradition and narratives of colonialism in coming to terms with her veganism.

Matsuoka and Sorenson's edition sets a standard that links academic and activist literature for social movements concerned with animal rights. The chapters summarize profound questions related to the proper language to apply to activism in the courtroom, the historical, material, and linguistic influences of speciesism within the AIC, and modern debates for the proper pathways for Animal Liberation concerning indigeneity, subversion, and the material transgression of radical veganism. There is some concern that consistently being

pulled into arguments with New Materialists, journalists, and humane farmers may distract academics from pursuing significant links with activists. However, the edition does offer specific instances of how to pursue legal and social activism, especially in the chapters by Purdy and Krajnc, Davis, and Deckha.

Eating and engineering flesh

Within a binary for this review, *Animal Oppression and Capitalism* is correspondingly more activist than academic, providing narratives of a radical, romantic, and emotional CAS against the oppression of the AIC. Nibert, as part of an introduction that summarizes his formative *Animal Oppression and Human Violence* (2013), asserts the central goal of CAS should be to explore a singular discourse of how neoliberal capitalism continues to accelerate long-term masculine abuses of both subalterns and animals. He outlines an assured type of abusive male desire to control nature, what he calls domesecration, which quickens within late capitalism to increasingly offer cruelty to animal populations who are both part of the working class as agents and victims of continued disassembly.

The initial volume of *Animal Oppression and Capitalism* focuses on eating animal flesh through chapters on hegemonic language and material abuses of the AIC. In the first chapter, Kimberley Ducey analyzes how animals and subalterns are linked in a discourse beneath an essentially elite-white-male-dominance system. This system specifically conceals the violence of the Chicken-Industrial-Complex through increasingly preventing alternative political and legal discourses. In chapter two, Matthew Cole focuses on contemporary masculine definitions for dairy agriculture. He analyzes advertisements that portray milk as necessary for proper male bodies. Within this narrative, cows are considered complicit and passive interspecies mothers. The third chapter, from Jana Canavan, explores the social construction of these happy cows through examining Swedish milk advertisements. Canavan discovers how political narratives of the socialist middle way are partly created through the use of different gendered bovine imagery. Tracey Harris follows with analysis of responses to reports of worker abuse of animals at Maple Leaf Foods hatchery in Ontario. Often, consumers are concealed from the general abuses of capitalism because the mistreatment of animals is associated solely to individual workers, specific anecdotes about misuse, and particular companies.

Animal Oppression and Capitalism continues into debates on sentience, empathy, and suffering. Akin to Aaltola's chapter in *Critical Animal Studies*, Mary Trachsel continues Nibert's edition with an exploration of Ag-gag laws through focusing on how empathy should be used as a means of critique. Through analyzing pork production in Iowa, she looks at how forms of empathy can be productive for Animal Liberation through a memorable childhood anecdote of her love for a family pig named Wilbur. In the sixth chapter, Taichi Inoue looks at the suffering of tuna caused by long-line commercial fishing in Japan, which shows that animal distress cannot be understood in simply human

terms. In an important chapter for the public sphere, Peter Li follows with a history of the dog meat trade in China. The trade, though it rests on some minor historical precedents, only accelerated into an operative market during the 1980s. This marketplace growth is part of a new rural survival mechanism due to the growing wealth gaps in the urbanizing Chinese economy. The nonagricultural trade exists through kidnappings that employ small crates, trucks that feed specific vendors, larger agronomic concerns that use dog meat as filler, and within the infamous Yulin festival.

The edition returns to discussions of hegemony and power with Kadri Aavik's discourse analysis of the Estonian government's support of the AIC. This chapter offers a more broadly applicable analysis of how dietary guidelines are manipulated to conceal the healthfulness of veganism and promote continued flesh eating as the most healthful of diets. Marcel Sebastian's subsequent chapter offers structural analysis of similar forms of capitalist hegemony. Presenting a comparison between deficient US and German unionization in the AIC, he explores how the historical assembly line was created to deconstruct animal bodies rather than as a means to create new materials for the Western oligopolies of the late nineteenth century. This historical narrative, by offering how the deskilling of workers and a downward pressure on prices was necessitated by the AIC, points to a larger goal of Nibert's edition, which links humans and animals as a common working class in resistance to neoliberal biopolitics, a point explored through multicultural analysis in Corrine Painter's later chapter.

Discussions of hegemony and false consciousness arise again in the next two chapters. Arianna Ferrari continues with complex debates on the use of in-vitro-meat engineering. She submits that CAS may only support in-vitro-meat if the backing is ethically driven, as there are both conceptual and material concerns of speciesism that arise when supporting flesh eating, even if the meat does not come from a living animal. Vasile Stănescu follows with a similar analysis of troublesome developments, through providing how the Humane Farming Movement may blur activist goals through falsely reproducing omnivorous ideas that uphold factory farming. This theoretical reading offers how the AIC is supported through the post-commodity fetish, whereby consumers often buy a performative humane identity rather than become truly compassionate.

Painter's foreshadowed chapter focuses on case studies of the most abominable horrors of factory farming through a narrative of how capitalism justifies the AIC through ideas of human exceptionalism. She argues against the outermost submissions of Nibert's structural determinism, offering how choices still exist for humans in the most destructive of ecological conditions, and activists should be able to blame workers who abuse animals, even with an understanding that the capitalist structure is essentially to blame for the violence of the AIC. Livia Boscardin ends the first volume with similar discussions of false consciousness foregrounded earlier in the edition through offering how the greening of capitalism may be a subterfuge. Akin to the chapter by Stănescu, she describes

how ecological and vegan movements that green capitalism are possibly part of a *mirror move* that reinforces the AIC.

Society of the animal spectacle

The second volume of *Animal Oppression and Capitalism* concentrates on the history of keeping animals for entertainment, beginning with John Sanbonmatsu's clear and concise use of Marxist theory to discuss how capitalism changed human/animal relationships, and the continued acceleration of these processes of reification. The next chapter, from patrice jones, offers how taking an outside view to critique these forms of capitalism is essentially impossible for humans due to the vast linguistic hegemony of the AIC. Consequently, one possible way to find a viewpoint from outside of capitalist structures is through adopting animal perspectives. These new ethics, specifically read through urban pigeons and feminist standpoint theory, show the augmented importance of resisting privatization, as animals consistently invade private property. Núria Almiron follows through applying Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky's *Manufacturing Consent* (1995) to explore how aqua prisons like Sea World articulate a false narrative that orcas consent to their role in zoos due to a history of intra-species violence. With her work, Almiron hopes to institute a change in public sphere consciousness, as with the tumult that came after the release of *Blackfish* (2013).

Rob Laidlaw focuses next on how zoos create such narratives of conservation and complicity to solidify the profit motive, explored here through the use of animal babies, mega exhibits, and roller coasters that frequently increase funding links between governments and private companies. In a similar field of institutional control, Carol Glasser offers how vivisection strengthens ties between research universities and corporations to the detriment of animal welfare. Specifically, vivisection becomes a profit sector that allows universities to sell their research, while colleges also peddle the idea of analysis as a means to obtain higher tuitions.

Nibert's editions shift back to language and hegemony with Michele Pickover's analysis of how shifting meanings of wild and domestic are a way to enter new commodities into neoliberal markets at a faster rate under the guise of conservation. Specifically, the protection of different animals in South Africa often disrupts categories of endangerment through class narratives of development. Lara Drew continues with a chapter on the application of the kangaroo as a symbol of Australian identity. She offers complexity to this masculine chronicle through analyzing how kangaroos are defined as pests, which often leads to a concealment of the violent commodification of the kangaroo as both meat and zoo entertainment.

In the next chapter, Nibert's edition takes a more activist path, as Julie Andrzejewski asserts that the sixth mass extinction is presently occurring. This has transpired through direct means, as with hunting of specific species, and due to structural issues relating to fracking, deforestation, and climate change.

In important activist terms, this chapter outlines fifteen pathways for how to support animals as these mass extinctions continue, including assisting indigenous rights groups, pushing laws for the protection of public lands, and choosing vegan lifestyles. Corey Wrenn looks at similar patterns of praxis through the vegan feminist theory of Carol Adams, as fashioned in her *Pornography of Meat* (2003), to expose historical patterns of feminization within the AIC. Generally, capitalism rests on a logic of male hegemony through the idea of controlling the flesh of women and flesh to eat, exemplified through interspecies controls on reproduction, eggs, and milk. Luis Cordeiro-Rodrigues offers a similarly radical tenor of activism in his succeeding intersectional narrative regarding how nonhuman animal metaphors are used to classify Portuguese homosexuals within fractured and liminal legal spaces.

Activist goals continue in the subsequent chapter, where Lauren Corman questions how CAS should apply empathy to understand animal suffering from the creature's perspective. This process of cognitive ethnology will increasingly turn animals from objects into individual subjects. Richard White's following analysis offers how vegan praxis may not be valuable without a larger anarchist critique of capitalism. He attends that veganism can persist as a revolutionary ideal through linking with everyday aspects of anarchist praxis within the household, but must avoid commodification within narratives of Green Economies. In the final chapter of Nibert's edition, Roger Yates charts possibly troublesome spaces where this commodification of veganism may be occurring. To conclude, John Sorenson provides an afterword that explores patterns of proven resistance, which include grassroots confrontations, radical anarchist struggles, and the everyday application of veganism.

