created a discourse that ultimately reproduced it. She cites a 2007 report on the welfare of children in the Northern Territory, "Little Children Are Sacred," which prompted forceful intervention and policing of indigenous communities. "The trope of the suffering child," she writes, functioned "to legitimate intervention as well as reconciliation" and was readily appropriated into Australia's neo-colonialist "campaigns to 'manage' indigeneity" (164). Discussing biographies of Dian Fossey alongside accounts of conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Whitlock exposes the historical failure of humanitarian campaigns to address rape and rape warfare: in the history of humanitarian work, some things have been speakable and others have not. Just so, in her concluding studies focusing upon refugee narratives, Whitlock uses the work of Edwidge Danticat and others to dramatize how the global infrastructure of human rights and humanitarianism has turned the refugee into a narratable identity only through restrictions and exclusions. "Asylum-seekers must master the codes and conventions of the acceptable narrative in the performance of their testimony," she explains. "They are required to match their subjective life experiences to the objective parameters of asylum policy to achieve credibility within the asylum determination procedure" (182).

As Whitlock emphasizes, the work of rights writing is the work of exposure. We shine a light on atrocities when they are happening to motivate international actors to intervene. We detail and record atrocities from the near past to aid the work of truth and reconciliation, and from the deeper past to defend the integrity of survivor and cultural memory. Silence, as it has been argued in genocide studies, is a kind of second death. But if trauma demands representation in this way, it also resists representation. It is difficult to tell stories of sensational atrocities without crossing the line into sensationalism. And if survivors of atrocity are injured by denial and silence, they are also injured by being turned into commodity artifacts for a global emotional market of human rights voyeurs. Whitlock's new study is an important contribution to scholarly and activist work that seeks to guard against the harms that come from blindness to these moral risks.

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Refugees of the Revolution: Experiences of Palestinian Exile

Diana Allan
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In 2002, anthropologist Diana Allan embarked upon a project to establish an archive of filmed testimonies of first-generation Palestinian refugees living in the Shatila refugee camp in Lebanon. However, during the recording of the stories another narrative emerged, which changed the course of her research and led to *Refugees of the Revolution: Experiences of Palestinian Exile*. Allan identified a stark discrepancy between the nationalist meta-narratives of belonging and return being produced in formal interviews for the archive, and the micro-narratives of daily struggle and resistance that emerged in casual, everyday exchanges. After three years in the camp, she arrived at her core assertion: that refugees in Shatila should not be seen primarily as living symbols of the Palestinian struggle, nor should their experiences be understood solely through the lens of national attachment. Rather, their identity is constituted daily through the local, material worlds they inhabit.

Allan's phenomenological study contributes to the narrative turn in forced migration research, placing refugee narratives at its heart. By combining ethnographic observations with quotations from informal interactions and formal narrative interviews, she reveals that daily life in the camp constitutes a struggle that is economic and existential, as well as political. The ten photographs included in the book, by Shatila photographer Hisham Ghuzlan, offer further insight into camp life through visual narrative. Allan brings the book to life with narrative extracts, which provide a window on poignant dramas unfolding daily in the camp. As a result, the fates of individual characters—such as businesswoman Fatima, who lives alone and wears short skirts in defiance of convention, or teacher Fatih, who leaves the camp to seek asylum in the United Kingdom and suffers the dehumanizing indignity of X-rays and fingerprinting at Heathrow—matter to the reader.

Rather than the meta-narratives of homeland, al Nakba, and the right of return that have emerged in previous research into Palestinian experience, the central chapters of this book focus on pragmatic responses to the challenges of camp life. These are the quotidian issues of immediate and pressing concern, what Ulrich Beck (1994) calls "sub

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politics."[1] However, Allan is at pains to illustrate the ways in which Shatilla is home for those who live in it—for many the only home they have known—and should not be portrayed as limbo or a place of transition. For this reason, the book contributes to debates on the meaning of home, as well as those on the nature of belonging and identity.

