
Book Reviews

Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., *Aloha Compadre: Latinxs in Hawai'i*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2023, 338 pp. Paperback \$43.64, ISBN: 9780813565651.

Migration and settlement of Latinx populations in Hawai'i is not a new phenomenon. It is, however, an understudied group that extends previous literature on race, ethnicity, nationality, belonging, settler colonialism, and migration within Hawai'i, the Pacific, and beyond. In *Aloha Compadre: Latinxs in Hawai'i*, Rudy P. Guevarra Jr. employs talk story (oral interviews), archival analysis, and ethnography to collect and share the historical and contemporary stories of the Latinx population in Hawai'i. While a lot of research has been done on Hawai'i's unique racial and ethnic context, the experiences of the Latinx population—largely Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Central Americans—within Hawai'i are missing from our understanding of both Hawai'i and Latinidad. Guevarra addresses this gap in the literature through six chapters, and additional supporting sections, that take the reader through multiple important economic and labor moments throughout history that sparked Latinx migration. Guevarra's book makes multiple contributions; namely extending the literature on Hawai'i to include the Latinx experience, widening the Latinx diaspora to include the Latinx Pacific boarder-lands, and providing multiple pedagogical examples of how to do research in the complex multilayered space between yourself, community, and place.

To set up the context for looking at the Pacific Latinidad, there are three important points that Guevarra highlights as necessary for understanding the historical and current experiences of Latinx populations in Hawai'i. The first is that despite their general invisibility, Latinx populations have been migrating to Hawai'i for 190 years as a central part of Hawai'i's labor force and economy. The first moment of migration can be traced to 1831 when King Kamehameha III invited vaqueros (cowboys) from Spanish California to Hawai'i to teach Hawaiians cattle handling skills. This leads to the second important context point, which is that while the continued dispossession of Kānaka Maoli is due to the US settler colonial project in Hawai'i (through tourism and US militarism), a trans-national perspective reveals that throughout the last nearly 200 years, there have been multiple settler colonial projects (such as the annexation of Mexico) that caused Latinx populations to seek labor opportunities elsewhere, such as the Pacific. Guevarra's third

point is that Hawai'i is assumed by some to be a "racial utopia" where racism doesn't exist, and all races live harmoniously without tension. This story is perpetuated through the non-Native consumption and consumerization of the "aloha spirit" to imply that to be in Hawai'i is to be welcomed wholeheartedly. While many of the people who Guevarra talks story with do report being treated with aloha, it is important to speak against this narrative of a melting pot and racial harmony to point out that there is also colorism, anti-Blackness, structural racism, and racial tension in Hawai'i, such as Alejandra, an Afro-Latina who shares encountering an aunty when she was camping who was holding a sign with a racial slur on it.

The Pacific Latinidad is possible through what Guevarra refers to as the "Latinx Pacific border-lands," wherein the ocean is a "site of crossing and converging, with moments of both tension and fusion" (11). The Latinx Pacific border-lands extends la frontera, "from the terrestrial to deeper aquatic realms . . . reimagining the borderlands beyond a terrestrial perspective" (12) and are a diasporic space in themselves that have their own specific contexts where people shape, and are shaped by, local culture. For example, through the close look that Guevarra takes at the local context of Latinx migration in Hawai'i, he finds a *localized Latinx* experience that includes two common aspects: for many, their racial ambiguity allows them to blend into local and Native Hawaiian communities, and Latinidad formation within a close relation to Indigenous and mixed-race populations. Only this close attention to context reveals how the localized Latinx experience isn't monolithic, such as experiences of anti-Blackness and disconnection for mixed race Latinxs who also identify as Afro-Latinx or Black. Additionally, through a historical perspective, Guevarra reveals three key labor moments in the creation of a Pacific Latinidad: the migration of Puerto Ricans in the early 1900s for the sugar cane industry, the migration of Mexicans and Central Americans in the 1990s to work Pineapple fields, and the migration of Mexicans and Central Americans in the early 2000s to work in the coffee industry. Guevarra shows how each of these moments in time brought Latinx migrants into varying geopolitical statuses (of Kingdomhood, annexation, and statehood) and how those moments affect migrant reception and incorporation.

Throughout *Aloha Compadre*, and specifically in the "Notes on Terminology and Accessibility" section before Guevarra introduces the book, he states his positionality and remains reflexive of his own identities, personal and familial histories, and responsibilities to show up in the community correctly. Scholars can take Guevarra's writing style as an example of how to be accountable to the specificities of the field site and community(/communities) while not necessarily being from said site or community. Two examples of this in his book include his use of talk story, a Pacific methodology, to collect individual's oral histories and moments when he includes his own reflexivity about feeling uneasy with his ability to blend is as local due to his racial ambiguity. Additionally, Guevarra is intentional about remaining accessible to the community where he is from and the community from which his research comes. These commitments guide his writing style and language usage.

