

FEMINIST ACTIVIST ETHNOGRAPHY:
COUNTERPOINTS TO NEOLIBERALISM IN NORTH AMERICA

Edited by

Christa Draven and Dána-Ain Davis

Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013. 279 pp. Hardcover and ebook.

ISBN 978-0-7391-7636-8

Reviewed by

Ruth Fitzgerald, University of Otago

This edited collection of writings by feminist activists working primarily in the US and Canada is a welcome addition to activist studies in the fields of anthropology, politics, and feminist and gender studies. Strongly methodological in its focus, the book's chapters explore the conundrums, opportunities and challenges that decades of neoliberal ideologies espousing individualised and consumption-based paths to full citizenship rights present to feminist activist ethnographers.

The book deals with the ethics, relevance and disruptive possibilities of such a feminist activist ethnography within three different sections, each followed by a short reflective piece that provides a commentary on shared epistemological issues revealed in the preceding chapters. In addition, readers will find helpful background definitions of neoliberalism peppered throughout the collection, an overview of feminist activist ethnography in the introduction and an insightful foreword by Faye V. Harrison that locates primarily US-based feminist activist ethnography within 20th and 21st century feminisms. This generously referenced background material, along with a well-constructed index and a carefully assembled bibliography, makes the collection particularly appropriate as an undergraduate text.

In the book's first section, the authors explore whether it is still possible to adhere to feminist ideals of deep rapport with one's participants when working within a neoliberal social context. For example, the chapter by Davis explores the author's surprise at being positioned by several participants as a likely source of helpful influence with higher authorities in the participants' efforts

to find affordable welfare housing. This sparks a reflection on how the seeking out of such patronage from the ethnographer can be understood as a form of government mandated 'self help' similar to the narratives reflected in popular culture through various talkshow formats in which the contestant can win a prize for telling the most riveting personal tragedy. The author's discomfort with intimacy in this chapter is about it being used in ways not of her own making.

The chapter by Anglin is a searing account of the deep rapport between researcher and researched in the area of breast cancer activism. Anglin reflects on the obligations and commitments that are required for shared fieldwork in an area where participants are dying as you are researching with them. In the end she argues for the need for a theory of accountability in feminist activist ethnography, rather than merely deep rapport, in order to respond to the embodied rather than abstractedly theorised predicament of terminal cancer in a shrinking welfare state when 'first class' treatments are not equally available to all and the uninsured must rely on doctors' drug samples or go without. The equally strong chapter by Wies reflects on her study of shelters for survivors of domestic violence in Virginia. In this example, the neoliberal strategies of credentialisation and boundary-making, or what feminists have called NGO-isation of workers in the women's refuge movement, has had the paradoxical effect on support workers of pushing them away from the strategy of women assisting other women that the refuge movement was built on. The predicament creates almost a caricature of what the movement once was, as suggested in a quote from a professional helper (advocate):

The advocates today are educated, bright people who have gotten to go to college.... And the residents today are not like us, whereas in the past the advocates were the residents. (62)

Weis walks her readers along the ethical highwire bridging open criticism of the advocates' views on the one side and recognition of the sincerity of their wish to help other women on the other, in order to assert that presumptions of intimacy based on shared wishes for activism require careful feminist analysis and deconstruction. Intimacy in feminist methodologies, these chapters persuade us, is (in neoliberalised times) certainly not what it used to be.

The second section provides counter-narratives to three topics usually framed as liberatory experiences – namely GLTBQ marriages, activism for increased access to midwife-assisted birthing, and work as a feminist activist within a New York-based human rights agency. In all three examples a background

social situation of job scarcity, downward mobility and increased responsabilisation of all citizens creates tensions in what might have been life-affirming activist agendas of social justice. In the chapter by Marzullo, people in the liberal village of New Paltz, New York unquestioningly invert the traditional sequence of schooling to marriage then career and children, in order to place marriage as an optional final social rite of passage. This is all accomplished by the internalisation of the need to personally manage most efficaciously one's life resources, which now turn out to include one's marriage partner and their financial and class status. In the study of midwifery activism (the strongest paper in this section), Craven argues that it is the reframing of citizenship rights as acts of consumption and choice that mask the lack of choice for some women to opt for expensive midwifery in poor and rural areas of Virginia. In the final chapter of this section, it is the neoliberal tools of managerialism and responsabilised citizenship that create the workday oppression of stressed, oppressed and underpaid interns within the New York NGO in which the internal working environment is at complete odds with its external reputation for promoting human rights. All three chapters interrogate the complex allegiances and ethnographic responsibilities of activist fieldworkers who uncover unsafe practices within the movements whose aims they wish to promote. These dilemmas, they argue, are entwined with the social background of neoliberalism rather than that of the social agents.

