

onusiennes (les “peuples autochtones”) ou par la manière dont les états nationaux ont catégorisé et nommé les minorités ethniques. La deuxième partie analyse comment le droit, et en particulier les dispositifs internationaux, interagissent avec les dynamiques politiques nationales notamment lorsqu’il est question de droit à la consultation et de la mise en place d’instances dédiées aux questions autochtones.

La variété et l’hétérogénéité des situations locales qui sont décrites et finement analysées au long de tout l’ouvrage rendent compte des différences qui existent entre les problématiques, les modes d’action, les contextes, les modes de colonisation, les conflits etc. auxquels sont confrontés les peuples autochtones dispersés sur quatre continents. Ces différences se reflètent par ailleurs dans la manière même dont est construit l’ouvrage, puisqu’on y observe, par exemple, une prépondérance des articles portant sur le continent américain où la question de l’autochtonie est particulièrement, et depuis longtemps, débattue. La tension entre le détail des situations locales et la volonté englobante de la DDPA est perceptible au travers de tout l’ouvrage. Les lecteurs et lectrices s’apercevront qu’ils et elles sont souvent happé-e-s par la complexité des descriptions de situations et d’enjeux liés à des contextes très particuliers qui leur font perdre de vue, pendant plusieurs pages, la dimension plus générale des revendications autochtones. Le constat qui émerge cependant clairement, et qui traverse tel un fil rouge toutes les études de cas singulières, est celui de la difficile traduction du droit international autochtone dans les droits nationaux et de sa mise en application. Comme le souligne par ailleurs Stavenhagen dans son introduction, ces questions représentent à l’heure actuelle les principaux défis pour tous les acteurs et actrices concerné-e-s. Si, comme pour beaucoup d’ouvrages collectifs, la diversité des angles d’approches dans les différents chapitres peut parfois donner l’impression d’un manque de cohérence thématique, les lecteurs et lectrices comprendront rapidement que c’est justement l’hétérogénéité des situations particulières qui rend si compliquée la mise en application du droit international autochtone et la tenue d’un discours unifié au sein du mouvement international des peuples autochtones. Les chapitres restituent ainsi l’hétérogénéité des problématiques qui se déclinent différemment pour les autochtones, en raison de leur ancrage local.

Sabine Kradolfer

Bernal, Victoria: *Nation as Network. Diaspora, Cyberspace, and Citizenship.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014. 199 pp. ISBN 978-0-226-14481-8. Price: \$ 25.00

Since the Arab Spring the web has revealed its potential space for hosting social and political voices and negotiations. The internet has become an astonishing methodological addition to notions of multi-sited research and transnational fieldwork in contemporary anthropology. It has been incorporated in “hybrid” research by looking at social dynamics that are not only situated in the physical field where the researcher is working, but also on the web. The importance of Bernal’s fieldwork, however, is

that it does not crisscross the physical and cyborg spaces, nor is it situated around the globe according to transnational networks. Instead, Bernal’s work focuses on the web as a specifically defined and powerful social location. This book explains how the internet is a space of its own to be researched thoroughly in its complexity and political power.

Victorial Bernal merges strong theoretical notions of biopolitics, necropolitics, and bare life to analyse the power of Eritrean infopolitics. The author identifies extremely relevant connections between contemporary Eritrean political culture on the internet and governmental practices in Eritrea by developing an astonishing persuasive notion of sacrificial citizenship (especially in chap. 1). Sacrificial citizenship is the strongest point of this book as it allows the reader to understand the field of power that Eritreans at home and in the diaspora are confronted with. The dense description of sacrificial nationalism emphasises the following analysis of existing negotiations played out mainly by the Eritrean diaspora on the internet. Many Eritreanists, but also journalists and intellectuals interested in Eritrea, have been crying out for the urgent need to acknowledge the consequences of the stronghold of the Eritrean State over its citizens which affects even the diaspora. Not only does this book find interesting notions to describe the individual annihilation brought by the bio- and, more precisely, the necropolitics enacted by the Eritrean nation-state. Bernal also brilliantly describes the sophisticated rise of infopolitics, which thrive through online networks where individuals can finally be agents and subjects; they can contest and negotiate the regime’s imposition of sacrificial nationalism. “Nation as Network” unleashes the power of the web and finally brings Eritrean studies into a perspective within comparative scope and epistemological questions about human beings, power, and agency.

In “Nation as Network,” Bernal does not disperse her attention to the web as a whole, but concentrates on specific internet websites which are studied as domains for activities, interactions, conflicts, and negotiations. My impression is that she also focuses on the voices of a specific generation of Eritreans that can be generalised as those who migrated between the 70s and the 90s. Although difficult to reach, it would be interesting to have some background information about this. Bernal explains the development of three major websites, Dehai.org (especially in chap. 2), Asmarino.com, and Awate.com (especially in chapters 3 and 4), which have all become venues where Eritrean belonging, nationalism, and other types of social and political identities are played out. Throughout this book the reader is able to follow the discursive interaction of the various Eritrean webmasters and posters, and understand their relation with the Eritrean Government and the opinions discussed on broader social issues such as women’s rights and social status. By analysing two case studies (chapters 4 and 5), Bernal reveals the recent development of online Eritrean civic nationalism and the production of an array of opinions on sensitive topics that would not be discussed or contested in other sites of interaction.

