REVIEWS in CULTURAL THEORY

8.1
WINTER
2018

Reviews in Cultural Theory is a journal of reviews and review essays, published twice annually. We welcome offers to review or suggestions of forthcoming books engaged with contemporary theories of culture. We also wecome suggestions for review essays and similiar, lengthier variations on the review form.

We can be reached by email at editors@reviewsincultre.com, or by mail at

Reviews in Cultural Theory
Department of English and Film Studies
3-5 Humanities Centre
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB
T6G 2E5
Canada

http://reviewsinculture.com

Editors: Sarah Blacker, Justin Sully, Imre Szeman

Associate Editors: Adam Carlson, Jeff Diamanti, Carolyn Veldstra

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ISSN 1918-9710

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Eating as Practice: Consumption Between Agency and Predictable Performance

IRINA D. MIHALACHE

Alan Warde. *The Practice of Eating*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016. 203 pp.

In cultural studies and media studies, the question of consumer agency continues to be contested with respect to the role played by context (cultural, political, social, economic, etc.), identity (gender, race, ethnicity, class, etc.), media (institutions and content), and material culture (technology, environment, food, fashion, etc.). In the context of food studies, eating has been studied from several angles: as a form of commensality (Julier 2013), a sign of distinction (Bourdieu 1984; Johnston & Baumann 2010; Naccarato & Lebesco 2012), a marker of identity (Gabaccia 1998; Pilcher 1998; Inness 2001), a good site to study global politics (Heldke 2003; Inglis and Gimlin 2010) and even a type of communication (Cramer, Greene and Walter 2011; Rousseau 2013; Elliott 2016). While eating has been, in these studies and several others, loosely considered a practice, it has rarely been theorized as such. Alan Warde's *The Practice of Eating* considers eating as a practice in relation to questions of agency, habit and food consumption, and produces a theory of eating as "an entity, as a constituted, compound Practice" (98). A major contribution of this approach to eating consists in the author's observation that eating escapes the traditional modes of institutionalization and regulation due to the fact that much of eating takes place in private. This observation generated one of the major inquiry lines in the book: despite the lack of institutionalization, "most people adopt an orderly and practical mode of going about eating. The puzzle lies in fathoming how this is achieved" (99). To delve into this question, Alan Warde approaches the matter of consumer choice by bringing in the tools of practice theory, a sub-set of sociology which "gives precedence to practical activity as the means by which people secure their passages through the world" (32). The book takes as its goal "to make clearer what is at stake in defining eating as an activity and to propose a set of concepts to frame it as a moment of consumption" (3).

The book argues for a sociological theory of eating founded on the principles of practice theory, prioritizing habituation and learned performances over individual decision making and independent thinking. Therefore, one of the main arguments

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of the book is stated in the Introduction to the volume as such: "rejecting methodological individualisms, emphasis is placed on repetition and on aspects of everyday-life which make it impossible to give satisfactory account of an activity like eating without recognizing its collective and unreflective elements" (6). Warde organizes the volume in two parts. The first part (chapters 2-4) introduces practice theory and positions eating as a scientific object, defined as "refinement of ordinary language terms, which are fashioned, sharpened and developed in order to address particular questions valuable for the purpose of specifically scientific analysis" (53). The second part (chapters 5-7) develops a series of concepts intended for use in the analysis of eating as practice. The author identifies the lack of a coherent theory of eating and frames his intervention to the field of sociology in terms of this absence. He writes:

> in the absence of an agreed comprehensive typology, I seek to show that there is something special and specific about eating which demands adaptation and development of the theory. I coin the concept of a compound practice, observe different degrees of coordination and regulation of practices, argue that Practices may be conceptualized as entities, and extend the theory to account for the sharing of practices and also how their rudiments, essentials and nuances are imparted to others, and potential future agents. (5)

The motivation for this study is made very clear in the volume's introductory chapter, where Warde claims that cultural analysis (and its many weaknesses) have produced "the model of an active and reflexive actor, implying that conscious and intentional decisions steer consumption behavior" (4). Therefore, the application of practice theory to eating is the author's attempt to "offer remedies for both substantive and explanatory deficiencies of cultural analysis" (4). Such a characterization of cultural analysis might sound surprising to scholars who use cultural theory and analysis to problematize exactly the relation between the consumer and her environment. It would have been useful for Warde to be more specific as to what he means by "cultural analysis" and to state with clarity the names of those cultural theorists with whom he converses in this study. Despite the generalizations made about cultural analysis, Warde offers a compelling argument on practice theory and the sociology of consumption — areas to which he is a major contributor, building the reader's trust thorough his meticulous theorizing of eating as practice.

Starting from the premise that "the concept of practice captures eating particularly well" (7), the author explains, in Chapter 2 ("Towards a Sociological Theory of Eating"), that current sociological studies of food are overwhelmingly concerned with food production and moments of crisis (ex: anxieties related to modern industrial food production) and "give little weight to theory building or theoretical synthesis"

(20). Consequently, the process of consumption, of which eating is a prime example, has been marginalized, leaving room for the development of a theoretical framework informed by practice theory. Warde provides an inventory of scholarship that touches on aspects of eating — for example, the writings of Stephen Mennell, John Goody and Pierre Bourdieu — but he is generally unsatisfied with such contributions with respect to a theory of eating. Much of this dissatisfaction is again targeting cultural analysis, which, according to Warde, "tended to ignore practical and routine activity in favor of the more expressive and conspicuous aspects of life" (28). The following chapter ("Elements of a Theory of Practice"), introduces recent developments in the theory of practice, arguing that this body of intellectual contributions has the potential to "bring the social back in" (31). With great skill and a critical eye, Warde synthesizes the works of several important scholars in the study of practice, such as earlier contributors Sherry Ortner, Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu; promoters of the second phrase of modern practice theory, Theodore Schatzki and Andreas Reckwitz; and scholars in fields other than sociology who have made use of practice theory (e.g. Nick Couldry). For Warde, the most helpful collective contributions of these works point towards the fact that "practices are the fundamental units of social existence and hence the core concept of social analysis" (50). This chapter makes a distinction between *practice* as a "routinized type of behavior which consists of several elements" and *Practice* as "an emphatic term to describe the whole of human action" (Reiczwitz qtd. in Warde 44). In this framework, a practice such as eating requires coordination, achieved through the commitment of individuals, groupings of people, and organizations to deliver "proper conduct" (45). This conduct is manifested at the level of the many practices which define the standards of performance and act together and with the aid of other mechanisms, such as "artefacts, texts, organizations and public events" (47).

Once the foundations of practice theory have been assessed, Warde asks, in Chapter 4 ("Elementary Forms of Eating"): "how should eating be defined and delimited so that it becomes amenable to scrutiny?" (52). This question opens up discussion on eating as a process of consumption with particular attention paid to the performances which make up this practice in relation to three elementary forms: "foods consumed, bodily processes and social arrangements" (58). Following the leads of scholars from anthropology (Mary Douglas) and sociology (George Simmel, Norbert Elias) who have focused their work on the meal as a mode of exploring eating, Warde observes the performances afforded by "the three principal analytic dimensions of performance of eating" (76): 1) events and occasions; 2) food, menus and dishes; and 3) incorporation. These distinct components of the meal suggest that "eating is situated within established patterns of social relations and shared understandings which steer the orchestration of timings, settings and compassions in a conventionally recognizable and acceptable manner" (77). Warde's line or argumentation suggests

that the individual has little room to exercise free thinking when acting within such pre-ordained structures of performance, in which "orchestration seems to occur as a matter of practical sense, of knowing how to go on, without thinking" (79). At this point in the volume, readers might start to empathize with the uncritical consumer sketched by Warde's argumentation, and crave some much needed empirical evidence or references to a specific historical and cultural context. Unfortunately, with the exception of very brief references to a project on cultural consumption in the United Kingdom in which the author participated, the reader will be left wanting.

The strengths of the volume are consistently visible in the next set of chapters (Chapter 5, "Organizing Eating"; Chapter 6, "Habituation"; Chapter 7, "Repetition and the Foundations of Competence"), which are intended to solve "the theoretical puzzle" of how the orchestration of eating "is normally achieved" (79). In agreement with Claude Fischler and Jean-Pierre Poulain, Warde writes that "no wholeheartedly agreed upon authoritative template for the practice of eating is adopted by whole populations" (81). At the same time, continues Warde, even in the case of eating, "practices have standards beneath which performances should not fall if they are to be considered acceptable by observers" (83). Therefore, "shared understanding" is essential for the reproduction and recognition of eating as Practice, requiring investigation of "modes of symbolic communication and social coordination" (83). Texts, such as restaurant guides, cookbooks and etiquette manuals are important factors in the regulation of eating. Of equal importance is the institutionalization of regulatory frameworks, such as government campaigns and school curriculum, which can act upon practices. However, Warde argues, eating does not display a "dominant authoritative regulatory framework" (99) in the same manner as motoring, for example. Another set of concepts will be crucial in determining how a seemingly fluid and unorganized Practice, such as eating, can convince individuals to adopt an orderly mannerism nonetheless.

The answer for Warde does not reside in his trust of individual rationality, self-awareness and independence, which one might expect. Contrarily, the author believes that "the importance of deliberative thoughts in everyday life is exaggerated" and "the degree of personal control and initiative available to the individual is overestimated" (101). It is here that the volume makes its core intervention to the literature: the repetition of habits and exposure to "symbols, clues and affordances" present in the external environment explain the existence of a structure to the otherwise unruly practice of eating (111). The remainder of the book develops a theoretical tool-kit composed of thorough reflections on various concepts — routine, custom, convention, disposition — which can be used to further explore processes of habitualization and "competent automatic conduct apparent in everyday performances" (120). In his theory, Warde accounts for change in practices, but only in very specific cir-

cumstances: improvement or progress and change in the environment. The author continues this discussion in the final chapter of the volume ("Conclusions: Practice Theory and Eating Out"), nuancing his explanation of performance of practice to account for the work of cultural intermediaries, primarily media texts, to create controversy, which produces change.

As a cultural theory scholar, I am conflicted by this volume as I found it incredibly useful in its formulation of a vocabulary for observing eating as practice, providing a carefully orchestrated set of concepts which are rarely differentiated and defined in academic discourse. The volume is innovative in attempting to theorize eating, a very complex and messy Practice, and for its sophisticated critique of the neo-liberal self. But perhaps attempting to tame such a disorderly Practice comes with a price; in this case, the multitude of overgeneralizations about how people eat with very little empirical evidence and proper historical contextualization (ex: the shift in taste in Great Britain for foreign foods has a "general environmental explanation," assuming a homogenized integration of "other" dishes and ingredients), the misrepresentation of entire bodies of knowledge with a long and multidisciplinary history (ex: cultural analysis as inattentive to social context), and the appropriation of theoretical frameworks without acknowledgement of their existence (ex: description of a process which resembles hegemony without naming it as such). The digestion of this volume depends, in the end, on the disciplinary identity of the reader.

Irina D. Mihalache is Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Information, University of Toronto and teaches in the field of museum studies, focusing on museum interpretation, food and material culture, curatorial practice and global museums. Her research explores the intersections between food and museums. On this topic, she has co-edited a book, *Food and Museum* (2016, Bloomsbury Academic) which features writings (and recipes) by chefs, artists, academics and museum professionals. She has written several book chapters on museum restaurants and audience engagement; on restaurants in French post-colonial museums; and on culinary programming organized by the volunteer committees at the Art Gallery of Ontario between 1940-1970./

Mapping the "Relational Geographies of Storytelling"

MARGARET BOYCE

Emilie Cameron. *Far Off Metal River: Inuit Lands, Settler Stories, and the Making of the Contemporary Arctic*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015. 273pp.

I was attending an undergraduate survey of Canadian History when I first encountered the 1771 story of Samuel Hearne watching in horror as his Dene companions slaughtered a group of Inuit in the Central Arctic. The day's lecture was focused squarely on the tale's accuracy, a practice that, according to Emilie Cameron, has a long history within European discussions of the Arctic. *Far Off Metal River*, Cameron's fascinating and inspired critique of Hearne's story, certainly stokes readers' disbelief, but its purpose is not to disprove Hearne's account. For Cameron, the story of the so-called Bloody Falls Massacre serves as a way to illuminate how "past, present, and future Norths have been made possible, sensible, and legible" (13). Indeed, even the debates about the tale's accuracy are fodder for Cameron, insofar as they provide materiality and legitimacy to colonial narratives, and pave the way for Qablunaat (an Inuktitut term meaning, roughly, non-Inuit, non-Indigenous) forays into the North.

What becomes apparent early in *Far Off* is that Cameron seeks to tell a different story about stories. Simply analyzing "colonial discourse" leads to conclusions that "the stories told by Indigenous peoples do not matter," and study of Indigenous storytelling "tends to name practices and knowledges rooted in the traditional, oral, and local, practices and knowledges whose relations with the complex geographies on the present are often left unexplored" (21). By contrast, postcolonial discourse analysis is necessary but limited, as it tends to overcharacterize colonial texts as entirely and inevitably hegemonic, and overlooks the "messy, material, placed contexts in which colonial relations are continually made and remade" (24). *Far Off* thus serves to overturn conventional approaches to textual analysis, particularly as it might be applied to studies of the Arctic, not only by offering a range of stories that 'mess up' the two-dimensional, fictive relationship between colonizer and colonized often traded in by postcolonial scholarship, but also by carving out space to exalt in its own messiness.

The relationship between story and materiality is present throughout, and it is with a geographer's sense of space, coupled with a drive for the specificity of narrative, that

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Cameron offers up Bloody Falls — and by extension, the Arctic, seen in Chapter 1, "Summer Stories" in an unsettling season — through various filters of familiarization and defamiliarization. Cameron temporalizes and spatializes Bloody Falls as "a summer story," not simply the production of a single man, but a perspective that emerges from a constellation of beings — Kugluktukmiut, but also other-than-humans like the "midnight sun," the "blueberry bushes and willows, alongside a river teeming with fish." In other words, the story is a group effort whose circulation has relied on "the summer journeys of subsequent explorers and prospectors, the summer swarms of southern researchers, and the summer travels of canoeists who paddle the length of the Coppermine River as much as by those who know the land in all its seasons" (9-10). (Cameron's important refusal to assign the story a pristine authenticity appears again in Chapter 7.)

Far Off's preference for messiness over refutation serves an assortment of analyses, particularly in Chapter 2, "Ordering Violence," which details the relationship between the often invisible violence of settler colonialism and the Bloody Falls story. Oftentimes, scholars discussing colonial accounts of Indigenous violence end up developing an argument based on whose violence is "really" violent — a rhetorical turn meant to reveal how settler subjects are trained to condemn Indigenous violence as "savage" and forgive colonial violence as necessary, but which ultimately fails to disrupt the pernicious savage-civilized binary. Cameron turns her attention, instead, to how the violence of Bloody Falls creates "a subject position from which Qablunaat can witness the suffering of northern Indigenous peoples without feeling involved or implicated in that suffering" (36).

So while Cameron nods to the role of the concept of savagery in concretizing the borders of the civilized, modern subject, thankfully — and refreshingly — she is more interested in exploring the complex intertexts between Hearne's account, its fans and its denouncers, and life in 18th century Britain under the shadow of the French Revolution, when tales of uncivilized lands and its occupants "were ways of making sense of complex political, economic, and social crises in a tumultuous time" (49). Here, an important question arises for the reader: if Hearne's simultaneous inaction and apparent empathy for victims of the massacre allow for him to "view the event in all its gory detail and yet *not be involved*" (52 emphasis in original), then how might contemporary Qablunaat — Canadians horrified by murdered and missing Indigenous women, or scholars writing from a position of solidarity, for example — avoid adopting a similarly sympathetic but (supposedly) non-complicit subject position?

The main attraction in Chapter 3, "To Mourn," is, strikingly, a northern flower. While it has no Inuit name, it is now known as *Senecio lugens* thanks to John Richardson, a "surgeon-naturalist" from the first Franklin expedition, which sought to follow

the path into the Arctic beaten by Hearne (64). Cameron scrutinizes the etymology of Richardson's term and then produces a sophisticated analysis of how the plant functions within a constellation of objects and stories to actualize the Bloody Falls account as something with social and material clout; as something that informs and bolsters a network of "military, political, publishing, and scientific communities in Britain," which imagined the world through reports by travellers like Hearne (66). Cameron surmises that referring to the plant as *lugens* — indicating mourning, in Latin — would compel Richardson's botanist compatriots to "imagine that God's own grief at the slaying of the Inuit was manifested" in the plant's black leaves (71). In a sense, the mourning flower, accompanied by gloomy plates and drawings later produced to preserve the event, are proxy witnesses who continue to render the event in tangle form.

In Chapter 4, "Copper Stories," Cameron (re)stories the Bloody Falls massacre to show what Hearne's story leaves out, making it not a story about Indigenous violence, but a story that is pointedly not about resource extraction. Cameron shines a light on copper's various roles in the story, such as Hearne's mention that the Dene searched out Inuit copper during their attack. Framing Inuit "as a traditional copper culture," Cameron argues, is tied to increased industrial extraction in the area (87), as colonizers and developers exploit what they perceive as Inuit transitioning from "traditional" to modern coveters of metal. Cameron makes the enticing suggestion that copper is "good to think with" (89), revealing that Indigenous "co-existence with copper enroll[s] a particular network of things" while Hearne's interest in copper gestures to "international networks of trade and manufacture" — static between two perspectives indicating the "very different narrative geography within which Hearne operated" (91). Thinking with copper, then, is a way to complicate too-simple stories by situating them within broader systems of resource development.

The copper story is tricky, given Cameron's promotion of particularity and situatedness. It is at once a metonym for stories that we — whoever that "we" is — know, tell, and live, as well as an instance where specific stories exist in particular relation. This will be a challenge for scholars in a range of discipline, who must determine how to extract lessons from Cameron's investigation without universalizing and totalizing her insights.

Cameron challenges prevailing thinking about what resistance looks like in Chapter 5, "Resistance Stories," directing readers to "geographies that cannot be reduced to colonial power relations nor to the filters of institutional legibility" (141). Cameron turns to efforts on the part of the North West Territories government (GNWT) and the federal government, in the 1970s, to erect plaques in the Central Arctic in commemoration of Hearne's journey. Attention to the "acts of resistance" that arose in re-

sponse to the proposed plaques serve "as a diagnostic of power, as a means of troving historical shifts in the intentions and methods whereby governmental, corporate, and religious figures have intervened in the lives of Kugluktukmiut" (113). Cameron does have some use for Foucault, and employs his concept of govermentality to demonstrate that stories, self-government agreements and treaty-making are meant to "reshap[e] the very terms upon which a target population conceptualizes itself, its history, and its future" (119). The settler-colonial state continues to pursue these means, Cameron reminds us, even / especially when the North West Territories government (GNWT) acquired greater power, and even / especially now that Inuit have attained unprecedented bureaucratic leverage with the creation of Nunavut.