In the final section, the editors provide us with some effective tools that have proved their analytical value even in neoliberal times. López, for example, writes with clarity and passion on the value of a longitudinal integral methodology in developing a nuanced understanding of Puerto Rican women's very high uptake of sterilisation as a contraceptive. The integral approach she has developed links 'research, advocacy and social justice in a coherent vision and framework' (163) and is well suited for the study of complex and multidimensional phenomena. Cox, in another strong chapter, proposes methodologies that embrace experiential and embodied ways of knowing as a means of countering stigmatising discourses around the topic of young black sexuality in urban locales. The remaining chapters assess the strengths and challenges for contemporary feminist activists of issues such as consumer-based activism (Steager) and ethical review boards (Chin).

This is a good collection, useful for teaching, and only slightly marred by the decision to subtitle the work with the geographical location of North America when the ethnographic material is instead the United States and Canada, exclusive of Mexico. The other little grumble is the surprisingly small font chosen for the main body of the text which is quite difficult to read and, in the first

half of the book, contains occasional lines erroneously laid out in even smaller font; but my recommendation is to buy this book and teach a new generation of activists with it.

COMMON GROUND: DEMOCRACY AND COLLECTIVITY
IN AN AGE OF INDIVIDUALISM

by Jeremy Gilbert

London: Pluto Press, 2014.

Reviewed by

Emily Beausoleil, Massey University

HORIZONTALITY AS DEMOCRATIC HORIZON: PRACTISING THE MULTITUDE

In *Common Ground: Democracy and Collectivity in an Age of Individualism*, Jeremy Gilbert diagnoses the crisis of contemporary democracy in innovative terms, and seeks to change it in practical ones. Its discussion of the failure of Fordist political institutions in post-Fordist societies and the impact of neoliberalism on democratic institutions and practices is familiar; what is distinct here is his creative harnessing of a varied, productive, but often highly abstracted range of conceptual vocabularies into the language and context of concrete democratic practice. As a result, we gain not only a far more nuanced understanding of the *demos* but also an analytic frame that presses up against and illuminates the granular realities of some of the greatest challenges and promising developments in contemporary democratic life.

Along with Derrida, LeFort, Mouffe, Connolly, and countless other radical democrats, Gilbert defines democracy as an unfinished project to facilitate the expression of the 'full complexity [of social relations] and the creative possibilities which this entails' (130). Democracy is distinct from other systems precisely because it acknowledges and makes room for undecidability, contestation, and future reimagining even as it entails necessary moments of consolidation, stabilisation, and decision-making. And yet, existing forms of democratic practice – within institutions as well as civil society – lose sight of this fundamental principle and horizon of democracy: 'post-democracy' is characterised, on the one hand, by the failure of minor movements to organise and intensify in ways that break through to the political field (119); while on the other, the 'apparatus of capture' in neoliberal democracies suppresses and

regulates such radical and creative energies by the twin strategies of individualisation and hierarchisation (160–3). These twin strategies explain, for Gilbert, the simultaneous liberalisation of social and economic activity and weakening of public life and democratic capacities within it (47).

This crisis, Gilbert argues, is due to a basic misunderstanding regarding what it means to form a collective. Whether in liberalism's primacy of the competitive individual and attendant notion of society as an artifice held fast only by virtue of a powerful authority, Freud and Le Bon's suspicion of the crowd as irrational and fascist by nature, or identity politics' mobilisation of highly stable and homogenous groups via established leadership, Gilbert identifies a persistent thematisation of the collective that presumes the primacy of the individual. This Gilbert calls 'Leviathan logic', which in emphasising the 'molar' or 'arborescent' over the 'molecular' can only envision collectivity akin to an aggregate of individuals or a 'meta-individual' of monolithic coherence. This not only encourages cohesion and centralised authority – the need for collectives to speak with one clear voice if they are to speak at all – but also prevents democratic movements, subcultural practices and countless diffuse energies that take 'molecular' form from resonating in civil society and institutions; it prevents the recognition and amplification of such expressions of creative collectivity.