The chapter "Economic Subjectivity and Everyday Solidarities" details how refugees tackle economic hardship now that the village committees, which once provided assistance, have dwindled. In some cases, this amounts to "reluctant reciprocity" as the obligations of kinship are tested. At other times, neighbours provide a safety net, whilst the more recent development of savings associations allow women, in particular, to mobilize resources. Chapter 3 outlines the widespread practice of "stealing power" as refugees tap into electricity supplies from outside Shatila. Allan sees the refugees as "pragmatic opportunists," as they respond to their historic marginalization by the Lebanese government by asserting their right to essential resources. This brings to mind Peter Loizos's suggestion that refugees often prove themselves to be adept "social capitalists," producing social capital out of the disruption of exile.[2]

"Dream Talk, Futurity, and Hope" is an innovative chapter that explores the role dreams play in the lives of camp residents, especially women, referring to the collective practice of recounting and interpreting dreams as a socially embedded ritual. Allan is aware that dreams are seen as "murky" and "unverifiable" and, therefore, usually ignored in research. Indeed, she confesses to initially dismissing them herself. However, Katherine Ewing's (1994)[3] criticism of the rational skepticism that lies at the heart of anthropology led her to reassess dream talk as another form of pragmatism—a "pragmatics of hope" that allowed the refugees to root themselves in futurity. This suspicion of irrationality is mirrored by the suspicion of narratives as a focus for forced migration research, due to their slippery and subjective nature (Taylor 2013[4]). Yet Allan's book makes a solid case for using narrative to gain a more nuanced understanding of the lived experience of exile.

In "Futures Elsewhere," Allan confronts the uncomfortable truth that, for many in Shatila, emigration is replacing return as an aspiration. A striking image of the frustration felt by unemployed young men is seen in their collective activity of pigeon flying on the rooftops, as they discuss the possibility of emigration, representing both metaphorical and actual escape. Allan sees their "emigration talk" as dream talk's counterpart, allowing them to imagine what lies beyond the camp. Detailing the perilous attempts of some refugees to get to Europe, she weighs up the cost of emigration for the individual and for those they leave behind, but recognizes emigration as one of the few ways of regaining agency.

Allan makes no claims for scientific detachment and it is evident that her subject matters a great deal to her. *Refugees of the Revolution* is as much about the process of conducting "activist research" and the challenges of showing solidarity whilst engaging in an academic endeavour, as it is about the realities under investigation. Indeed, it is her fear that by privileging the narratives of "national truths" in constructing the archive, she was "implicated in the structural forgetting of other, less usable pasts" (7), that precipitated her switch from an ideological to a phenomenological lens.

As a result, the book raises some uncomfortable questions for those of us engaged in forced migration research who hope that our work will challenge injustice and hostile discourses. Allan forces us to examine to what extent our interventions reproduce prevailing narratives, rather than allowing diverse voices to emerge. She recounts one exchange with a young man, tired of foreigners arriving at the camp to do research: "It's like a thrill for them. We cry and they profit from our tears, but things stay the same for us. The electricity is still shit, we have no rights" (64). Allan is aware that she has adopted a risky strategy, which could result in her work being used by those who seek to undermine the right of Palestinians to return and to self-determination. However, the reality is that refugee experience and refugee identity are multiple, fluid, and contradictory and cannot be tied to a singular political or national narrative.

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Notes

1. Ulrich Beck, "The Reinvention of Politics: Towards a Reflexive Theory of Modernization," in *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, ed. Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens, and Scott Lash, 1–55 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994).
2. Peter Loizos, "Are Refugees Social Capitalists?" in *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives*, ed. Stephen Baron, John Field, and Tom Schuller, 124–41 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
3. Katherine P. Ewing, "Dreams from a Saint: Anthropological Atheism and the Temptation to Believe," *American Anthropologist* 96, no. 3 (1994): 571–83.
4. Helen Taylor, "You Don't Believe Me? Truth and Testimony in Cypriot Refugee Narratives," in *Evidence and Testimony in Life Story Narratives*, ed. Nanci Adler and Selma Leydesdorff, 37–53 (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2013).

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