Guevarra emphasizes that *Aloha Compadre* is meant to initiate the conversation on, and inclusion of, Latinx populations in Hawai'i and the Pacific broadly, rather than being

the definitive study on the topic. Beyond igniting the intersecting histories and experiences between Latinx and Pasifika Peoples, Guevarra's work also speaks to the responsibility of non-Native arrivants and settlers in the ongoing sovereignty movements within the Pacific. Hawai'i, like other Pacific Islands and islands generally, carries a specific colonial history and reality that requires a specific lens to understand on-island relations across race, ethnicity, and Indigeneity. In a context where non-Natives, whether guests, arrivants, or settlers, find home at the detriment of Kānaka Maoli and 'āina, and within the context of rising sea levels and climate crisis throughout the Pacific, there are important questions to be asked about responsibility, belonging, and connection. Guevarra's *Aloha Compadre* is a necessary intervention within the conversation of Latinx transnational migration and is relevant for historians, sociologists, anthropologists, and interdisciplinary scholars alike.

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SIONE LYNN PILI LISTER

Nicole Nguyen. *Terrorism on Trial: Political Violence and Abolitionist Futures*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2023, 424 pp. Paperback \$30.00. ISBN: 978-1-5179-1439-4.

Extensively researched and grounded in abolitionist politics, *Terrorism on Trial: Political Violence and Abolitionist Futures* by Nicole Nguyen illuminates how domestic US courts support and contest the global war on terror. By centering the figure of the terrorist, Nguyen outlines the discursive and juridical processes by which concepts such as terrorism pathologize Muslims as exceptionally and inherently prone to violence while simultaneously occluding the material conditions engendering violent resistance (21–23, 26–28, 35–36). Rather than locate the emergence of Muslims in US political imaginaries and legal discourses in moments such as 9/11, this study places terrorism trials in the *longue durée* of legal race-making such as the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century naturalization/citizenship trials (145–153, 326–328). Likewise, Nguyen incorporates Black and Indigenous perspectives to decenter “the Muslim” as the essential terrorist, recognizing that anti-Black and anti-Indigenous suppression mutually constitute structural Islamophobia (27–33, 56–57). This conceptual framing indexes the relational yet incommensurate ties between these forms of domination and the struggles against them. In doing so, Nguyen calls upon abolitionists to refine our imaginaries through anti-imperialist and transnational frameworks, combat these multi-scalar forms of military-carceral state violence, and rethink the meaning of justice in the context of extra-state violence (14–17, 330, 334–336). Departing from critical legal studies' usual focus on the juridical technicalities of adjudicating terrorism trials, Nguyen analyzes the production of incoherent racialized categories such as “terrorism” through the embodied experiences of defendants and the geopolitical logics structuring “judicial sense-making” (7, 15, 33). This text's expansive project brings together critical legal studies, cultural anthropology, sociology, and ethnic studies to illuminate the co-constitution of “foreign” and “domestic”

modes of racialized counterinsurgent governance. Through interviews with attorneys, participant observation, close readings of judicial opinions and “expert witness” testimonies, and historical analysis, Nguyen situates terrorism trials in the broader context of US imperial statecraft (6, 13, 19).

The first chapter traces how domestic criminal law and the “rules-based international order” symbiotically restrict *and* enable warfare. For example, while Guantánamo Bay is popularly imagined as *lawless*, Nguyen asserts that “Guantánamo operates through a kind of *hyper*-legality as the aggressive use of the law authorizes otherwise unlawful warfare” and emphasizes that “examining the creative use of the law is central to understanding the US security state’s reliance on legal innovations to expand its military operations and the role of the judicial system in incapacitating nonstate fighters” (41–42). Indeed, such “creative use” of the law undergirds US hegemony across national boundaries and has historical roots in the Civil War, United States-Mexico War, and Dakota Wars, where strategically ascribing enemy combatants as “unlawful” or “irregular” effectively abrogated their civil and/or wartime rights (45–48). These bureaucratized exercises of law-preserving violence also structure international law insofar as the war on terror depends not on gaps within international law but rather its most fundamental assumptions—that modern warfare is interstate and symmetric. These conditions structurally exclude colonial wars and nonstate actors, criminalize armed resistance to imperialism, and enable states to circumvent the principles undergirding laws without violating them (49–57). Such forms of offensive lawfare are sustained *through* reform, not despite it, a dynamic made plain in the shift from the “Bush Doctrine” of preventative deterrence, which faced myriad judicial and legislative challenges, to the “Obama Doctrine” of methodically suspending controversial practices while developing the juridical justifications to continue them (59–64, 71–73). In other words, the Obama administration framed its actions as *more* lawful while doubling prosecutions and imposing harsher sentences (78). Nonetheless, both approaches abstractly frame extra-state violence as psychologically/theologically motivated rather than as a strategic response to imperialism, thus promoting incarceration as the only fitting response to terrorism’s exceptional evil (81–84). Thus, Nguyen asserts that these military-carceral regimes necessitate an “anti-imperialist abolitionist strategy that considers the relationship between war, empire, and prisons and takes seriously political violence, even if we disagree with the politics animating that violence” (90).