The first case study (chap. 4) centres on the creation of an online war memorial for the Eritrean martyrs created on Awate.com together with the aid of Asmarino.com's webmaster. Through this case study Bernal sets out to show how civic citizenship is repossessed by the network. Awate posted the list of the names of all the casualties of the 1998–2000 war for everyone to see, thus making leaked material from the government of Eritrea go public. The absence of an official state-run space for commemoration of the 1998–2000 war casualties follows its diktat not to mourn the martyrs as individuals, kin, friends, and compatriots but to celebrate their sacrifice for the nation. Bernal argues that the online memorial compensates the deficiencies of the Eritrean State which claims ownership of lives and deaths of its citizens also by concealing this information. By creating an online memorial, Awate.com repossesses the right to know the names of the deceased and to mourn the people who died for their compatriots and not for their nation-state. Even if it seems to be a thin difference, Bernal claims, the war memorial on Awate is a revolutionised perspective which asserts legitimacy and sovereignty of the Eritrean people for the Eritrean people.

The second case study that Bernal addresses (chap. 5) incorporates her former feminist work on Eritrea and Eritrean women with a recent analysis of debates on rape and violence inflicted on women by the Ethiopian and Eritrean militias. Various threads of opinions are generated online when people initiate online discussions about such sensitive and otherwise silenced topics. Bernal claims that the internet is a site for dialogue where some views are made public and posters are more inclined to confrontation even if sometimes in the form of insult. Nevertheless her final question is whether or not this is in actual fact changing the status of women. Women are describing their friends' experiences but never their own, even under pseudonyms, and they are often verbally abused for making public what should stay private and/or for "lying" about Eritrea. Women, for Bernal, continue to be "bare life": holding little or no socio-political role in Eritrean affairs, they are still regarded as mothers, sisters, and wives supporting the nation but not as citizens, nor as subjects of the Eritrean society they belong to.

While carrying out research and writing up my PhD research about the variety of identities played out among the Eritreans in Milan, I obliquely noticed that people in the diaspora were web activists, battling about Eritrean "truth" and "facts" over the internet. In 2009, the episode that struck me the most was when I noticed people changing and overwriting the information page on Eritrea in Wikipedia.org according to their political loyalty. It is clear that Victoria Bernal's "Nation as Network" touches on at least two groundbreaking topics that migrationists, anthropologists, and Eritreanists have long been waiting for. On the one hand, Bernal spotlights the internet as a social space; on the other, she highlights the online politics of identity of the Eritrean diaspora which prove to be an extremely significant and revealing political case study.

Bernal questions whether internet confrontation is enough to overcome the status of bare life that women hold. In the same way I critically engage with the Eritrean

diaspora and many other ethnicised groups that forge their belonging to such narrow affiliation, forgetting about their day-to-day rights and obligations in the world we all live in. The Eritrean network's appropriation of civic nationalism is a great success and I do agree with Bernal that this has to be celebrated. It would be interesting to understand how this achievement goes beyond what seems like a "second life" attitude on internet and how individuals are empowered in their mundane lives by this newly achieved sense of citizenship.

Anna Arnone

Bernal, Victoria, and Inderpal Grewal (eds.): *Theorizing NGOs. States, Feminisms, and Neoliberalism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014. 379 pp. ISBN 978-0-8223-5565-6. Price: £ 17.99

In one of the most celebrated movies of all time, the "Wizard of Oz," in her opening scene, Glenda, the Good Witch of the North, asks Dorothy, whose house had inadvertently killed the Wicked Witch of the East, "Are you a good witch or a bad witch?" to which Dorothy replied, "I'm not a witch at all."

Much discussion on the subject of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) has followed in a similar vein. There is often a moralizing, normative dimension that is behind a pair of interrelated questions: what is an NGO, and how does one classify the panoply of organizational forms that have been labeled as such? A normalizing, binary logic has often been applied, if often only implicitly, to the subject, particularly in regards to NGOs' relationships to states. As is rehearsed in many a book or article on NGOs, the late 1980s and 1990s heralded foreign donor support to NGOs, and development economists and political scientists, not to mention NGO practitioners, celebrated NGOs as counterweights to states, locked in an ideological zero-sum game. NGOs were heralded as the "magic bullet" (Edwards and Hulme, *Beyond the Magic Bullet. NGO Performance and Accountability in the Post-Cold War World*. West Hartford 1996; Fisher, *Doing Good? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices. Annual Reviews in Anthropology* 26.1997: 439–464). A little later, especially as the magic wore off, anthropologists and other humanistic social scientists, particularly women's studies scholars, began a critical trajectory in NGOs' roles within neoliberal restructuring schemes. NGOs became "bads" to the "goods" of social movements; many feminist scholars found critical language and theorizing in "NGOization" employed by two contributors to the present volume. Sonia Alvarez's (*Advocating Feminism. The Latin American Feminist NGO "Boom." International Feminist Journal of Politics* 1/2.1999: 181–209) discussion of the "NGO Boom" in the 1990s within Latin America provided helpful tools for self-critique of the loss of autonomy within officially-funded NGOs. Sabine Lang's (*The NGO-ization of Feminism*. In: B. G. Smith (ed.), *Global Feminisms since 1945*; pp. 290–304. London 2000) discussion of "femocrats," gender experts working within European Union bureaucracies, was also a warning against the dangers of depoliticization. A critical trajectory continued in the new century, which included