Despite the challenges faced by Inuit, however, the enduring significance of their stories and practices is never far from Cameron's consideration. She recalls that Inuit youth who once "used their democratically elected settlement council to resist the erection of plaques commemorating Samuel Hearne and Bloody Falls did so not so much as an exercise in the formation of territorial and national citizenship […] but rather as part of a new strategy for the articulation of Inuit interests" (128). Instead of signalling a full rejection of colonial governance in favour of "tradition," or evidencing assimilation into colonial order — a troubling dichotomy with no escape — Inuit are working, and have always worked, within current constraints as *Inuit* as a form of being that must be reasserted on the ground, in the moment. Indeed, Kugluktukmiut's rejection of the plaques was grounded in "an acute sense of responsibility for the land and for ensuring a successful land claim" (140), suggesting that their actions reveal their understanding of the connection between the plaques and access to land — a conclusion validated by State actors expressing interest in preserving parcels of land as archeologically significant just prior to the commemoration proposals (131).

Cameron writes, "From what I understand, remembering and forgetting are expressions of competency in Inuinnaqtun, not an indication of whether traces of story or experience can be recalled" (149). Chapter 6, "Toward an Emerging Past," expands on Inuit notions of "responsibility as a contextual, relational, and practical orientation to the demands of the everyday, aimed at maximizing individual and collective well-being and survival" (147). Cameron reports, via Kugluktukmiut sources, that certain stories are meant to be told on the land, or at certain times of year (155), which makes space for other stories, and perhaps unseats the types of master narratives that Qablunaat seek to impose. Placing stories also constitutes a "move away from Bloody Falls" as not just "an act of conscious forgetting" but "an active storying of other places" (159). Likewise, Inuit, Dene and Tlicho have met and continue to meet in order to develop new stories in the interest of a shared, beneficial future (167) — a form of engagement that directly contradicts the supposed antagonisms between Indigenous nations that the Bloody Falls story takes for granted.

In her final chapter, "Ptarmigan Stories," Cameron recounts what initially seems like an "Inuit version" of Bloody Falls, with a caveat: this version — like all versions — cannot be read as a "pure" Inuit account of the massacre. Rather, the story "is entangled in Inuit-Qablunaat histories" and as such, actively undermines any interest in "'pure' Inuit stories, uncontaminated by past and present relations with Qablunaat" (172). Indeed, it is in this final chapter that Cameron's own grappling with the constraints of settler scholarship — or perhaps simply being a settler, full stop — becomes clear. She writes, "To seek out Inuit versions of contentious histories, histories over which Qablunaat retain narrative and material control, is ultimately to ask Inuit to perform prescribed roles in maintaining uneven and violent relations" (173). Of course, the pernicious desire for authenticity is a concern that those in the humanities must constantly confront, which is why Cameron's book will be of great interest to scholars within Indigenous Studies, but also historians, anthropologists, and political scientists, to name a few. Ultimately, *Far Off* stands as a challenge to all Canadians, but perhaps settler scholars in particular, to develop the analytic and conceptual skills needed to understand how our interests, desires, concerns, and — maybe most importantly — our empathies and solidarities relate to lives, things, places and events that seem peripheral to our being here.

Margaret Boyce is a PhD student in the English and Culture Studies department at McMaster University. Her research interests include film studies, Indigenous incarceration, neocolonialism, Critical Animal studies and risk / security society. As a lifelong resident of Hamilton, Ontario, on Mississauga, Algonquin and Haudenosaunee traditional territory, Margaret is generally interested in reading, thinking, and writing strategies that work in, through and around colonial, colonizing and anthropocentric ideals. She is currently developing a dissertation examining Canada's promotion of Inuit art, especially in the lead-up to the nation's sesquicentennial, as a form of colonial recognition politics.

What Lives On?

LEISA DESMOULINS

Amber Dean. *Remembering Vancouver's Disappeared Women: Settler Colonialism and the Difficulty of Inheritance*. University of Toronto Press, 2015. 188 pp.

What remembrances survive after death? For whom? In her 2015 book, *Remembering Vancouver's Disappeared Women*: *Settler Colonialism and the Difficulty of Inheritance* Amber Dean asks what lives on after the violent deaths and disappearances of a group of women. Her text focuses on more than 65 women, most of whom were Indigenous, who lived and worked in Vancouver's downtown east side (DTES) neighbourhood over the past 30 years. This academic text covers challenging subject matter and theories best suited to higher-level undergraduate or graduate students. Her book enters a crowded fray of texts on murdered and missing women. Dean's book shares similarities with Hugill's (2010) recent critique of the print media coverage of three national daily newspapers in relation to the missing and murdered Indigenous women victims in the murder trial of Robert Picton. Dean and Hugill critique responses to missing and murdered Indigenous women, and analyze the effectiveness of these responses from broader perspectives. Both authors focus on women from the DTES who form part of a larger group of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada. I discuss the similarities between these texts later on in this review, after a review of Dean's book. I begin with a basic overview of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada.

For readers who are unfamiliar with the ongoing tragedy of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada, this national issue dates back to well-known cases, such as Helen Betty Osborne's 1971 murder in Winnipeg. In the intervening years, the crisis has remained mostly invisible or inconsequential in local and national press and among government officials at all levels, and by extension among the Canadian public, despite international chastisements for Canada's inaction by Amnesty International (2004, 2009) and, more recently, the United Nations Human Rights Commission (2015). Though activism around the issue began in the 1970s and has been ongoing, it has mostly been sustained by Indigenous, grassroots organizations in Canada.

Dean's intent is not to detail what happened to these 'disappeared women' (as she refers to them throughout her text), nor to critique the justice system. Both of these topics have been covered in other publications and she provides extensive lists of

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resources for her readers. Instead, Dean's contribution offers personal reflections and shares examples of police and community responses to missing and murdered Indigenous women in order to theorize what we collectively learn and how we make meaning from their lives and their deaths.

Dean begins by naming sixty-five of the missing and murdered women from Vancouver's DTES to memorialize them. Then, she acknowledges the partiality of her list and the challenges that arise from listing names to memorialize those we did not know in life. Dean's juxtapositions, asserting ideas then challenging them, typifies her writing throughout the book and reflects the tensions around the representations of the women's murders and disappearances. Dean's stated purpose is to "trace *what lives on* from the violent loss of so many women who called the Downtown Eastside home" (xviii). She then engages the reader, asking, "And, what might it mean then, to come to see ourselves as inheriting what lives on from the violent loss of so many women, especially for those of us who did not know any of the women when they were living?" (xviii-xix, emphasis in original).

Also in her opening chapter, Dean lays out the theoretical framework she develops around the idea of inheriting what lives on. She builds upon her own previous academic work on missing and murdered Indigenous women and draws on theoretical work by the late memory scholars Roger Simon and Sharon Rosenberg, particularly their writings on the "practices of inheritance" emanating from human-initiated tragedies and what we learn from these events in our shared present and for the future. Dean applies the lens of settler colonialism, which she defines as "the relations of settlers for ongoing colonialism" (10), to underpin her work. She provides an extensive historical framework for settler colonialism, connecting it to present-day projects of ongoing colonialism, particularly the violence against missing and murdered Indigenous women of the DTES neighbourhood in Vancouver. She also builds on Judith Butler's definition of 'grievable' lives and her own previous work on redress, in which she frames these women's lives and deaths as ungrievable due to broader colonial contexts in Canada that make them insignificant in life and in death. Her book is a plea for deeper engagement from wider publics (including her readers) against violence that is gendered as well as sexualized, raced, and colonized as a counter to existing discourses of ungrievable lives.

Returning to the structure of the book, Dean takes up multiple responses to missing and murdered Indigenous women, including her personal reflections and police and community responses, to support her thesis. Dean's personal reflections on her time in Vancouver's DTES position her early in the text and throughout. She seeks to understand her own inheritance, while not conflating her experiences with those of the women she writes about. She succeeds in this through much of her writ-

ing. In her later chapters, Dean broadens her approach to explore representations of missing and murdered women as an ungrievable group and through an analysis of the 'missing persons' posters created and distributed by police. Dean critiques police representations for aligning the women closely with criminals and suggests that these images "fail to either signal a wider social context for the lives of the women pictured or redirect our attention to the social conditions and normative frameworks that facilitated their disappearances and greatly delayed an official response" (95). Dean also critiques artistic representations and memorials intended to humanize the women. She critiques this memorializing work for "the oft-repeated reclaiming of the women as 'mothers, sisters, and daughters', a politically strategic remembrance practice, [that] also risks distancing the women from sex work or indeed from any form of sexuality at all" (31). She discusses these examples of police and cultural representations as a means to think through our collective responses to the disappearance of so many women as our shared inheritance to what lives on. She explains that practices of inheritance might encourage us to share this inheritance as a collective responsibility—to see ourselves in relation with these women, as a means to stopping the legacy of ongoing colonialism and thus the ongoing violence. While many of these cultural representations, the tributes and memorials, may be familiar to anyone following the ongoing situation of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls in Vancouver and across Canada, the conclusions that Dean draws expand on the idea of whose lives matter and to whom.

Dean's book shares similarities with David Hugill's *Missing Women, Missing News* (2010), which critiques print media coverage in three national daily newspapers in relation to the victims in the murder trial of Robert Picton. Both authors look at the role of 'humanizing' approaches in the contexts of ongoing colonial violence for Indigenous women and both seek new lenses to view the murders and disappearances of a group of women who are mostly ignored or forgotten. The two books seek to go beyond the mantra of 'never again' and ask what would happen if these women's lives were considered grievable. Through their difficult questions and examples of indifference, both authors engage with societal complicity in these women's deaths and disappearances as these relate to the future of Vancouver's DTES and justice for its residents.

Dean's book is not without weaknesses. Nearing the close of her final chapter, Dean reflects upon the "social and intellectual importances of Indigenous epistemologies and political thought and histories" (149), to show how she has neglected her own inheritance through writing the book. She comes to understand how Indigenous scholarship has informed her thesis insufficiently. She states,

> This is a realization I have just come to through reckoning with my own implica-

> tions in this story, as I have (slowly, too slowly) begun to realize that the changes in how we understand the relations between self and other and among past, present, and future, that I came to believe are necessary for ending the violence, injustice, suffering, and loss that concern me throughout this book are already understandings that are extremely well-developed in much Indigenous thought." (149)

She continues, "But for the ideas I develop about the necessity of transforming self-other, and past-present-future relations, it is also possible to draw insights from numerous Indigenous scholars, writers, and activists (as I have, belatedly, also attempted to do)" (150). She cites Mi'kmaw scholar Marie Battiste (on relations) as one of a smattering of citations from Indigenous scholars throughout the book. Elsewhere (not cited by Dean), Battiste explains that Indigenous knowledges are marginalized through Western scholarship. She writes, "While the disciplines and discourse of Eurocentrism quibble with each other about their accepted theories and methods, they actually remain allies in the construction and maintenance of Eurocentrism" (xxii). Dean identifies this reliance on non-Indigenous ways of knowing as working against the purpose of her book and her thesis and as a significant flaw in her work and yet she does not activate her newfound insights. What message does she convey to readers about her own inheritances of the ongoing project of settler colonialism? How does theory inform the ongoing project of settler colonialism in her work? Dean's response is obscured by her use of Western scholars (the term she uses to describe the academic scholarship that she employs [149) predominantly through her writing and to conclude the book, contrary to the lens of settler colonialism she seeks to apply and her insights.

In her conclusion, Dean describes her inheritances from the missing and murdered Indigenous women. She writes,

> Finding ways to be in relation to others beyond the constrictions of identity but never forgetful of the ways identity matters: finding ways to stay in relation not just with the dead and with those who continue to contend with and resist the social conditions and arrangements that leave some more vulnerable to violence than others, and also with people like my neighbours who continue to recoil from those whose living and dying is so frequently cast as less grievable—such challenging alterations of one's ways of being in relation to others are the "terrible gifts" I inherit from my own reckoning with De Vries's poem [one of the cultural products of a DTES resident who was murdered]." (46-47)

In this book, Dean achieves her stated purpose. She uses multiple examples to show how the stories of Vancouver's disappeared women have been conveyed using lo-

cal cultural productions, tracing what lives on, and drawing attention to the ways in which various publics might be implicated. From the perspective that their lives mattered and we inherit something from their deaths, Dean challenges her readers to consider their own inheritances from the missing and murdered Indigenous women of Vancouver's DTES. Dean looks at a topic that has been ongoing for the past 45 years, since a Manitoba inquiry found that, "Betty Osborne would be alive today had she not been an Aboriginal woman" (cited in Amnesty International, 2004, 22). Yet, the traces of what live on from the lives and deaths of missing and murdered Indigenous women and our ethical relations to them remains a timely question for the present and our shared futures. Dean's questions will provoke readers of her book for their answers.

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Leisa Desmoulins is an Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Education at Lakehead University. She has taught undergraduate students in the Department of Indigenous Learning and the Bachelors of Education and she currently teaches Aboriginal students in the Honours Bachelors of Education program. She also teaches graduate students in the Indigenous Education stream within the Department of Graduate Studies and Research. Her research interests include the intersections of education and justice for Indigenous peoples: she is currently researching with the Walking With Our Sisters touring memorial exhibit. Leisa Desmoulins is related to Anishinaabe peoples by marriage, by our children, and by participation in Aboriginal communities through relationships and research projects. She is a Status Indian and an enrolled member of the Biigtigong Nishnaabeg First Nation.

The Endless Circuits of Global Music

RICHARD ELLIOTT

Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan, eds. *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*. Duke University Press, 2016. 432 pp.

The possibilities for connecting the musics of the world to assumptions about cultural identity were amplified significantly with the advent of recorded sound in the late nineteenth century, a period contemporaneous with extensive imperialist projects undertaken by Euro-American powers. The ensuing phonographic era provided an increasingly accessible soundtrack to the shift from colonialism and empire to a period of more general globalisation.

The role of global musics in constituting regional, national, racial, sexual and other identities in the phonographic era has become an area of growing scholarly interest, with important recent books including Michael Denning's study of the global recording boom of the 1920s and 1930s, Roshanak Kheshti's analysis of race and gender in the world music industry and the innovative collection of texts on "seismographic sounds" published by the Norient network. *Audible Empire*, a collection of sixteen wide-ranging essays combining "music, global politics [and] critique," adds to this literature through engaging studies of Mexican *sonideros*, Cuban hip hop, field recordings from Mozambique, jazz in interwar Shanghai, tango in contemporary Buenos Aires and much more. The essays are written from a variety of intersectional perspectives that emphasise historicity, hybridity, flows, channels, interstices and unexpected details: the role of cigarettes in the Chinese jazz scene of the 1930s; the use of dub poetry in 1990s to narrate the end of the cold war; the recasting of music-making as "exemplary labour" in South Africa; the politics of protecting music as "intangible heritage" in Argentina.

As described in an informative introduction by editors Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan (both professors at the University of Wisconsin, Madison), the imposition of Euro-western tonality played a vital role in the project of colonialism. Sound which fell outside the melodic, harmonic and rhythmic norms of the colonisers was typically cast as noise or sonic barbarity, further proof of the need for civilising force. This historical notion can be (and is, in this book) traced though to our present society, for sound, as an excessive and ultimately uncontainable force, has the ability to

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continually fill, create or otherwise colonise new spaces. Audible empires of various sizes and structures surround us on a daily basis and we are made regularly aware of the ways in which noise can disrupt, disturb or comfort. By bringing together insights from ethnomusicology and contemporary sound studies, while keeping an ear open to history, *Audible Empire* mixes nation-defining colonial projects with an understanding of sound as a border-crossing entity caught up in, and sometimes foretelling, processes of everyday globalisation.

There is much to savour at length in this collection; here I focus on the essays that I found particularly engaging. Following Michael Denning's essay on the decolonisation of the ear through recorded music (an argument with which I felt familiar through its more extensive discussion in the author's *Noise Uprising*), I was drawn to Nan Enstad's fascinating text on jazz and cigarette smoking in interwar Shanghai. By bringing these aspects together in her essay, Enstad is able to succinctly unpack the relationship between multinational corporations (the tobacco and culture industries), the semiotics of popular culture (cigarettes, sartorial style, jazz music) and the processes by which music creates spaces for illicit pleasures—dancing and sharing cigarettes, in this case—allowing for moments of imperial intimacy.

Andrew Jones's essay on "circuit listening," which unfolds around a case study of 1960s Hong Kong pop diva Grace Chang, makes a strong case for music scenes as both historically specific and overlapping. Discussing the ways in which Chang was able to appropriate foreign musical styles, Jones writes, "Globally circulating genres such as mambo and calypso... are musical vernaculars, emerging from particular (and often marginalized) cultural circuits, and they serve as a common language between an imperial dominant and local particulars" (78). What I found revelatory in this essay was the sense of the circuit covering so many different places, with no clear origin or destination, just the seemingly endless circuitry of music genres and global flows. To be cosmopolitan, then as now, was to be aware of these flows and to find ways to join and extend the circuit, through cultural appropriation if need be.

Elsewhere the circuits being emphasised are those producing an international network of resistance. Marc Perry writes of "circuits of solidarity" that have long connected African American and Cuban revolutionary campaigns (217), as personified in figures such as Assata Shakur, a Black Panther wanted by the authorities in the U.S. and granted asylum in Cuba (and given hip hop credence as godmother to Tupac Shakur). The need for solidarity in the face of discrimination comes to the fore in Nitasha Sharma's essay on what she terms "post-9/11 Brown," a lumping-together of culturally diverse groups in the wake of kneejerk reactions to Middle Eastern, West Asian and South Asian foreignness in twenty-first century America. The gradual conflation of these groups has led to a situation in which post-9/11

Brown subjects cross-identify and, in the musical field, often do so via the longstanding tools and techniques of hip hop's Black American grammar. The cultural, ethnic and religious conflation of these subjects serves as both an object of critique and a platform of strategic (self-)essentialism among the performers Sharma discusses. So too are U.S.-based media platforms such as Google, Facebook, YouTube and Twitter seen by younger musicians and activists as simultaneously objects of imperialism and platforms for self-expression and communal mobilisation. Facebook, in the words of rapper Chee Malabar, "has more information about people than the FBI or CIA" (307), but it has also worked to bring otherwise isolated groups into conversation with each other.

Such observations tally with those made by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri in discussing globalisation as both threat and opportunity, and I was often surprised, when reading *Audible Empire*, not to find more reference to Hardt and Negri's work. Only Gavin Steingo makes explicit use of their book *Empire* in his discussion of South African *kwaito*. While it's by no means compulsory to subscribe to Hardt and Negri's take on Empire (which they capitalise in order to demarcate it as a newly understood concept based on a "monarchical" order of dominant international organisations), it has shaped a substantial amount of debate on the subject in the new millennium and might have warranted more discussion than it receives here. Radano and Olaniyan do state early on, however, that they wish to move away from what they interpret (unconvincingly, in my view) as a "neoliberal turn" in contemporary sound studies and to do so via a return to the historicity of local, material examples with seemingly clear root and branch manifestations. Perhaps the notion of Empire as a more rhizomatic, placeless entity conflicts too much with these aims. This would be fair enough, except that the editors also claim the same aims and objectives for the other contributors to the volume and I'm not so sure that all the essayists here are so antithetical to the notion of a post-material Empire.

