

den Schlussbetrachtungen der Herausgeberin den Lesern einen umfassenden Einblick in die aktuellen Diskussionen um Naturheiligtümer verschafft.

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Juris, Jeffrey S.: *Networking Futures. The Movements against Corporate Globalization.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 381 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-4269-4. Price: £ 12.99

Reviewing the work of others should be based on the work's own premises and objectives. Sometimes this is easier said than done. As I am a political scientist / sociologist, it took me some time to "adjust" to the anthropological character of this book. The tone is different from the beginning as Juris recounts his personal background and academic trajectory, the two blending seamlessly together. Juris spent many months in Barcelona among radical activists in the anticorporate globalization movement, not as an outside observer but as a practitioner of "militant ethnography." Militant ethnography, he says, is an "engaged, practice-based, and politically committed research carried out in horizontal collaboration with social movements" (23). Not a few of my colleagues in the political science department would consider such an approach akin to academic sacrilege. Perhaps for this reason I read the book with a certain sense of liberation. Once the adjustment was done and the approach accepted, I felt rewarded with a new set of insights.

Above all, I appreciate the focus on what Juris (inspired by Alberto Melucci) calls the "submerged" phases and dimensions of anticorporate networks. There is nothing new in pointing to the networked nature of contemporary global resistance and activism. Juris criticizes existing scholarship for the lack of attention to "the specific mechanisms through which decentered networking logics are produced, reproduced, and transformed within particular social, cultural, and political contexts" (11). What Juris alternatively offers, then, is a novel look "inside" these networks, an analysis of the microprocesses of mobilization and resistance. My instinctive concern, given the anthropological basis of the book, was that a focus on microprocesses would lead away from the level of strategy and politics. The merit of the book is that Juris stays attentive throughout to the way networks involve what he calls a "dual politics." He thus calls for researchers "to consider two distinct yet mutually reinforcing modes of activist networking: tactical and strategic. The former involves the construction of short-term networks to facilitate interventions within dominant public spheres; the latter entails the creation of autonomous, self-managed networks" (290).

Despite this dual sensitivity the book's main concern is, it should be underlined, with the political-cultural process of creating new spaces (see, especially, chapters 7 and 8). From my perspective, a particularly interesting observation was the formation of autonomous spaces in and around the World Social Forums (chap. 7). These autonomous spaces are set up by activists who do not feel at home in the organizational and ideological architecture of

the forums. This observation, again, enables the reader to catch a rare glimpse of the conflicts at play within the anti-corporate globalization movement (and to start a discussion of whether it makes sense at all to speak of a movement in the singular). These conflicts revolve around, for example, the desirability and need for activists to speak with one voice and to form a united front, and whether or not to engage with politicians, institutions, and the mainstream media (e.g., 264). Given the author's involvement in the movements he studies, it would be reasonable to expect difficulties in evaluating problems and conflicts within networks. Although I would have welcomed even more critique and (self-)reflection, Juris makes an effort not to romanticize the networks he studies (and takes part in). He argues, quite rightly, that networks are viewed by activists not just as an effective organizational form but also as highly valued goals ("informational utopics"; chap. 8) in their own right, embodying a grassroots oriented and radical/anarchist understanding of democracy.

The book displays a multiscale sensitivity that I found very useful. Political scientists and sociologists often view globalization as a macrostructural process, whereas anthropologists tend to emphasize the continued importance of the local. The book is an effort to escape this unfruitful dichotomy. In chap. 1 Juris provides an overview or genealogy of anticorporate global activism, tracing the history of activism from the 1970s and 1980s and protests against the IMF, World Bank, and neoliberal structural adjustment programs (SAPs), and forward to our day. The chapter also identifies the extremely varied composition of the anticorporate globalization movement (workers, environmentalists, indigenous people, students, etc.). This serves as a backdrop for the following chapters that all in different ways "immerse" themselves in the local level of activism in Barcelona or in other aspects of the microprocesses of mobilization. As Juris notes (297 f.): "It was only by remaining situated within a concrete node that I was able to appreciate the complex imbrications of local, regional, and global scales. Studying transnational networking ethnographically thus requires a combination of mobile and place-based research."

Perhaps the things I have highlighted are not the same things that would draw the attention of anthropologists and ethnographers, and I have taken the liberty to emphasize what the book might have to offer for political scientists / sociologists. As my comments suggest, there is much in this work that potentially bridges the interests and research perspectives of anthropology, political science, and sociology. It is also a good example of where the latter traditions might benefit from exchanges with anthropology. In particular, Juris works with a sensitivity to interaction, process, and multiscale that is sometimes lacking in political science and political sociology. That said, and putting on my political sociologist glasses, I could not help missing a more concerted effort at theorization in the book, especially since it offers the contours of such an exercise. In the introductory chapter, Juris argues (11) "that anti-corporate globalization movements involve a growing confluence among networks as computer-supported infrastructure (technology), networks as

organizational structure (form), and networks as political model (norm), mediated by concrete activist practice.” In the concluding chapter, in a short section titled “Theoretical Implications,” he discusses the implications of his findings in relation to the larger themes of globalization and social movements. It would have completed the book had Juris made a more extended effort at coupling the triad of technology, form, and norm with theories of globalization and social movements. Such an exercise would have had a rare potential of establishing exchanges between anthropology and political science / sociology.