The public is primed

The two editions under review focus CAS to a specific number of significant academic debates that should quickly be settled. Within these works, academics question whether to apply narratives of rationality to assist in the liberation of the most intelligent animals at the expense of possibly liberating all animals. Theoreticians question whether to write about animal agency from case studies of specific exceptional animal subjects who escape their confines, when doing so may support hegemonic narratives of complicity. Practitioners who believe in Animal Liberation debate whether humane farming is a proper pathway to liberation, or simply another hegemonic twist that elongates the duration of the AIC. Moralists continue to question whether to accept the money of religiously and socially misled hunters to fund conservation movements. Critical analysts, especially in Nibert's edition, offer that workers caught in the structures of capitalism may not be liable for their abuse of animals. The questions mount. Is multiculturalism a roadblock to Animal Liberation? Are the goals of environmentalism among the New Materialists anathema to animal rights? Should activists associate the painful human imagery of the Civil Rights Movement to Animal Liberation? Will exposure of the vilest aspects of the AIC turn away needed eyes? Is veganism simply a reified settler performance?

Even as these editions occasionally offer chapters on similar topics through comparable methodology, they are both essential for the field of CAS because they provide romantic and operative remnants of the original links between public influence and activist concerns that must remain central to Animal Liberation. Broadly, the scholars in these two editions present the self-critical nature of CAS. This introspection arises from a deep concern with securing protections for threatened animals. As part of the general activism the editions apply to secure these goals, it may be time for scholars of CAS to quickly come to terms with New Materialist distractions, especially as the public sphere is primed for new eco-critical narratives.

Ongoing resistance to the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act, Yulin, and Ag-gag legislation show a focused public eager to hear of AIC abuses. The vital emotionality caused by *The Cove* (2009), *Blackfish* (2013), and *Trophy* (2017) show an even broader public ready for an entertaining, strong, and fruitful message. The continued legal and radical pursuits of the Animal Liberation Front, the World Wildlife Fund, and People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals show an already activated NGO infrastructure for public application. Accordingly, what the editions under review contribute is that CAS must arrive quickly to a prefigured chronicle for public instigation. Like many social movements that become burdened with critical theory, CAS must find a pathway to directly engage various publics that are increasingly being destabilized and fetishized through forms of New Media propaganda.

For CAS, a pathway must develop that offers praxis that meets radical organizations on their fundamental terms, while also offering an anticipatory public a more digestible narrative than the inedible forms of debate that often fill the clean, white, and settler spaces of JSTOR and EBSCO. If CAS is able to create broadly significant dietary changes through an activist praxis that meets the public in spaces where the AIC still holds media and material hegemony, the movement can set a potential paradigm for applying direct strategies of exposure and emotionality to create civic change in wider social movements that rise against the most deeply embodied and subconscious forms of bio-political capitalism.

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Book Review: Mikael D. Wolfe. *Watering the Revolution: An Environmental and Technological History of Agrarian Reform in Mexico.*

Review author: Dawn Paley

Wolfe, Mikael D. 2017. *Watering the Revolution: An Environmental and Technological History of Agrarian Reform in Mexico.* Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. (317 pp. Paperback \$26.95).

Not long ago, I toured the municipal archives in the northern Mexican city of Torreón, Coahuila. On a wide wooden table in the middle of a small room filled wall to wall with books and archives sat a pile of folders and volumes. “That,” said Carlos Castañón, the head of the archive, as he gestured toward the documents, “is Mikael Wolfe’s pile.”

The fact that the archives Wolfe consulted sit, seemingly untouched, a year after his book *Watering the Revolution: An Environmental and Technological History of Agrarian Reform in Mexico* has appeared in print, tells us something about the amount of historical research taking place in this part of Mexico. Torreón and the surrounding area, known as La Laguna, was a touchstone of popular resistance during (and after) the Mexican Revolution, but Wolfe’s book is one of just a handful of titles published about the region in past years.

Wolfe situates his work at the crossroads of postrevolutionary state formation and environmental history in Mexico, both areas which he notes are “largely overlooked” (p. 2). In 1936, La Laguna was home to the largest and most important process of agrarian reform in Mexico, which was the result of “two decades’ worth of mass-mobilization and unionization of *campesinos* and workers,” though it is often misattributed to the generosity of President Lázaro Cárdenas. “The *reparto de tierras* (distribution of the land) was fast and relatively easy. The *reparto de aguas* (distribution of the water) for this new land regime proved to be a far greater technical challenge that was never fully overcome,” writes Wolfe (p. 4).

So begins *Watering the Revolution*, a meticulous, thorough, and at times dry (no pun intended) examination of decades of conflict over access to water in the region, with a focus on the high dam built on the Nazas River following the 1936 land reform. Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917, written in the wake of the Revolution, designated lands, water, mineral and hydrocarbon resources property of the Mexican people. Article 27 also made “popular access to water into a social right. As a resource scarcer than land, water in Mexico was equally valuable and generated powerful interests invested in it” (p. 17).

Nowhere is the gap between access to water and land clearer than it is in La Laguna, formerly a region of lakes fed by the only two rivers in Mexico that drain into land and not into the sea. Comparisons between the Nazas River at the turn of the 20th Century and the Nile abound: both shifting paths depending on the year, both flooding layers of fertile sediments into valleys that would become extremely rich cotton growing areas, and both recharging underground aquifers. Since the dam building projects of the 1930s and 1940s, which Wolfe carefully documents, what was once a region of lakes in northern Mexico has been transformed into semi-desert.

Flood-farm irrigation (known as *aniego*), in which waters “flow through an elaborate network of small diversion dams, earthen canals, acequias, dikes and levees” was the norm in La Laguna until the 1930s, providing a natural means of flood and pest control (p. 34). “Far from being ‘wasted’, as nearly all engineers claimed, the unused water from flooding filtered back underground into the subterranean water supply” (p. 35). Wolfe documents tensions between the Tlahualilo Company, a major cotton estate in the upriver area of La Laguna, and the regime of Porfirio Díaz, tensions which would remain until most of Tlahualilo was expropriated by Lázaro Cárdenas in 1936. Wolfe examines Francisco Madero’s proposal for a high river dam on the Nazas, which was first made as early as 1906. Madero’s plan was essentially about controlling the flow of the river, in order to better organize capitalist production in the area. A powerful local landowner, Madero would go on to become President of Mexico.

Watering the Revolution provides a compelling account of the Mexican Revolution in La Laguna, with the Nazas River and its flux at its narrative center. Though La Laguna was an important node of activity for Francisco Villa’s revolutionary armed División del Norte, change was slow to come. “In 1920, as the Revolution’s military phase wound down... much as during the Porfiriato, tenants and large sharecroppers cultivated 60 percent of Laguna landholdings” (p. 61).

Industrial and peasant organizing through unions, the Regional Mexican Labour Confederation (CROM) and the Mexican Communist Party intensified for 15 years after the Revolution, reaching “a crescendo during the first two years of the Cárdenas presidency (1934–40)” (p. 63). Demands for agrarian reform, as well as access to water, were central to the movement. Years of great river flow followed by years of drought would result in ebbs and flows in production and labor mobilizing in La Laguna, and Wolfe does a magnificent job of keeping his telling of this period in synch with the bounties of the still free flowing Nazas and Aguanaval Rivers.

By the 1920s, unrest prevailed in the factories and the fields. Madero’s proposal for a high river dam was resuscitated as a possible solution to the crisis. Referencing the work of historian Luis Aboites, Wolfe describes this as a period of promoting “revolutionary irrigation,” by which “hydraulic technology would bring social liberation to the agrarian masses without the government radically altering existing land-tenure patterns” (p. 72). Meanwhile, the pumping of

groundwater became increasingly commonplace, and was welcomed as a means to reduce dependence on unpredictable river flows.

As appealing as “revolutionary irrigation” was to some, the days were numbered for the old land regime. “The massive Cardenista agrarian reform of the 1930s was one of the most ambitious and far-reaching social experiments of its kind in Latin America, if not the world. Nationwide, it distributed a total of 45 million acres to eleven thousand ejidos populated by nearly a million people” (p. 95). And La Laguna – where over half of irrigable land was distributed to 38,000 families over a six week period in 1936 – was the centerpiece of this reform.

Wolfe focuses on what he calls “the hydraulic complement to agrarian reform,” beginning with a political consensus around the high river dam in 1935 and following through, in great detail, to the ribbon cutting on the completed Nazas dam, named “Lázaro Cárdenas,” in 1946. Though the dam had been envisioned by Cárdenas and his team as about irrigating *ejido* (collectively owned) lands, by the time the dam began to function, President Miguel Alemán (1946-52) was determined that the dam do the opposite. “Whereas Cárdenas wanted the dam to principally serve ejidos through preferential access to its reservoir water, Alemán wanted it mainly to help private landowners at the expense of ejidos” (p. 222). Flows from the dammed river maligned communal landowners, resulting in a re-concentration of irrigated land in the hands of a small elite.