As is perhaps inevitable with a set of texts so caught up in notions of flow, migration and hybridity, there is space for the deployment of many provocative metaphors. Josh Kun, who explores the migrational aspects of music cultures via the example of Mexican *sonideros*, uses the crossfade as a metaphor for border crossing: "The art of the crossfader is not only moving between two worlds but also moving between them seamlessly and strategically, finding common beats, tempos, melodic moments — points of convergence that allow new mixes to be born. Crossfading mixes while preserving difference, and it slides between worlds without fully erasing one in the pursuit of another" (102). Meanwhile Micol Seigel, reflecting on the unfortunate career of Brazilian musician Elsie Houston, writes that, "Music from somewhere else offers a Rorschach blot of the highest order" (120). Her point is about interpretation, and she notes that music can be used as evidence for more or less anything one might

wish to argue. Against such tendencies, Seigel places the necessity to consider historical and social contexts and the fields of possibility that mark the hard lines of difference between music and musicians and their places and times. Brent Hayes Edwards sounds a relative note when discussing the African fieldwork undertaken by Hugh Tracey in the 1940s. Citing the critique of Tracey produced by Leroy Vail and Landeg White four decades later, Hayes Edwards writes of a "counterarchival" approach that can be launched against the cultural misunderstandings of the past, based as they inevitably were on particular historical, imperial and prejudicial (or at least essentialist) positions. But the intent here is not just to blast the blunders and shortcomings of past perspectives but "to ask whether an archive devoted to the sedimentation of the 'traditional' can be used or abused to trace a history of transformation" (272). Is it possible, Hayes Edwards wonders, "to excavate from Tracey's archive of African music a counterarchive of anticolonialism in sound?" (272). More than a Rorschach blot, then, the trace left by the music from spatial and temporal elsewheres may continue to inform as much as reflect.

Missing from some of the essays is an extensive discussion of sound itself, with the audibility of Empire sometimes being left as an implicit rather than explicit presence in the narratives. I found myself thirsting, for example, for knowledge of how the sonic textures of Chee Malabar's music might underline, extend or even contradict his powerful lyrics. The Internet can, of course, help to quench this thirst but it would still be useful to hear how these essayists hear the sound of Empire in the music they discuss. It is perhaps fitting, then, that the collection concludes with Kofi Agawu's description of the "musical violence" done to African subjects during the colonial era through the imposition of Western European tonality by missionaries and other "educators". Protestant hymns, Agawu argues, would "keep Africans trapped in a prisonhouse of diatonic tonality" from which the sonic language of the continent has struggled to escape (337-8). Agawu locates the traces of this tonality in a series of examples drawn from popular and art music, searching for moments where an active rather than passive hybridity can be discerned; not in South Africa's Ladysmith Black Mambazo or Ghana's Peace Brass Band, apparently, but perhaps in Nigerian composer Joshua Uzoigwe and Ga highlife band Wulomei. That Agawu's analysis draws on a musical grammar developed to accommodate European art music is an issue that is not discussed, however.

At any given point in the phonographic era, we can find configurations of musical style, lyric, language, performance technique or dissemination method that will tell us something about the nature of contemporary Empire. This is a story which emerges again and again from these essays, but that doesn't make the story repetitive, tiring or boring; rather, the enjoyment is in the detail, the variation, the subtle shading of the standard experience. Reading about tango's journey towards UNESCO

recognition as intangible heritage, I was struck by many parallels with Portuguese fado, a musical world and cultural context with which I have more familiarity. This in turn recalled for me the studies of fado I discovered in Buenos Aires book shops (including at least one comparative study of fado and tango) and how that discovery once again challenged the way I've tended to consider global cultural networks from a UK perspective.

What becomes evident from *Audible Empire* is the extent to which any group of people can be any other group of people's exotic and/or feared others. This may recall Arjun Appadurai's call to resituate globalisation theory away from still dominant "West and the Rest" perspectives, an ambition which seems central to many of the contributors to this collection. If it remains questionable to what extent such a goal can be achieved when we are only provided, as in this book, with narratives emanating from U.S. academic institutes, at least those narratives invite us to consider numerous intersectional perspectives. At its best, *Audible Empire* helps to displace common tropes of imperialist debate and encourages its readers to listen to the soundtrack of Empire's past and present with refreshed ears.

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Richard Elliott is Senior Lecturer in Music at Newcastle University. His current research focuses on the representations of time, age and experience in popular music as well as the relationship between music and materiality. He is the author of the books *Fado and the Place of Longing* (Ashgate, 2010), *Nina Simone* (Equinox, 2013), and *The Late Voice: Time, Age and Experience in Popular Music* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

Research Note: Reimagining Creative Economy through the Lens of Multiple Colonialisms

ADAM SAIFER

In April 2017, I travelled to Edmonton, Canada to sit in on the *Reimagining Creative Economy: Transnational Histories, Local Practices, Regional Struggles* workshop (RCE) at the University of Alberta. Two weeks earlier, Richard Florida—originator of the celebrated and derided (depending on who you ask) theory of the creative class—published his newest tome, *The New Urban Crisis: How Our Cities are Increasing Inequality, Deepening Segregation, and Failing the Middle Class—and What We Can Do About It* (2017). A number of RCE workshop contributors noted the fortuitousness of this timing. Here was Florida who, after 15 years of sustained critique, was suddenly keen to acknowledge the consequences of his theories put into practice—namely, rapidly growing urban inequality. Asked about this during a public Q & A session, RCE workshop organizer and contributor Dia Da Costa stated that she was unsurprised to learn that Florida was capitalizing on this realization—motivated, perhaps, by his white bourgeois guilt—producing what is sure to be a bestseller that repeats what critics have argued about creative class theory since he coined the term back in 2002. At the same time, 16 international and interdisciplinary artists, activists, and scholars gathered for three days of closed door workshops and public lectures, working toward a critique of creative economy discourse and practice that moved beyond the simplistic identification of it as a catalyst for neoliberal restructuring. Specifically, the RCE organizers sought to foster a space for examining the colonial, national, and regional histories—both discursive and material—that shape the meanings, power, and politics of creative economy in specific contexts, as well as "creativity," in general (RCE Webpage).

Rather than a review of the RCE as an "object," this essay reflects on the current state of creative economy theories by drawing on the contributions to, and conversations had at, the workshop. Through an engagement with the theme *multiple colonialisms*, which crystallized after three days of workshop discussions, this piece highlights the novel and politically pressing interventions into creative economy scholarship made at the RCE, with a particular emphasis on: 1) how *multiple colonialisms* shape "whose

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creativity counts" (see D. Da Costa, Whose Creativity?); 2) how *multiple colonialisms* map onto creative economy discourse's sanitization of the politics of development; and 3) how creativity is not solely a resource for colonial capitalism, but also a tool to resist and reimagine creative economy . The *multiple colonialisms* lens highlights the historical relations and legacies of power and development that go into producing the creative economy; how ongoing processes of colonization and capitalist accumulation structure the creative economy; how dominant knowledges and ways of being shape how the creative economy is understood in policy and practice; and how a globalized creative economy maps onto the legacies of a colonial political economy. It also highlights how the creative economy approach might not be as new as its proponents claim, as creativity has been mobilized both discursively and materially in the face of multiple colonial relations. In addition to a critique of creative economy discourse that foregrounds *multiple colonialisms* in a way that it has not been before, the critique developed at the RCE workshop carves a path to move beyond a narrow and economistic view of culture and creativity as a development strategy or as a thing to be 'captured' to generate surplus value.

Whose Creativity Counts?

Mainstream creative economy discourse—and the theories it informs including the Creative City (e.g., Landry) and the Creative Class (e.g., Florida, Rise of the Creative Class)—is dependent on the supposed objectivity and moral import of qualities such as tolerance, talent, diversity, and, most notably, creativity. These concepts are treated as things that can be isolated and known, that can be measured, produced, and cultivated to produce predictable, mostly economic, outcomes. And so it isn't particularly surprising that critics of these policies, particularly in Western urban contexts, have problematized how "creativity" becomes known and mobilized for development (Banks and O'Connor 366), as well as the power relations that produce certain cultural practices and products as "creative," and others as something else. Foregrounding the primacy of culture in social reproduction, as well as how class relations map onto how we interpret cultural practices and forms, critics argue that creative economy discourse mobilizes class-privileging notions of creativity. Here, creativity functions as a "mystificatory" concept, where dominant group cultural practices are misrecognized as "creative" and the product of "talent" (Gaztambide-Fernandez, Saifer, and Desai 133), while "the remarkable reflexivity and creativity" of the poor is erased (Wilson and Keil 842). The answer to the question "whose creativity counts?"—a question posed by the RCE organizers—has thus contributed one rationale for development policies and programs that redirect public funds to elite institutions, justified the shift toward the precarious organization of work (Ross 44), encouraged gentrifying development projects (Pratt 127), and reinforced fallacious

right-wing stereotypes of the poor as lazy to legitimize the slashing of social programs.

Adding to the above critique, when asking, "whose creativity counts?" in creative economy policy and planning, RCE organizers emphasized that activist and academic analyses need to foreground how histories of colonial capitalist development and nation building shape understandings of creativity as well. As critical development scholars like Da Costa note, this alternative emphasis is all the more imperative as the creative economy is increasingly mobilized as a "feasible" development option in the Global South, touted, for example, by organizations such as UNESCO and UNCTAD (Sentimental 75). But what happens to notions of "creativity" as the exclusive property of the capitalist class when creative economy (as a development tool) reframes poverty as opportunity, climate change as a risk to be managed, and the poor as potential entrepreneurs that can draw on their creativity, culture, and heritage to generate livelihoods?

Dia Da Costa's RCE contribution highlights how this tension around "whose creativity counts?" takes shape in the Indian context. She explains that while creative economy planners argue that creativity is "in India's DNA," creativity, heritage, and intellect have historically been produced as the sole attribute of upper-caste Hindus. Moreover, securing "creativity" as upper-caste property has been, and continues to be, a violent process involving the purging and erasure of indigenous, Dalit, and Muslim creative and cultural practices. What we see here is a particular manifestation of creative economy—one that is shaped by a colonial and religious history that has produced a nation with "the largest number of economically vulnerable people" (Ahluwalia 6 cited in D. Da Costa, Heritage 2), and one that frames this reality as India's competitive advantage in the global marketplace. The RCE's explicit use of a cultural politics approach (see Escobar; Murray Li) stresses that it is India's unique discursive and material history that produces the specific ways that creative economy initiatives take shape in this context. Likewise, while planners in Jamaica, for example, may similarly frame creative economy as a development opportunity due to Jamaicans' entrepreneurial and creative spirit, Meaghan Frauts' RCE contribution demonstrates that this is accomplished through the repeated reference to Jamaica's colonial history—specifically, instances of creative adaptation and resilience during slavery. In this case, it is Jamaica's history as the world's largest importer of slave labour during the trans-Atlantic slave trade that shapes the contours of how creativity and creative economy manifest in this national context.

When creative economy planners make claims like "creativity is in India's DNA" or that Jamaicans have an "inherent creative spirit," they are referring to a specific conception of the (usually marginalized) creative entrepreneur, seen through the eyes of power. This is the creativity that counts in creative economy discourse. For example,

Frauts notes that in Jamaica, creative economy development discourse takes shape around an ideal poor "resilient subject citizen" (3) who is self-sufficient and seeks to be competitive in a global economy. Going into more detail on this process in his RCE workshop contribution, John F. Collins describes how the Brazilian state increasingly seeks to capitalize on the everyday cultural practices of Afro-Bahian's located in the Brazilian city of Salvador—a designated UNESCO World Heritage Site. Within Brazil's multicultural marketplace where particular cultural practices and products function as a resource for capital accumulation (Yudice 9), state-led CE initiatives attempt to transform citizens (and their creative practices) into exhibitors of an idealized (and commodified) Afro-Brazilian heritage. Here, as Collins notes, citizens themselves are treated like cultural heritage objects—not too dissimilar from the Portuguese colonial buildings that are designated as cultural heritage sites—and like these buildings, these citizens "require polishing, restoration, and forms of care that would allow their true beauty to shine through" (6).

The RCE contributions of D. Da Costa, Frauts, and Collins demonstrate ways in which multiple colonial relations, intersecting and/or place-specific, shape the limits of "whose creativity counts." If, however, as Kim TallBear suggests in her RCE workshop contribution, anti-indigenous racism can take on *implicit* forms including romantic and essentialized appropriations of indigenous culture, ceremonies, and identities, then the question of "whose creativity counts?" is also a question of *on whose terms* it counts. TallBear's distinction indicates that creativity is only legible within creative economy discourse when it is on the terms of the colonizer—when political struggle becomes reworked as a struggle for aestheticized culture (Goonewardena and Kipfer 675). Asking a related question, Travis Wysote's RCE contribution examines creative forms of protest used by indigenous activists to reject, resist, and refuse Canadian sovereignty. Focusing on the arrest of Suzanne Patles, a Mi'gmaw Warrior engaged in a traditional ceremony as part of the 2013 New Brunswick anti-fracking conflict, he draws upon the idea of the "state of exception" when making sense of nation-to-nation relations between Mi'kmaq and settlers. A state of exception, he writes, is similar to a state of emergency, providing temporary legal provisions that enable the sovereign to legally suspend the law itself, usually in the case of an uprising, a formal declaration of war, or a natural disaster. Wysote writes that when a state of exception is in effect, the meaning of terms like 'temporary,' 'uprising,' and 'enemy' are determined by the sovereign. However, the case of Patles' creative resistance also points to the fact that, in nation-to-nation relations, meanings of creativity are determined by the sovereign as well. In this example, ceremony is constructed as uncreative, as dangerous, as an uprising, since it interferes with the interests of the state and the colonial capitalist logics of Big Oil. Interestingly, as TallBear's work suggests, that same ceremony—politics removed and aesthetic foregrounded—would likely function as a resource for creative economy development, and would therefore be

read as "creative" by the state.

Though she bypasses the language of "whose creativity counts," Deepti Misri's RCE contribution gets at the core of this question by asking how creativity—specifically visual culture—shapes whose *humanity* counts. Looking at the production of Kashmiri lives as "ungrievable life, unrepresentable loss" (2) within India and the global community, she examines the creative visual strategies mobilized by Kashmiri artists and activists—specifically, references to the Indian army's tactic of deliberately blinding Kashmiri protesters with so-called "non-lethal" pellet guns—to attempt to reclaim that status of human. One such example is a campaign where Kashmiri graphic artists photoshop eye wounds onto images of Indian and Western celebrities. Although these campaigns have been extremely popular, they show how "injuries unintelligible on Kashmiri bodies are made legible by being transposed onto those celebrity bodies, which serve as referents for humanity" (13).

While some critics have suggested that "whose creativity counts" in creative economy is a function of what is discursively legible, this critique has focused almost exclusively on how class relations shape meanings of creativity in a Western urban context. In addressing this question—as well as the question *whose humanity counts?*—RCE participants stress that meanings of creativity, creative economy, and humanity, are a product of the discursive and material contexts within which they are mobilized. In other words, *whose creativity counts* and what forms of creativity and loss are legible are shaped by the particularities of national and colonial histories of place.

Sanitizing Multiple Colonialisms

The framing of "creativity" as an objective, knowable, and measurable *thing* or *substance* is principle to creative economy logic. It also demonstrates the mechanism through which creative economy discourse sanitizes and depoliticizes histories of uneven development, and the power relations and structures that continue to shape it. These histories of uneven development manifest on both a global scale—where colonial and imperial relations shape the exploitative nature of global production, trade, and accumulation within a capitalist world system (Frank; Harvey; Wallerstein)—as well as in particular places and times through colonial capitalist techniques of rule, domination, and exploitation (Escobar; Ferguson). By drawing on statistical models and quantifiable measures, proponents of creative economy policies frame them as scientific, value neutral, and sanitized. Creative City planners reference a multiplicity of indexes to rationalize the implementation of creative economy urban development policies, from popular Creativity (Florida, Mellander, and King), Bohemian (Florida *Bohemia and Economic Geography*), and Gay indexes (Gates and Florida) to

less heralded ones, such as the Porn index (Edelman). And yet, as Sourayan Mookerjea noted during one informal RCE discussion: a scientific (or economistic) lens may reveal much, but it also renders much invisible. Many of the RCE contributions highlighted the immense scope of this erasure, from the sanitization of the violence of creative economy-prompted gentrification to the obscuring of exploitative labour relations unequally distributed along the global supply chains that produce creative economy goods.

One manner in which creative economy is able to cleanse politics from development is through the gathering, manipulation, and reliance on data. Creative economy logic not only depends on the production of knowledge about what creativity is (or whose creativity counts); it necessitates the production of knowledge about citizens whose culture and cultural practices—from the ceremonial to the mundane—can be mobilized as a resource to attract investment (Yudice 9). While data can be mobilized to reimagine creative economy policies as sanitized and apolitical, the nature of data, as Collins' RCE contribution points out, and what it is used to do, is specific to the creative economy context. For example, a prominent Brazilian urban renewal project that seeks to turn "a space of vice and putative deviance associated with Afro-Bahians into a gleaming celebration of Portuguese baroque architecture and the vernacular habits of its inhabitants" (2) can only be facilitated by the gathering and manipulation of data about the area's residents. Specifically, Collins describes how the separation of residents into those who would remain—as they presented the embodied traits of the "correct" Afro-Bahian—and those that were forced out, is justified through data. This sort of technocratic approach to development, further bolstered by the celebration of an ideal multicultural citizen as heritage site, sanitizes the violence of creative economy urban development projects, presenting them as rational, efficient, and scientific initiatives. For example, drawing on the work of anthropologist Christen Smith, Alexandre Da Costa's RCE contribution details how Brazil's culturalist celebration of black culture—one that reifies, folklorizes, and depoliticizes blackness—and the routine killing of black Brazilians are actually "two sides of the same coin" (Smith 3 cited in A. Da Costa 7). Da Costa explains that depoliticized or sanitized black creative life works to sustain a genocidal anti-black Brazilian state, functioning as a central element of its economic and cultural formation while normalizing black life and black lives as insignificant.

Many RCE contributors acknowledged that creative economy proponents' reliance on data to depoliticize pulls on methods and frameworks developed, institutionalized, and reproduced in the academy. For this reason, RCE contributor Natalie Loveless' discussion of what constitutes "knowledge" and "data" within the university was a generative addition to the workshop. Through her examination of both interdisciplinarity, as well as the research-creation options increasingly offered in some

PhD programs, she implicitly calls into question the objectivity of metrics and forms of accounting mobilized by creative economy planners, as well as the types of data and knowledge that can be generated about, and mobilized to "know" populations. Probing the source of creative economy's methods, while foregrounding the possibilities and tensions within research-creation, enables one to think about creativity in research that moves beyond the types of metrics underlying mainstream creative economy discourse.