The second and third chapters focus on federal judges as actors who mobilize competing geopolitical imaginaries that inform their sentencing decisions and understandings of the court’s role in the war on terror. While there is no judicial consensus on these matters, Nguyen argues that the structure of the criminal-legal system itself maintains the state as the only legitimate violent actor, necessarily framing nonstate armed struggle as always already criminal (106–110). This “symbiotic yet fraught relationship between U.S. military operations globally and criminalizing practices domestically” becomes abundantly clear when defendants engage in armed struggle suffused with religious meaning or which adheres to nonstate geopolitical frameworks (123, 116–118). In some cases, guilty verdicts with harsh sentences were authorized when nonstate actors traveled to Syria to combat

the Assad regime despite the ever-fluid coalitional allegiances on the ground in which defendants sometimes fought *for* US-backed militias (themselves sometimes peripherally associated with “foreign terrorist organizations”) and despite judges’ recognition of their personal background as refugees and genocide survivors (116–118, 120–124). These forms of judicial discretion exercise epistemic power to maintain the state’s monopoly on violence and reproduce commonsense understandings of terrorism as depoliticized violence (138–141, 158–161, 164–165). Even outside the context of combat, “sticky” notions such as *jihad* (lit. “struggle”) act as empty signifiers, conceptually suturing noncriminal behavior with terrorist agendas (169–173, 179–181). A recurring example is that of giving charity or humanitarian aid. The United States has successfully prosecuted civilians who raise funds for and provide resources to refugees in places such as Syria, Palestine, Bosnia, and Somalia for providing material support to foreign terrorist organizations on the basis that these acts constitute an “economic jihad” within an imperial geopolitical imaginary (95, 135, 165, 250–258). Furthermore, Nguyen notes that even attempts to expand the notion of jihad beyond its violent forms merely reproduce the “good/bad” Muslim binary used to justify policing and surveillance. Thus, the abolitionist goal of developing alternative systems for justice must not only dismantle the criminal-legal system, but also the circuitously racializing logic that undergirds its reproduction of imperialism (142–143, 200–202).

Finally, the fourth and fifth chapters grapple with the epistemic function of terrorism studies and radicalization theories. Nguyen traces the development of “terrorism studies” as a state-sponsored project beginning in the 1970s, with the express goal of producing research to justify counter-terrorism policies, constituting an incentivized political economy of knowledge production. The Rand Corporation, for example, is a think-tank composed of former intelligence officers and military personnel contracted by the government to conduct research and make policy recommendations to their former colleagues or employers (205–211). So-called “terrorologists” frame terrorism as a problem knowable and solvable unto itself, eliding the conditions of political violence while promoting military-carceral responses. In other words, the US government cultivates terrorologists, calls them to testify as “expert witnesses,” and their knowledge is taken at face value given their reputation and relationship to the state, all but guaranteeing a conviction (212–217). These high conviction rates are then taken as a sign of successful counter-terrorist action, and the cycle continues (218–225). Yet, terrorism studies lacks any consistent methodological framework, terrorologists’ work is often not peer-reviewed, and the state’s most frequent “expert witnesses” lack substantive academic training or even basic qualifications, such as knowledge of Arabic (235–242, 274–277, 282). This speaks to both the inadequacy of judicial evidentiary standards such as the *Daubert* test, as well as defendants’ statuses as “subjugated knowers . . . denied [the] epistemic authority to narrate their lives . . . [or] provide alternative interpretations of the events that led to their arrests” (259). Radicalization theories, a hallmark of terrorism studies, frame everyday Muslim behaviors, such as attending mosque programs or performing obligatory prayers, as suspicious or “pre-criminal” and override practices such as sting operations that target vulnerable—oftentimes financially precarious or mentally ill—individuals, push them

toward violence, then sensationalize the threat of “homegrown terrorism” (268–270, 291–297, 308–312, 316–321). Thus, to challenge the “distinctly epistemic type of injustice” committed through “the absence of other ways of knowing terrorism,” abolitionists must “atten[d] to the root causes of armed resistance and nurtur[e] alternative forms of governance, self-determination, and care that do not capitulate to state interests or expand police power” (234, 261, 264, 288–289).

While the project’s length and breadth are sometimes overwhelming, Nguyen’s argumentative clarity and thorough research provide opportunities to further investigate the links between violence, secularism, and the law. Likewise, although the text could have elaborated on how sect(arianism) and gender affect sentencing decisions, I interpret these as areas of future inquiry rather than deficits. Nguyen’s deft interweaving of political and intellectual commitments also highlights the need for alternative approaches to abolition—particularly from a Critical Muslim Studies or Islamic perspective. Especially in light of Zionist aggression and armed Palestinian resistance to genocide, *Terrorism on Trial* provides substantive ruminations on the meaning and scope of abolition. As a Muslim ethnic studies scholar, it has been painful yet unsurprising to witness self-styled radical academics, purportedly committed to decolonization and abolition, disavow anti-colonial resistance when it brushes against their fetishization of secular, nonviolent resistance. In this context, Nguyen’s invitation to rethink terrorism, political violence, and justice in order to “do” abolition beyond the boundaries of the domestic legal system proves invaluable for scholars and activists alike.