In *Watering the Revolution*, the flows of the Nazas River guide us through the history of social and popular movements, the Mexican Revolution, intra-elite organizing and rural-urban labor mobilizations, as well as weaving a grounded, complex narrative about the advances of Cardenismo and the near immediate attempts at counter-revolution. We are shown the capitalist face of land reform in La Laguna, as well as corruption on the part of Mexican officials that favored the interests of U.S. groundwater pump manufacturers. Wolfe returns again and again to the power of local knowledge and the potential of local organizing, too often steamrolled by a technocratic state oriented towards centralized control of waterways and the guarantee of regular returns on production.

The historiography of La Laguna is enriched through Wolfe’s attention to detail and his focus on the Nazas River as a passage through which to examine regional history. *Watering the Revolution* describes the impacts of neoliberalism stemming from the presidency of Carlos Salinas on water and land management in Mexico and more specifically in La Laguna. Historian Carlos Castañón, who showed me the pile of folders consulted by the author, calls the history of La Laguna the history of “one of the great ecocides of Mexico.” It bears mention that the depletion of aquifers because of dams as well as groundwater pumping has led to a crisis of toxicity in the region, primarily in the form of widespread arsenic poisoning. In the words of Wolfe, “The current of undeniable envirotechnical success met a horrific toxic undercurrent” (p. 216). Wolfe ends off in 2007, when two new dams were built on the Aguanaval River, which “control the Aguanaval’s torrential flows and, in the process, have largely suppressed the last vestiges of the centuries-long method of more ecologically sustainable aniego irrigation” (p. 228).

Today, the dried up riverbed of the Nazas River separates the city of Torreón, Coahuila, from that of Gómez Palacio, Durango. There are a handful of bridges crossing where the river once ran, but it's often just as easy to drive across the riverbed to the other side. Surrounding both cities are communal lands, the same ejidos created by Cárdenas, mostly sitting parched and fallow. It is these lands that have been transformed into killing fields over the last 12 years of the War on Drugs in Mexico. Homicides and disappearances in the region began to rise as La Laguna was militarized in 2008, reaching a climax in 2012. Though the violence in La Laguna is a topic understandably not broached by Wolfe, his layered, environmentally focussed reading of regional history adds valuable context to any attempt to understand inequality and conflict in the region today.

About the review author

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Book review: James Kelly, *Food Rioting in Ireland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*

Review author: T Mac Sheoin

James Kelly, 2017, *Food Rioting in Ireland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The 'Moral Economy' and the Irish Crowd*. Dublin: Four Courts Press (hardback; 272pp.; €45)

Traditionally Ireland has been seen as a country that did not do food riots, a view summed up by E.P. Thompson (1991: p. 295) when he wrote “it is often stated that there is not a tradition of food rioting in Ireland”. However, cautious historian that he was, Thompson followed this statement with references to a small number of food riots and a suggestion that food rioting was under-reported. Related to this was another myth that Ireland was quiet during the Great Famine, a position accepted by historians. However anyone who read the local history literature (of parishes, areas, counties and regions) became aware of examples of food riots and famine protests. Notoriously Irish historiography up to the 1970s showed a strong bias towards high politics as well as an obsession with nationalism. Only from the 1970s and under the strong influence of historians outside Ireland, on one hand Thompson et al. and on the other innovative empirical work by, in particular, James Donnelly, did attention turn towards the activities of the lower orders. Since then work by John Cunningham (2010), Andres Eiríksson (1997), Christine Kinealy (2002) and Moran Gerard (2015) began to document food protest in Ireland. James Kelly’s book may be seen as the culmination of this historical revisionism and is a long overdue reconsideration of the history of food protests in Ireland.

The book’s first chapter reports Kelly’s empirical findings, the second analyses these findings, the third looks at the timing, composition, size, gender aspects and violence of food riots, the fourth at state and elite responses, and the final chapter examines whether Thompson’s concept of “moral economy” helps explain Irish food protest. Kelly has found evidence of 286 food riots between 1709 and 1845 and 1945 cases of “plundering provisions” during the period of the Great Famine between 1846 and 1850, over half of which occurred in the year known as “Black ‘47”. Kelly notes the conditions that led to popular action: “the high points of food rioting [...] chime with the high prices in staple foodstuffs – oats, wheat, flour, bread and potatoes – that were a feature of famine and subsistence crises” (p. 71). He attributes the late appearance of food rioting in Ireland to Ireland’s late urbanization, a result of Anglicization following conquest.

Kelly’s first chapter, “The chronology and geography of Irish food protest, c.1700–c.1860”, is a tour de force which documents the development and distribution of food protest over a century and a half, making highly effective use of maps to illustrate the spread of food protest and providing many

examples of specific protests. In this and the following analytical chapters Kelly depicts food rioting as going through a number of phases, emerging in 1700 to 1740 in the ports and market towns of Munster and Leinster to lower food prices and prevent export of food, with the highest intensity of rioting during the famine of 1740-1741, during which an estimated thirty percent of the population died. This was followed by a second phase from 1745 to 1785 when the tradition of food riots consolidated, shown in the propensity of urban crowds to take action outside of times of acute distress, and the extension of action to a wider range of food, including cattle exports to England, and the fact that there was “no year in the late 1760s and the early 1770s in which a food riot did not take place in some location or another” (p.41), proving that food rioting had become normalized; the later part of this period saw “the incremental expansion of food rioting from the ports and larger urban centres [...] to smaller towns, and, after a modest fashion, the countryside” (p. 42). Kelly also notes “a shift from a primarily maritime to a primarily inland phenomenon in the early nineteenth century” (p. 111). He characterises the period from 1785 to 1822 as the mature phase of Irish food rioting: in this period “food rioting was spatially concentrated in the counties in the western half of the country with the fastest growing populations, the largest percentage of poor and a strong tradition of agrarian protest” (p. 57), reaching its peak during the 1817 subsistence crisis, with 43 protests during six months with “a near island-wide geographical distribution” (p. 51). From 1822 to 1842 Irish food protest contracted, while its move westward meant it cross-fertilized with agrarian agitation.

This was succeeded by the final phase manifested in the explosion of protest during the first two years of the great famine. Kelly’s data on food protests at the beginning of the famine “echo and amplify the case made by Eiríksson, Kinealy and Cunningham that the long held view that the famine years were ‘conspicuously (*sic*) for their tranquillity’ is not simply misleading: it is wrong” (p. 62). For 1846, only two out of 32 counties were without incidents of “plundering provisions”, but 41.9% of the national total occurred in two Munster counties, Cork and Tipperary, counties with long traditions of food protest and arguably the most commercially oriented agriculture in the country. In “Black ‘47” only one county saw no food protests, with the greatest concentration in the south- and mid-west. These protests “had more in common with agrarian protest than orthodox food protest” (p. 75). As the subsistence crisis intensified the “distinction between food protest and famine-induced crime narrowed” (p. 83), with an increase in robbery, intimidation and the use of weapons. This was accompanied by mass protests demanding relief and public works programmes.

The final phase, from 1848 to 1860, sees the disappearance of food rioting in Ireland, illustrated by an epilogue documenting an absence of food protest during the subsistence crisis of 1860-1861.

Kelly rightly points to the growing interconnections between food and agrarian protests during the nineteenth century. He uses the broader term food protest as well as the term food rioting: this is justified as the action repertoire he

recounts includes petitioning and marching as well as impeding the movement of food by attacking ships and carts and breaching canals and raiding grain stores, shops and warehouses. I would suggest that in his consideration of the connections between agrarian agitation and food rioting, Kelly misses a chance to embrace at least some agrarian agitation within his definition of food protest. At base, food rioting and some agrarian agitation was concerned with defending and obtaining access to food for the lower orders to prevent hunger, starvation and famine. In the case of urban food rioters this involved immediate access to traded food; in the case of, specifically, cottiers, agricultural labourers and some rural town labourers, what was required was access to land on which they could grow potatoes to ensure their own food supply and thus stave off hunger and starvation. This is most obvious in the struggle to obtain conacre land (conacre was a form of land holding taken by landless labourers to grow potatoes for one season only, with either a money or labour rent); but can also be seen in the struggle against rent, tithe and other forms of taxation, which impaired the ability of the rural population to feed themselves and their families adequately.

Kelly differentiates agrarian protest from food protest by describing the former as daytime and the latter as night-time, from which we might extend the comparison to the former being overt and public and the latter covert and private. However, the difference is not as clearcut as this: for example, some agrarian assassinations took place in broad daylight, as did other actions: for example, Flannan Enright (2008: p. 221), the source Kelly uses for the Terry Alts, notes “during 1830 the main emphasis was on controlling the price of potatoes and maintaining a supply for the poorer classes”. Donnelly reported both nocturnal (levelling walls and fences) and daylight (turning up grazing land by crowds) actions, noting that the latter involved 591 such actions between January and May 1831 in Co Clare and finishing with the comment, “This mass popular mobilization, the largest of its kind in the pre-famine period, was a giant food riot Irish-style” (Donnelly, Jr. 1994: p. 34). Ann Coleman (1999) reports similar activity by Molly Maguires in Roscommon in the run up to the Great Famine which took place in broad daylight, including one protest in 1845 where the “leader” proceeded onto the land to be dug up with a loaf attached to the top of a pole, a symbol Kelly shows being used by urban food protesters. While Kelly states the food riot tradition ends in the 1860s it should be noted that popular protest in response to distress (the euphemism in use for hunger and starvation) in 1879 led to the formation of the Land League and the land war and in 1886 to the Plan of Campaign, both rural campaigns.