Sourayan Mookerjea's RCE workshop contribution makes a number of interesting interventions, one of which focuses on how creative economy theory's sanitization of power and politics relies equally on the aesthetics of a techno-rational Utopianism as it does on the actual gathering and mobilization of data. While pointing out how creative economy discourse invokes the utopianism of a new development paradigm led by a once neglected arts and culture sector, what is really interesting is how he points to the relationship between "apolitical" data collection and "apolitical" utopian aesthetics. It is the aesthetics of the non-political, of the scientific, of the sanitized, he argues, that drives creative economy logic and branding. Although creative economy discourse utopianizes creative labourers, framing them as model entrepreneurs or a new labour aristocracy known as the "creative class" (Kong 599), some creative economy critics are beginning to understand those working in creative industries as "the poster boys and girls of the new 'precariat' — a neologism that brings together the meanings of precariousness and proletariat to signify both an experience of exploitation and a (potential) new political subjectivity" (Gill and Pratt 3). The theme of utopian branding in creative economy is also analyzed by RCE contributor Kyle T. Mays, who draws on the work of literary scholar Anne McClintock to argue that the modern day settler does not seek out new shores, planting a nation's flag; rather, they buy up buildings, and brand the city as an empty space to settle. Writing in the Detroit context, he points to the role of brandings/aesthetics in sanitizing creative economy-driven gentrification. Mays gives the example of "Detroit 2.0," a term coined by Cleveland Cavaliers owner and Quicken Loans CEO Dan Gilbert. He argues that this initiative (also known as "Opportunity Detroit") echoes Creative Class rhetoric, seeking to attract young white entrepreneurs and creative types to revitalize a supposedly vacant city through creativity in the arts, technology, and business. Mays makes the very important point that the rhetoric around "Detroit 2.0" and other Creative City/Class projects rings quite similar to that of 19th century pioneer rhetoric. In this case, Detroit becomes the new "frontier," a place where venture capitalists and hipsters can settle supposedly empty lands and create business opportunities.

The settler colonial logics of the creative economy, however, are not always so explicit. For example, Nishant Upadhyay's RCE contribution argues that while drag creativity is generally understood as the "antithesis of hegemonic cis-heteropatriarchal con-

structs of gender and sexuality [and] it is often a celebrated practice of queerness, gender-nonconformity, and genderfucking" (2), it can be coopted by dominant power structures, and creative economy logics. Focusing on the popular television show *Drag Race,* Upadhyay explains how drag creativity can reproduce white settler colonial logics of the state through the bodies of racialized drag subjects "playing Indian." Their work shows that creativity is never just that—it is always shaped by larger systems of power. So while Creative City scholars, as well as Creative City proponents like Dan Gilbert, cite things like Richard Florida's Gay index, and the importance of diverse sexualities for attracting the "talented" and "creative," it can quite insidiously reproduce settler colonial discourses. As Upadhyay notes, drawing on Jodi Byrd, "indigeneity is antithetical to liberalism" (8).

Erin Morton's RCE contribution further demonstrates how settlers creatively delimit the possibilities for indigenous life. Through an examination of the forms of creativity employed in settler colonial violence to feed mythologies of the white proletariat, she shows how white settler creativity is mobilized to maintain and depoliticize the foundational liberal doctrine of private property, even when it results in the murder of indigenous peoples. She argues that white settler artists continue to produce creatively nostalgic visions of the white settler mythologies of toiling and building empty land, sanitizing the violence of settler processes and the economic logic of private property that laid the foundations of, and continues to maintain, the settler nation. This creative emphasis on making "rational" use of empty land in order to modernize and develop is a fundamental aspect of the liberalism of both Adam Smith and John Locke. This logic underlies forms of colonial governmentality, as well as the dependency relationships of the colonial (and now global) division of labour, which were justified using the logic of liberal progress. Likewise, as we can see in both Morton and Mays' contributions, ongoing processes of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey)—and the explicit colonial violences that accompany it—draw upon this liberal notion that land not rationally developed is akin to waste (Gidwani 1626).

Marxian political economy holds that someone's land has to be taken away to harness the power of rent to realize a nation's creative economy potential (D. Da Costa, Heritage 4). Likewise, space for creative economy development can only be produced through the subalternization of other modes of socio-ecological reproduction (Mookerjea 4). To reimagine creative economy is to ask which communities are being dispossessed of their land in rural India so that they are forced to engage in creative entrepreneurship to secure livelihoods. It is to ask which bodies are forced out of the historic *Pelourinho* as part of Brazilian creative economy restoration projects. It means asking who is left homeless and what forms of racial erasure occur when Dan Gilbert advocates creative economy initiatives such as Detroit 2.0., or how the murder of indigenous people is justified through creative celebration of the economic

and moral necessity of private property. However, it also means we need to ask how these rent-seeking practices map onto historical colonial relations, and how creative economy manages to sanitize these colonial relations. Despite the incessant mobilization of discourses of creativity and the celebration of state-sanctioned forms of creativity, goods—even those driven by so-called creative industries—are produced by labour. As Laikwan Pang argues, "the creativity celebrated in the creative economy does not just happen; it involves elaborate industrial manipulation. The creative economy relies on, but also readily dismisses, the materiality of creative labour" (47). The increasingly globalized division of labour involves the outsourcing of production through increasingly fragmented (and invisibilized) global value chains (Barrientos 1059), which obscure the creativity involved in the "traditional" labour located in the Global South, or done by Global South populations in the West. Creative economy discourse's sanitizing capacity erases the power relations involved in labour processes and global production networks. This isn't just commodity fetishism; this is a kind of *creative commodity fetishism*: not only do consumers fail to see the labour that goes into the production of a good; they fail to see the different forms of creativity and creative survival practices that go into the production of creative economy goods as well (Da Costa, Politicizing 54).

Another Creative Economy is Possible

Most scholarship on creative economy falls into one of two camps. Either the creative economy is a "feasible development option" (UNCTAD xx), a way to grow the economy, foster inclusion, and stimulate the creative entrepreneurial spirit, particularly for marginalized communities in the Global South. Or it is a tool of neoliberalism, a Trojan Horse (Wallace) or Rorschach blot (Cunningham) that facilitates privatization, gentrification, culture as instrumental resource for capital, and rent-seeking behaviour. Taken together, however, the RCE contributions suggest that such either/or scenarios flatten the complexity of creative economy policies and practices. The alternative put forth is an approach to creative economy that foregrounds nuance, and embraces the messiness, tensions, and contradictions of creative economy's situated realization. How creative economy takes shape is context-dependent (Waitt and Gibson 1242), for the creative economy is a site of struggle—a site of cultural politics (D. Da Costa, Sentimental 78; Moore 656). In her RCE contribution, Frauts points out that creative resilience is drawn upon to forge new paths in Jamaica for both the neoliberal state *and* NGOs resisting state-led neoliberal reform. So while the state mobilizes discourses of creative resilience to encourage adaptation to the structural violence of neoliberal reform, some NGOs forward creative resilience as the ability to continue to be *resistant to* the challenges that neoliberal reform brings with it. Frauts' writing demonstrates that creativity is neither positive nor negative. For this

reason, we should focus less on accepting or rejecting creative economy, and more on critiquing, refusing, and reimagining dominant meanings of creativity and creative economy. As Dia Da Costa writes, "another creative economy is possible" (Eating Heritage 10). This focus on alternative possibilities is at the heart of Susan Cahill's RCE contribution as it attempts to reframe art, creativity, and economy in such a way that it resists creative economy conceptions of these terms. Approaching art not as object, but as an encounter, which "highlights affective politics of creative practice" (6), she turns to post 9/11 surveillance practices to argue that "creative practices of surveillance produce meanings beyond a visual representation of established signifiers of surveillance, toward an embodied and inhabited confrontation with the affective register of security systems" (p. 13). Here, she conceives of the economic dimensions of creativity in a way that rejects mainstream creative economy's market-centric conception of it. Specifically, she writes of a corporeal economy, or an economy of affects and, focusing on street art as visual disruption, reimagines engaging with this form of creativity as an affective encounter that can politicize (rather than sanitize). In addition to taking issue with creative economy discourse's conception of creativity and economy, Cahill's contribution also problematizes creative economy's mobilization of sanctioned street art in pursuit of urban renewal, gentrification, and beautification. Here, reimagining what constitutes creative work moves beyond an attempt to locate and highlight the importance of creativity in work not typically associated with the creative industries (e.g., Hearn, et al.); instead, it looks at, and demonstrates the importance of, creative work that does not generate surplus value.

Cahill's contribution carves out spaces of hope by refusing to accept creative economy's understanding of the relationship between creativity and economy, going so far as to ask: "What if art isn't creative?" Lasarati's RCE contribution wrestles with this question, further engaging with TallBear and Wysote's examination of the legibility of indigenous cultural practices, by discussing both the political possibilities and the limits of the archive of the aesthetic. Her work centers on indigenous cultural practices—specifically, dance—in post-genocide Indonesia. She identifies the potential of remembering through dance that which the State refuses to acknowledge: the systematic murder of 500,000 Indonesians in 1965-66. At the same time, she highlights how once value emerges from the forgotten (in the form of the aesthetic), it is captured by the creative economy. Still, she points to the potential politics of claim that can be achieved through a process of remembering that foregrounds a concern for the people—the forgotten originators of the dance—outside the logic of creative economy.

While Cahill and Larasati, as well as other RCE contributors such as Wysote and Loveless, see hope in reframing the very terms upon which creativity is mobilized, other RCE contributors emphasize creative relations as a means through which to

build new relationships and solidarities. Geraldine Pratt's RCE contribution, for example, continues the conversation that Upadhayay's had begun, by examining the political possibilities of creativity—specifically, drag performance—when it emerges from intersecting migrant/labour and indigenous histories in a specific place. Looking at the play *Tlingipino Bingo,* performed at Whitehorse Nuit Blanche in June 2016, she explores how a shared love of bingo brought together First Nations and Filipino communities to share stories of incommensurate but resonant histories of colonial violence. In the co-construction of this piece, the communities creatively built relations that rejected the multicultural tropes of model minority and indigenous failure, and brought together seemingly disconnected stories, situating indigenous peoples and racialized immigrants within the settler colonial narrative. In a similar way, Shaista Patel's RCE contribution makes the case for bringing together what at first appears to be discontinuous, unrelated, incommensurable archives, separated through both colonial and academic practices, to bring new understanding to histories as well as new futures. Focusing on the figure of the Indian Queen, she situates it within the context of the colonization of the New World, slavery, Orientalism, and imperialism to show how the figure is formed through *multiple colonialisms,* which she argues are part of a 1492 episteme. For example, she notes that in addition to an exaggerated headdress that "perform[s] a colonial instantiation of a pan-Indian identity without accounting for cultural and gendered specificities of Plains nations" (8), the Indian Queen also wears indigo-dyed calicos—an Indian cotton textile. She argues that the colonial-plantation life of indigo not only brought white colonizers into contact with people of colour across continents, but also slaves into contact with indigenous peoples and inserted Indian peasants into the same history. Through this creative engagement with multiple archives, Patel's work demands we rethink the manner in which stories are kept apart to keep political struggles separate from one another.

Reimagining is a messy process, particularly when the subject in question is something as hegemonic as creative economy, and the act of reimagining is a collective effort. It isn't surprising that the RCE workshop critique involved fits and starts, frustration and uncertainty, disparate ideas and disagreement. The critique remains a work in progress. Because of this, the workshop's greatest strength initially felt like a weakness. What I mean by this is that bringing together a range of scholars coming from different disciplines, working in very different geographical and historical contexts, with different political goals for their work, presents challenges. While some workshop contributors explicitly dealt with creative economy directly (e.g., D. Da Costa, Frauts, Mookerjea, and Mays) or focused on topics like heritage that fall within the realm of creative economy planning and discourse (e.g. A. Da Costa, Collins, Larasati), others admitted early on that they weren't exactly sure what their work had to do with creative economy. Interestingly, it is precisely this engagement with unrecognized forms of creativity, those not legible within creative economy dis-

course, that challenges the logics of creative economy, further providing new and diverse ways to think about, mobilize, and sustain forms of creativity that are not yet captured by creative economy logic. While I do think more work needs to be done to bring together these individual analyses into a comprehensive and comprehensible critique of creative economy as a materializing force — perhaps by engaging creative economy policy and practice head on — I believe that the heterogeneity of this group of scholars is precisely the reason why the *multiple colonialisms* critique produced after three days of discussion is so powerful, extensive, and novel.

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Adam Saifer is a Monieson Centre Postdoctoral Fellow at Queen's University, and teaches in the university's Department of Global Development Studies. His current research draws on theories of capitalism, nation, race, and gender to critically examine the possibilities, limits, contradictions, and tensions of emerging market-based approaches to social change.

New Media, New Documentary

MARK TERRY

Kate Nash, Craig Hight and Catherine Summerhayes, eds. *New Documentary Ecologies: Emerging Platforms, Practices and Discourses*. Palgrave, 2014. 266 pp.

New Digital Ecologies: Emerging Platforms, Practices and Discourses begins with a quotation from Katerina Cizek, a Canadian documentary filmmaker, in which she claims that "[R]eally great documentary is about remaining open to what's actually happening around you" (1). The superficial meaning of this is clear enough; what emerges when one begins to ask what "remaining open" means in practice, and what is concretely meant by "what's actually happening around you" is more complex. Unraveling these questions is the focus of this anthology of essays, which explores how the technology and affordances in the digital domain are creating new opportunities for documentary. Taken together, these essays argue for an renewed openness among both documentary filmmakers and film-viewers — frequently identified together as "users" — to new advances in the genre.

The book features many of the leading scholars in the field of the digital documentary. Encompassing a wide variety of approaches and critical discourses, the book smartly divides the discussions into three sections: (1) "Expanding Documentary," investigating new ways of producing, engaging audiences and politicizing documentary content; (2) "Production Practices," showcasing how effective documentary approaches such as participatory and collaborative filmmaking are now growing in practice and impact through the global reach afforded by the digital domain; and (3) "Inter/Action: Rethinking Documentary Engagement," a section that explores how the audience is joining the filmmaker as a producer and distributor and no longer just as a mere viewer and what ethical challenges arise from this collaboration.

The multilinear documentary is among the more fascinating documentary ecologies emerging today and is examined at some length in this book. Matt Soar, one of the developers of the Korsakow system, a popular database documentary production software, contributes a detailed chapter entitled "Making (with) the Korsakow System." Referring to the multilinear creation program as "second-wave software" (156), Soar explains that Korsakow — and the multilinear documentary film projects that it enables — have three different kinds of editing: the first is the regular kind of

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editing we see in traditional filmmaking; the second, Soar refers to as "algorithmic editing" in which individual film units ("smallest narrative units" or SNUs) are assembled in a unique symbiotic manner that allows the viewer to choose which fragment to view at any given time; the third involves the viewer in this editing process as they are provided with the responsibility of selecting which SNU to view.

Another contributor to this book and on this topic is Kursakow filmmaker and teacher, Adrian Miles. He provides an interesting perspective on the SNUs, treating all film units as equal in digital documentary content — even those that are traditionally left "on the cutting room floor" (or the digital equivalent term, the "trim bin"). These elements are considered fragments of the database and as such, Miles argues that an editor "no longer decides on a specific, and a single connection between one shot and the next" (71). The viewer now assumes the task of assemblage and does so with all available SNUs, including those in the "trim bin," now defined as a database.

The implicit narrative of this book is that these new and emerging theories, technologies and ecologies would not be possible without the digital media technologies. Digital media have enabled unique affordances that have provided enhanced advancements in production, engagement and dissemination of the documentary film. Kate Nash explores this phenomenon in her essay, "Clicking on the World: Documentary Representation and Interactivity." Nash argues that viewers of digital documentary films are no longer mere "spectators" (50). The range of practices expected of the digital documentary film viewer are now described as "forms of interaction" (50) — a definition which makes no sense in the traditional cinema experience of passive film screening.

The theory and praxis in this new world of documentary production has shortened the distance between filmmaker and audience. In some cases, production and engagement are simultaneous and may even provide the opportunity for maker and user to communicate directly with each other in streaming chat rooms or comments pages. This kind of interactivity is defined by Nash as a "multidimensional phenomenon in which the action of users, documentary makers, subjects and technical systems together constitute a dynamic ecosystem" (51). A documentary story in this environment undoubtedly achieves unprecedented levels of mutual engagement; but does this result in enhanced audience influence for activist and social issue projects?

Alexandra Juhasz, in her essay, "Ceding the Activist Documentary," believes the possibility exists: "A growing body of digital media studies … attests to the empowering potentials for the Internet-based documentary" (39). She posits that the "greatest challenge for the *activist digital documentary* will prove to be how to generate political practices from [the documentary filmmaker's] artfully placed and digitally linked

evidence" (44). The book also examines this new documentary ecology in Sandra Gaudenzi's essay, "Strategies of Participation: The Who, What and When of Collaborative Documentaries." Referring to the online documentary audience as *prosumers*, she argues that the new documentary film viewer is not merely content to watch a documentary, but expects to assist in the making of it. This raises certain ethical questions surrounding intellectual property ownership and the journalistic integrity of content. When it comes to collaborations, Gaudenzi argues that while they are successful at visualizing "the multiple through a single uniform interface, they end up standardizing it" (138). This may apply to projects like *One Day on Earth*, which she uses as an example, showcasing random fragments of a day in the life of people around the world; projects with more discrete, unified, and consistent objects such as climate research, however, provide a database of factual information specifically required by a policymaking body.

It is evidently possible to affect social change on a political level using the accessible digital tools now available to the documentary filmmaker within the "New Documentary Ecologies" that this book explores. New and emerging digital environments for documentary production promise to enrich the genre's implicit goal of impacting on progressive social change.

Mark Terry, PhD, teaches at York University and Ryerson University in Toronto. His areas of interest are documentary film theory, polar studies, and climate change policy.

Starting from Scratch

JUSTIN WYATT

James G. Webster. *The Marketplace of Attention: How Audiences Take Shape in a Digital Age*. MIT Press, 2014. 268 pp.

The task of understanding media consumption today is fraught by endlessly-morphing means of distribution, ways of engaging, and abilities to co-create media content. To think that four decades ago, media consumption was led primarily by three television networks, local print newspapers, and a handful of national magazines! But even in that earlier era, methodological questions of how to best measure, quantify, and predict media consumption were debated and argued from a variety of perspectives, from social scientific to cultural and ideological. These different lines of inquiry produced useful models of committed audiences, but these models were also starkly divergent from one another. For just one example, the passive media user postulated by much media effects research is utterly irreconcilable with cultural studies' socially- and culturally-aware viewer, who is capable of 'reading against the grain' of popular media. Rather than opening up old wounds in ways to conceive of the viewer, I want to remind readers of the considerable, and unresolved, challenges posed well before the digital era. Very few within the academy have even attempted to characterize the contemporary state of audience formation. James G. Webster's book offers not just a way to sort, analyze, and assimilate the dizzying options in our current media environment, but an intervention in the field of media economics.

