protests may share similar characteristics, but they grew from radically distinct contexts and histories of colonial relations.

Michael Humphrey's piece provides an analysis of the international political forces at play in the latest transformations carried out by protests in the Arab world. Humphrey focuses on the uses of emergency law both at the hands of Arab dictatorships, claiming to protect the national security, and at the hands of U.S. and western powers, as a way of maintaining their war on terror overseas. His article exposes the extent of U.S. interest in oil access in the region, as well as the U.S. vision of creating a New Middle East that would enjoy normalized relations with the West and Israel. While it is important to map out the political forces intervening in the current Arab world revolutions, the author ignores the micro processes and dynamics, as well as local mobilization that is pushing forward an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist agenda, specifically in the case of Syria and Libya.

Sobhi Samour's essay lays out the promises and limitations of the economic protests in the West Bank against the Palestinian Authority's policies and the economic failures of the Paris Accords. The existence of Israel as a strong military power and the U.S.-backed governments in the Arab world, he argues, were not the only reason for the retreat of an emancipatory vision in the region. The failure to link political struggles with social emancipation was a crucial factor in the years of weak liberation streams in the region. An observation he makes is that in the midst of the revolutions in the region, a dominant sense of frustration with the political and economic conditions, post Oslo's catastrophic effects on Palestinian independence, took over in the Palestinian Occupied Territories. This frustration resulted in protestors taking over the streets for two weeks in September 2012 before it soon fizzled out. Samour's strongest argument is his connection of the past ten years of efforts among Palestinians to mobilize the international community in boycott, divestment and sanctions campaigns against Israel with the local 2012 protests against the Palestinian Authority's neoliberal agenda and normalization with Israel. The two fronts are equally necessary.

Declaring Bahraini revolution a failure, Thomas Fibiger titles his piece "Stability or Democracy? The Failed Uprising in Bahrain and the Battle for the International Agenda." This failure he attributes to the lack of support from the international community. The reason for crushing the protests, he claims, is the U.S.- and Saudi-backed regime in Bahrain. The majority of the population of Bahrain are Shi'a Muslims, while the governance is Sunni, which allows the Saudi and Bahraini governments, he writes, to claim that the desired reforms in Bahrain have an Iranian-Shi'a agenda. Bahraini protestors are proud Bahraini Arabs, Fibiger asserts, who have no affiliation with Iranian nationalism.

What I found frustrating in Fibiger's piece was the urgency to argue that the Bahraini revolution has failed and the expectation of radical changes in a short period. While people in Bahrain have not given up, the author provides us with a rushed judgment indicating otherwise. Instead, I suggest attention to the following questions to get at stronger insights: What are the transformations that the Bahraini revolution produced? How have Bahrainis shifted their relations to urban and public spaces/landscapes during and after the revolution? How did women's participation in the Bahraini revolution push social and political reforms in their relation to the state?

The book ends with Fosshagen's chapter criticizing debates in the U.S. administration and among Arab liberal circles that offer the Turkish state as an ideal model for the new Arab states in transition. Fosshagen's piece exposes U.S. discursive efforts to conflate neoliberal economic policies with liberal democratic change in the service of implementing the U.S. vision of the New Middle East. Turkey's friendly relations with the United States along with its Islamic neoliberal economic and social reforms promote a unique form of democracy in the region that could appeal to imperial forces.

Despite the economic growth that Turkey has experienced with Reccep Tayyib Erdoğan's government, the Gezi Park demonstration, Fosshagen claims, attempted to expose foreseen economic catastrophes. Agreeing with Fosshagen, I suggest expanding the anthropological curiosity and asking the following: What forms of nationalism are being challenged through the Gezi Park movement that could offer a possible future vision? How is the Turkish state's national exclusionism playing a role in the Kurdish question in the region?