Irish historians may be described as insular and atheoretical, paying little attention to international comparisons. (This observation is spent on my last two years spent reading little but the work of Irish historians.) Kelly does not suffer from this problem and constantly refers to the experience of contemporaneous food protests elsewhere in Europe throughout the book. Notably these comparisons are not confined to England: the French comparisons are particularly interesting. Nor is Kelly afraid of theoretical concepts: his final chapter is an examination of whether the moral economy concept is applicable to Irish food riots. Here he comes to the sensible position

that both Thompson's moral economy and John Bohstedt's "pragmatic economy" have value as interpretive models, noting food protests can be "conceived of as a changeable and changing tradition that embraces more forms of protest than can be accommodated within the concept of a 'moral economy' as it is commonly understood" (p. 110) before concluding that "In Ireland, food rioting was less about the defence of a traditional paternalist economy than it was about securing access to food" (p. 241). Kelly also correctly challenges the description of food rioting as unpolitical or prepolitical, a position held by analysts on both the left and the right, arguing "it is the definition of politicization that is at issue if food and allied purposive protests continued to be regarded as apolitical" (p. 231).

Kelly is to be commended for recovering and documenting a long tradition of food rioting and protest in Ireland that lasted at least a century and a half. It is essential reading for anyone interested in the history of social movements in Ireland. The book is unfortunately expensive but superbly produced: particularly praiseworthy is the publisher's practice of placing notes on the foot of the page to which they refer rather than placing them at the end of the chapter or, worse, at the end of the book. Hopefully a paperback edition will follow to make this excellent work more widely available.

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Book review: Pierpaolo Mudo and Sutapa Chattopadhyay (Eds.), *Migration, Squatting and Radical Autonomy*

Review author: Leslie Gauditz

Pierpaolo Mudo and Sutapa Chattopadhyay, 2017, *Migration, Squatting and Radical Autonomy*. New York: Routledge (294 pp.; €32–114)

Migration, especially refugee migration, has been a hot topic in past years. *Migration, Squatting and Radical Autonomy* is for everyone who wants to see and understand the multiplicity of emancipatory movements already tackling these issues before 2015 and its so-called long summer of migration. As a movement scholar working on similar issues, I personally loved this book, for its unique and authentic insights into specific struggles and challenges that could or could not be overcome. Also, it is comparably easy to read, so for those who engage in these kind of projects (or at least for those individuals in your collective who do the intellectual-analytical work) and those who want to inform themselves about already existing experiences, it is a rich source.

What's inside?

The book assembles stories and analyses of struggles at the intersection of the titles' topics: migration, squatting and radical autonomy. This focus so far is unique which makes it of practical relevance for people involved in emancipatory and radical movements around housing and migration. It is written and edited by activist-scholars, mostly belonging to a collective called Squatting Europe Kollektive (SqEK), and assembles authors from various perspectives with three chapters written by activist collectives. Readers learn how squatting houses is a tactic of survival for migrants and Roma especially in (gentrified) urban areas and about engagement with radical activists of citizenship. Importantly, it then highlights how these categorizations are blurred and unproductive for the analysis of inequality, discrimination and large-scale power dynamics, which manifest locally. The editors claim that all squatting makes visible the seriousness of housing crises which leave the most precarious and poor people without the safety a roof provides. They identify the common thread of people involved in these struggles as "the refusal of the 'status' of migrants and the manifestation of legality and illegality that has surfaced in North America and EU around [them]" (p. 26). Not accepting the inequality of citizenship and other discriminatory classifications arguably goes hand in hand with refusing that houses are empty, when others need them.

The book assembles knowledge about struggles from diverse local settings in eight EU countries and the US. Each chapter is arranged around a local case study or the analysis of a specific policy implementation. The selection of places and stories seems to stem from the composition in the authors' network rather than being representative of an international squatting and migration movement. This would be an impossible task anyways, as the book shows how there is no such coherent movement. Still, more often than not reading the different stories together reveal some repeating patterns across supposedly singular experiences.

The organization of the book focusses on readability. Next to introduction, conclusion and an enthusiastic foreword of top-of-the-field Professor Bridget Anderson, the book has 22 contributions of between 3 and 16 pages. There is no necessary reading order but you can browse through whatever you find most interesting. This makes *Migration, Squatting and Radical Autonomy* comparably accessible to an everyday reader, who might be uninterested in longer academic dialogue but in informing herself about analysis of minority and invisible struggles which usually are not covered by big media broadcasters.

There are also some limitations to the accessibility of the book to politically interested readers. A general challenge, the fact that it's only published in English, is actually mentioned by the authors (p. 1), and seems to have been unavoidable given the resources. It is being published with Routledge, a major academic publishing house. Prices range from around 30 euro (Kindle edition) to 120 euro (hardcover), so the book is not highly affordable for marginalized groups, but it possibly reaches a broader audience than more activist publishing houses.

Facing the variety of contributions, the editors did a fine job in framing the different contributions. Their introduction discusses the challenges and different forms of solidarity presented in the book and classifies the "repertoire of contention" (p. 18-20). Overall, authors and editors make explicit how their analysis is politically informed, while consciously highlighting contradictions in the social movements they are or have been part of. The book is explicitly positioned to be a political intervention and to contribute to self-reflection of movements (p. 249).

Summary of the book

The 22 chapters are organized into five thematic parts. Part one, "Borders and frontiers" focusses on the political global context of bordering. Andrew Burrige writes about the US program "Operation Streamline" at the US-Mexican border, which since 2004 aims at fast-track deportation. Protesters have supported individuals, and made visible racial profiling and criminalization of undocumented migrants, but they have not been able to harm the operation itself. Sara Cosella Colombeau describes the role of the military operation FRONTEX (established in 2004 as well) in preventing people to enter EU territory. Next to blurred legal responsibilities of states and different actors, she

points out how FRONTEX has become a central producer of the narrative on border-crossers strengthening their criminalization, while its own role in human rights violations is mostly swept under the rug. Dutch researchers Henk van Houtum and Kolar Aparna criticize the borders entwined with the nation-state's binary logic of citizen vs. non-citizen. They argue for "the recognition and acceptance of pluralities of human relations" (p. 52) as people with precarious legal create bonds with citizens and people with permanent papers through friendship and love relationships thereby creating a sphere of affective solidarity. The collective Calais Migrant Solidarity describes squatting at the French-British border between 2012 and 2015. In an easy to read narrative, they inform about the legal context and the tactics through which they temporarily came to hold squats legally, against contrary efforts by the municipality.

The second part, "Squatting for housing", zooms in on local experiences in France, Italy and Germany since the 1990s. Three contributions show multiple facets in Italy. Nadia Nur and Alejandro Sethman give an extensive overview about the urban struggles in Rome since the 1990s, Cesare di Feliciano writes about students in Rome which often are internal migrants who cannot afford living in the Italian capital without squatting, and Federica Frazzetta sheds light on an occupation in the city of Catania (Southern Italy), where a radical left group in 2012 planned to squat an old palace in which, however, several Roma and Bulgarians already lived. The Italian activists found it almost impossible to form collaborations with or foster solidarity amongst the different inhabitants, but still became their advocates in the face of eviction. In France most squats are occupied by multiply discriminated migrants as Florence Bouillon carves out in an overview about the situation in Paris and Marseille. She challenges common categorization of squats (e.g. political, non-political, artistic), arguing that all squatting is political because they highlight mechanisms around social housing. Azozomox and Duygu Gürsel offer an explanation of the perception of squatting as mostly being a practice of radical activists. They describe squatting experiences in the 1980s and 90s in the Berlin neighborhood Kreuzberg, which migrants and especially migrant women were an essential part of, but whose stories have been marginalized and forgotten by the radical left-wing narrative which is still mainly told by non-migrants.

Part three, "Resistance to exclusion, criminalization and precarity", informs about broader struggles. Stephania Grohman elaborates on the discursive combination of the socially excluded figures of the "migrant" and the "squatter" by British media, pointing out that these can lead to dehumanizing processes of marginalized groups. Thomas Aguilera discusses the stigmatization of Roma as nomads while reporting how Roma settlements in France are regularly evicted. He states that collaboration with activists normally fails and that NGOs are the most important supporting actor, but that they seldom challenge the broader framework of discrimination. This is a bit contrary to Fulvia Antonelli and Mimmo Perrotta's account of activists' engagement with squatting alongside Romanian and Roma migrants to Bologna in 2002-05. The detailed story is enriched by its retrospective perspective and information about people's situation ten years later, showing that Roma migrants' living conditions stay

immensely difficult. Lastly, the contribution of Simone Borgstede talks about broad civic solidarity in the city of Hamburg with the refugee migrant group “Lampedusa in Hamburg”. According to her analysis the emergence of this solidarity was due to the group’s insistence on being political subjects, as well as the existing experience of struggles against inequality around squatting and migration in the neighbourhood of St. Pauli.