Webster's work is a clear, bold call-to-action for shifting media economics from defining 'audience' and 'viewer' to conceiving of a 'marketplace for attention.' As part of this project, Webster presents a 30,000 foot view on the media consumption experience. Even more impressive is his ability to chart the trajectory for media consumption, including a precise articulation of the multiple theoretical approaches from the past and a suggestion of what needs to occur to have a more flexible and reasonable model of the media experience moving forward. While Webster is certainly model building, he is shrewd to make these models as malleable as possible, the better to include a larger variety of media on the micro-level. It's an accomplishment that the book, published in 2014, presents a model of media consumption that is essentially still applicable two years down the line. Minor yearly shifts in technology, distribution outlets, and audience preferences are easily accommodated within Webster's framework. Clearly, the project is designed not to be an end point for a media model of audience but rather the starting point for a suggestive and pliable way to under

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stand audience in the digital era.

One of the real joys of Webster's book is his strong and fluid writing. Webster is precise, clear, and declarative in his creation of arguments and in his rhetoric. Perhaps more surprising - though it is a lovely surprise - is the level of enthusiasm and fun that is so evident in Webster's writing. A senior scholar in Communication at Northwestern University, Webster transparently relishes the project at hand. In fact, as a reader, it's tough not to be transported by Webster's excitement as he unravels the mysteries of audience. While many scholars have either ignored or retrenched over the rapid shifts brought on by digital media, Webster is inspired by the possibilities. He sees these macro-changes in content, marketing, and distribution as ways of shifting the dialogue around our understanding of the media audience.

While Webster works on both a macro and micro level to sketch the current media audience, his characterization of the 'big picture' functioning and operation of media and audience is, by far, the most valuable asset of the book. Webster bolsters this perspective throughout, citing specific studies and trends in research, both academic and industrial, to target the media audience. These particular examples are useful, but Webster's larger theorizing on the functioning and operation of media holds the key to the greatest contribution of this work. In fact, the larger framework offers a radical reconceptualization of the media industries. Further, this framework goes far beyond an understanding of the audience to sketch the dynamics and functions of the overall media environment. As such, there are many examples across a variety of media that could be used to support the framework.

The reconceptualization of the media viewer is centred on shifting attention from terms like exposure, engagement, and loyalty for media and specific media products to considering the marketplace for attention. This shift is significant in multiple ways. First, so much industry research of the past decade has focused on engagement - which is bewildering since the enhanced options for delivery and choice privilege a much more transient connection than engagement. Webster's marketplace more accurately reflects our current era: attention is limited, and viewers are stretched between options. This allows Webster to go beyond traditional methods like 'push' models in which media is presented to the (passive) viewer, and 'pull' models in which viewers actively seek out media for their enjoyment. Throughout the book, Webster highlights how media, viewer, and connection are characterized by reciprocity rather than by a one-dimensional flow.

Webster develops his model chapter-by-chapter by building the components in this dynamic relationship. Starting at the level of the media user, Webster succinctly reviews the major theories behind individual media choices and preferences in the

academic literature. These strands of thought are complicated considerably when Webster moves to characterizing the digital media environment, especially social networks and their impact on choice. Audaciously, Webster concludes his chapter on the media user by stating, "Preferences are a puzzle and offer a less stable foundation on which to build on than is widely assumed" (47). These simple words speak volumes; conceptions of the media viewer have been woefully inadequate as a means to translate attitudes and perspectives into media choice and usage. Webster seems to be suggesting that we glean what we can from past research, both academic and industrial, but that we must keep an open mind when considering how to understand the digital media experience.

This approach is validated as Webster turns to the industrial side of the equation, looking at contemporary media production, whereby the manifold opportunities for individual media creation and co-creation in Web 2.0 render models of media suppliers and passive/active consumers obsolete. Webster develops a quadrant analysis of 'audience-making strategies' placing 'linear/non-linear' and 'push/pull' on the axes. With the goal of understanding audience-building strategies, Webster presents the traditional media equation of advertising-sponsored media (linear/push) and viewer-directed appointment viewing (linear/pull). The digital era extends these options through media-recommender systems (non-linear/push) and user-directed media searching (non-linear/pull). Torpedoing the usual economic structure of advertising-supported media, Webster then considers the issues related to media measurement of the new media environment. In an analysis that would be useful for any empirical investigation of media measurement, Webster details three key biases—behaviour, personalization, popularity—impacting the ways through which measurement is enacted. All of these offer cautionary notes for the ways through which we understand audience both qualitatively and quantitatively. They lead, as Webster suggests, to the 'end point' of 'big data,' the volumes of behavioural information available for collection on online and digital media usage. Rather than endorse big data as a panacea for media measurement, Webster calls out the myriad problems of relying on big data as a means to interpret preferences, attitudes, and behaviours. He concludes on the efficacy of big data: "Similar to all other media measures, the new metrics are human creations and as such are just as subject to bias and abuse. But their sheer pervasiveness is new, and makes them an increasingly important force to be reckoned with" (94).

With the background on the media users, media creation and media measurement in place, the author is in a position to tackle the even more daunting task of how these agents and parameters interact, in other words, how the audience formations are created. Drawing on specific studies from Turner Broadcasting and multiple studies on engagement with local and national news, Webster traces distinctions between preference-driven loyalty (audience loyalties driven by user preferences) and

structure-driven loyalty (social structures and program structures such as channels, program schedules, or filtering/recommending systems). Again, he keeps the big picture perfectly clear and visible without sacrificing any of the complexity and challenge of the media question at hand. While the individual studies support both premises, Webster cites his 2012 paper, "The Dynamics of Audience Fragmentation: Public Attention in an Age of Digital Media," to articulate the gravity of understanding audience formations. Using data from Nielsen's 'Convergence Panel,' Webster and co-author Thomas B. Ksiazek tracked television and Internet usage across 236 'nodes' or networks. This fascinating real-world experiment demonstrated, as did other studies, the fluidity of connection between media sources in our environment. As Webster sums up the current digital era's audience formation, "The bottom line is there's very little evidence of a massively parallel culture in the media choices of users. People demonstrate only modest loyalties to genres and political ideologies. They certainly don't spend their lives barricaded in enclaves of like-minded speech or any other single type of media" (127).

Clearly, previous models of audience, usage, and preference fail to account for the current environment, and Webster builds a strong case to that end. He proposes an alternate "comprehensive and dynamic model of the marketplace for attention" in the final chapter. Drawing upon compelling work on structures, both industrial and individual, Webster crafts his model around how media structures organize media use. Rather than adopting a uni-directional flow between media and user, Webster constructs an active relationship between user, media, and the structures between the two. Crucially, in this model, "preferences evolve through the interaction with the media environment" (140). In this conception of the media audience, all parties (user, media, structures) are evolving, shifting, and accommodating to the rapidly changing options available in the environment. The beauty of the model is that it poses a starting point for thinking about the landscape moving forward. The flexibility and openness of the model toward 'inputs' to the media environment give it strength — making us reconsider some of our most basic precepts on audience formation in the pre-digital age as well.

As with the strongest research projects, Webster's model inspires a host of questions. It is important to keep in mind, however, that none of these reveal any oversight in the book, and that most are simply 'thought bubbles' to be addressed later on. In particular, I am wondering how the micro-levels fall in line with this new model of audience and attention. With the new reciprocity in our digital era between media and viewer, what are the implications regarding the most effective means of distribution or content? Does the model suggest a new advertising exchange (since the traditional broadcast ad model no longer holds to the same effect)? How do multitasking and viewer age impact the model? These questions could also be raised on a

more global level; in other words, what does the model imply for the new economy and the structure/organization of the media industries? Finally, Webster's model certainly has implications for content creation too. No doubt, there is a very productive bridge between Webster's marketplace attention model and the groundbreaking work on digital media texts by Henry Jenkins, Sam Ford, and Joshua Green in *Convergence Culture and Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture* (New York University Press, 2013). In fact, both academic and commercial interests would be well served by supporting a think tank on audience with these authors and such critical thinkers as Jonathan Beller, Jason Mittell, Philip M.Napoli, Alisa Perren, and Denise Mann.

Webster identifies up front that his book is designed for three types of readers: academics, those who work in media, and the general public. As a professor returning to the classroom after 15 years of working in the media industries as a market researcher, I am lucky to appreciate all three perspectives. While the book certainly 'delivers' to all three constituencies, I am really hoping that it finds a way to reach media producers, marketers, and creative executives, both in the mainstream and independent worlds. In my experience, audience research in the media industries suffers from lethargy, that is, a reliance on qualitative and quantitative market research that has been enacted for years. My hope is that these industry practitioners will use Webster's comprehensive review and thought-provoking new model of media attention to rethink ways of conceptualizing and connecting with their audiences. Webster's provocative book suggests, kindly and gently, that we start from scratch with audience conception. Those in the industry would gain from embracing this approach. By doing so, a useful feedback mechanism between media, audience, and industry can be set as a meaningful goal.

Justin Wyatt is Assistant Professor of Communication Studies and Film/Media at the University of Rhode Island. From 2000-2015, he worked in primary media research for NBC Universal, ABC TV Network, and Viacom. He holds a Ph.D. in Critical Studies from UCLA. Wyatt is the author of *High Concept: Movies and Marketing in Hollywood* and the co-editor of *American Independent Cinema: From the Margins to the Mainstream*.

Resistance in Post-Realist Times

KATHLEEN REEVES

Eva Cherniavsky. *Neocitizenship: Political Culture After Democracy*. New York University Press, 2017. 232 pp.

Any scholar of contemporary culture must grapple with neoliberalism: what is it? how does it work? and how should we respond? A host of theorizations of the present provide helpful descriptions and prescriptions, but it's rare to encounter a perspectival critique as intuitive and rigorous as Eva Cherniavksy's *Neocitizenship: Political Culture After Democracy*. At the core of Cherniavsky's account is her proposal that the decoupling of the nation from the state under neoliberalism has changed the relationship between the political subject and the state so drastically that the category of "citizen" may no longer be appropriate. Along with other scholars of neoliberalism, such as David Harvey, Wendy Brown, and Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, Cherniavsky distinguishes the modern bourgeois nation-state, which extended the sovereign power of the state into the reproduction of normative culture and the provision of social goods, from the neoliberal state, whose controlling, administrative functions continue in the absence of culture-building. Until Cherniavsky's study, analyses of neoliberal redefinitions of the state have left largely unconsidered how this reconfiguration affects the citizen's orientation to the state. *Neocitizenship* addresses this lack, considering recent theory, contemporary political culture, and popular texts not only to trace the relationship between neoliberalism and its subjects in the United States, but to also ask how we might think about oppositional politics in a time defined by control rather than normativity. Cherniavksy argues that advanced industrial nations, and the United States in particular, are now defined by practices traditionally associated with "developing" nations, such as "electoral fraud, the buying of political office, routine violations of due process, invasive state surveillance and the suspension of civil rights" (2). At the same time, neoliberal governance seeks to convince people that their well-being is not the business of the state but rather "a fully private, disaggregated good" (3). If the state no longer claims to represent or serve the people — if, as Cherniavsky establishes, we live in a time after democracy — how do we resist the state?

The book patiently traces contradictions within critical accounts of neoliberalism that recognize that ideology is no longer the business of the state and yet continue

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to see their work as ideological critique. For example, Cherniavsky's close-reading of Wendy Brown, to which her study hews closely at some points, questions the productiveness of characterizing the neoliberal subject as "desirous of its own subjection and complicit in its subordination." (Brown, qtd. in Cherniavsky 136). Recalling Derrida's claim that "an originary popular sovereign" is a fantasy, Cherniavsky writes, "If we acknowledge that there is no popular sovereign *before it is called forth by the laws and institutions of the state*, then it seems hard to fault the citizens' submissiveness." In other words, while many scholars have tracked the dissolution of popular sovereignty—defined as the state's claim to represent the people, and characterized by the state's interest in reproducing a normative national character—they continue to demand from citizens the kind of mobilization that only works when that sovereignty is intact. Cherniavsky thus identifies an intractability in Left criticism and, through her readings of popular literary and visual texts, models an answer to the question, "How not to judge the neocitizen by the exercise of a political reason whose obsolescence is evidenced by her very existence?" (139).

In chapter 1, Cherniavsky fleshes out the implications of neoliberal governance for criticism, arguing that the critic's method of "defamiliarization," which seeks to show that what seems to be natural or normal is in fact constructed, is no longer relevant in post-normative times. Cherniavsky finds in Foucault's late-1970s Collège de France lectures—usually read for their articulation of the concept of biopolitics—an account of the rise of "governmentality" as state discipline wanes. Foucault claims that "American neoliberalism" is characterized by "an optimization of systems of difference . . . in which minority individuals and practices are tolerated . . . and in which there is an environmental type of intervention instead of the internal subjugation of individuals" (Foucault qtd. in Cherniavsky 22). By changing the conditions of labor and education and controlling access to resources and population movement, as Cherniavsky claims, the neoliberal state "arrays receptive subjects, minutely sensitive to the smallest fluctuations of the market," rather than employing nationalist ideology to fix them in place (22-23). Furthermore, in a compelling reading of Arendt, Cherniavsky establishes commonalities between totalitarianism and neoliberalism. Unlike fascism, totalitarianism is anti-normative, according to Arendt, making propaganda unnecessary. Cherniavsky points to Arendt's characterization of "[t]he ideal subject of totalitarian rule" as "not the convinced Nazi or the convinced Communist, but people for whom the distinction between fact and fiction . . . and the distinction between true and false . . . no longer exist" (Arendt qtd. in Cherniavsky 34).

In the second chapter, Cherniavsky persuasively argues that the liberal, disciplinary state has yielded to an administrative state whose power flows, in part, from the complex of public-private nonprofits and NGOs comprising "civil society." While from a liberal-capitalist perspective, civil society is the space in which citizens negotiate

their relationship to a representative state, Cherniavsky shows that civil society is defined by state and private foundations whose primary concern is their own continued functioning and the dominance of the U.S. state. Through a case study of American studies programs in Eastern Europe and related nonprofits supported, in part, by the U.S. government, Cherniavsky discerns a neoliberal educational apparatus that no longer purports to "free" the citizen through the inculcation of nationalist norms, but rather prepares her to be a good administrator. This question guides Cherniavsky to a reading of Paul Beatty's *The White Boy Shuffle* in chapter 3 that finds in the novel a rejection of civic engagement in favor of the state of being "ready to die." Reviewing Paul Gilroy and Hortense Spillers's work and close-reading Achille Mbembe's theory of necropower, Cherniavsky agrees that the exploitation and destruction of human life is intrinsic, rather than exceptional to modernity, but also argues that such necropolitics is on the rise as emancipatory sovereignty wanes. In contrast to civil action, like voting or protest, the "unfitness to live" that Cherniavsky traces through *The White Boy Shuffle* constitutes a direct challenge to modern self-possession. The most suggestive section of her reading establishes the novel's resistance to the (patriarchal) pathologization of the black family through the protagonist's memories of violent abuse at the hands of his father, who is "an extension of the necropolitical state" (93). Cherniavksy also brings the sexual politics of the novel to bear on its turn away from citizenship, using Spillers and Leo Bersani to illuminate the protagonist's inclination toward anal play as an affirmation of the value of "receptivity" and "the humiliated self" (100-101).

Through her reading in chapter 4 of *Battlestar Galactica*, the American TV series which ran from 2005 to 2009, Cherniavsky traces the contours of a new form of domination that controls without disciplining. Because the series portrays a mixed society, composed of both humans and humanoid cyclons, it offers a unique opportunity to apprehend both the "residual," normative political order, to which Battlestar's human characters appeal, and the emergent "simulacral politics" of neoliberalism, embodied by the cyclons (107). The cyclons' culture is not normative, Cherniavsky argues, but rather structured around difference that is valued insofar as it contributes to efficiency. Furthermore, with the power to create their own personal realities—perceiving a forest in a bare hallway, for example—cyclons "renounc[e] the investment in a collectively verified world" and move through a series of simulations whose value is linked to aesthetics and feelings rather than to a shared reality (117). Citing Edelman's work on the centrality of futurity to politics, Cherniavsky argues that a popular text like *Battlestar* discerns what theory has been slow to say, namely that power no longer seeks to secure a stable reality for its citizens. In other words, where domination was once enacted through appeals to a collective future, it now happens through efficiency, risk-management, and flexibility.

For this reason, Cherniavsky argues, against Wendy Brown, that neoliberalism is not a normative project, but rather one that seeks to normal*ize* "the fragmentation and multiplication of social and political (un)realities" (156). In chapter 5, Cherniavsky points out that because neoliberal values, such as efficiency, accountability, and excellence, "have *no normative social referent*," neoliberalism encourages us "to *construct the environment* in which we reckon our gains and losses" (156). This, of course, is what finance capital does, and Cherniavsky draws upon Doug Henwood's characterization of the current phase of capitalism to reveal the way that market logic and political logic coalesce in the "derealization of political life."

Throughout the book, Cherniavsky moves elegantly from literature and television to recent and contemporary political culture, approaching the Bush era, the 2012 presidential election, and, in the final chapter, Occupy Wall Street not as context but as texts, in a way that strengthens her argument about the salient features of our current (un)reality. Trump's rise to power since Cherniavsky wrote this book only reinforces her claims, which might reorient us toward a different kind of resistance. The sense, in theories of neoliberalism, that the walls are closing in can make for gloomy reading, but though Cherniavsky has no illusions about the difficulty of resisting such flexible forms of domination, her generosity towards the public makes this a heartening and humane book. Her insight, for example, that it doesn't make sense to bemoan civic disengagement when the state no longer represents the people opens much-needed space for thinking about resistance. What's more, Cherniavsky's insistence on the partial, unfinished nature of contemporary political culture orients her study toward spacious close-readings, whether of fiction, official documents, or anonymous online texts. The sustained attention she grants her texts allows the shifting relation of the political subject to the state to come into view. Our job, as cultural critics, is to turn our heads slightly, and to pay better attention.

Kathleen Reeves is a Ph.D. student in the English Department at the University of Washington, where she studies 20th- and 21st-century North American literature and culture. She is interested in how race and class organize cultural narratives of reproduction and artistic work, with an emphasis on motherhood. Reeves's research considers the articulation of embodied subjectivity in literature written during the rise of the New Right in America, and on the ways in which this literature complicates notions of liberal self-possession. She received a BA in English from Yale University and an MA in Humanities and Social Thought from NYU.

What is Forensic Aesthetics?

TIM KAPOSY

Eyal Weizman and Thomas Keenan. *Mengele's Skull: The Advent of Forensic Aesthetics*. Sternberg Press. 2012. 88 pp.

Eyal Weizman. *Forensic Architecture: Notes From Fields and Forums*. Hatje Cantz. 2012. 44 pp.

Eyal Weizman. *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation*. Verso. 2012. 336 pp.

In the fall of 1996, mere months after the optimism from the Oslo Accords had distilled across the Palestinian population, Eyal Weizman began "a year in the field" in Tel Aviv studying urban planning. A graduate student with London's Architecture Association School, Weizman worked in Ramallah with the Palestinian Ministry of Planning (PMP) (McKee and McLagan). He was asked as the only Israeli among Palestinian and Norwegian planners to access Israel's restricted cartography archives. In a time before satellite imagery became accessible via the internet, the PMP sought evidence of Israel's settlement incursions into and further militarization of Palestine. Within days Weizman found images that contradicted many of Oslo's promises. Where Oslo mandated imminent Palestinian political autonomy, regional peace, and the right of return for its diaspora, the photos and maps revealed Israeli's brisk dismantling of Palestine's infrastructure.