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Kapferer, Bruce, and Bjørn Enge Bertelsen (eds.): *Crisis of the State. War and Social Upheaval*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2009. 330 pp. ISBN 978-1-84545-583-5. Price: \$ 24.95

The anthropology of the state is increasingly being institutionalized as an important subfield of anthropology. Books, readers, and edited volumes are published in a steady but still manageable flow to fill the reading lists for courses and the desires of scholars in a broader range of disciplines interested in this emerging field. Kapferer and Enge Bertelsen’s edited volume fits well into this flow, adding its own flavour and, to some extent, distinct perspective.

Quoting the introduction, the “essays in this volume explore situations of civil strife, violent resistance and war in the circumstances of shifts in the organization of state power and the emergence of new forms of sovereignty.” Furthermore, a major concern of the editors is to analyze how these shifts are linked with “larger metropolitan-centered processes” (1). This is of course a tall order, but whereas the essays contribute (very) unevenly to the endeavour, the volume in the end comes out as an effort to take the stated challenge seriously, including several adventurous and inspiring explorations.

The volume is organized into three sections, “Transformations of Sovereignty, Empire, State”; “War Zone”; and “Sovereign Logics,” the last one being the largest and most coherent. Geographically the 13 essays mainly focus on African cases, with excursions to the US military-industrial complex (Nash), the conspiracy theories of the Chechen wars (Rigi), borders and encystation in Israel/Palestine (Bowman), and paramilitary forces in Guatemala and Columbia (Löfving).

The introduction lays out the theoretical terrain of the volume in a clear and accessible way. The “phenomenon of the state” is not vilified in the sense of being presented as the cause of violence (and far less glorified as a guarantor of peace). However, the depiction of state-centered dynamics in the contexts of war, violence, and crisis emphasises the gloomy sides of the state phenomenon, in particular as this takes on a “corporate form” as states are being transformed through neoliberal politics, managerial and autocratic orders, and the ideologies of flexibility, transparency, and individual-responsible or accountable decision-making (15). This corporate state form entails a shift from the protective and “mediating society-produc-

ing relation” of the state to the population, to a focus on control, security, and surveillance functions in which the Hobbesian and Rousseauian ideas of protection and social contracts do not apply anymore. Combined with the process of disintegration of the Soviet Union or with the lack of effective sovereignty of many postcolonial states, these transformations give rise to “wild” (Kapferer) or “chaotic forms” of sovereignty (Rigi) where various sovereignty claims are competing.

Much of this has been discussed before. However, I find that the analysis of the society “of” as well as “against” the state (in Pierre Clastres’ sense) is among the most interesting contributions of the volume and also one that gives character to provide it with coherence. As the introduction argues, power is “always in excess of that which the state can command or control,” a fact which turns the state into “a focus of constant crisis” (6). In this regard, “the social” emerges as a force that always already challenges state sovereignty. This is explored further and in anthropological detail in several of the essays, which look at the role of “tradition” and sorcery in (post-war) Mozambique (Enge Bertelsen), the historical continuities of organized violence in the area of Liberia (Utas), the (precolonial) imaginaries of kingship and the king’s body in the area of Rwanda (Taylor), and the transformations of cattle rustling in the area of Karamoja (Storaas).

Some of the essays in the volume are somewhat predictable (Nash), overly descriptive (Alnaes), or interesting but slightly off the focus of this volume (Ifeka, Boserup), many of the contributions converge around discussions of sovereignty (in particular Agamben’s approach, again), empire, and Deleuze and Guattari’s notions of state and war machines, as major sources of inspiration. The rhizomatic dynamics of the war machine is not taken to be working against the state only, but also as a dynamic which is incorporated in the practices of current state forms, as illustrated, for example, by the case of Israeli security strategies (discussed in different terms by Bowman).

There are very interesting analytical approaches coming out in regard to, for example, how paramilitary forces constitute themselves at the interface between authoritarian forces and the discourses and actors of “transparency” (Löfving); how the “society of spectacle” relates to conspiracy theories in the context of war and “the chaotic form of sovereignty” (Rigi); and how people in general cope with the arbitrariness, the unpredictability, and the petty and not so petty harassments of everyday life (Rigi, Enge Bertelsen, Finnström), which exist in the places where states act in unconstitutional ways, even with the complicity and recognition of the international community as in the case of Northern Uganda (Finnström).

In conclusion, this volume, despite some unevenness in the contributions, provides rich theoretical and empirical inputs for discussions of some of the most important current issues concerning the state, globalization, and the use of violence.

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