While various chapters mention challenges around cooperation and communication between different actor-groups (such as citizen squatters, refugee migrants, Roma) the three chapters in part four zoom in on this topic. Serin Houston points out how only heterosexual individuals without criminal record are able to be supported by the Christian New Sanctuary Movement in the US. The collectives Azozomox and IWS Refugee Women Activists discuss their experiences of sexism and challenges around creating a women’s space inside the self-organized refugee squatting movement in Berlin around 2012 to 2014, as well as difficulties of being properly represented by the press. From his insights on the migrant squatting in Madrid, Miguel Martínez derives a classification of four dynamics of (political) squatting and migration: Autonomy, Solidarity, Engagement and Empowerment. While he states that these forms overlap temporally and in various projects, he diagnoses an increase in empowerment squatting after the 15M uprisings in Spain in 2011.

The fifth part is called “Social centers, radical autonomy and squatting” and regarding country-context it is the most diverse part of the book. The contribution by Tina Steiger on the Trampoline House community center discusses inclusiveness and autonomous action in Copenhagen in a setting where a building is rented but its self-organization is informed by people experienced in squatting. Romain Filhol analyses the long-term struggle of the MMRC (“movement of migrants and refugees in Caserta”). Since 2002, this project has struggled for migrant workers’ rights in Caserta (Southern Italy), where thousands of migrants, mostly from African countries, work precariously in the food production sector, and where the area is largely controlled by the mafia organization Camorra. Most activities are planned by the Italian activists and then the migrants decide how they participate. The migrant interviewees emphasize how joining the MMRC is a sacrifice and a risk, but worthwhile as they feel empowered. The Athens’ squatting scene is illustrated by Vasiliki Makrygianni who states that “migrants’ squats during the last decade redefined the meaning of squatting in Greece” (p. 254) and that migrants’ reappropriation of the city opened spaces for struggles against broader neoliberalism, the impact of which intensified with the economic crisis after 2008. Claudio Cattaneo combines his analysis of squatting waste-pickers’ situation in Barcelona with the discussion about resource scarcity and degrowth. Hans Prujit shortly tells the story of a European artist who founded a squat in New York in the 1980s, which was not welcomed by everyone in the neighborhood. Lastly, Deanna Dadusc reports from the struggle of the “We are here to stay movement” in the Netherlands. Migrants in precarious living situations, together with citizen-activists, squatted various buildings and a church throughout 2012-2014

thereby gaining visibility and a voice until interventions by the municipality destroyed the unity of the group.

Room for improvement

Migration, Squatting and Radical Autonomy could have been improved by better contextualizing and more accurate referencing. These issues seem to stem from trying to find the balance between the two target groups of squatting activists and academics.

The issue of contextualization mostly concerns the target audience of politically interested readers. Most texts are easy to follow, relay rich stories, but too often details of the local context are mentioned without adequately explaining the background (e.g. politicians are named without informing about their political positions). Following local issues becomes additionally complicated with long foreign names of groups and projects, which some authors did not translate. Thus, my degree of confusion varied according to how much the authors helped with footnotes etc.

The issue of referencing concerns the target audience of academics, but also the general question of credibility of the work. With only few exceptions, the contributors' references are rather imprecise, without referencing page numbers. Also, too often the specific names of mentioned laws and policies are not given. While this is perhaps common in more activist texts, it sometimes seems unacademic.

Finally, a comment on the timing of this publication. The empirical focus in this book ends around autumn 2015, which means that the book obviously couldn't deliver anything about the most recent developments. But, especially in Europe, the situation around (refugee) migration has changed drastically after the summer of 2015. At first glance, it came as a disappointment to me, that the book didn't cover this important change. But then I realized that the book offers a must-read account of the state of things exactly before the hype around the "refugee crisis" took off, which analyses of subsequent developments can build on.

To conclude, although showing some weaknesses in style, I highly recommend *Migration, Squatting and Radical Autonomy* to everyone interested in unexpected connections and unknown stories around squatting and migration.

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Book review: Zeynep Tufekçi, *Twitter and Tear Gas*

Review author: Pascale Dangoisse

Zeynep Tufekçi, 2017, *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest*. London: Yale University Press (360 pp.; CA\$30)

Zeynep Tufekçi's *Twitter and Tear Gas* sets out to understand the interrelations of social movements with the networked public sphere's social, cultural, political and economic pressures and allowances. Her book primarily investigates first-hand accounts of the Arab Spring's uprisings and more specifically the uprisings in Egypt, Tunisia and Turkey (her native country). She incorporates examples of social movements she has studied or observed, like the US Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s, the Zapatistas, and Occupy to contrast them with recent social movements such as the ones witnessed during the Arab Spring. The latter, she argues, grew rapidly, thanks to digital tools, often at the expense of developing strong internal organizational structures. Tufekçi's main argument is that the current rapid development of media technology ultimately risk hindering a movement's capacity to thrive past demonstrations.

Twitter and Tear Gas contributes to the study of networked public spheres, social movements, social media, and protest movements by introducing readers to some key social movement theories such as communication in a globalized world, network societies, or gatekeeping. As a techno-sociologist Tufekçi has a deep understanding of coding and sociology, and *Twitter and Tear Gas* also brings in perspectives from the fields of psychology, economics, business and communications. To understand why the contemporary social movements she studies fall short of the goals they set up for themselves, she delves into both traditional and more recent theoretical and conceptual frameworks, from Jürgen Habermas's public sphere theory to Evgeny Morozov's "slacktivism" theory. Tufekçi studies social media with the mind-set that is part of the larger media environment, thus following in the footsteps of scholars such as Andrew Chadwick (2013) (hybrid media system theory), Nick Couldry (2014) (media as a practice theory) or Anna Feigenbaum, Fabien Frenzel and Patrick McCurdy's media ecology in *Protest Camps* (2013). To support her inquiry, Tufekçi utilizes ethnographic analysis about her experience of participating in social movements, interviews with main actors in demonstrations, before, during and after the events, first- and second-hand quantitative surveys and an extensive literature review. Furthermore, the author brings a refreshing and welcome approach to the study of social movements by balancing the negative and positive characteristics of social media. She thus brings a cautionary perspective to the perception that a good social media campaign is all that is needed for a social movement to succeed.

Rudderless Ship

The rapid creation of large social movements through social media's unique affordances brings along a sense of vulnerability that Tufekçi calls the "tactical freeze". This notion, discussed in great detail in Chapter 3, stipulates that as movements organize briskly, they are more volatile. Indeed, "network internalities" which usually bring about durability and stability by overcoming challenges through collective action, building trust and other critical internal bonding building characteristic are scarce in such organizations. An organic horizontal division of tasks (or adhocery) in which each volunteer picks up a task based on need, skills, network, etc., is common practice for modern social movements; it creates leaderless organizational structures that lack, however, the ability "to adjust tactics, negotiate demands, and push for tangible policy changes" (p. xvi). The leaderless horizontal organization may be seen as a strong strategic point as it protects from "decapitation" (p. 71), by which she means killing, co-opting or corrupting the leader(s) of the movement. It is also an important cultural/political standpoint for activists (as described in depth in Chapter 4). On the other hand, it does not allow for a leader to represent collective goals and negotiate with the state authority. Tufekçi recalls that in Gezi Park, "when the Turkish government invited a delegation to negotiate, it was unclear who would attend" this ultimately gave the government the power to choose the collective's representative, dictate its decision and let the movement self-recede.

Social media's gatekeeping

With social media's rise as a communication tool, the notion that the world was finally free of editorial gatekeeping took hold but Tufekçi shows that in effect, social media's many veiled gatekeeping tactics still impact framing, newsworthiness, and dispersing of information. Social media's gatekeeping occurs through the use of algorithms developed by and for private capitalist American companies. Power over what is shared has not simply vanished; it has been transferred to a different power—the power of shareholder and user demand. Social media companies make the rules, they can change them as they please and what is shared has a potential to impact political outcomes (cf. e.g. the current investigation of the influence of Russian "fake news" on the outcome of the 2016 US election). Within a matter of hours, Facebook (or Twitter) can remove content which they deem harmful for business or contrary to its business culture and policies. Facebook does not hire a team of socio-political experts to remove content but rather relies on a community policing method. A model of "report-and-takedown" where anyone who files a report to Facebook can see their enemy's content taken down, with little to no recourse for the "offender" may make sense for a business, but it certainly does not support free speech and unbiased information flows. This creates a paradox for social activists who want to increase visibility by sharing their views outside their own network, but who may also inadvertently share content with individuals who would want to see the site taken down. How do activist then find a balance

between sharing content extensively with the risk of losing all their networking capabilities?