The importance of exploring these questions emerges from empirical accounts of a wide range of protests that took place all over Turkey, including the Kurdish areas. In addition to protecting public spaces in urban settings, demonstrations in Turkey attracted radical left, feminist and queer movements demanding significant social transformation (Örs 2014). What Fosshagen misses, therefore, is Kurdish, queer or feminist voiced critiques that offer elaborate testimonies on why the Turkish state is a failed model for Turkey, let alone the Arab world at large.

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Dave, Naisargi, *Queer Activism in India: A Story in the Anthropology of Ethics*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2012, 272 pages.

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Naisargi Dave's *Queer Activism in India* explores the shifting terrain of queer politics in India and the emergence of new forms of identification, belonging and loving in the wake of global campaigns for LGBT rights. Clearly written, with vivid and vibrant descriptions of intimacy between women involved in feminist and lesbian activism, the text grapples with the entanglements of affect and political engagement in a cultural context where challenges to normative configurations of gender

and sexuality have increasingly come to be articulated and absorbed within judicial, governmental and quasi-governmental frameworks of legibility. Dave offers a nuanced and delicate analysis of the workings of liberalism and the efforts of lesbian and feminist activists who simultaneously fight against homophobia and sexism, while competing for limited funds within the sphere of NGO and grassroots politics. Central to the ethnography are moments of contest and friction through which social and political relations come to be figured, disrupted and reconfigured. Such moments are used to illustrate the ways in which queer activism and ethnographic research involve similar and often overlapping sorts of ethical consideration.

As the title suggests, the text deals with queer activism, yet it might be more precisely described as an ethnography about the emergence of lesbian organizing in India. Dave carefully opts to use the term *lesbian* to refer to identities and practices, even if they do not fit neatly within that category. She explains her use of the term as a starting point for describing intimacy between women—an acknowledgment that the concept of lesbian, though it may have its origins in the West, retains no essential or stable meaning as it travels across cultures. She writes: "The term 'lesbian,' then, is one of writerly convenience but also of potentiality—instead of thinking of 'lesbian' as a fixed thing that people are or are not, I see it as a practice of enunciation for a set of loosely recognizable behaviours and longings" (p. 20). Similarly, the term *queer* is invoked to harness the limitations and potentiality of "the-thing-that-is-not-yet-imagined" (p. 20). These terms help with setting up the paradox at the centre of the text: the trade-off between confinement and emergence. As in all decision-making, there are compromises that inevitably disrupt and foreclose current and future possibilities. Yet, within the forms of queer activism that Dave examines, moments of confinement or limitation are always paired with the arrival of new arrangements that move activism forward. This movement between closure and potentiality is part of her understanding of queer activism as ethical practice. Drawing on Elizabeth Povinelli's (2001) theorization of commensurability and radical difference, Dave shows how semi-autonomous queer activist concerns and demands are often addressed as though they were commensurate with the aims and goals of NGOs and the Indian state. As her account finely illustrates, activism is propelled by the desire to maintain alliances, as well as the need to protect against intrusive and regulatory forms of encroachment.

What distinguishes Dave's book from much of the existing work on affect and politics is its attention to the ways in which affect leads and provides the momentum for the feelings, emotions and desires that colour queer activism. Descriptions of conflicts and disagreements between activists and activist groups are addressed as integral to the constitution of social and political arrangements and to their transformation. The Introduction, as well as Chapters 1 and 2, explores the public emergence of the category of "lesbian" in India against a backdrop of earlier articulations of gender and sexuality. Sifting through an archive of correspondence between members of Sakhi, a Delhi-based lesbian network, the author traces a realm of lesbian existence in the making. She describes it as a dual world in which the circulation of letters and the rare intermingling of bodies generated distinctive experiences of time and space (p. 57). She describes the ground-level work of connecting women, focusing primarily on the work of Sangini, a support line and help group for women seeking women. While the group served several purposes, among them helping women to find romantic partners, it remained largely a private organization where women socialized, connected and shared experiences. Yet, as she notes, it was political in a different sense. Invoking the work of Michel Foucault, Dave notes that while the group lacked clear aims in terms of public activism, it provided a means through which women could carry out a kind of ascesis: "that ethical work we perform on ourselves, through a multiplicity of relationships," which ultimately renders us open to receiving pleasure and happiness (p. 87). This is, in her view, key to the ethical practice of activism. In a sense, the emergence of public forms of activism, such as the formation of the multi-issue group People for the Rights of Indian Sexual Minorities (PRISM), could not have taken place without the slow yet passionate political work of forging intimate and personal relationships.

