

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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