Further, content is shared through network algorithms that promote ‘positive’ and ‘uplifting’ stories that we can then ‘like’. This has a significant impact on which stories are shared more and ultimately get the most attention; the author masterfully demonstrated this with the Ice Bucket Challenge which was “competing” for attention as the Ferguson events were unravelling. Would more individuals be prone to ‘like’ a fun, light video, tagged with friends or “like” a story of a teenager’s death? Obviously, the latter garnered much more attention initially and was rapidly shared compared to the time-sensitive Ferguson event. This is challenging for activists as they try to cater their message to the medium’s algorithm. It will be interesting to see how Facebook’s new emotion buttons will impact social movement’s proliferation in the future. Another form of pressure comes along with easily sharing information via the networked public sphere: the drowning of voices and creating of confusion through *misinformation* and information overload. Whom should users trust? What should they share? It is becoming increasingly difficult for the public to differentiate fact from fiction and this keeps individuals from engaging in political debates. In other words, social media does not only enable activists to form and grow powerful counter-publics, but it also enables the very same organization they are targeting to do just the same, furthering an already very polarized media environment. The adage “to divide and conquer” still holds true in today’s media environment.

Ingenious framework

In *Twitter and Tear Gas*, Tufekçi brings an original framework to the study of a protest’s success by focusing on internal power capacities of the movement’s organization rather than on the output of the protest. Conceptualizing protests this way may be useful to better grasp where weakness or strengths lie with the internal structure of movements and how this may impact outcome or longevity. Narrative capacity, disruptive capacity, and electoral and/or institutional capacity are essential “powers” of social movements that need to be signalled to achieve success (p. 192, and covered mainly in Chapter 8). The narrative capacity is the movement’s capacity to get its worldview out into the larger public by using its own voice; the social movement’s ability to “interrupt business as usual” (p. 197) signals its disruptive capacity. “Electoral or institutional capacity refers to a movement’s ability to keep politicians from being elected, re-elected or nominated [...] or the ability to force changes in institutions” (p. 192). Unfortunately, as activists are becoming savvier in organizing and protesting through the use of social media, the target governments are also learning to read the different “signals” of social movements and are thus arming themselves with strategies and tools to counter demonstrations, from “watch at a distance” tactics of the Chinese government during the Umbrella Movement to Russia’s effective “army of trolls”.

Conclusion

Twitter and Tear Gas brings a number of contributions to the study of social media and protests, most notably by offering a comprehensive review of social media's algorithmic gatekeeping and by shifting the focus of analytical frames based on protest output to a more systemic and broad analysis based in a movement's signals and capacities.

Unfortunately, the author has a tendency for survivorship bias: Tufekçi only compares today's rapidly growing movements to ones that were successful in the past such as the Civil Rights Movement. This limits the author's argument; including past unsuccessful event would have been interesting or successful social media-based protests in the analysis could have contributed to a better understanding of today's network society based social movements and protests' strengths and weaknesses. I also wish the author would have provided us with some either political or academic approaches to work with modern digital gatekeeping or horizontal leadership structures.

Everything considered, however, *Twitter and Tear Gas* is well-crafted. The quality and accessibility of Tufekçi's writing style along with the use of insightful examples, metaphors and analogies make for a compelling and accessible read for professors, activists, and government officials alike. Her particular insights and analysis as well as fresh outlook should incite anyone interested in the topic of social media and protest to read the book. It may still be too early to know if today's protest organizers, such as the ones who led Arab Spring protest, will develop new social media or traditional tools and tactics to survive beyond the initial protest phase. We will thus have to continue walking and asking questions at the same time to better understand and prepare for tomorrow's social movement.

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Book review: Anna Feigenbaum, *Tear Gas: From the Battlefield of World War I to the Streets of Today*

Review author: Alexander Dunlap

***Tear Gas: From the Battlefield of World War I to the Streets of Today* by Anna Feigenbaum, New York, Verso, 2017, 218 pp. + Bibliography and Index. US\$ 19.95 (Paper Back), ISBN 978-1-78478-026-5**

Tears erupt, lungs struggle for air and panic takes hold. While vision is clouded, tear gas induced suffering offers political clarity. The atmospheric wet blanket used to suffocate free expression, association and acts of vandalism, tear gas reigns as the preeminent weapon for enforcing riot control across the globe. There is, however, little known about this weapon, its manufactures and its long-term health effects, which are brought to the fore by Anna Feigenbaum new book: *Tear Gas: From the Battlefield of World War I*.

A senior lecturer at Bournemouth University, *Tear Gas* is the second book by Feigenbaum after her edited volume, *Protest Camps* (2013). Containing nine chapters, the book begins by narrating the widespread and indiscriminate use of teargas across the world to subdue protesters.

Chapter 1 offers an early history of tear gas. Locating the French as the inventors of tear gas, WWI era trench warfare becomes the site for chemical and gas weaponry development. This spawns a new weapons industry geared toward “peace times uses of wartime technologies” (p. 22), which becomes the central focus of Chapter 2. Feigenbaum delves into the political struggle to engineer tear gas as a politically acceptable weapon to quell widespread civil unrest of the 1920s and 30s. This includes discussing public relations strategies, the manipulation of scientific research and legal battles to create a new weapons industry spearhead by a card carrying member of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States.

Turning to the Global South, Chapter 3 narrates the deployment and development of tear gas in the colonies. Privileging the British experience, Feigenbaum examines how colonial countries navigated international law to justify deploying a wartime technology on colonial populations. Colonial coercion, pPublic relations, legal and popular justifications were failing to maintain colonial legitimacy, surfacing as a tactical response to non-violent protest tear gas sought to economize—politically and economically—colonial control over subject populations. In December 1933, Palestine became the first British colony saturated with tear gas. Then by the 1950s the global acceptance of deploying wartime “gas in times of peace for civil purposes” was established (p. 49). Examining the rise of “modern riot control,” Chapter 4 turns to the civil rights and anti-war movement in the US. Describing historical tear gassing

event employed against the civil rights, anti-war and free speech movements in the US, Feigenbaum then analyzes the legal dilemmas and tactical developments of tear gas geared towards protest control.

Heading to Northern Ireland, Chapter 5 tells the violent tale of tear gas deployment to terrorize an Irish settlement in Derry. This event initiated medical investigation into 2-chlorobenzalmalononitrile (shortened as CS) tear gas, generating the “Himsworth Report” that “freed Britain to further develop more deadly riot-control agents, counterterrorism technologies, and counterinsurgency tactics” (120). Feigenbaum reveals chemical testing on veterans and how science was manipulated to justify repression against domestic populations in the service of new weapon markets. The Himsworth Report resurfaces again in Chapter 6 to support the use of (CS) tear gas in Liverpool in the 1980s and elsewhere before discussing the controversial integration of pepper spray into the arsenal of Canadian and US police forces in the 1980s and 1990s.

Coming into the present, Chapter 7 tours Milipol, Europe’s largest internal security exposition, to glimpse into “today’s riot-control industrial complex” (p. 146). Feigenbaum offers a profile of four leading riot-control weapons manufactures, followed by a brief expose of Safariland Group (USA). Exploring the political economy of profit in arms diversification with “non-lethal munitions,” *Tear Gas* reveals the questionable private-public partnerships and non-profits responsible for accumulating record profits and proliferating chemical weapons to the armed force across the world. Chapter 8 shifts the discussion towards how people confront and resist tear gas. Noting the various transnational techniques used and shared to resist the effects of tear gas, a project carried forward by the RiotID (riotid.com), Feigenbaum acknowledges street medics as instrumental sources of tear gas medical knowledge, before reviewing the legal, collective and institutional pathways to change and circumscribe the use of chemical weapons against populations.

Tear Gas is an entertaining and insightful read. Offering a history of tear gas, documenting the political strategies and scientific manipulation used to deploy wartime technologies against domestic populations, Feigenbaum offers a marvelous historical exploration while simultaneously raising tear gas an intentionally neglected public health issue. An issue that appears to be worsening as police departments continues to hospitalize, disfigure and kill with their arsenal of “non-lethal munitions.”

Tear gas is a political technology of control. As the political feasibility of shooting and massacring labor unrest and non-violent protesters in the colonies declined, tear gas emerged as a “mixture of humanitarian gesture and cost effective planning” for population management and maintaining political legitimacy (p. 59). Representing a “third way,” tear gas maintains statist/colonial oppression and exploitation in the face of generalized insurrection and upheaval. This logic and political calculus not only continues within tear gas development, but exemplifies a general strategy of political control.

Talking with an Israeli weapons developer at Milipol, Feigenbaum learns about a “biodegradable line of tear gas canisters” (p.150). Disappearing after it explodes, it represents efforts to create “environmentally friendly” tear gas that also “provides a smart and sophisticated answer” to the so-called “throwback phenomenon”—when people pick-up and “throw back” tear gas canisters at authorities (p. 150). Doubling-down on the principles “humanitarian gesture and cost effective planning,” the green economic logic attempts to add another layer of legitimacy by deploying an environmental ethic that works towards perfecting public relations efforts and operational effectiveness against protesters. Tear gas is now marketed as “green,” appeasing the environmental consciences of onlookers as the atmosphere is polluted and lungs are damaged. While simultaneously, there is no canister to throw back at police and attempts are made to stifle efforts of groups like RiotID to document and catalogue chemical weapon use against populations.