For Gilbert, to take the atomistic individual as the basic unit of social life at once overlooks the inherent relationality of subjectivity, and exacerbates forms of collectivity that are ultimately ineffective in realising democracy's promise. Indeed, such a model of the collective works dangerously well with neoliberalism's defining moves to at once individualise and hierarchically organise the multitude; certainly, the very inability to address the pressures and effects of neoliberalism are due in part to the infiltration of such logics into the very ways we understand and enact forms of collectivity. Gilbert seeks to correct this historical emphasis on vertical and cohesive models of collectivity, with his alternative account of the multitude as 'infinite relationality'. Such infinite relationality – what Arendt calls 'boundless action' and Hardt and Negri call the creative agency of the multitude – far more accurately captures the dynamism and horizontality of the *demos*, and in doing so reframes the problematic of individual-versus-collective at its root.

This is because when the social – and subjectivities within it – are understood as always-already relational, 'individual' identities or projects (what Gilbert quite rightly prefers, with Simondon, to call 'individuation') only emerge from this wider, inexhaustible and dynamic field of relations. If we are at core re-

lational – if even our most ‘molar’ identities and institutions are assemblages – the gap between self and other, the encounter between the individual and social, is not construed as lack to be filled or clash to be mitigated so much as what opens the subject to new and unpredictable forms of becoming and affiliation (123). Agency is conceived no longer as the property of individuals so much as emergent from complex and dynamic relations (132); decision-making is not the result of independent will but arises through a ‘space of decision’ indebted and inextricable from such relations (201). Here Gilbert joins Butler (2012), Connolly (1991) and others in observing that the source of so much anxiety in contemporary politics is largely misplaced, for relationality and interdependence are the very precondition of politics. In Edward Said’s terms, ‘survival in fact is about connections between things’ (1993, 407).

Gilbert makes this theoretical move by tracing through-lines across psychoanalysis, cultural and political theory, affect scholarship, and vivid cases of democratic practice. In contrast to liberalism’s ‘Leviathan logic’ of individual sovereignty, Gilbert draws on Spinoza, Marx, Laclau and Mouffe, and Hardt and Negri to refocus attention on the democratic principle of collective sovereignty. In contrast to Freud and Le Bon’s inability to conceive of transversal relations with anything more than suspicion, he offers via Simondon, Arendt, Nancy, Derrida, Levinas, and Deleuze and Guattari a model of the collective wherein ‘transindividuality’ is understood as the general condition of creative possibility (111). And through each of these articulations, what becomes clear is both the necessarily *incomplete and contingent* nature of such constellations, and the *horizontal* means through which they form. This stands in stark contrast to the liberal legacy that still dominates political thought and practice: neither guarantee of identity nor final totality define the collective, but merely an amplification of an inexhaustible network of relations; not absolute authority but dynamic lateral relations hold us together.

To make the latter case, Gilbert turns to affect theory in particular, which offers a model of affiliation that is radically different from conventional understandings of what binds us. Rather than a shared identity or even shared purpose, what sustains collectives is the ‘affective-emotional’ (143) – what Raymond Williams calls ‘structures of feeling’ and Lawrence Grossberg calls ‘affective alliance’ (151-2). Not all ‘affective alliances’ are conducive to democratic politics, of course: the very undecidability of democratic life provokes both an intensification of fundamentalisms and the possibility of transformation. For this reason Gilbert notes the importance of cultivating ‘wonder’ or ‘joyous affect’ to sustaining a progressive politics (187), an insight also proposed in Amin and

Thriff's recent *Arts of the Political* (2013) and one that is long overdue in a leftist politics that lags behind the right in the effective mobilisation of affect. What remains unclear here is precisely *how* we cultivate the 'wonder' that radical democracy requires.

Despite the challenges of translating such theorisations of the collective into practical terms, Gilbert does not shy away from addressing many of them: the question of agency in the absence of individual autonomy; the question of collective decision-making in an inherently heterogeneous and relational field; and the question of institutional design to enable responsiveness to continual provocation and future reworking of social life. Moreover, he continually connects these often esoteric concepts to real-world cases to reveal that such a politics of horizontality is not only theoretically possible, but enacted throughout the world: from Occupy and Indignados' unification through a commitment to participatory and egalitarian practices rather than precise demands, to the World Social Forum's emphasis on consensus rather than voting and use of hand signals to enable spontaneous equal voice in deliberations, to the decentralised and leaderless networks of the women's movement, he cites exciting examples of collectivity that work effectively in the absence of hierarchy and homogeneity. From postmodern relational art to dance party culture to Burning Man, he examines the crucial practical dimensions that make such 'possible worlds' politically salient and impactful.