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MUHAMMAD YOUSUF

Marzia Milazzo. *Colorblind Tools: Global Technologies of Racial Power*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2022, 408 pp. Paperback \$38, ISBN: 9780810145269; Hardcover \$120, ISBN: 9780810145276; eBook \$38, ISBN: 9780810145283.

In *Colorblind Tools*, author Marzia Milazzo examines a paradigm-shifting analysis of anti-Black racism, focusing on how claims of “colorblindness” allow white supremacy to regenerate while obscuring its violence. The book pushes back against theories overemphasizing historical change, drawing critical connections across global case studies from the colonial era through today. The book is divided into three parts: (1) The Making of White Nations, (2) The Ongoing Race to Silence Race, and (3) Decolonial Imaginaries and Colorblind Logics. The introduction titled “The Master’s Colorblind Tools” is an excellent overview that both shocks and surprises as it provides the reader with a thorough understanding of the heavy subject that Marzia deals with in the book. The introduction resonates powerfully in the current moment as it brings to the fore publicized cases of anti-Blackness such as the police murder of George Floyd, which triggered a wave of Black Lives Matter protests across America and Europe demanding an honest reckoning with enduring racist violence.

Milazzo's expansive interdisciplinary engagement joins other trailblazing scholars studying mythologies of racial progress across time, from Paul Gilroy's iconic *Against Race* to Ibram X. Kendi's sweeping historical analyses. However, much existing literature focuses primarily within a single national frame. *Colorblind Tools* uniquely puts diverse geopolitical contexts in conversation through its capacious archives, spotlighting technological parallels in racial disavowal amidst localized variation. Methodologically, Milazzo also distinguishes herself from more discipline-bound approaches by juxtaposing aesthetic productions and ethnographic findings. This structural innovation proves generative. While her previous articles excel in close textual analysis, this ambitious book-length interrogation of colorblindness as enduring transnational strategy constitutes Milazzo's most original contribution yet to critical race theory, productively synthesizing her strengths as a nimble interdisciplinary scholar.

Milazzo exposes colorblind ideology itself as an enduring "master's tool" enabling domination, not a new phenomenon. As Malcolm X profoundly observed, "If you stick a knife in my back nine inches and pull it out six inches, there's no progress . . ." Her vivid use of quotes such as this one, by prominent writers and activists expose coordinated continuities in racist strategy over time versus fragmented ignorance, challenging the notion of "white ignorance." She spotlights how despite seemingly conflicted, Latin American eugenicists and mestizaje scholars reproduce the same logics, upholding hierarchies collaboratively. This coherence contradicts frameworks that cast racism as stemming from individual ignorance alone. While Charles Mills' iconic "white ignorance" concept rightly emphasizes how racial obliviousness maintains oppression, Milazzo seems more concerned with exposing the intentional, patterned coordination that perpetuates the system itself. She reveals domination as sustained strategy more so than fragmented failure to comprehend.

Milazzo argues colorblind ideology relies not just on ignorance, but on a complex "epistemology of denial and disavowal"—acknowledging then denying baseline anti-Blackness. She problematizes the idea that whiteness and its racism are somehow "invisible," especially from white vantages. Contradictions in racist discourse reveal deliberate (if unstable) ideological coordination, not haphazard obliviousness.

No school curriculum just "forgets" to cover colonialism's violence—it deliberately constructs communal myths of righteousness despite evidence. Media such as *Birth of a Nation* consciously demonize, not naively misunderstand. White collectives actively communicate to protect shared interests, as in Venezuela's 2002 coup backed by the CIA and local elites despite democratic processes. Such conscious efforts exceed disconnected ineptitude, demanding clearer assessment of domination's shared and global machinations. Drawing on examples from South Africa, Milazzo also argues that anti-Blackness also manifests itself as racialized xenophobia while used as a nation-building tool, where Black people are turned against other Black people (migrants) and not white migrants.

Milazzo assembles a staggering array of interdisciplinary materials—from fiction to ethnography to legal transcripts—collectively confronting white supremacy's shadows. By juxtaposing sources spanning colonial origins to present-day protest movements, she analytically spotlights recurring ideological threads perpetuating exploitative social hierarchies across differences in genre, era, and locale.

Milazzo's methodology resonates with equally boundary-breaking critical genealogies that fuse historical evidence and cultural analysis to challenge dominant liberal narratives downplaying persistent technologies of oppression. Her insistence on scrutinizing continuities within both reactionary and radical discourses insists we grapple with difficult collective truths head-on rather than pathologize racism as fragmented misunderstandings.

In the process, Milazzo acknowledges the conceptual limitations inherent in mapping something as contextually shifting yet enduringly insidious as colorblindness itself. Rather than forcing definitive boundaries around such a diffuse target, she reveals those struggles as endemic to colorblindness' flexibility as an instrument of power. It serves white dominance by frustrating taxonomic precision, enabling oppression to disguise itself across time and space.

This work delivers profound implications for theory and anti-racist practice. In connecting global technologies of domination often downplayed by liberal analyses, Milazzo centers scholarship contending that enforcing "racelessness" itself constitutes violence. Her model for exposing transhistorical tools of oppression informs necessary rethinking of action and knowledge production. Spanning humanities disciplines, this indispensable volume links aesthetic works to state policy in its anti-racist critique. Milazzo ultimately issues an urgent call for alternative imaginaries beyond the interpretive limitations of current theory for assessing racism's operations and transcending its mythologies to enable new collective futures.