Tear gas is a social technology for repression, and between the lines of the book the reader can see that it designed to enforce the present trajectory of social control, but also ecological destruction. In ‘greening’ tear gas we see how the interpenetrating logics of warfare and the green economy intertwine. Ideas of “sustainable development” and “environmentally friendly” technologies dangerously mask and facilitate a continuing trajectory of ecological destruction based, fundamentally, on the domination of people and nature (see Dunlap and Fairhead, 2014).

The use of tear gas and other “non-lethal munitions” for social control emerge and function similarly to achieve the same ends. While violent suppression of protest in the name of colonial and state control become politically untenable, authorities adapt with new “humanitarian” narratives and “green” technologies, yet both support prevailing regimes of coercion and ecological degradation. In practice, green economic logics are used to legitimize tear gas as environmentally sustainable, while tear gas is used to legitimize violent enforcement around conventional and ostensibly sustainable resource extraction projects as humane. The two are different political technologies, yet both work synergistically to rebrand, ‘renew’ and to defend a floundering political-economic order from those who would resist forms of socio-ecological destruction.

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Interface: a journal for and about social movements

Reviews

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Book Review: Sabrina Zajak, *Transnational Activism, Global Labor Governance, and China*

Review author: Melanie Kryst

Sabrina Zajak, 2017, *Transnational Activism, Global Labor Governance, and China*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan (xi + 286 pp.; US\$129, ebook US\$99)

Labor rights in China have been raising public awareness since the integration of the People's Republic into the global political economy. In her book, *Transnational Activism, Global Labor Governance, and China*, Sabrina Zajak tracks the interwoven ways of transnational mobilization of trade unions and social movement organizations across China since 1989. Zajak explores multi-level strategies of labor activists and observes how old and new institutions of labor regulation are interacting. The analytical strength of the book lies in her integration of current approaches of labor transnationalism and transnational institution building.

In her book Zajak explores multiple pathways of labor mobilization. The concept of paths directs the reader's focus from opportunity structures to dynamic interactions of the activists within their context: activists "travel a certain path" (p. 9) and along the way they could change paths. With this assumption in mind, the author guides the readers through four paths of transnational labor activism in China within which labor activists can put their strategies to use, she outlines interactions within and across pathways and shows both the intended and unplanned effects of labor activism at the global and local level.

The *international-organizational pathway* is determined by channels of the International Labor Organization such as appeals against China and on-site projects at the local level. The *bilateral pathway* is described through activists' still limited participation in EU-China relations via EU-institutions, institutionalized channels of trade policy, and specific EU-China forums. The *market pathway* focuses on attempts to influence private governance forms by targeting transnational and local companies, for example through campaigning or the participation in private multi-stakeholder initiatives, however, effective implementation was hindered by the ongoing weakness of workers. Within a *civil society pathway*, transnational networks support organizations at the local level, where labor activists operated under the restrictions and control of the state, the state's union and national employers – which favor non-political CSR service providers – while free trade unions fell behind.

The book benefits from a broad interview base in China, Europe and the United States (USA). By means of process tracing, it gives the reader a very good overview of individual channels, labor organizations, campaigns and private

governance initiatives in detail, although selected cases remain illustrative. Inevitably, the book does not provide an all-encompassing perspective on outcomes of labor activist strategies, but by drawing conclusions from qualitative studies of sub-cases it traces back effects in the different pathways. A kind of patchwork carpet of informal and minimalist governance approaches in the field of labor governance unavoidably makes a complete assessment of the results difficult.

Zajak takes a worthwhile look at non-state actors and their efforts in the transnational governance architecture of work. According to her, “transnational labor-rights activism” (p. 2) encompasses interactions between trade unions, social movement organizations and NGOs, which address multiple targets with insider and outsider strategies. With this broad understanding of labor activism, the analysis suggests a bridge between industrial relations and social movement research, which up to now has largely developed independently from each other. Especially within revitalization research, coalitions of trade unions and NGOs or community organizations are identified as a new power resource, but so far there are few cases of empirically based research. With an analytical framework of transnational pathways, Zajak describes a range of possibilities and identifies specific features of the distinctive actors such as trade unions or NGOs. However, the respective strategic choices of the actors and their causes in ideologies, skills, routines or experiences are only mentioned and they could be determined theoretically more precisely and empirically founded.

Zajak connects these pathways with an investigation into China’s power basis. China is a very interesting example because through economic reforms in the 1980s it has been integrated into world trade, while still maintaining its political system. China’s counteracting to labor activism, the “boomerang defense mechanisms” (p. 257), is differentiated by Zajak into the internal and external strength of the state, to which the pathways respond with different degrees of sensitivity. Results at the national level remain limited, but organizations have shown efforts in “boundary stretching work” (p. 261). Zajak recognizes how industrial relations in China tend to favor employers, but at the same time changes in labor legislation through selective responsiveness of the regime and incremental reforms have expanded the scope for local labor support organizations. However, not all opportunities are taken advantage of due to the lack of independent trade unions. Transnational activism has been difficult to achieve in presence of the dubious autonomy of Chinese organizations.

Zajak’s book can guide researchers to systematically explore these old and new strategies of developing labor standards. *Transnational Activism, Global Labor Governance, and China* is no doubt an enriching study that does not only cater to researchers concerned with China but contributes to the interplay of research on globalization, labor governance and social movement studies.

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Book review: Gonzalo Villanueva, *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement*

Review author: Marie Leth-Espensen

Gonzalo Villanueva, 2018, *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement, 1970-2015*. Basingstoke: Palgrave macmillan (284pp., hardcover, 84.99€)

In *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement*, Gonzalo Villanueva covers the important events that led to the addition of an entirely new issue to the political agenda, transforming the conditions of nonhuman animals into a matter of public concern. Grounded in transnational history, social movement studies, and the emerging field of critical animal studies, *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement* is an exceptionally well-researched book that offers a detailed account of the innovative methods and protest techniques put into work by Australian activists.

Given the 45 year timespan the research seeks to cover, the first chapters on the formative years of the movement might initially seem to spend a disproportionate amount of time dwelling on single individuals and episodes. This is explained by the fact that for the people who became engaged with the subject in the 1970s, there were no established groups or institutions to guide them nor any existing environment to become encouraged by.

Villanueva argues that in a climate of widespread negligence regarding the suffering caused by the intensification of the agricultural industry in the post war decades, the formation of the animal movement stands out as a remarkable event in the history of social movements. With surprising speed, the issue of animal rights spread around the globe, groups and networks were established, and innovative methods were employed to target the animal industry.

A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement is structured into nine chapters, beginning with a brief chapter situating this research in relation to previous studies as well as introducing the key analytical concepts in social movements studies, which the author seeks to, in his word, forge (p. 12).

In the second chapter of the book, Villanueva describes the background for the influential book titled *Animal Liberation*, authored by Australian moral philosopher Peter Singer in 1975. After visiting Oxford University in 1970 Singer was introduced to the issues concerning the conditions of animals in modern factory farming, which he made a lifelong commitment to studying.

Villanueva deals with how intellectuals came to play a central role in the animal rights movement, with Singer being the most renowned among a group of prominent intellectuals named the Oxford Group.

In Chapter Three the focus is on a group of dedicated individuals who, after familiarizing themselves with the work of Singer, starts to take action and form networks and alliances between new and old animal rights groups. For the Australian animal movement², the existing environmental and conservational groups played a significant role by sharing their experience and knowledge. Also, local and interpersonal relations play an important part in the formation of the new groups.

Interestingly for today's debate, in which animal rights activists explicitly distance themselves from animal welfarist ideologies that normalize nonhuman animal exploitation, Villanueva notes how in the early days of the new animal movement, the Australian activists made no division between animal welfare and animal rights. This stands in contrast to a much more polarized climate among British animal rights organizers (p. 61).

A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement goes on to document the dedication of activists and their efforts to influence the political system so as to reform animal agriculture. In spite of the movement's achievements, which include the establishment of two advisory bodies (the AWAC and AECC), a Senate Committee, codes of practices and the development of free-range eggs, Australian activists soon realized that these promising results meant little actual improvement for the animals. The failure of attempts at political reform continue to be a cause of apathy among supporters of animal rights. Reform remains a point of debate over which are the optimal methods by which the movement can to achieve its goals.

The fifth chapter concerns the uses of disruptive and innovative forms of direct action inspired by the Animal Liberation Front in Great Britain and the United States, which in the Australian case was directed towards stopping the widespread practice of duck shooting in the wetlands. Alongside the disruptive strategies of property damage and animal rescues, activists sought to involve the political system and launched legal confrontations, and were quite successful in capturing public attention.

Another type of disruptive activism was introduced by Pam Clarke. By means of civil disobedience, Clarke performed powerful, symbolic actions to free battery hens, becoming a source of inspiration for later activist groups in the use of undercover investigation to seek legal prosecution (p. 132).

