However, the book also reminds us that some amiable interactions also develop between the visitors and the visited; locals and foreigners. Leading from the foregoing, therefore, Berman has succeed in demonstrating that Diani area like elsewhere in the Kenya's coastal region, is a case of "opportunities and oppression," of "resilience and exploitation." A story that helps us understand the complexities inherent in world socioeconomic and political transformations rooted deeply in the morbid colonial structures and fluid global capitalist system.

In conclusion, therefore, Berman has done a wonderful job of providing a balance between detailing observations and personal stories from the ethnographic fieldwork and offering academic analyses. Thus, this is a suitable book for undergraduate and graduate level courses in tourism studies, social development, migration, urban development, humanitarian studies, and qualitative methods. Additionally, this book will no doubt contribute to a rethinking of the need to balance the power in the core-periphery relationships.   Wanjohi Kibicho

Bertelsen, Bjørn Enge: Violent Becomings. State Formation, Sociality, and Power in Mozambique. New York: Berghahn Books, 2016. 332 pp. ISBN 978-1-78533-236-4. (Ethnography, Theory, Experiment, 4) Price: $ 110.00

"Violent Becomings" is an extremely welcome and timely book on the ongoing violent Mozambican postcolonial state formation and its relations with *uroi* (sorcery) and "traditional" forms of sociality. It is welcome as it is rare to see monographs emerge on the central and northern parts of Mozambique that have not been controlled by the postcolonial "Frente de Libertação de Moçambique" (Frelimo) party-state. It is timely as it goes some way toward understanding the continued force and legitimacy of the postcolonial state's foe, "Resistência Nacional Moçambicana," not least after its renewed electoral success in 2014 and return to the bush to fight a low-intensity civil war from 2013–2016. The monograph is welcome and timely in yet another manner. "Violent Becomings" is an experimental attempt at theoretically renewing the conceptual language through which we understand processes of state formation – not as a thing or being with a clear end point, but as an ongoing emergent mode of societal ordering where different forms of violence are not at the fringe of the processes, but indeed central to emergence and becoming. This is obviously not the first attempt in social science and anthropology at creating a process language for societal formations. Most prominently, Norbert Elias comes to mind with his attempt to establish a process language that did not center on structure. Instead, he introduced his concept of social *figurations* – or what is today studied as networks and assemblages – which explains the emergence and function of large societal structures without abandoning the aspect of agency. Theoretically, Bertelsen aligns himself not with the British sociological tradition of process thinking, except for some referencing to the Manchester School of Gluckman and Kapferer, but to the French philosophical

tradition of chiefly Deleuze's work on *agencement*, emphasising the constant processes of arranging, organizing, and fitting together. As such, the book, in Bertelsen's own words (14), attempts to "capture ongoing and changing empirical configurations of the traditional field and state formation with the term *becoming* – a term underscoring their dynamic and manifold aspects not retained by the (static) *being* (Deleuze and Guattari 2002 [1980])."

Maybe the biggest achievement of the book is how it takes on this process language and stays true to it, particularly in chap. 3 (titled: Spirit. Chiefly Authority, Soil, and Medium); chap. 4 (Body. Illness, Memory, and the Dynamics of Healing), and chap. 5 (Sovereignty. The Mozambican President and the Ordering of Sorcery). The same is true for chap. 6 (Economy. Substance, Production, and Accumulation) although a little less so. The key here is to understand that conceptual figurations like *uroi* (*feitiço*/sorcery, witchcraft, or black magic), *aridzi wo nhika* (owners of the land/territory), *dzindza* (kin group, enlarged family), and many other conceptual formations, or more generally, "traditional" forms of sociality are never something in themselves but first give meaning and become developed within the complex of such conceptual figurations. Here the Deleuzian inspiration is strongest, pointing to the specific connections with and between other concepts, where it is the arrangement of these connections that gives concepts like *uroi* their specific sense. The above-mentioned key empirical chapters are where this particular approach comes to fruition as concepts, descriptions, and stories never operate in isolation but reveal their full meanings only in connection with other concepts, descriptions, and stories. This "unstable while still telling" ethnographic approach is like unfinished business – and, as with all good business, it is both creative and destructive, and operates in often-unpredictable ways. Violence in this reading is creative destruction – always already in the process of becoming, instead of being common instrumentalised ways of conceiving of violence, state building, and democratic engagement.

In praising "Violent Becomings" I have also hinted that there are chapters I think work less well, in part because they try to fix, and because they are scholarly on terms other than the way ethnography operates. The framing of chap. 1 (Violence. War, State, and Anthropology in Mozambique) and chap. 2 (Territory. Spatio-Historical Approaches to State Formation), as well as chap. 7 (Law. Political Authority and Multiple Sovereignties), end up doing exactly the opposite of the core ethnographic chapters, as meaning and conceptual figurations become fixed and repeated endlessly as some*thing*. In the framing exercise Bertelsen (39) sets up, Deleuze and Guattari's emphasis (1986, 2002 [1980]) on the "war machine" as "rhizomic" (as a case in point for Renamo and the traditional more broadly) is in contrast to the "territorialization" of a Frelimo party-state that tries to expand its control of territory and people as "'[o]ne of the fundamental tasks of the State is to striate the space over which it reigns' (Deleuze and Guattari 2002 [1980]: 385)." While probably a handy organising approach, it is somehow at odds with the ethnographic folding undertaken in the key chapters where

"traditional" forms of sociality are full of potency and creative destruction. The binary trope of the "war machine" and "territorialization," when enacted as a trope that pops up here and there throughout the book, comes to stand in sharp contrast to the creative arrangement of the connections that gives the concepts related to traditional forms of sociality their specific sense(s).