It is in the second half of the book that Dave more directly focuses on the paradox of public forms of activism and more elaborately lays out the book's central argument about containment and emergence. In Chapter 3 Dave considers the different meanings and experiences that arise from the incorporation of *lesbian* into the lexicon of women seeking women in India. She discusses the context for lesbian activism as a response to and as inseparable from existing frameworks of Third World activism, which reproduce colonial notions of feminine virtue through the figure of the vulnerable Third World woman. As Dave argues, the politicization of lesbian sexuality was seen by some women's activist groups as a deviation from more pressing and fundamental issues of poverty. As a result, lesbian issues were often dismissed as being "western" in orientation, as complicit with foreign/colonial powers and as an affront to feminist solidarity.

This question about which issues ought to take precedence over others is further explored in Dave's discussion of the contradictions of public recognition. In the fourth chapter, she discusses conservative and progressive responses to Indo-Canadian filmmaker Deepa Mehta's *Fire* as part of a mass public emergence of lesbian identification. Through the backlash to the film in 1998, possibilities for identification, activism and recognition became imaginable. Skirmishes between organizations made up of gays and *kothis* (a broad identity category in use in South Asia that includes men who have sex with men), such as Naz Foundation, and more inclusive groups, such as PRISM, of which Dave was an active member, are not merely interrogated as evidence of existing schisms along lines of identity and political orientation, but are themselves points at which identities and politics are worked out in the realm of queer activism. The newfound visibility of lesbians was harnessed by progressives and conservatives alike as they fought to define what ought to count as properly "Indian."

Chapter 5, perhaps the most sophisticated section of the text, stands out as a deeply contemplative piece on the fraught relationship between law and justice, as well as the ways in which queer activists' attempts to liberate sexuality from the constraints of criminality ultimately ensnared gender relations in tighter constraints. In July 2009, Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code was struck down by the High Court of Delhi—essentially decriminalizing homosexuality in India. What followed from the decision was not a unified outpouring of support but instead a splintering of uneasy and divergent

responses. Following the High Court decision, Naz created a petition that called for the "reading down" of the law, which would limit the interpretation of the existing law without striking it down completely. This action raised concerns about the gender neutrality of the proposed recommendations, which many women's activists felt would leave women vulnerable in cases of sexual assault. What the conflict unearthed was the unequal playing field of activism, in which some individuals demonstrated a stronger sense of competence and ability within existing frameworks of intelligibility. Dave's astute analysis shows how the intensity of the clash worked within the logics of the legal framework, wherein only certain activists were granted access to conversations and debates about the aims of queer activism.

Throughout the book Dave reminds her reader that *activism is ethical practice*, which means that every encounter presents new opportunities and moments for rupture and deliberation. In her account, queer activism requires constant negotiation and compromise in forging and sustaining ties across lines of difference. In working alongside activists with distinct and sometimes conflicting objectives, Dave's fieldwork led her into situations where her presence at meetings and debates meant that she needed not only to win the trust of fellow activists but also to make decisions about which ones were her allies and which ones were not. As such, it is clear that Dave's own activist research involved a kind of ethical practice, but it is unclear whether this approach can be extended to other forms of activism or political campaigns less easily categorized as inclusive, progressive or tending toward social acceptance.

Queer Activism in India is an essential new work in the anthropology of politics, and it makes an important contribution to the growing field of queer and feminist ethnography. The text is written in accessible language and is suitable for an upper-level undergraduate class or a graduate seminar. It melds contemporary theory, participant observation and textual analysis in describing shifting configurations of sexuality and nationhood in India, as well as the multiple and contradictory movements toward and resistance to official and normative forms of LGBT political legibility.