As a reader and scholar, I believe the ambitious interdisciplinary scope of this project is also one of its biggest strengths and a testament to the importance of its ideas. However, at times the rapid movement across contexts risks losing connective tissue between the examples. Spending a bit more analytical time with a tighter number of case studies might have sharpened the theoretical links she makes so prolifically.

Similarly, while Milazzo productively excavates reactionary ideological strands in a spectrum of imaginaries, occasionally some of those readings require accepting expanded definitions of key terms such as "anti-Blackness" beyond established conventions. Providing clearer parameters for how she conceptualizes that idea may have eased uptake of her penetrating critical lens applied in unexpected places.

I find Milazzo's willingness to interrogate her own positionality infinitely generative. Her thorough engagement with Black radical thinkers such as Steve Biko and Frantz Fanon provides a vital corrective to decolonial scholars who exclude precisely those voices most impacted. This commitment to confronting difficult truths makes the work indispensable.

Ultimately, as Milazzo powerfully concludes, the unrelenting consistency of racist violence and marginalization across eras proves that incremental reform or celebrations of "progress" fundamentally "miss critical lessons." Her global analysis insists we recognize anti-Blackness and white supremacy as enduring, not ephemeral. As she observes, while Trump's weaponization of colorblind rhetorics proves deeply dangerous, his strategies echo those mobilizing since colonialism's advent. The structures never disappeared. Thus we must be wary of overemphasizing novelty or change in oppression's manifestations versus its fundamental permanence.

With its extensive transhistorical and transnational framework, Milazzo's book seems suited for multiple academic audiences—from senior undergraduate students to established scholars across ethnic studies, history, sociology, and more. Her book could productively situate critical race discussions in graduate and upper-division undergraduate courses, while also pushing seasoned scholars to reexamine enduring logics of racial domination. Milazzo makes vital interventions across disciplinary contexts, urging readers to grapple with the dispiriting persistence of hierarchical logics across time and space.

Milazzo closes by underscoring that the solution lies in neither colorblindness nor inadequate reform but in abolition and revolution. We must confront hard truths about unbroken coloniality and move beyond violence-concealing liberal half-measures. Only radical solidarity surmounting national divides can dismantle an equally transnational dehumanization constitutive to modernity itself. The master's tools cannot dismantle the master's house.

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ADIO-ADET DINIKA

Silvia Rodriguez Vega, *Drawing Deportation: Art and Resistance among Immigrant Children*. New York: New York University Press, 2023, ix + 217 pp. Cloth \$89.00, ISBN: 978-1479810444; Paperback \$23.60, ISBN: 978-1479810451.

Drawing Deportation: Art and Resistance among Immigrant Children by Silvia Rodriguez Vega is an intimate and heart-wrenching ethnography examining the impact of legal violence as well as a hostile anti-immigrant atmosphere on immigrant children in California and Arizona. It is a publication of which the author boldly states, "I wish this book did not need to exist and that I did not need to write it" (143). Yet, having been raised in Arizona while undocumented, Rodriguez Vega is uniquely positioned to convincingly bring to light the impact of separation, deportation, and detention within the immigrant community. The author uses a multisite ethnography of children in Phoenix, Arizona and two student cohorts utilizing theater play in Los Angeles, California. Over 300 children's drawings, theater performances, and family interviews were then analyzed in conjunction with the ethnographic observations. In this five-chapter book, along with an introduction and a concluding chapter, Rodriguez Vega leads the reader through the response, resistance, and resilience of immigrant children in the face of fear and discrimination, and illuminates the pathway to hope for these vulnerable populations through the praxis of art and healing.

Chapter one provides a comprehensive overview of the history of migration in the United States. From the early origins of migration from Mexico for seasonal work to post 9/11 security at the southern border, this context is paramount in understanding the national political climate that was the backdrop of this research. Additionally, the author articulates the evolution of policies and legislation in the United States that is necessary for a fuller awareness of the circumstances that immigrant families must navigate. Sheriff Joe Arpaio and President Donald Trump become key figures in this chapter, throughout

the book, and within the artwork of children immigrants in successive chapters. Despite this legal violence, Rodriguez Vega's central thesis is "that young immigrant children are not passive in the face of the challenges presented by US anti-immigrant policies of the last two decades" (10). Analyzing children's artistic expressions in drawing and theater performances and analyzing family interviews provides imperative context to better understand the impacts of legal violence and the "deportation machine" on their well-being and displays how these youth have used art to respond creatively as they attempt to navigate these intense challenges.