Where Oslo signified plans for coexistence, Weizman and his colleagues collected a trove of photos to show how Israel's unabated occupation was isolating enclaves that Palestinians needed to survive, venerated as sacred, and built over generations of social tradition. Fast forward to February of 2016: the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs recorded the highest number of demolitions in the West Bank since 2009. In February of 2016 alone, the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) "destroyed, dismantled or confiscated 235 homes and other structures, displacing 331 Palestinians…and affecting another 740 Palestinians" (United Nations, n.p.).

Israel's incursions into Gaza, the West Bank and East Jerusalem date back to the inception of the State of Israel in1948; however, the policies of settlement and militarization reinforced one another after the Six-Day War in 1967 and have intensified over a half century of transnational support (i.e., arms deals, economic sanctions).

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Edward Said described international influence in the post-Oslo era as fostering a "political and moral climate…a good deal cruder and more reductive" than all previous periods (Said 168).

What are the prospects, then, of reconstructing a case of Israel's destruction of Palestine, when the means for reparations — legal, military, political — seem foreclosed? How might the Israeli state be made accountable when international sanctions place them beyond the bind of the law? Weizman's research trespasses through the entangling material and barbed discursive build-up that impedes legal engagement with such questions and connections.

The images Weizman retrieved in 1996 sparked his formulation of "forensic aesthetics." His seminal work, *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation* (2007), uses one hundred and nineteen images (i.e., maps, infographics, video stills, topographical sketches, etc.) to recount Israel's territorial policies from 1981-2003. He retells the region's geographical history through representations of the built environment. He catalogues a litany of the Israel's architectural projects in *Hollow Land.* They include: hilltop settlements built to survey non-Israelis, arbitrary checkpoints pocking travel routes to slow and stifle social association, traffic tunnels dug for sole use by Israelis, village streets widened for tank and jeep access, roofs painted crimson to differentiate non-bombing sites from "optimal targets," hydroelectric and sanitation channels rebuilt to direct the flow of water, and forty foot high barriers erected to monitor and "swarm" villagers. The coordination of these projects over the last two decades violate every part of Palestinians' lives.

Weizman's critical itinerary, then, arranges all available forms of visible evidence to understand how the Israeli state attacks the root of Palestinian life. Analogous to Ariella Azoulay, Edward Said, Gideon Levy and Ilan Pappé's critiques of Israel, Weizman's claim is that Palestine suffers from Israel's control of space. "If you look at [the archival images] closely," Weizman recalls, "you can notice that [the land] registers the forces that act upon it. In this conflict, and in territorial conflicts in general, you cannot say that politics 'happen in space,' but rather that they happen by space. Space is not the set of abstract coordinates on which the events of politics unfold, but something that is transformed and remade by every political action that takes place within it" (McKee and McLagan 430). "Space" thus demarcates a perpetual crime scene in need of precise documentation.

Who, then, is primarily responsible for the extension of the occupation's land claim? Weizman names three connected parties: Israel's civil engineers, humanitarian institutions, and waves of political regimes initiated by Ariel Sharon (nicknamed "The Bulldozer") from the 1970s. Though Israeli civil engineers were politicized during

Sharon's ascent through Israeli government, they unified in 1981 under the Civil Administration (ICA). Mandated by Israel's *HaAvoda* (left of centre) Labor Party, Sharon drew the blueprint for the ICA to fortify and expand Israel's control of the region. Since the ICA consists of civilian planners led by the IDF, the ICA gained extra-juridical powers protecting them from legal prosecution. An army's territorial strategies require civilian intermediaries who have the know-how to confirm the usefulness of architectural projects. Weizman's critique, in part, untangles how the ICA-IDF nexus bypasses international prosecution to transform the most basic qualities of the land. In less than a decade, the policies of "development" and "security" have allowed ICA planners to align the flows of the area's resources with the Israeli State's engineering protocol, zoning claims and military forecasts. The ICA established ways to pre-empt attacks by extending the surveillance and aerial reach of the IDF into Palestinian land. Raids of private residences and airstrike assassinations are now commonplace.

The humanitarian agencies who flooded the region after Oslo also expedited Palestinians' alienation from their land. The Peres-Arafat handshake all but invited third party "experts" into a quagmire of advocacy. Planners for Planning Rights, B'tselem, and hundreds others, coordinated by the United Nations, impede Palestine's goal of direct sovereignty. Oslo's eventful failure should have signaled to NGOs, as it did for Weizman and the PMP, an end to rights-based struggles. The infrastructural conditions of the occupation should have gained a tighter focus for NGOs and their plans for action. Instead, humanitarians 'intervened' with ineffectual, pre-1996, aims. With virtually no precedent of decommissioning massive buildings and roadways (perhaps their most urgent task), or of demilitarizing Israel, activists plod forth today advocating on behalf of the dignity of human life, articulating fungible notions of self-determination, and claiming that peace is simply one policy agreement away.

Weizman contends that the NGO's role in Palestine is that of a potentially lethal mediator shrouded in legalese. "Humanitarianism," he writes, "human rights and international humanitarian law (IHL), when abused by state, supra-state and military action, become the crucial means by which the economy of violence is calculated and managed" (*The Least of Possible Worlds* 4). For one, the humanitarian response has simply elevated "cosmopolitan" expert analytics over local Palestinian knowledge. While empathetic experts from different parts of the planet arrive on site to number crunch the violence, Gaza is dismantled and remade in the image and at the service of Tel Aviv. Weizman's account provides many reasons why no treaty will uproot the steel and concrete the ICA has set in place. Israel's occupation has been built since the early 1970s to withstand regime change, economic flux, social instability, cultural trends, and large scale events that might trigger a renewed Palestinians effort to reclaim their homeland. The built environment stands as a living monument against

negotiation.

Palestinians have known for decades that sovereignty is possible only after decolonization, through a concerted effort of "counter-planning," that reconfigures the public and private spaces of their cities. An enduring practice of collective land proprietorship in Palestine is called *al-mashà* or "common land." Defying the public and private distinction, *al-mashà* elicits no unilateral relation between inhabitant and space; instead, Palestinians expropriate land from private owners to retain the particular qualities of the land itself: the reconstitution of soil quality, the sacredness of religious land, the interpersonal connectivity of streets, and so on. Weizman details strategies of "counter-planning" that, in effect, focalize previously vague notions of "resistance." He and other critics call for a dismantling of settlements and a categorical demilitarization; they also insist that decolonization must mobilize site specific plans for the future use of land and buildings (cf. Petti, Hilal, and Weizman). Weizman learned much from his daily retrievals of maps. Far more than what the images showed or occluded. *Hollow Land* recounts attempts by Palestinians to counteract the theft of land with their own plans. Coordinated Palestinian participation thus makes the humanitarian role in the area not only superfluous but an impediment to achieving these ends.

What might any of this have to do with the practice of forensics? Weizman makes the term most explicit in two separate works, *Forensic Architecture: Notes from Fields and Forums*, *Mengele's Skull: The Advent of a Forensic Aesthetics* (co-written with Thomas Keenan) and his edited volume *Forensis: An Architecture of Public Truth* (Sternberg Press, 2014). In these texts, the word "forensic" resonates with the popular meaning of the word as well as its more complicated etymology. Both senses of the term help elucidate Weizman's usage. The popular meaning of "forensics" signals a fetishistic relation to knowledge — something that critics elsewhere have denounced (cf. Robinson) — reliant on a loose method of examining crimes to recover details for legal prosecution.

n *Mengele's Skull*, Weizman and Keenan cast forensic inquiry on a smaller scale than the built environment. They look into the case made by experts from organizations such as the Simon Weisenthal Center to find Joseph Mengele, a former Nazi leader. Weizman sees in the investigation a shift in how legal experts interpret past instances of violence. They write, "if the [Adolf] Eichmann trial effectively introduced the victim-as-witness to the stage of history, and changed the space of the law in the process, we see a similar transformation underway in the appearance of bones and other objects in the emerging human rights tribunes of the late twentieth century" (Keenan and Weizman 30). The shift in legal investigations from parsing testimony to testing physical and digital materials means that our aesthetic capacities will also

need to adapt to readily perceive emergent techniques of historical reconstruction.

A second meaning of "forensics" derives from public forums and fields of investigations into legal events. It puts into question who is involved. This meaning of forensics has been in circulation since Roman jurisprudence—*forensis* is Latin for "pertaining to the forum." Investigations into violent acts once included all of a city's practitioners: architects, business people, commoners, economists, etc. Once organized in legal protocol, forensics became "the mode of appearance of things in forums—the gestures, techniques, and technologies of demonstration; methods of theatricality, narrative and dramatization; image enhancement and technologies of projection; the creation and demolition of reputation, credibility and competence" (Weizman, *Forensic Architecture* 10). This institutional precedent of forensic aesthetics was important for Weizman's own work, since an entire fabric of regional Palestinian-Israeli architecture was made into an "open work" or interpretable totality and held to legal standards of investigation. "An emergent forensic sensibility," Weizman explains, includes "an object-oriented juridical culture immersed in matter and materialities, in code and form, and in the presentation of scientific investigations by experts" (ibid. 6). Weizman avoids far-reaching claims from what he finds. A forensic approach is a legal-politico investigation of multiple experts and vanishing lines of partially effaced inquiry. Where the traditional interpretation of architecture for aesthetic perception is based in a unilateral and affirmative relation of the observer and her object—think here of the architect, the photographer, the *flâneur*, the tourist, etc.. Weizman complicates the direct line of aesthetic perception by attending to the multiple military forces that seek to eliminate visible signs of collective insurgency.

After his work with the PMP, Weizman founded Decolonizing Architecture (DAAR) in the West Bank, comprising a network of architects and planners who research forms of anti- and counter-colonial architecture. Palestinian planners face multiple challenges in trying to visualize the occupation, not the least of which is the difficulty of intervening against practices which merely aestheticize political conflict. "The occupation had simply changed form," Israeli columnist Gideon Levy wrote in 2010, "the jailer pulled out of the jail and is now holding its captives from without" ((Levy viii). In addition to killing, maiming and displacing hundreds of thousands since 1948, Israel has built approximately 15,000 square kilometres of infrastructure to block Palestinian self-governance. In contemporary urban planning, one is hard pressed to think of densely populated public spaces more dangerous and rigged for attack against its inhabitants than the Palestinian territories. Decolonization's impasse is clear from Levy's quote: the Israeli state has isolated Palestinians by controlling the region as if it were an extra-juridical space of sovereignty.

With nearly ten million Palestinians barred from re-entering Palestine, representa-

tions of Israel's bulldozing, emptying, and reconstruction of Palestine is perceivable, without having to be there, for those curious enough to look. Forensic aesthetics is perceptual, but it is also based in the interpretation of artistic forms.

Feature films such as Hany Abu-Assad's 2005 "Paradise Now," documentaries such as Yoav Shamir's 2003 "Checkpoint" or Ido Haar's 2008 "9 Star Hotel" and photo essays, including the recent *Keep Your Eye on the Wall* (2013), Malkit Shoshan's *Atlas of Conflict* (2013) and Fazal Sheikh's *Erasure* (2016), frame views of snipers criss-crossing courtyards, dusty roadways, poured concrete barriers, and inhabitants denied a daily life of their desires. Urban occupations, Weizman reminds us, rely on the transformation of space into imminently accessible enclaves whose representation — visual or otherwise — might be instantly cut off from the outside world. Exclusive military access to space works best when combined with the termination of its public representation.

Weizman's montage of the region parallels the imagery of these prominent art forms. He uses representations of built space from locally sourced archival materials to not only to make the world witness to the drastic transformation of Palestine. He seeks an end to the occupation by directly opposing Israel's attempts to cover-up the realities of these militarized spaces.

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Tim Kaposy teaches communications in the Department of Academic and Liberal Studies at Niagara College. He is currently working on a monograph.

Shamanistic Marxism: Freud, Benjamin and the Colonial Unconscious

SEAN HOMER

Bjelić, Dušan, I. *Intoxication, Modernity & Colonialism: Freud's Industrial Unconscious, Benjamin's Hashish Mimesis*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. 307 pp.

In *An Outline of Psychoanalysis* (1986 [1940]), his last published work, Freud characterised the psychoanalytic intervention as a form of colonial conquest:

> The ego is weakened by [an] internal conflict and we must go to its help. The position is like that in a civil war which has to be decided by the assistance of an ally from outside. The analytic physician and the patient's weakened ego… have to band themselves together into a party against the enemies, the instinctual demands of the id and the conscientious demands of the super-ego. We form a pact with each other. The sick ego promises us the most complete candour…we assure the patient of the strictest discretion and place at his service our experience in interpreting material that has been influenced by the unconscious. Our knowledge is to make up for his ignorance and to give his ego back its mastery over lost provinces of his mental life. This pact is the analytic situation. (406)

The unconscious is rooted in metaphors of imperialist expansion, as the neurotic is cast in the role of colonial subject and rebel who needs to be subdued through superior knowledge and expertise. This motif had been present throughout the development of psychoanalysis and can be traced to Freud's early letters to Fliess and his experiences in the Balkans. In two letters written in 1898 and 1900 — just prior to and after the publication of the founding text of psychoanalysis *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899) — Freud compared himself to a *conquistador*, an adventurer and discoverer. What he discovered and conquered, however, was not the physical terrain of the "new world" but the virgin territory of the inner world, the unconscious. Around this time Freud made his first and only trip to Slovenia, where he visited the Rudolf Cave on the Karst (Carso) plateau between Italy and Slovenia. On April 14, 1898, Freud wrote to Fliess of the visit, noting that their guide "was the discoverer of the cave" who constantly spoke of his "conquests." Freud subsequently "realized he [the guide] was a neurotic and his conquistador exploits were an erotic equivalent,"

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when he described the cave as "like a virgin; the further you get, the more beautiful it is" (qtd. in Bjelić 207). Colonial conquest, Balkan orientalism and erotic phantasy converge at the moment of Freud's break-through and the scientific discovery of that "other scene," the unconscious.

In *Intoxication, Modernity & Colonialism* Dušan Bjelić adds another element to this intricate web of associations: cocaine. Cocaine, he suggests, is there at the root of psychoanalysis, apparent in Freud's analysis of dreams, and specifically the "Dream of the Botanical Monograph," which immediately follows one of the most famous dreams in psychoanalysis, the "Dream of Irma's Injection" (Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams* 254). In Bjelić's account, Freud's cocaine episode is not merely an aberration, a misguided detour on the path to his true discovery of the unconscious and infantile sexuality, as Ernest Jones would characterise it; rather, it provided the "rotating wheel at the centre of this theoretical revolution" (Bjelić 141). Drawing on the work of Siegfred Bernfeld (1974) and Peter Swales (1989), Bjelić argues that cocaine intoxication provided Freud with both a toxicological model of neurosis and his later notion of dreams as wish-fulfilment. The use of cocaine also brought Freud face-to-face with what Bjelić refers to as "narcotic modernity," an economy of pleasure in which intoxication is not simply a by-product of empire, but one in which it operates as an essential mediator. In this colonial economy of pleasure, intoxication is an essential component, without which the system cannot function; at the same time, it is a component that the system cannot acknowledge. Cocaine provided the "nodal point," the link between neurosis and sexual fantasy, casting a phantasmagoric screen over colonial memory.

The introduction of coca into Europe brings Freud directly into contact with the realities of colonial conquest and appropriation, just as it brings him, even more intimately, into contact with the modern processes of industrial chemistry in the form of cocaine, an industrial derivative of the coca plant. The history of cocaine, notes Bjelić, thus represents the collision of two different regimes of power, the botanical and the industrial, that is to say, the coca plant as an organic substance without sovereign authority and the chemical industry emerging within the modern European nation-state. The history of illicit drugs and the industrial manufacture of legal, and highly profitable, chemical derivatives stages a confrontation between imperial power and its repressed other. This is a route that Freud would never explore in his cocaine papers or his subsequent theory of the unconscious, but the colonial and industrial substrate of psychoanalytic theory remains one of its most persistent "return(s) of the repressed."Furthermore, Freud's use of cocaine and his subsequent distancing of himself from the drug — he burned all his papers on cocaine after one of his patients became addicted to the substance — significantly inflected his pessimistic view of modernity; and this is where, for Bjelić, Walter Benjamin comes into the picture.

Benjamin's writing on hashish provide an alternative perspective on modernity, one that not only registers the colonial encounter — buying hashish on the streets of the metropolis one is directly confronted with the colonial other — but also sees in the hallucinatory experience of intoxication a critique of commodity fetishism, a critique that is absent from Freud's celebration of cocaine's erotic properties. When one is under the influence of hashish one experiences moments of inspiration or illumination, as Benjamin writes, one becomes "enraptured prose-beings in the highest order" ("Hashish" 220), and it is in describing these writings that Bjelić's own prose is at its most "intoxicated." Intoxication, for Benjamin, gestures towards an impossible transcendence of the phantasmagoria of the capitalist nightmare, just as, for Bjelić, it presents the possibility of opening up Freud's cocaine episode to an analysis of its colonial unconscious. Benjamin's conception of mimesis provides the key to understanding the link between Benjamin's and Freud's respective experiences of intoxication and their differing views of modernity. Indeed, *Intoxication, Modernity & Colonialism* pivots around Benjamin's doctrine of the similar and the mimetic, insofar as it establishes correspondences between the sensuous and the non-sensuous, between the natural and the human. Mimesis, then, is the crucial mediatory category between the differing regimes of power, the natural and the colonial, the imperial expansion of physical territory and the colonization of the inner world.

In his short essay "On the Mimetic Faculty" (1997 [1933]), Benjamin wrote that nature creates similarities and so does "man" through the gift of seeing resemblances. Indeed, there are none of man's higher faculties in which this mimetic faculty does not play a central role. Crucially, for Bjelić's project, the mimetic faculty has a history that locates it centrally within modernity, wherein a fundamental question becomes whether or not the mimetic faculty's propensity to find "magical" correspondences has irretrievably declined, or has been transformed through technology. Hashish puts mimesis to work; as with children's play, hashish frees the associative capacity. As Susan Buck-Morss puts it:

> What Benjamin found in the child's consciousness…was precisely the unsevered connection between perception and action that distinguished revolutionary consciousness in adults, … an active, creative form of mimesis involving the ability to make correspondences by means of spontaneous fantasy. (263)

Benjamin, in short, serves as a corrective to the universalizing pretensions of psychoanalysis, rooting the unconscious in history and challenging Freud's complicity in colonial domination and power.