Chapter Six covers the influential Australian-invented protest technique of trespassing in spaces of animal exploitation, and documenting the action while providing the animals with aid. This is known as open rescue. These actions rest on the philosophy of animal rescue, non-violence, publicity, and civil disobedience. Between 1993 and 2000, open rescue led to the rescue of 561 nonhuman animals in Australia, and led to a New South Wales ban on chaining pigs by the neck by tethers (p. 158-59).

² In the book Villanueva uses the term "animal movement."

The amateur video of the spectacle of open rescues became a powerful way of revealing animal cruelty, reaching the television news. Villanueva claims this represents the importance of the *politics of sight* for the animal movement. Alongside the description of how this new strategy was adopted, Chapter Six also tells the story of increasing state repression through the use of fines, conviction and jail.

The following section of the book looks at how Australian animal activists formed transnational networks in order to target rapidly growing livestock export that led Australia to gain a dominant world position in the industry by 1986-87 (p. 187). An example of what Villanueva characterizes as “international sites of contention” (p. 196), livestock export both touches upon domestic and international politics.

Initially, the animal movement in Australia joined forces with workers’ unions to protest the growing export trade around the late 1970s. A later cycle of protest against livestock exports appeared in 2003, when Animals Australia, with Lynn White at the forefront, initiated the use of transnational investigative campaigns by forming partnerships with animal groups located abroad. Documenting the horrific conditions of animals during transport and slaughter shifted public opinion in the direction of banning the trade. This leads Villanueva to reflect on the role of new and old media and the innovations and future potentials of transnational investigative campaigning.

A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement concludes with a discussion on the role of lifestyle politics, which continues to dominate the animal movement of today. In the early years of the movement, adopting a vegetarian or vegan diet was an implicit message, even if prominent figures had always considered ethical vegetarianism or veganism integral to the cause of animal rights (p. 228). In the 1990s and the 2000s, lifestyle activism became central to the global animal rights movement as a way to seek change by making the personal political. Villanueva remarks that this change has led individual moral integrity to become central to the cause. However, this influence can also be traced back to a central source of inspiration from the very beginning of the movement’s history, namely Peter Singer’s practical ethics.

Finally, Villanueva addresses the question of how to interpret the legacy of the animal movement, avoiding both minimalist and maximalist approaches that bear the risk of either overemphasizing or undermining the movement’s results (p. 246). Rather than attempting an evaluation of the movement’s success or failure, Villanueva pursues an analysis of “the intended or unintended consequences of activism” that have influenced, changed and pluralized Australian politics (p. 246).

In *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement*, Villanueva takes the reader through manifold methods and protest techniques that have been applied to advocate for social change for nonhuman animals on the Australian continent. The book adds important empirical knowledge to concepts

such as contentious politics, the politics of sight and transnational investigative campaigning - all worthy candidates for future enquiry.

Given the ambitious objectives of the book, it comes as no surprise that some aspects of the movement are left unexamined. More specifically, in light of its commitment to social movement studies, *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement* would have benefitted from further attention to the communicative and symbolic features of the campaigns as well as the activist groups' specific mobilization strategies.

The strength of this book is Villanueva's ability to select and highlight significant episodes and lay them out for others to interpret and explore further. For the animal movement itself and scholars with interest in social change, this book provides useful background knowledge for in depth discussions of the animal rights movement's unique ability to inspire social change.

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**Book Review: Lee A. Smithey and Lester R. Kurtz,
*Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements.***

Review Author: Ayman Alsadawi

Lee A. Smithey and Lester R. Kurtz, eds. *Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements.* New York: Syracuse University Press. 2018. 368 pp. \$65.00 (hardcover), \$34.95 (paperback).

Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements is composed of empirical research based on the dynamics of repressive actions by authorities and the effect of these tactics on the mobilizations of insurgents, including the potential to delegitimize regimes. The “paradox of repression” is when repressive measures create “unanticipated” consequences that authorities do not desire. Smithey and Kurtz note: “Repressive coercion can weaken a regime’s authority, turning public opinion against it. Paradoxically, the more a power elite applies force, the more citizens and third parties are likely to become disaffected, sometimes inducing the regime to disintegrate from internal dissent” (1).

Of the twelve chapters in *Paradox of Repression*, eight were written by other researchers in the field of peace and conflict studies. Each explore an aspect of the paradox of repression, from how repressive measures may backfire to the measurements taken by both the elite and the civilians to strategically overcome their opponent. The editors raise questions such as “how does the use of violence (regardless of by whom) actually undermine the legitimacy of the perpetrator among insider elites and within the broader population? Do non-state terror organizations suffer a loss of legitimacy when they use violent methods? If so, are they as great as those incurred by states and other authority structures?” (314). The book’s objective is to conceptualize repressive actions and their potential to backfire, and to build research around the paradox of repression to better implement stratagem for a desired outcome from the perspective of the civil resistance.

Chapter Three by Doron Shultziner analyzes how transformative events are powerful in provoking sudden unexpected pressures on the elite, such as killing or humiliating a citizen. “Dramatic events that involve moral shock, widespread public outrage, and emotions that are conducive for collective action raise the chances of repression backfiring against a regime,” writes Shultziner (68). Similarly, in Chapter Four, Rachel MacNair explains: “If people perceive leaders as illegitimate but nevertheless cooperate for reasons such as fear or apathy, then the rulers still have power, but it will be unstable and weak—vulnerable to resistance whenever that fear or apathy is overcome” (74). These theories elicit further inquiries. How can regimes utilize transformative events to their benefit? How can civil resistance overcome fear?

The scholars brought together by a *Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements* attempt to clarify these questions throughout the publication,

including Chapters Six and Ten on overcoming fear; and Smithey and Kurtz's chapters on "Culture and Repression Management" and "Smart' Repression." In Chapter Six, Jennie Williams gives perspective on how a civil campaign may prevail through a regime's repressive measures. "We looked upon time spent in police custody as a trip to our fields to plant seeds for a good harvest. So, we turned arrests into a celebration of successful resistance" (144). "If you do not recognize that you are afraid, you will not take the next step to overcome fear," writes Williams (156).

The elite perspective of the paradox of repression leads to the implementation of measures to prevent mass mobilization, including "smart" or technological security measurements. "Smart" repression refers to tactics used by authorities that are deliberately crafted to demobilize movements while alleviating or preventing a backfire effect (185). Smithey and Kurtz explain as follows: "smart' repression includes tactical responses by authorities to maximize their ability to demobilize social movements while avoiding the public dissent that comes with the use of violence. Such elite strategies increasingly involve intelligence gathering, that resembles Foucault's concept of 'disciplinary techniques'..." (187). "Careful nonviolent strategy can influence the course of a conflict by raising the costs of repression, although nonviolent activists and elites both think about and prepare for repression, choreographing their actions in relation to their opponents' actions" (316).

How can activists and elites "choreograph" each other's actions in relation to their opponents, while at the same time the elite are continuously implementing security mechanisms to maintain their power? One must always be ahead of the other if one side is going to produce the outcome they aim for. Considering that the state sets the norms for the public, then the authority or regime must also be leading the steps. "We conceptualize nonviolent struggle as a dance between an establishment and its dissidents, a regime and its insurgents, as they contest the frames used to make meaning of repressive events," as Smithey and Kurtz note (18).

The paradox proposes that both repressive regimes and activists can benefit from understanding and anticipating the outcome of repressive tactics. It also indicates that a regime can implement tactics to mitigate backfire, preventing dissidents from uprising. Again, we come back to the question of how elites can utilize "transformative events". Can these events be used as a method of reverse psychology against the public? Essentially, mobilizing a targeted group of people against the regime through a "dramatic" event, would in turn make it easier for the regime to weed out the activists and dissidents and have an excuse to invoke an "appropriate" strategy to maintain their power and control over the people.

Overall, the paradox of repression is a complex concept, which may raise a variety of research questions regarding the capacities of social movements and the regimes ability to manipulate mass mobilization. The authors provide a comprehensive analysis of how activists and a repressive regime may respond to certain actions and offers examples from social movements that occurred in

various regions including Brazil, Egypt, and Zimbabwe. The book clearly presents the methods that may be employed by a repressive regime and the anticipated and perhaps unanticipated result of those mechanisms. However, if repressive tactics have potential to “backfire” in a predictable manner, then the “backfire” could not be truly “unanticipated”. How does a repressive regime exploit what is referred to as “unanticipated” outcomes if they are predictable? Overall, *Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements* distinguishes tactics and their potential in a relatively straightforward and coherent manner yet may leave activists and scholars with thoughtful inquiries.

The *Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements* covers a range of tactics that repressive regimes may use to demobilize the public, such as fear, culture, transformative events, and the use of “smart’ repression.” It also elicits further questions for students, activists, scholars, and researchers, such as: does comprehension of repressive action and “unanticipated” consequences tend to benefit regimes or grassroots struggles? And how can civil resistance mobilize strategically ahead of the authority’s preparations and preventative security measures? The ensemble of contributing authors establishes a foundation on several aspects of repressive actions on civil resistance, elites, and social movements. *Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements* analyzes various methods of repression in a comprehensive manner, it is understandable and provides a relatively extensive foundation for interpreting repressive mechanisms and their impacts on social movements.

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