Perhaps most practically, he highlights the importance of connections between interventions, including collaboration between the most 'molar' and mainstream of institutions and such 'molecular' movements. Here, again, is Gilbert's sensitivity to the fact that democracy is not merely a project of sheer proliferation of possibilities, but their 'strategic coordination' (202) and stabilisation even as these constellations must leave room for future reconfiguration. This is the twin-fold and ever-incomplete task of democracy – an ongoing praxis of 'torsion' (Connolly 1991) between molecular and molar, between vertical and horizontal forms of relation.

Both are integral to any form of collective; it is the Western bias towards the former that has led to misconceptions of both individual and collective, and the relations between. What this demands, for Gilbert, is the expansion and proliferation of domains of participatory and horizontal politics that cultivate a sensitivity to infinite relationality – models of sociality that this book artfully theorises to help readers, whether theorists or political actors, visualise as possible, viable, and politically vital.

REFERENCES

- Amin, Ash, and Nigel Thrift. 2013. *Arts of the Political: New Openings for the Left*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Butler, Judith. 2006. *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. London: Verso.
- Connolly, William. 1991. *Identity/Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Said, Edward. 1993. *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Chatto & Windus.

MATTERS OF THE HEART: A HISTORY OF INTERRACIAL
MARRIAGE IN NEW ZEALAND

by Angela Wanhalla

Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013. pp. i–xx, 231.

ISBN 9781869407315

Reviewed by

Spencer C. Lilley, Massey University

Were relationships between Māori and non-Māori really matters of the heart? Or were they convenient arrangements for lonely European men? Perhaps they were a strategic move on the part of non-Māori to acquire land or a way for hapū or iwi to secure themselves a Pākehā who could help them secure a trade advantage? The stories uncovered by Wanhalla suggest that all these scenarios were in play, particularly in the early years of European settlement and colonisation.

Like many others in New Zealand, this book could have easily been about my own family connections. My whakapapa has Māori ancestry at every layer, which occasionally is richly supplemented by other ancestors who come from other ethnic origins. These include my maternal great-grandfather, Major Colin McKenzie Taylor (English) who came to New Zealand during the nineteenth-century land wars as an officer in the Armed Constabulary. Late in his life, he married my great-grandmother, Madgeline Ratahi Maning, who herself was descended from the author of *Old New Zealand* (1863) and *Native Land*

Court Judge, Frederick Maning (Irish), who had 'married' Moengaroa of Te Hikutu in the late 1830s and proudly identified himself as a Pākehā-Māori. My grandmother, Charlotte Taylor, married Francis Xavier MacFarland (Samoan), who despite having a strongly European name, was in fact descended from the Malietoa lineage, which had been combined with a Scottish bloodline, with a streak of German thrown in for good measure. Finally my own birth came about through an association between my biological parents, which combined the previously mentioned lines with further input from an English birth-father. Similar stories exist in my adopted family, with my adoptive parents being Māori on my mother's side and my father being English, who migrated to New Zealand in 1952, having met my mother on a previous visit as a merchant seaman. Needless to say, when it comes to choosing ethnic identities in the census, I feel at times that a box that gives you an option of 'All of the above' or 'It's complicated' would be more than helpful to me and many others with a similar mix of ancestries.

Angela Wanhalla has explored the concept of what constitutes marriage and inter-marriage from the 1770s through to the 1970s. As can be expected, particularly in the earlier period, when there was an absence of missionary influence, inter-racial relationships were largely transaction-based or matters of convenience rather than what would be construed as a 'love-match'. Māori had always used relationships as a strategic ploy for the purposes of strengthening ties between hapū or iwi, whether this was aligned to combining warriors for battle against a common enemy, or to cement reciprocal arrangements relating to resource exchange or gathering. The author illustrates that the arrival of European explorers and subsequent traders, whalers, sealers and settlers took this reciprocity to a whole new level, as iron, clothing and muskets became the objects of desire. Wanhalla highlights some of these transactions as being brief in nature, but rather than typecasting them as acts of prostitution or as demonstrable acts of promiscuity, she identifies them as monogamous forms of temporary marriage, lasting for as long as the ship or the man was present. However, just as many settlers, like Frederick Maning, demonstrated that most of those who chose to live amongst Māori were happily committed to their Māori partners. Not much is known about Moengaroa as, even though Maning was a prolific writer, the books and letters he left behind do not provide information about her, apart from her grief at the loss of her brother Hauraki in the 1845 war.