Bjelić presents a strikingly original reading of Freud and the origins of psychoanalysis, not least through his exploration of the influence of the "false prophet" Sabbatai

Zevi (1626-1676). Zevi was born in Smyrna in Asia Minor and moved to the port of Salonica, today Thessaloniki in Greece, where there was a large community of Sephardic Jews who had fled persecution in Spain and Portugal in 1492 to the safety of the Ottoman empire. The Kabbalist Zevi claimed to be the Jewish Messiah and channelled the "messianic fervour" of the times into a form of religious anarchism and doctrine of "salvation through sin." Whilst there may be no direct references to Zevi or the Kabbalah in Freud's work, Bjelić draws on the work of David Bakan (1975) to argue that Zevi's influence can be found in the very structures of psychoanalytic method, such as free association and sexuality, as a force for individual liberation (Bjelić 199-200). This is a reading that deserves to be taken very seriously by Freud scholars, but Bjelić's own methodology raises a few questions here.

The individual narratives of Freud's and Benjamin's discourses of intoxication are thorough and persuasive, but whether or not these finally cohere into a single coherent account of "our narcotic modernity" (3) is less certain As it is not Bjelić's intention to present a coherent narrative of narcotic modernity, this criticism might seem misplaced, but then what, one might ask, is the purpose of presenting these two differing perspectives? Bjelić writes:

> While in the background of the industrial unconscious of the "Jewish-chemical complex" their overlapping demonologies, Messianic visions, science and "profound illumination," psychology and Marxism, as well as their languages of intoxication, ran on phantasmagorial "counterphantoms" … in order to neutralize the poisonous phantom of modernity. (4)

The list is overwhelming and each of these issues — demonology, Messianism, science and religious illumination, psychology and Marxism — deserves a book in its own right, but how all of these hang together is difficult to tell. Bjelić provides a scrupulously detailed account of the origins of psychoanalysis in terms of Freud's cocaine episode, his interests in Jewish mysticism and his controversial affair with his sister-in-law, Minna Barnays (Swales); but how exactly this links back to Benjamin is frequently lost in the detail. For example, it is not clear, to me at least, exactly how Benjamin's theory of mimesis is linked to Freud's immersion in the phantasmagoria of *fin de siècle* Paris that found expression in his psycho-somatic illnesses, which he treated with cocaine. Freud would subsequently write to his fiancée Martha how he was under the influence of this magically attractive and repulsive city (Bjelić 91-2). But how far this "demonic coincidence" between the "architectural space" of cocaine's molecules and the "architectural space" of the Parisian dreamscape is more than "coincidence" I cannot say. Indeed, there is frequent recourse to analogy in the text, but the suggestion that something is "much like" another equally points to the fact that one thing is *not* like another. It is here, for me, that *Intoxication, Modernity & Colo-*

nialism is at its weakest.

It seems to me that the answer to this problem is already present in Bjelić's text, insofar as the Benjaminian correspondences he seeks take place not at the level of content —in their shared language of intoxication — but through form, which is to say, the structure of commodity fetishism. There are frequent references to the commodity form and commodity fetishism throughout the text, but one never gets the detailed construction of a "labour theory of the unconscious" that one finds, for example, in Samo Tomšič's *The Capitalist Unconscious* (2015). Tomšič observes that Marx not only invented the symptom, as Lacan famously claimed, but that the subject implied in his critique of capital is nothing less than the subject of the unconscious (Tomšič 5). As both Marxism and psychoanalysis are grounded in the constitutive alienation of the subject within society, this suggests the possibility of a homology between Marx and Freud based on their respective "logics," and their respective analyses of the insatiable demand for production, or production for production's sake. As Jacques Lacan has shown, the Marxian notion of surplus-value provides the model of surplus *jouissance* in psychoanalysis and therefore grounds Bjelić's economy of pleasure in a concrete historical context. I suspect that an antipathy to Lacan lies behind Bjelić's apparent resistance to make this final move. All of this notwithstanding, *Intoxication, Modernity & Colonialism* challenges us to rethink the origins of psychoanalysis in terms of its intoxicated and mystical past, but above all in the light of its colonial complicity.

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Sean Homer is Professor of Film and Literature at the American University in Bulgaria. He is author of *Fredric Jameson: Marxism, Hermeneutics, Postmodernism* (Polity Press, 1998), *Jacques Lacan* (Routledge, 2005) and *Slavoj Žižek and Radical Politics* (Routledge, 2016). He is co-editor (with Douglas Kellner) of *Fredric Jameson: A Critical Reader* (Palgrave, 2004) and (With Ruth Parkin-Gounelas and Yannis Stavrakakis) of *Objects: Material, Psychic, Aesthetic*, a special issue of *Gramma: Journal of Theory and Criticism* vol. 14 (2006). He is currently completing a book on history cultural trauma and narrative in post-Yugoslav Balkan cinema.

Cloud Control

RICKY D'ANDREA CRANO

Chun, Wendy Hui Kyong. *Updating to Remain the Same: Habitual New Media*. The MIT Press, 2016. xiv, 246 pp.

Hu, Tung-Hui. *A Prehistory of the Cloud*. The MIT Press, 2015. xxix, 219 pp.

What do Pony Express stations, Victorian sewers, World War II bunkers, interstate highway truck stops, and the post-9/11 CIA practice of extraordinary rendition all have in common? As Tung-Hui Hu demonstrates in his debut scholarly monograph, they each prefigure and in one way or another sculpt our current conceptions of digitally networked computing. Hu's wager is that, by pegging the digital cloud to these sorts of infrastructural and tactical antecedents, he can begin to reveal a gap between the virtual and the real, or between the popular technofetishistic image of the cloud as a universal good and the cloud's actual, material and historical existence. *A Prehistory of the Cloud* seeks to specify its central object, to pin it down, to make it less nebulous, as it were (Hu, whose CV includes three books of poetry and a stint as a network engineer, does not let this auspicious pun go unnoticed). In so doing, the book simultaneously supplies a riveting genealogy of the computer "user" as well as an unsettling account of how sovereign power—with all its centralizing tendencies, its territorial fixation, and its right to kill—"has mutated and been given new life inside the cloud" (xvi), rhetorical claims for its dissolution and/or distribution notwithstanding.

Alongside Wendy Hui Kyong Chun's *Updating to Remain the Same*, which I discuss below, Hu's *Prehistory* further solidifies a recent wave of thinking in new media studies that attempts to get beyond formal and phenomenological concerns in its twin efforts to historicize the technologies themselves and to assess digital culture against the economic and political backdrop of neoliberal globalization, financialization, and the ascendency of immaterial labor. Buoyant in its movements across countercultural art, U.S. Senate hearings, industry archives, and cybersecurity propaganda, Hu's book satisfyingly unveils the cloud as "a neoliberal fantasy about user participation that is so widespread and so ambient as to be universal," despite actually being "founded on a volatile layer of insecurity" (145). In fact, Hu concludes, the cloud "has never really been about computing," (145) so much as about the ways in which we have been conditioned to perceive and interpret it. As he pointedly states early in the book, "the

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cloud resides within us" (11). In order to substantiate this claim and fully unpack its political and ideological implications, Hu takes us on a lively tour through the history of network architectures, the development of early virtualization software, the increasing securitization of server farms, and the problematic assumptions of hacktivist counter-surveillance techniques. Each of these analyses provides new ammunition for Hu's relentless challenge to some of the most common truisms of the internet age.

Hu's first chapter opens rather alluringly: "Here is how you tear up railroad track..." A brief exposition ensues, nestled within a compact history of the demise of rail travel in the U.S. and a sharp explication of one photographer's moving attempt to capture the ghostly remains of the railroad's golden age. But it is not obsolescent technology that Hu is interested in. Indeed, among his book's most resolute propositions is a claim that technologies and media systems are never fully obsolete, and that, where we might be inclined to perceive each new innovation as a replacement of what came before it, we should instead seek out patterns of layering. The photograph Hu describes (Mark Ruwedel's *Central Pacific #18* (1994)) includes not just decrepit, torn-up track but also tire marks, barely noticeable at the edge of the frame; these Hu treats as evidence of the rail network's continued significance, for the tires likely belong to a truck servicing the fiber-optic cable running just beneath the surface. What we are presented with is thus not replacement but, as Hu puts it, "grafting." It helps us remember that, rhetorics of virtuality and deterritorialization notwithstanding, "space seems to continually reappear" (3), and, with it, the same "profoundly centralizing tendencies" of those earlier technologies that were erroneously assumed to have been eclipsed.

This sedimentary network—upon which the physical infrastructure of the so-called information age has been built—is but one of the innumerable components that constitute what we have come to call the cloud, which, Hu contends, does not exist except as an amalgamation of distinct technologies, images, and ideas, all with their own complex and occasionally intertwined genealogies. One such idea that has considerable traction today identifies cloud computing with a certain utopian promise. (One need not look far to find this: IBM's Smartcloud advertising, for example, imagines abundantly blue skies everywhere one looks.) To properly understand this impulse, we must first divest from the standard militaristic or deep-state narrative of the origins of the Internet. It's not ARPANET, Hu argues, but the interstate highway system and community access television that supply the infrastructural inspiration for today's networks. Not Cold War paranoia but the Elysian ideals of experimental videographers and pioneering art activists of the 1960s and 1970s, who took to the roads and, in Hu's evocative telling, reimagined the potential of the highway in utopian and universalistic terms.

I should emphasize here that Hu is hardly smitten with this alternative origin story. The utopia of the counterculture was a fantasy, one that proved all too conducive to corporate and neoliberal appropriations over subsequent decades. Chapter Two, "Time-Sharing and Virtualization," turns from network infrastructure to the invention of the "user," who is revealed to be a harbinger of the new economic subjectivity that would emerge alongside the rise of immaterial labor and the growing trends of piecework and freelancing. At the heart of this chapter is the little known story of "time-sharing," a technological affordance dating back to the early 1960s that allowed multiple programmers to work in shifts at a single machine without interfering with each other's projects. This meant that a programmer could now compute data in "real time," without sending his (programmers were almost always men at the time) punchcards to an operator (almost always a woman) for batch processing that could take days to get results. The individual user would become the computer's "intimate partner" (40), and Hu does not hesitate to tease us with remarks about desire or the quasi-erotic rhetoric of code debugging (where one "peeps" around the system). By situating this development squarely within the framework of postwar capitalism, he conveys how time-sharing "ma[kes] users synonymous with their usage, and allowed them to be tracked, rented, or billed down to each tick of the clock" (41). The result is a "restructuring" of boundaries between work and leisure and between public and private life.

What follows is a "soft" or even "hidden" form of control that is not in itself unique to digital culture but rather evidence of how digital culture can revamp and intensify modes of power and governmental techniques that have been in play for centuries. Hu draws brilliantly on Foucauldian research into Victorian water and waste removal systems to reveal how individuals are made to become "willing partners" in their own control (64), that is, how populations can be effectively regulated in large part by being left alone. We now enact this partnership online, for example, whenever we "share" or "like" or "mute" a social media post, as such micro-behaviors serve as aids to the algorithms that curate our digital environs. Like the late nineteenth-century sewer, "virtualization"—a term that Hu uses to refer to any practice of outsourcing computational processes (from storage to data analysis to word processing) to the network—is not just a set of technologies but a set of beliefs that, left untroubled, impart "barely detectable methods of modifying behavior" (60). "[T]hrough the lens of waste management," then, we discover "a buried history of managerial control within the cloud" (58). The sort of power at work here does not seek to discipline us when we stray from the norms; rather, it subtly but relentlessly incentivizes us to play by the rules (offering free software, free storage, foolproof security, a supremely flexible labor pool, and so on).

The latter half of Hu's *Prehistory* sets aside the "gentle structures of control" explored

in the first two chapters and instead seeks to expose a "latent violence" in cloud computing as well as the damnable ideological positions that "the cloud" both obeys and promotes. Gradually, Hu develops a concept of "data sovereignty" to capture how power gets re-centralized through network infrastructures and how everyday computing practices come to comply with certain militaristic and imperialistic motives of the neoliberal security state. He positions his argument here against the more typical new media studies claims about democratization through networks, the decentralization of power, and the newly forged sovereignty of the self. The third chapter takes as its point of departure the data center (and the closely related server farm), an infrastructural arrangement that proceeds directly from the network architectures and time-sharing techniques discussed in the previous chapters.

The first thing one should know about data centers is that they are massive. As Hu points out, it's not uncommon for one "mega" data center to consume the same amount of energy as around eighty thousand homes. While there are currently more than three million data centers in the U.S., industry experts estimate that just ten mega centers (owned by companies like Google, Amazon, and IBM) handle more than seventy percent of cloud traffic. Hu finds this unprecedented centralization problematic on a number of fronts. For one, it promotes a "bunker mentality" (100) that expects disaster and leads to a retrenchment in past practices of securitization. (The elegance of Hu's thought is perhaps nowhere better displayed than in his working through the surreal "future perfect" temporality of this bunker mentality.) It also betrays a colonial legacy long masked by the rhetoric of universal access. Not only are the predatory "others" we imagine ourselves to be vulnerable to (hackers, spammers, and the like) frequently racialized, as in the Department of Homeland Security's "Invasion of the Wireless Hackers" flash game that Hu cunningly dissects, but the defense of the cloud itself relies on cloud-sourced, outsourced labor practices whereby dangerous or offensive content is policed by poorly paid, precarious laborers in the Global South who are themselves largely excluded from the occident-centric Web community and its cheery universalist vision.

Hu's final chapter homes in on what he calls "the militarized architectures within the cloud" (110). He is particularly forceful in chronicling our passive, everyday collusion with the evolving project of data sovereignty, and he ferrets out a formidable if delicate complicity between the military-data apparatus and those hacktivists and artists that would appear to be among its most vocal critics. Invoking the ways in which "targeting" doubles as both a marketing and a military strategy, Hu makes the case that cloud usage of even the most banal kind implicitly endorses the neoliberal logic of efficiency central to both new modes of warfare and new modes of advertising. War in the twenty-first century is no longer about spectacle but about data; the era of remote seeing, famously articulated by Virilio in *War and Cinema*, has given way to a

new era of "cloud seeing" (113). The most extreme incarnations of data-driven warfare—extraordinary rendition during the Bush-Cheney regime, Obama's relentless deployment of weaponized drones—should not be understood as deviations from routine practices of social regulation but as part of a "continuum of power" that pulls all our quotidian cloud-based activities right into the fold.

The counter-surveillance artist Trevor Paglen takes center stage in Hu's closing arguments, for Paglen, despite appearing to challenge state surveillance in our age of big data, ultimately replicates not just the tactics but also the beliefs of his opposition: "namely, that in order to effect change one must actively engage as a user" (114). Paglen's art, according to Hu, only fortifies the neoliberal subject position. Intending to expose our victimization at the hands of the surveillance state, Paglen winds up duplicating "a violence that fails to respect the boundaries between real and virtual space" (115). More broadly, Hu argues, "the do-it-yourself tactics of participatory media are a perfect match for the surveillance state: any citizen, it says, can engage with his or her security regime by exercising surveillance over budgets and other tasks of management" (123).

Reading *A Prehistory of the Cloud*, one becomes saturated with a sense of just how difficult it is to adequately capture and criticize our everyday engagements with contemporary media, and just how hard it will be to effectuate real change, change that cannot be instantly co-opted by the neoliberal logic within which cloud computing emerged. Hu offers two starting points for extrication from the current regime. They remain underdeveloped, but bristle with possibility. The first proposes a reversal of the trending reliance on data-based cloud seeing through a restored "faith in images." ("In a world where each user is an iconoclast, perhaps the bravest thing of all is to become—to resurrect a very old word—an *iconodule*" (143).) The second proposes that, upon exposing "the cloud" as a sly "metaphor for private ownership" (147), we "return [it] to the scarcest space of all: the space of public life" (148). Daunting tasks, to be sure, but Hu succeeds foremost in convincing us of their urgent necessity, not because "the internet must be defended," as per the favored slogan of the hacktivists, but because "the slow violence of the information economy" must be brought to a halt.

Wendy Hui Kyong Chun proffers a similar plea in her perspicacious new book, *Updating to Remain the Same*. Like Hu, Chun seeks to reimagine networks, to think through ways in which we might begin "to inhabit networks differently" (160), as unabashedly public and promiscuous spaces in which one "can be vulnerable and not attacked" (158). The neoliberalization of the Web—its myth of the self-same user, its emphasis on privacy and personal rights, and its dominance by corporate titans like Google, Facebook, and Netflix, each with their own data-capture techniques and

their own motives for manipulating aggregate behavioral patterns—has precipitated or exacerbated a host of social and personal tragedies. Chun explains, for example, how the suicide of Amanda Todd and the Steubenville gang rape case—both from 2012 and both widely reported on by the old media old guard—have given rise to a discourse around social media participation that completely misses the point, which is not that individuals must learn to better protect their secrets but that all online communications are fraught and ambivalent and that the increasingly open communities forged therein hold love, shame, and hatred precariously close. In a similar vein, Chun insists repeatedly that "the most surprising and alarming [thing] about the Snowden revelations is the fact that they counted as revelations" (13). What the NSA whistleblower brought to light was nothing we shouldn't have already known. The ensuing protests from Silicon Valley ring exceedingly false, as tech firms have had a long history of collusion with the state security apparatus. The point, again, is not to demand better privacy protection but to recognize that "leakiness" is a natural condition of digital networks. Only once this is properly grasped can we move to "become characters, not marionettes, in the ongoing drama inadequately called Big Data" (62).

It's the paradoxical nature and effects of networks that Chun seems most intent on drawing out: they are "wonderfully creepy," both thing and description, revolutionary yet banal, and they operate according to a temporality that is at once "belated" and "too soon" (ix). While Hu comes off as nearly nostalgic, Chun finds more to celebrate in the strange and paradoxical nature of new media (despite its vagaries, the term remains Chun's preferred referent). Her reputation precedes her. With *Control and Freedom* (2006) and *Programmed Visions* (2011), she solidified her position as one of the most important media theorists of the twenty-first century. *Updating to Remain the Same* builds on those earlier projects, and readers of those books will find familiar the dense weave of theoretical insight, philosophical citation, and technical prowess that constitute the present volume. Whereas Hu is a storyteller, Chun is a Baroque composer: her argument proceeds by way of repetition, variations on a theme, bolded phrases that become clear only on second or third encounter. In this sense her style well reflects the content of her claims, for it's the repetitive, habitual ways in which we have come to work with and inhabit new media that remain most ripe for critical analysis.

Moving deftly from Hume, Ravaisson, and James to the journalist Charles Duhigg's recent bestselling work, Chun demonstrates how habit has come to be seen as addiction, that is, as behavior that must be changed. "Habit + Crisis = Update," as one of Chun's many salient slogans goes. The formula concisely encapsulates neoliberalism's logic of capture, according to which past behavior becomes reified and coded into predictive algorithms that infer—but also prescribe—how we will respond to fu-

ture changes in our hyper-marketized economic, social, and political environments. "Crises," having become ordinary and banal, "make the present a series of updates in which we race to stay close to the same" (3). Crucially, Chun argues that the "we" in the preceding sentences is actually a misnomer, for neoliberalism—the inborn ideology of new media—dissolves collective subjectivity. Chun advances an alternative theory of YOU, a figure "central to the operation of networks because it is both singular and plural. [But] [i]n its plural form, it still refers to individuals as individuals, rather than creating another communal subject, a 'we,' from more than one 'me'" (118). New media are in turn a function of this YOU; the corporate monoliths of the digital economy extract great value from YOU's online habits, "from searches to mouse clicks, from likes to posts" (118).