This same critique can be extended to the final chap. 7, where "traditional" forms of sociality are full of potency and creative destruction becomes subsumed under the concept of sovereignty as multiple or alternative forms of sovereignty. Instead of trying to develop another language for legitimacy and authority related to "traditional" forms of sociality, they become encompassed, as if the domain in each and every instance is an expression of the state-dominant form of sovereignty.

This critique should be read as an open invitation to Bertelsen to take this important work further, as he is well positioned to do exactly that based on the achievements of "Violent Becomings," with its powerful narrative of creative destruction and sociality. As with Elias, Bertelsen's attempt at producing and applying a figurative process language can be expected to be a potential "failure" and it is in this creative attempt that the real strength of the book is to be found. I can only recommend the book with utmost sincerity.   Lars Buur

Binder, Susanne, und **Gebhard Fartacek** (Hrsg.): Facetten von Flucht aus dem Nahen und Mittleren Osten. Wien: Facultas, 2017. 320 pp. ISBN 978-3-7089-1452-7. Preis: € 24.90

As the title promises, the volume is manifold both in regards to its discussed topics and contributions but also concerning the authors' different backgrounds and perspectives. Not only already established researchers have contributed to the volume, but analyses and reports written by students and non-academics add interesting aspects and case studies.

The volume comprises of five parts differing in their extent. The chapter's order follows central contexts and stations of forced migration processes, starting with flight causes and motives contextualized in the overall situation of Syria and Afghanistan, the two focus states in this volume. Furthermore, it continues with the process of actual migration movement. Chapters three and four focus on forced migrants' life environments and conditions after they have fled to Austria. In part five, attention is drawn to the Syrian refugees' own voices through analyzing oral interviews.

In the first article, editor and anthropologist Gebhard Fartacek, who conducted fieldwork in Syria for several years, presents an overview on the ethnology of Syria, its ethnic-religious communities, and the country's history under the al-Asad family. Readers who are familiar with religions of the Middle East and Syria's history will probably not find new perspectives in the first article, however, it is highly recommended to those who do not belong to this academic expert group. A particular strength of Fartacek's contribution is the author's own research re-

sults that relativize and complete historical and sociopolitical "hard facts" from an emic perspective. As a result, Fartacek counterbalances the predomination of political science explanatory approaches that the author criticizes.

Philipp Bruckmayr's article examines Islamic and Islamist movements in Syria. Some of them first were oppressed by the Ba'ath party's regime and have later become powerful players in the Syrian war. Bruckmayr states that recent phenomena such as global Salafism, Jihadi terrorism, and anti-Salafism can only be fully understood when considering fundamental influences emanating from Syria. He argues for the inclusion of Syria as a central actor instead of perceiving it on the brink in analyzing the above-mentioned global developments.

Based on the opening article, Melanie Schwaß illustrates a comprehensive overview on how and why refuge and migration have deeply influenced Afghan society since the late 1970s. Her article provides a detailed exploration on the current sociopolitical situation in Afghanistan and the contested developments since the disintegration of international security forces in 2014.

One of the two English articles in this volume is written by Leonardo Schiocchet, a social anthropologist of the Middle East. In his contribution, he points out to the historical and present situation of forced migrants in countries of the Middle and the Near East, which are often neglected in the discourse on refugees in Europe. The author questions the term mobility in reference to forced migrants, which for him implies a certain freedom of choice and action: a circumstance that very rarely reflects the social experiences and realities of forced migrants.

In the second chapter, Susanne Binder, the first editor of the volume, dwells on different theoretical approaches of social anthropology that are significant to forced migration studies. She asks what contribution humanities and anthropology can make to serve the interests of refugees and forced migrants and vice versa, what can people that left their country by force (definitions and terms for this constructed group of people are discussed as well) contribute to our discipline. Beside the significance of interdisciplinary cooperation within this research field, Binder highlights the political responsibility and positioning of the researcher in a highly polarized field.

Jelena Tošić approaches the predominant representation of the "refugee crisis" in the media with special consideration of the "Balkan Route" during her fieldwork in Belgrade in summer 2011. By connecting her research results with theoretical thoughts of the Balkanism-discourse, Tošić conceptualizes the perceptions of the Balkan region as being an "eternal transit zone," "a place not worth settling in" (151). In the context of the "refugee crisis", she argues, some states in the Balkans have transformed their representations towards an image of being superior civilized, human, and more "European" than the EU itself.

Part three concentrates on practical aspects after arrival in Austria from the perspectives of Austrian law and initiatives supporting refugee integration. It is the presumption that once they arrive in Austria, all refugees from the Middle East are confronted with a completely