With the historical and political backdrop of the first chapter, the reader is equipped to take in the analysis of the narratives and artwork created by immigrant children in the subsequent chapters. The figures included in *Drawing Deportation* are powerful and Rodriguez Vega provides rich accounts and interpretive details to accompany each drawing or written work. The readers are exposed to the devastating impact of legal violence on immigrant children. Fear is a central theme of these works, as the realities of immigrant children include many frightening aspects. The terror of being seized, separated, and abandoned are identified as clear themes within the artwork, and the border wall looms large and is ever-present in the children's minds and art expressions. Also very present in these creative works are authority figures such as police officers, sheriff's deputies, highway patrol, border patrol, and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE).

The author notes that immigrant children are unable to distinguish the differences between these different figures, yet they know how to link these officials with legal violence. The author uses the term legal violence as defined by migration scholars Cecilia Menjivar and Leisy Abrego, who coined the expression to define "the various forms of structural injustices in society that directly or indirectly harm people through the rule of law" (12). Among the artwork presented are drawings that highlight the sadness and helplessness that immigrant children feel when facing this legal violence. For example, a drawing by an immigrant child named Alex depicts two individuals with tears streaming down their faces as they are being arrested by the police (52). Rodriguez Vega also demonstrates through the art media how immigrant children can cope with their feelings, reimagine their circumstances, and invent creative solutions. This is seen in a theatrical performance put on by immigrant children, in which the child portraying Trump has their wig fall off and flees in tears, allowing for the children acting as migrants to cross the border safely (107–108). This passage and many others included in this book demonstrate that immigrant children are not unaffected or neutral when it comes to the legal violence that is omnipresent. Notably, Rodriguez Vega critiques existing scholarship that depicts immigrant children as inactive participants, and the author confirms them instead, as "agents of their own stories, through theater, drawing, and *relajo* (satire), they speak back and reimagine destructive situations in ways that adults sometimes cannot, offering us alternatives and hope" (137).

Rodriguez Vega argues that the way that immigrant children respond and resist this legal violence through their writing, artwork, and theater demonstrates their resiliency. The author defines this practice of artistic expressions as the praxis of art and healing, characterizing this process for immigrant children as transformative. "This methodology

of praxis through art and healing helped the children to create scenarios that would be difficult to imagine. The children moved back and forth through destructive and dehumanizing ideas to embodying peace and possibility” (116). *Drawing Deportation* very convincingly demonstrates that the art-making process provides a means through which immigrant children can navigate stressful political climates, founded fears, and other circumstances they may encounter as an extremely vulnerable population.

Drawing Deportation is written in a way that is compelling and evocative, yet accessible for a broad spectrum of readers. The inclusion of the accounts, artwork, writings, and photographs is emotionally riveting and allows for the readers to see for themselves the toll of legal violence on immigrant children. The interdisciplinary nature of the author’s ethnography in *Drawing Deportation* makes it suitable for a wide range of disciplines and professions. Professionals in the field of child development and psychology will find the inclusion of attachment as a framework in the analyses to be engaging and useful. Within the institution of higher education, this book would be an excellent resource to include in courses that cover topics related to migration, Latinx studies, child development, art education, and beyond. Additionally, Rodriguez Vega hopes that educators who work with immigrant youth will find this book to be helpful in understanding the issues children may be dealing with and how to address their unique needs through the praxis of art and healing. On a broader scale, the author calls for policy makers to reform in immigration policies that enact legal violence on immigrant families.

So long as policies targeting the undocumented exist, immigrant children will suffer as a result of legal violence. As such, art as a practice of healing will become increasingly applicable. In the concluding chapter, the author states that “children of immigrants are the fastest-growing segment of the US child population. By 2040 one in three children will be growing up in an immigrant household” (137). As the number of immigrant children will increase in the coming years, the necessity for the principles of this book will also increase in salience and relevance. Although *Drawing Deportation* may be the book Rodriguez Vega wishes they did not need to write, it is the book immigrant children need us to read.

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DEBORAH PACKER ERICKSON

Elyse Semerdjian, *Remnants: Embodied Archives of the Armenian Genocide*.

Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2023. 398 pp. Hardcover \$125,

ISBN: 9781503630383; Paperback \$32.00, ISBN: 9781503636125; eBook \$24.49,

ISBN: 9781503636132.

Elyse Semerdjian’s *Remnants: Embodied Archives of the Armenian Genocide* is a welcome and powerful addition to recent works taking up more nuanced approaches to gender/sexuality, agency/resistance, and particularly the “body as text” within studies of the Armenian Genocide. Mining memoirs, letters, newspapers, biographies, oral histories, ethnography, photography and film in a half dozen languages, *Remnants* models the best

vein of feminist scholarship and its injunctions to think intersectionally, foreground subaltern voices, undermine traditional archival biases, and generously invite multiple fields into conversation.