The faithfulness of Māori women to their 'betrothed' is emphasised by Wanhalla, with any hints of polygamy coming from the men themselves, some of whom had left wives and families back in England. Colonial explorer and

artist George French Angas came across a 'Pākehā Māori' who had at least six wives and had adopted all the habits and manners of the Māori people (16). Polygamy was certainly practised by George Thomas Wilkinson, a government Native Officer, who had relationships with three different women (102–103), with two of them living with him and a third bearing him children. All three women occasionally socialised together, which was seen as necessary as all their children were brought up in the Wilkinson home in Ōtorohanga.

The book is also an interesting commentary on assimilation and civilisation efforts by missionaries and officialdom, where it was thought that inter-racial marriage was another means, along with native schools and the Native Land Court, of changing the status of Māori. Marriage would enable educated and economically independent European men to have a positive influence on their inferior Māori wives, thus enabling them to take on their husbands' social and economic status (96). However, the marriage of Māori men to European women was generally discouraged, although some support might have been given if the European wife was well educated and socially respectable and the man had indicated his desire to be assimilated into settler culture, by living separately from his community, having an interest in higher education and adopting social codes of European society, including dress, religion and modes of property ownership.

Of course marriage in the 21st century has since progressed again, from the development of civil unions in 2004 and then same sex marriages in 2013. At the same time, marriages in New Zealand are falling in number, leading to more children born out of wedlock. Although this period is not covered by *Wanhalla*, it will no doubt be a highly desirable topic for future research. Already it is possible to see from census data (Statistics New Zealand, 2014) that there is an increasing complexity to the ethnic identities expressed by those in the younger age structures of our population, demonstrated by the large number of Māori children also identifying with other ethnic groups (across a broad range of Pacific, Asian and European ethnicities), with these numbers continuing to rise at each census. This trend is backed by recent research by Didham and Callister (2014), which confirms the increasing ethnic complexity of family structures in New Zealand, particularly in Māori and Pacific households where multiple ethnic affiliations are indicated amongst the occupants. Perhaps this is an indication that interracial marriage has evolved to a level where it has become the norm of our society, rather than the exception. I certainly think so.

REFERENCES

Didham, Robert, and Paul Callister. 2014. 'Ethnic Inter-marriage: A Brief Update'. <http://callister.co.nz/ethnic-intermarriage-in-new-zealand-2013.pdf>

Statistics New Zealand. 2014. 'Quick Stats about Culture and Identity'. <http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-culture-identity.aspx>

THE FOURTH EYE: MAORI MEDIA IN AOTEAROA

Edited by

Brendan Hokowhitu and Vijay Devadas

Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2013. 251 pp.

Reviewed by

Alice Te Punga Somerville

Department of Indigenous Studies, Macquarie University

Reading collections of essays can feel like listening to someone else's playlist on 'shuffle', or watching a conference panel where presenters smugly speak as if they're the only ones in the room to have had such thoughts, but *The Fourth Eye: Maori Media in New Zealand* feels like an invitation to participate in a conversation. Edited by two scholars whose work engages media from two disciplinary (or at least departmental) locations – Brendan Hokowhitu in Indigenous Studies and Vijay Devadas in Media Studies – the collection brings together scholarly perspectives from a range of disciplinary spaces and backgrounds. The book is structured in three parts: five chapters in 'Mediated Indigeneity' explore non-Indigenous representations of 'the Indigenous Other'; 'Indigenous Media' presents four starting points for thinking about media texts produced by Māori people; and a final section includes three chapters about the complex and iconic Māori Television Service. This tripartite arrangement provides room to talk variously about the discursive, textual and institutional dimensions of Māori media.

What is the fourth eye (and what happened to the other three)? The answer to this question signals the conceptual underpinning and significance of the collection. The co-editors' lucid co-written introductory chapter explains that the title of the book refers to *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema and Ethnographic*

Spectacle (1996), in which Fatimah Tobing Rony built on African American scholar W.E.B. Du Bois's concept of double consciousness, in which an individual represented through a particular (marginalising) gaze simultaneously looks through their own eyes as well as through the eyes of the one they know is looking at them: 'this sense of always looking at oneself through the eyes of others' (1903, 2-3). Rony's third eye is the 'racially charged glance [that can] induce one to see the very process which creates the internal splitting, to witness the conditions which give rise to the double consciousness' (1996, 4). However, Hokowhitu and Devadas recognise the three eyes already in play reinforce the idea that the central act of (mis)representation is necessarily outsider and marginalising rather than insider; 'it does not take into account the tactical use of the media by Indigenous communities or the creative potentials that are possible' (xvi). The fourth eye, they suggest, gives us room to think not only about marginalising representation (as treated in the first part 'Mediated Indigeneity') but also about Indigenous production of representation itself, as explored in the second and third sections of the book.