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Dias, Amanda S. A. *Aux marges de la ville et de l'État. Camps palestiniens au Liban et favelas cariocas*, Paris : Karthala, 2013, 411 pages.

Recenseuse : Paula Vasquez Lezama
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L'ouvrage d'Amanda Dias constitue une comparaison audacieuse et stimulante entre une favela brésilienne et un camp de réfugiés au Liban. Ce travail est issu de sa thèse doctorale et la présentation des analyses et la composition des chapitres est remarquablement équilibrée. Le livre est composé de trois parties, qui se rapportent à trois activités tant du chercheur engagé que des « intellectuels organiques » que la chercheuse a rencontré sur le terrain : percevoir, habiter et agir. La démarche réflexive de l'enquête est présentée avec rigueur. Dans chacune de ces parties, l'auteur interroge simultanément le temps – l'histoire mais aussi les évènements du présent – et l'espace – les lieux mais également le poids de la géopolitique – de la vie quotidienne dans une favela de Rio de Janeiro et dans un camp de réfugiés palestiniens situé au Liban.

D'une certaine manière, le concept d'hétérotopie de Michel Foucault est transversal à la problématisation des espaces urbains que propose Amanda Dias. Michel Foucault suggère, dans les textes que Dias cite dans son livre, la possibilité de développer une science supposée définir les « lieux autres » – soit ces espaces qui, définis par la société, produisent de l'exclusion, ou du moins catégorisent une certaine partie de la population, et ce faisant, la marginalisent. Ces espaces assignent un lieu propre à des groupes sociaux, en marge du système mais régulé par celui-ci. L'hétérotopie c'est donc avant tout le « lieu autre » mais aussi le « lieu *de* l'autre » comme espace assigné par autrui.

Ainsi, la place imaginée et imaginaire occupée par les habitants de la favela Acari et du camps de refugié Beddawi dans la société brésilienne ou libanaise est simultanément tant un lieu de vide d'institutions, de ségrégation spatiale et de stigmatisation, qu'un lieu de résistance et de vivre ensemble. Dans la première partie, « Percevoir », l'auteure insiste particulièrement sur la construction sociale de la favela en allant de l'analyse d'une tradition ancienne de la sociologie brésilienne sur la perception du *favelado* comme altérité à la société formelle, jusqu'aux « théories du complot » qui prédominent dans le camps de réfugiés palestiniens au Liban. Le pari est tenu. Les deux réalités sont imbriquées de jeux de perception qui agissent comme des miroirs de la société dominante. Peut-être les pages les plus réussies de cette partie sont celles consacrées au long travail de terrain mené au Liban où l'auteure prend agilement en compte le poids de la dimension globale du conflit israélo-palestinien dans ce jeu de miroirs. Tenir le pari de la comparaison de ces deux terrains si distants est un défi épistémologique. Les réfugiés palestiniens ont un statut officiel qui leur nie l'accès à la citoyenneté libanaise ; d'une certaine manière, ils sont des *parias* écrasés par l'un des conflits les plus dramatiques et médiatisés du monde contemporain. Dans le cas du Brésil, c'est la perception de la favela comme « l'échec » du processus de constitution d'un État-nation moderne et « développé » qui marque la perception sociale de l'espace.

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage, « Habiter » est peut-être la plus riche du point de vue ethnographique. Un travail consistant d'anthropologie de l'espace aborde de manière critique le processus d'urbanisation du camp libanais et d'intégration de la favela carioca à la ville. On regrettera que l'auteure n'entre pas en dialogue avec les travaux de l'anthropologue brésilien Roberto da Matta, et plus particulièrement avec ses analyses fines des espaces de la « maison » et de la « rue » comme des lieux imbriqués de significations multiples. Mais les références mobilisées par Dias demeurent convaincantes, dans la mesure où l'auteure mène une démarche conceptuelle tant éclectique que critique. Ainsi, à la question si la vie dans le camp ou la favela relève du concept de « vie nue » proposé par Giorgio