The work opens by pairing autoethnography with the unflinching beauty of Loutfie Bilemdjian, a survivor deported, trafficked, and sold between Chechen, Kurdish, and Turkish men from Aintab to Dayr al-Zur, Viranşehir, and Ras al-‘Ayn, from which she finally found her way to Danish humanitarian Karen Jeppe’s Rescue Home in Aleppo (5–6). Structurally, the work unfolds in three parts: “Bodies,” “Skin,” and “Bones.” Part I, “Bodies,” plays on the “body” at the core of the body politic, the body of the archive, and the unraveling and elimination of Armenian bodies (19). Using a biopolitical (and necropolitical) approach, Semerdjian shows how the Ottoman and Turkish states drew on a repertoire of well-established sociocultural practices, such as the child levy of *devshirme* and the harem’s concubinage, to reduce Armenians to “raw human material and surplus labor that could be harvested for the (re)production of the household and, by extension, of the empire” (32). Part II, “Skin,” focuses on the epidermis, beginning with the once infamous tattoos of Armenian survivors’ faces, forearms and hands, breasts, and torsos (20) that marked them as having been integrated into Arab or Kurdish households. Part III, “Bones,” “explores what is left behind” in the “necrogeography of the Syrian desert,” long a site of Armenian pilgrimage and reclamation, as well as the riverbeds, fields, and caverns that became graves for Armenians throughout homelands in Anatolia, Mesopotamia, the Levant, and Caucasus (22).

Semerdjian builds a sophisticated theoretical vocabulary centered on the body as well. She underscores *body horrors* as a deeply political mode of genocidal praxis (49, 52), and presents harrowing accounts of “the carnivalesque atmosphere of rape, murder, and mayhem” (48) unleashed on women, girls, and other *feminized bodies*, itself an important theoretical innovation that includes the male victims of sexual assault and forcible Turkification (20). Similarly, she argues that “fragmented bodies, individual and communal, were disassembled in the process of genocide,” a phenomenon of social and physical death she describes as *dis-memberment* (8). Chronicling the quotidian desecration and putrefaction of bodies in sites such as Dayr al-Zur or Markada, Syria, Semerdjian points to histories of state-sanctioned *necroviolence*, the denial of funerals and mourning (52), alongside Armenians’ pilgrimages to these mass graves, co-producing what she terms *bone memory* (22). Most centrally, Semerdjian “[seeks] to reclaim the concept of *remnants*” from Agamben and witnesses’ use of the Armenian equivalents of *kblyagner*, *pegor*, or *mnatsorats* “as a tool of resistance against post-genocide aphasia” that situates victims within “a *mutilated historicity*” (8). She defines “remnants” as “ciphered bits of information” gleaned from the materiality of the body, which she theorizes as both “an archive of genocide experience that communicates emotional and affective knowledge” and “sites of resistance where the memory of victims are preserved by their descendants” (7). Finally, Semerdjian proposes *prosthetic memory* “to describe the intergenerational and mediated transference of shared memories,” “an embodied practice” that connects survivors’ descendants with our ancestors and shared corporeal matter itself (9).

The strength of this theoretical framework and Semerdjian's substantial original scholarship is to circumvent multiple theoretical, if not methodological, dead-ends in Armenian Genocide Studies, including silences in the archive and survivors' accounts, the impossibility of narrating the genocide's "unfathomable mass violence" (28), and "impulse toward empiricism and genuflection" that "inadvertently grants the perpetrator the power to set the terms of the debate" (258). Semerdjian's feminist intervention resists over-privileging—or fetishizing—national archives at the expense of "perhaps the most obvious source for the history of genocide—the actual bodies of victims" (12). Rather than spill still more ink "to prove that the genocide happened," *Remnants* serves as "a call to set our own terms as survivors, living historical remnants, and embodied archives" (258).

The work succeeds in offering a new vantage point on relatively well-trod figures and objects in Armenian Studies—Zabel Essayan, Karen Jeppe, Aurora Mardiganian's *Ravished Armenia*, and Suzanne Khardalian's *Grandma's Tattoos* (2011). As importantly, its attentive engagement with multiple scholarly genealogies (and skillful précis of late Ottoman realities) make the work accessible, teachable, and generative to an audience far beyond Armenian Studies. As Semerdjian notes, sexual violence is deeply marginalized within Armenian historiography, despite primary sources' overemphasis on sensationalized, sexualized accounts of female victims. These accounts both obscured men as victims and threw Armenian masculinity (and, in turn, national viability) into question in and of themselves. However, Semerdjian's theorization of the "feminized bodies" of genocide points to the need for more serious gendered and queered analysis of the genocide. Similarly, the physical and emotional abuse meted out to Armenians within Turkish orphanages and households, akin to Indian boarding schools in the Americas (as well as those established to Turkify Kurds), merits nuanced and comparative scholarship. At the same time, Serdjenians' original scholarship on Ruben Herian, an Ottoman Armenian emigré who returned to the Middle East to reclaim Armenians from Arab, Turkish, and Kurdish homes complements Khatchig Mouradian's recent work on Armenian resistance, just as her attention to male compassion in embracing and reintegrating the feminized victims of sexual assault points to exciting future directions in research (66).¹

Semerdjian cites estimates that as many as 10 percent of rescued Armenians bore tattoos (149), a fact readily sensationalized in tabloids such as *The Slave Market News* that used this indelible marking to raise relief funds (88). Semerdjian situates this tattooing within a genealogy of "wounded whiteness," particularly the celebrity of Olive Oatman, a white American taken captive, traded, and subsequently integrated into Mohave society (165), the bare-breasted ethnographical photography of North African women, and harrowing image of Whipped Peter's scarred back that stood as a testament to the brutality of US slavery (208). This expansive historicization situates Armenian survivors' visuality within a diverse discursive field and the polysemous racial meanings and racecraft embodied therein. Moreover, as scholars such as Nell Irvin Painter and Eric Arnesen have