It is refreshing and invigorating to see the range of disciplinary and theoretical approaches to media. Some chapters are analytical while others are more theoretical and productively descriptive. Significantly, the range of media forms explored in *The Fourth Eye* is not limited to recent or contemporary texts or institutions: Lachy Paterson contributes a thoughtful piece about the significance of the Kingitanga newspaper *Te Hokioi*; Suzanne Duncan's chapter on advertising aimed at Māori consumers includes the mid-twentieth century *Te Ao Hou* and the 1980s *Tū Tangata* in its scope; Chris Prentice traces a genealogy of Māori Television Service through legislative, social, cultural and media history before its launch in 2004. Specific media texts are carefully treated by scholars from various disciplinary locations: *Rain of the Children* by Jay Scherer and Hokowhitu, *Te Rua* by April Strickland, reality TV by Jo Smith and Joost de Bruin. Because the range of disciplinary approaches is wide, specific media texts that are rendered newly readable within the context of the framing conversation about Indigenous media, might also be profitably read for other explorations. So, for example, Allen Meek's chapter on media reporting of child abuse or Sue Abel's chapter on Māori Television's ANZAC Day broadcasting, contribute not only to the present conversation about Māori media but also potentially to conversations about racism, family violence, class, genocide and NZ politics, or about nationalism, militarism, the ANZAC myth, biculturalism, nostalgia and memory respectively. Barry Barclay's work is ever present; two chapters focus on his film *Te Rua* (Strickland) and his concept of 'fourth cinema' (Stephen Turner), and along with Merata Mita he is one of the people to whom the book is dedicated.

The ‘fourth eye’ of Hokowhitu and Devadas and ‘fourth cinema’ of Barclay are joined by another ‘fourth’ – the Fourth World is a widely used term to refer to Indigenous nations whose territories are overlaid by the borders of (usually first world) states. That *The Fourth Eye* has been published by University of Minnesota Press signals the intention and possibility of thinking about Māori media in relation to indigeneity rather than – or at least as well as – nationalism; this book demonstrates through its subject matter, context of publication, and collective scholarly bookshelf, the kinds of conversations that can be had about Māori media – indeed, about Māori – when they are not just a subset or dimension of New Zealand. Given the ways in which Māori media have often been treated in relation to New Zealand and settler nationalism, this deliberate siting of the book within Indigenous terms is a political as well as intellectual move. Indeed, the genesis of Barclay’s now iconic Māori-centred book *Our Own Image* (1990) was his relationships with other Indigenous people; it is written ‘for’ Aboriginal leader Leonard George in Vancouver and he also discusses his experiences in other Indigenous contexts. For Barclay, for Mita (who lived and worked for years in Hawai’i) and for Hokowhitu and Devadas, Indigeneity is an obvious, stimulating and productive starting point for an exploration of Māori worlds, but also reciprocally of Indigenous worlds.

Of course any collection is uneven, both in the handling of subject matter and in the analytical, theoretical and rhetorical skill of contributors. Certainly any reader will finish this book and think about further chapters that could be added: more about radio, more about newspapers, more about social media, more about media technologies, more about Indigenous language, more about Māori media beyond New Zealand’s border, more about performance and bodies, more about music, more about archives, more about links between Māori and other Others ... the list could go on. But, the thing about *The Fourth Eye* is that the list really can go on, because there is no claim that the book delineates the full extent of the conversation. Instead, one reads and then wants to contribute to the discussion.

So should you buy the book, or just check it out of the library? In my view, this is one for the personal scholarly bookshelf for anyone whose work engages media (broadly defined), Indigenous Studies, representation, Māori textual histories, and more. Several of the individual essays are, as my students might say, keepers: having read them now, I will return to them over and over for the purposes of my own research, for preparation of teaching materials, and for referral for supervision students and colleagues. I suspect – and suggest – that Hokowhitu’s chapter ‘Theorizing Indigenous Media’ will become standard reading for students and scholars engaged in Media Studies or Māori Studies. I

will keep this book on my shelf and I can imagine myself in the future picking it up and thumbing through the pages, while I mumble 'I'm sure there's something about that in here' to colleagues and students (and, yes, maybe to myself).

REFERENCES

Du Bois, W.E.B. 1903. *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: Dover Publications.

Rony, Fatimah Tobing. 1996. *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema and Ethnographic Spectacle*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.