Chun's work resonates neatly with many recent critiques of neoliberalism, and she does well to situate her research alongside that of figures like Naomi Klein and David Harvey. She works closely in and through the poststructuralist and deconstructionist traditions (Jameson, Derrida, and Agamben, for example, play pivotal roles), writing always with an eye towards paradox and surprise. And surprises abound: reading Chun, we light upon "the undead of information" (90), the "loving side of spam" (127), the power of "found collectivity" in Natalie Bookchin's recent video installation art (173), and an incisive takedown of the rhetoric of virality ("Information is not Ebola, but instead the common cold" (3)). *Updating to Remain the Same* stands as a worthy capstone to Chun's acclaimed trilogy on new media, subjectivity, and social control. Like Hu's *Prehistory of the Cloud*, *Updating to Remain the Same* is an indispensable read for anyone interested in thinking critically about digital networks, where they come from, their political, economic and social effects, and how we might begin to conceptualize radical change.

Ricky d'Andrea Crano is a lecturer in English and the Science, Technology, and Society program at Tufts University. His writing as appeared in such venues as *Foucault Studies*, *Radical Philosophy,* and the Oxford University Press anthology *Sampling Media*.

The Ubiquity of Sound

KARIM WISSA

Michel Chion. *Sound: An Acoulogical Treatise*. Duke University Press, 2016. 300 pp.

First published in French in 1998, *Sound, An Acoulogical Treatise* is a broad collection of essays that appears oddly disjointed, traversing disparate disciplinary polemics and philosophical dilemmas, while introducing a dizzying series of new concepts in each chapter. The apparent incongruity of its parts, however, are unified by Chion's political commitment to a form of disinterested study that is both incorrigibly antiquated and refreshingly innovative. For what ties each chapter of the work together is a modernist approach to art that seeks to insulate the object of its concern from the various "distractions" of our social world, in order to create a heightened attention to and appreciation of the thing-in-itself: sound. Though it is fairly commonplace to write off such appeals to disinterested study as irredeemably naïve, a product of some stereotypical desire to believe in the fidelity of one's claims with such vehemence that they begin to take on the character of a timeless universal; Chion's hope is that in suspending our disbelief, we may reveal the transhistorical constant that structures our experience of sound, from which a perception of historical change emerges. And, indeed, Chion will claim that his analysis does just that: because sounds are everywhere, occurring all at once and yet fleeting, our aural experience is always structured in such a way as to filter out some sounds over others. In music, for instance, we make use of refrains, ritornellos, and reprises -- or choruses and hooks -- to offer our ears a second chance for listening (35); in education and business, schools and office spaces are built with sound dampening materials that are designed to stifle ambient noise in order to increase our productivity; while in transportation, car horns are tuned to play dissonant chords at a relatively high volume levels in order to garner our attention. However, this dual ontological problem of sound – its spatial ubiquity and temporal impermanence – has, with the invention of recording, been fundamentally altered: for recording does not merely freeze the past, but alters the way we hear the present, as our perception of the acoustic environment collapses into the single point of a recording device (141, 147, 211). Given these fundamental changes, how, then, have those disciplines to which we have entrusted the study of this problem called sound – acoustic science and music theory – fared in accounting for our experience of the sonic world and the complexities that comprise it? Rather poorly, Chion assesses, creating the disciplinary exigency for him to innovate his "acoulogical" system of sound study.

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For the problem with music theory – one of many culprits in *Sound* – is that it would have us partition the sonic world into four fundamental categories--pitch, duration, intensity, and timbre--and anything that falls beyond the scope of these acoustic registers is banished as mere noise (216-220). Music theory has therefore established its own hierarchy of listening, designating which sounds are worthy of our attention and appreciation and which are not, through the exacting laws of musical form. In the realm of pitch, Alfred Döblin named this propensity for some sonic characteristics to dominate over others, the creation of "king sounds," pitches that rule over their acoustic territory like the reign of a monarch – a problem that Arnold Schoenberg set out to overcome by creating a musical system (twelve-tone serialism), based on the idea of preventing a single pitch from determining the musical key (198). Indeed, so focused on the exactitude of pitch are the listening habits of music theory, Chion will argue, that "complex sounds" now foregrounded by hi-fidelity recordings– such as the breath of a flutist, fingers clicking on trumpet valves, and hands sliding across a fret board -- are entirely occluded from the 5-staff notational system set out to encompass the world of music theory (56).

Similarly, when music theory is tasked to observe sounds with a flexible rhythm, as in Jazz, various notational artifices are required, otherwise improvisatory deviations from the expected beat are set aside as "syncopations" (220); intensity fares no better, as it depends above all on context and contrast: soft and loud markers indicated by piano (p) and forte (*f*) symbols are relative and therefore vague, requiring dynamic indicators and multiplying them ad infinitum: crescendo, decrescendo, diminuendo, morendo, marcato, perdendo, sforzando, and so on (217). Timbre, however, is Chion's smoking gun. A conceptual catch all that music theory has itself created to describe its own inadequacy in defining the sonic world, for everything that falls beyond the scope of its acoustic registers is called timbre: why does a trumpet sound like a trumpet even if its pitch, duration, and intensity are identical to that of another instrument? It is because it has the timbre of a trumpet! Timbre is therefore a tautological waste basket for the qualities that make up a sound beyond the purview of music theory (217).

To name these limitations, as Chion notes, is not a novel pronouncement, for the noise compositions of Luigi Russolo and the Bruitists; the graphic notational practices of Cornelius Cardew, Anthony Braxton, and Iannis Xenakis; or the music derived from the manipulation of the audiovisual signals found in the recording technologies of musique concrète (of which Chion is himself a practitioner), are so many indirect comments on the habits and limits of 19th century listening practices (70).

Acoustic science fares no better, for amplitude (dB) and frequency (Hz) likewise fall short of Chion's desire to describe the noise of life. By operating under the premises

that the scientist is not part of the experiment, acoustics obviates one fundamental factor in sound: the listener. For the decibel, that apparently objective measure of intensity, omits a number of perceptions related to our sense of variation and contrast, including the movement of the listener, whom it must fix in space in order to get an "accurate" reading relative to the sonorous object. For if either point of reference – the subject or the object – move, the intensity obviously changes. And so acoustics relies on a rather static and therefore impoverished condition of analysis, one where the human subject, in all its variability, is reduced to the status of a motionless and unchanging recording object: a microphone to which a decibel meter is attached. A problem that acousticians have continuously tried to address in their search for that ever enigmatic point of fixed aural reference that would cure their relative measuring ills: for where, after all, does listening actually occur? Do we hear in the cochlea, or is it sent to the tympanic membrane? Or maybe it all happens in the brain? (20) This failure to objectify the social and historical malleability of our relative sense of volume is no surprise given that the decibel was a unit of measurement invented in the 19th century to assess the sense of perceived loudness and softness between telephones, that is, two fixed points in space. Given these shortcomings of psychoacoustics and music theory, Chion develops a new discipline he believes is capable of describing and training us to listen to the fullness of our aural life: acoulogy.

In acoulogy, sound is neither an object that causes a vibration, nor a sensation that we experience, but the name of a problem: sound is a bad concept. Not only do we lack the appropriate tools to understand the continuous bloom and buzz of our acoustic environment, but such ecological metaphors ("acoustic environment") are too vague to be of any use (194); instead, there are only different kinds of sounds (e.g. bangs, buzzes, bops, screeches, etc.), and we must develop a proper lexicon that can apprehend our sonic world and fit it into forms and general profiles (189). In describing and cataloguing our sonic experiences ranging across several media, Chion employs and invents an overwhelming array of concepts: ergo-audition (91), acoustic decouplings (144), audio-phonotary loop (93), materializing sound indices (103), identified listening (112), acoustic isolate (143), phoric sensations (144), single-sensory extraction (144), spatial magnetization (155), vococentrism (156), and complex mass (175)– to name only a few. His preference for "spoken" language over notational symbols or mathematical formulas is his way of avoiding the pitfalls of heirarchization; since language fails, and fails constantly in its aim to communicate an experience, we should find ourselves rearticulating and renegotiating our terms, enlivening our description of sound and therefore remaining forever contemporaneous with whatever noisy novelties may come our way. The ostensible goal of acoulogy is thus to "mentally control our perception… through an active and disinterested exercise of our perceptual capacities" (242) so that we can "enrich all of existence… and one day discover unforeseen opportunities, applications, and consequences" (211).

But Chion's phenomenological approach to sound has its own limitations that hamper his analysis, for any phenomenology must, at one point or another, confront that boogeyman which continues to elide it: the social. But Chion staunchly dismisses methodologies of social and ideological study as he finds them inspired by a certain scorn for their objects of analysis, lacking a true attention to the thing-in-itself that his "disinterested" discipline can provide (242). However, I cannot help but think that "the audiovisual flood" (241) of modern life that Chion so desperately seeks to overcome, and its attack on listening -- "the least defended" (242) of our senses -- is the form of appearance that sound takes under the logic of late capitalism, an observation that could be further developed by a social and historical analysis of aucology's ontology of sound.

For what Chion describes as sound's transhistorical ubiquity seems like just another description of how contemporary industries seek to induce consumer desire in period of wage "stagnation" and job insecurity. For how else is a capitalist to ensure that a worker's new found credit is directed back into their hands unless the audiovisual field is flooded with advertisements that attempt to construct and dictate consumer desires? Of course, such an attempt to control consumer desire is not always properly decoded, and so an ever-stronger and more active legal and bureaucratic infrastructure must be erected to police any deviations from this course of capital accumulation, often by teaching us what sounds are pertinent and which are not, in a field of all-pervading clamor. And so Chion's program, to train and defend our listening in a ubiquitous environment of advertising noise, should be understood as the result of a historical phenomenon tied to a broader struggle between capital and labor – rather than a transhistorical reality marked by sound's omnipresence (27).

As a feature of late capitalism then, the audiovisual flood of the post-recording world would be part of what Guy Debord called the society of the spectacle: a world so commodified that no social space remains untouched by the manufactured desire for capital and consumption. For in late capitalism, we are always at work: the sounds of the home mirror and reflect the modern office as the universalizing spread of commodity-culture has seemingly become so ubiquitous as to invade all aspects of life with the electronic lull of modern machinery. Technology, from this historicist perspective, is then a facilitator rather than a historical cause, for the continuous buzz of a world flooded by noise is a symptom of the disintegrating boundary between work and life, labor and leisure; as the degradation of existence, driven by the desire to accumulate capital, spreads and the sounds which are contiguous with it follow us everywhere.

Acoulogy's desire to reclaim the "perceptual windows of our body" (242) through the practice of honing our descriptive abilities, is then a utopian impulse that can be

seen as a desire to reappropriate the ear from those appropriators who have dulled it through constant bombardment (241); a place where listening can once more be purposefully directed and unalienated; and where the partition of sound into various hierarchies of significance are levelled. Whether or not we find such an image of acoustic horizontalism convincing or desirable, and the disinterested method of acoulogy and acousmatic listening that's supposed to usher it in plausible, the benefit of Chion's intelligent idealism lay in its ability to help us map the ideological field of sound studies, and the historical deadlock to which it responds: the ubiquity of labor time and its concomitant spectacle.

Karim Wissa graduated with his PhD from the Program in Literature at Duke University in 2018 with a specialty in Critical Theory. His dissertation examined the changing syntax of Jazz music in the United States and its relation to shifts in our class dynamics.

Not Folking Around: Towards a Political-Aesthetic Economy of Folk Art

HENRY ADAM SVEC

Erin Morton, *For Folk's Sake: Art and Economy in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016. 405 pp.

Aislie Walsh's recent biopic *Maudie* (2017) charts the rough life of Maud Lewis, the self-taught artist whose idyllic, brightly coloured paintings of daily existence in rural Nova Scotia garnered both national and international acclaim, which has only grown since her death in 1970. The film fictionalizes the relationship between Maud and her husband, Everett Lewis, with whom she shared life in their one-room house in Digby County. However, in narrating this story, *Maudie* also presents an image of the authentic "folk" artist for whom creativity is a spontaneous and natural power. "Maudie" cannot help but paint, first on the walls of their small home, and then for the consumers and patrons who begin to knock, enchanted, on their door; yet these exchanges and encounters seem not to fundamentally alter the art itself. The art springs directly from her sensitive, ancient soul and from the craggy Atlantic landscape (Newfoundland standing in for Nova Scotia), apparently in equal measure.

Where do such ideals of "folk" purity come from? What kinds of social, cultural, and economic work have they done? Erin Morton's *For Folk's Sake: Art and Economy in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* asks and seeks to answer these questions. Morton offers a rigorous genealogy of the discourses of folk art in Nova Scotia from the mid to late twentieth century, theorizing throughout the ways in which this category has been articulated and rearticulated across the complex interplay of artists, critics, curators, collectors, institutions, policies, media, and economic forces. Of course, "the folk" is not a real thing out in the world; it is rather an idea that has been socially constructed within historical contexts, which a growing body of literature in cultural studies, popular music studies, and folklore studies (to name just a few) has sought to show.[1] Morton's book contributes to this trans-disciplinary field by analyzing the

[1] See, for instance, Benjamin Filene's *Romancing the Folk: Public Memory and American Roots Music*, Regina Bendix's *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies*, and Ian McKay's *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*.

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desires and determinations that have both sustained and modulated the category of "folk art" in one particular historical context, Nova Scotia "under late capitalism" (5-8).

According to Morton, the concept of the folk has been both product and producer. Most broadly, Morton describes the construction of folk art in Nova Scotia as an exercise in "historical presentism," which she defines as "a framework that defines folk art in the present according to past changes in the cultural cycles of capitalism" (3). This temporal optic allows for a consideration of folk art discourse in the province, not just as a static essentialization, but as situated within the vagaries of local modern art institutions and broader socio-economic transformations. "Folk art operates relationally as a structure of modernist change" (18), she writes.

After two introductory chapters in which the theoretical lens is set out and historical connections between folk art and North American modernism(s) are sketched, the remainder of the book is divided into two parts. In Part One, we circle around key players in the legitimation (and exploitation) of folk art in the province. Chapter 3 focuses on Chris Huntington, who first travelled from the U.S. to the Maritimes in the 1970s and who "took up the cause" (45) by staying to become a significant collector and interpreter of Nova Scotian folk art, both independently and in conjunction with the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia (AGNS). As Morton explains, Huntington was not simply a transparent channel, because "where he did not find or did not think he could find what he was looking for, he encouraged artists to create it according to his particular vision of what 'good' contemporary folk art should look like" (57). Chapter 4 moves to a provocative analysis of the role of the Nova Scotia College of Art + Design. Although NSCAD is nationally famous for fostering conceptual art in the 1960s and 1970s, Morton considers how various NSCAD leaders and professors, in dialogue with actual self-taught artists such as Collins Eisenhauer, "played up existing notions of the province's folkloric past to solidify their claims to determining its artistic future under shifting late capitalist developments that transformed art-world economies" (88). And Chapter 5 retraces some of this territory from a more political-economic perspective. Morton argues here that changes to arts and culture funding also contributed to a re-articulation of "folk art" from the late 1960s to the 1980s: "[T]he folk art category appealed to many of the cultural tenets of neoliberal ideology itself (among them self-sufficiency, the reduction of professionalized work practice, and the branding of art and culture in the service of the transnational economy as opposed to the local community" (136).

Part Two of the book zooms in on Maud Lewis. In Chapter 6, Morton introduces affect theory to closely analyze the public discourse around Lewis, considering film and television broadcasts and other forms of publicity, which rendered Lewis's work

as "a source of optimism for Nova Scotians in the sense that it provided them with a cultural object upon which they might affix their desire for an organized daily life despite the disorganized and despondent realities of late capitalism" (178). Chapter 7 considers Lewis's house, her "largest artwork" (218), which was acquired by the AGNS as part of its permanent collection in 1996 in partnership with Scotiabank. As Morton observes,

> Neoliberal economic restructuring created the conditions necessary to harden folk art as a cultural concept by turning the most important material site of Lewis's cultural legacy into an object of museum display, which advanced the notion that hers was a traditional, poor, isolated, and community-bounded life that no longer existed in contemporary society. […] Turning folk art in to a museum category in this way provided public history makers with a means to understand the material and ideological consequences of a rapidly changing late capitalist landscape across Nova Scotia, and indeed all of North America, that witnessed deregulation and privatization on a broad scale. (219)

Finally, in Chapter 8 Morton again takes on a more political-economic register as she considers how the rising importance of copyrights and patents in the 1980s and 1990s have affected the field of Maud Lewis-branded consumer items. "[I]t was the neoliberal context itself that created the 'need' for the turning of art production into intellectual property that could be managed for profit—in this case, the provincial gallery's not Lewis's" (292), she concludes.

For Folk's Sake builds on a tradition of critical approaches to the concept of "the folk" in the cultural history of Nova Scotia—in particular on the work of Ian McKay, whose books *The Quest of the Folk* and *In the Province of History* (the latter co-authored with Robin Bates) deploy ideological analysis to unpack the connotations and socio-economic functioning of "folk" authenticity in Nova Scotia in the domains of folklore, craftwork, and tourism. Morton draws on McKay's landmark researches by extending some of his claims into the adjacent field of art history, and into the second half of the twentieth century (4). And yet, Morton also makes use of fresh methodological approaches to the study of culture, which further distinguishes her contribution. For McKay, "the folk" is veiling discourse, a relatively coherent mythology transplanted from European Romanticism that conceals socio-economic forces.[2] Morton, drawing on affect theory and critical museology, charts a more messy and materialist terrain, wherein "the folk" is as complicated and as varied as the diverse

[2] For the most direct discussion of the theoretical and methodological aspects of McKay's argument, see *The Quest of the Folk*, pp. 3-42 and pp. 274-312.

agents and institutions that have contributed to its production.

One possible weakness of the book is its length and aspects of its structure; Morton's careful attention to detail occasionally pulled this reader slightly away from the larger arguments, and it seems to me that there are two closely related yet distinguishable monographs in this volume (one, perhaps, on NSCAD and folk art, one on Maud Lewis and the AGNS). However, this shortcoming could more generously be viewed as a testament to Morton's archival ambitions and to the subtlety of her interpretations. Exhaustively researched, theoretically innovative, and featuring over seventy colour images, *For Folk's Sake* should be required reading for scholars of Atlantic Canadian art and culture, but also for artists, arts administrators, and even activists, working in and against discourses of "the folk." As audiences (myself included) continue to be pulled in by quaint, nostalgic images offered by films such as *Maudie*, Morton offers critical tools with which we might better understand, and maybe even dismantle, the historical sources of that fascination—if not the art itself, which (and Morton never loses sight of this) was made by real people, struggling, working.

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Henry Adam Svec is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Communication Arts at the University of Waterloo. His research interests include the concept of authenticity, media theory, and popular music. He is the author of *American Folk Music as Tactical Media* (Amsterdam University Press, 2018) and, with Chad Comeau, the co-creator of *Donair Academy* (Fring Frang, 2017), an educational RPG about Atlantic Canadian cuisine