1. Khatchig Mouradian, *The Resistance Network: The Armenian Genocide and Humanitarianism in Ottoman Syria, 1915-1918*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2021.

noted, a fundamental failing of critical whiteness studies has been its inability to actually define whiteness, and Semerdjian's work demonstrates the need for a more robust and deconstructive approach to turn of the century race science, in which the "Armenoid" racial type was understood as the archetypal genetic substrate of the Near/Middle East. As Semerdjian implicitly underscores in chapter six, press events for the film *Ravished Armenia* relied on the fungibility of "Middle Eastern" female bodies. Attention to the historically variegated typology of race would allow for an even richer theorization of these images, as well as the enduring absorption of North Africa, the Middle East, and much of Central Asia within juridical "Whiteness."

In a related vein, *Remnants*' attention to Armenian bodies throughout the MENA region, assimilated and otherwise, makes space for ongoing negotiations of identity, statecraft, and memory, echoed in the work of scholars such as Lerna Ekmekçioğlu, Hakem Al-Rustom, Hrag Papazian, and Avedis Hadjian. Semerdjian joins Hazal Havalut in noting the ethical failure of Turkish feminist Halide Edib, who both oversaw the forcible Turkification of Armenians as supervisor of Aintoura Orphanage in Lebanon, and articulated nationalist propaganda that Armenians had perpetrated atrocities against Muslims, expropriated children, and represented a broader existential threat (108, 178).² Semerdjian also reaffirms Talin Suciyan and Nora Tataryan in cautioning against the emancipatory promise of recent Turkish discourse on Armenian grandmothers, which has been coopted as a kind of romanticized and depoliticized mode of denialism akin to what Vine Deloria Jr. labeled the "Indian Grandmother Complex" (284–285, 14).³ By highlighting these phenomena, as well as Bedouin women who may celebrate Armenian ancestry, Semerdjian suggests the possibility of affective histories that integrate the perpetrators of genocide, indigenous witnesses, and even those who have only belatedly come to know or acknowledge Armenian ancestry. On this front, future scholarship might deepen this destabilizing approach to deconstruct ethno-nationalist categories such as "Arab," "Armenian," and "Turkish" that have been subject to intense contestation.

Somewhat inevitably, *Remnants* engages scholarship on the Holocaust, which has cynically been mobilized as the only metric against which all genocides are measured—despite the Armenian Genocide's prefiguring this tragedy and pivotal role in the very genesis of "genocide" as a concept. Semerdjian rightfully notes, however, that the vast "Armenian necrogeography of the Syrian desert" is "nothing like Auschwitz" (228, 243) in that the latter is a national museum contextualized by robust public and statist memorialization. In contrast, this vast Armenian "deathscape" (229) has recently endured Israeli bombings (260), the destruction of Dayr al-Zur's Armenian Genocide Memorial Museum and the Holy Martyrs Church (likely by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), and

2. Hazal Halavut, "Loss, Lament and Lost Witnessing: Halide Edib on 'Being a Memory of the Party Who Killed' Armenians," *Journal of Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 8, no. 2 (2021): 313–318.

3. Vine Deloria, *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. New York: Macmillan, 1969, 26; Nora Tataryan Aslan, "Facing the Past: Aesthetic Possibility and the Image of 'Super-Survivor,'" *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 7, no. 3 (November 2021): 359–360; Talin Suciyan, *The Armenians in Modern Turkey: Post-Genocide Politics and History*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2017, 22–25.

the Assad regime's censorship of genocide remembrance as a result of warming diplomatic and economic relations with Turkey (259).

On an urgent level, Semerdjian's work offers timely commentary on the recent ethnic cleansing of Armenians from Nagorno-Karabagh, and the ongoing destruction of Armenian material remnants in Turkey and Azerbaijan, particularly Nakhichevan and Artsakh. Semerdjian's work, like that of Christina Maranci and Simon Maghakyan, lays the foundation for a new materialist, if not object-oriented ontology, of Armenian monuments, objects, and organic matter throughout the MENA region. Semerdjian, however, reaches beyond methodological nationalism to link the atrocity of the Armenian Genocide with ISIS' murder of not just Armenians, but also Yazidi, Kurds, and Arabs in Northern Syria (238, 282). Even more expansively, she points out that imminent climate catastrophe, a cause of particular concern in the Middle East, will transform the particularity of genocide into a far more universal "omnicide" in which we are all implicated.

As Turkish, Azeri, Israeli, and American propaganda machines churn out denialist apologia for the unending charnel house of settler colonialism across the region, Serdjian's work offers a critical and, ultimately, hopeful corrective. Blurring the porous boundary between the living and the dead, the past and the present, *Remnants* underscores the imperative of confronting the mutually reinforcing forces of ethnonationalism, historical perversion, and imminent climate apocalypse that demand we find better ways to remember and exist together.

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