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programmatic register take up few of this book's pages. And these theoretical digressions serve well in guiding us through the interwoven experiences, stories and lives that make up the heart of this book.

John French's *Lula and his Politics of Cunning* is a well-researched and beautifully composed depiction of the changing Brazil that produced Lula, and that Lula produced. The book is highly successful. It works very well as a biography; as a social history of Brazil's late twentieth and early 21st centuries, told from the perspective of the working classes; and, occasionally, as a meditation on historical process and method. I have little doubt that this book will stand for a very long time as a definitive source for understanding a period of epochal change in Brazil.

Sean T. Mitchell
Rutgers University, USA

Campbell, Yonique (2020) *Citizenship on the Margins: State Power, Security and Precariousness in 21st-Century Jamaica*, Palgrave Macmillan (Cham), xix + 169 pp. €76.29 hbk. €54.49 pbk.

How do state security policies and practices affect citizenship rights, especially the rights of the urban poor? And how do marginalised citizens experience and negotiate their citizenship with state security actors as well as non-state armed actors, including criminal leaders? Focusing on Jamaica, Yonique Campbell seeks to tackle these questions, drawing on interviews with policy elites in government and civil society and on in-depth fieldwork in three communities (one middle-class neighbourhood in Kingston and two low-income 'garrison' areas with histories of politically connected criminal leadership, one in Kingston and one in the smaller town of May Pen).

The first, introductory chapter situates Jamaica within the broader Latin American and Caribbean region, sketching the regional background to a range of relevant developments that inform the connections between security and citizenship: a historical background of colonialism, authoritarian rule and Cold War politics; high rates of violent crime and fear in the 'democratic era', transnational gangs that both foment violence and protect people from it, and increasingly militarised forms of policing that mobilise states of emergency and assign entire areas and populations as 'high risk'. Amidst these trends, Campbell highlights what she calls the localisation of citizenship: the tendency for rights, protection and belonging to be experienced within the smaller geography of the neighbourhood rather than primarily at the level of the nation-state. The next chapter sets out the book's conceptual framework, situating the research within broader debates on security and citizenship: Campbell takes a critical approach to security that emphasises the social construction of threats and looks beyond state-centric approaches to consider human security as freedom from fear and want. Similarly, she engages with theories of citizenship that go beyond legal incorporation to consider acts and practices, and emphasises the interplay of socio-political exclusion and insecurity.

After a third, contextual chapter that sketches how Jamaica's configurations of citizenship developed from the colonial era's slavery and institutionalised racism into the postcolonial present, the next three chapters each focus on one of the three research sites, followed by a chapter presenting the views of policy elites.

For the Kingston garrison of Tivoli Gardens – ruled until recently by Dudas, the nation's most powerful 'don' (as criminal leaders are known) – Campbell argues that the rules-based social order their don had established not only provided security, but also gave rise to 'informal and localised forms of citizenship which operate outside the scope of the state's legal apparatus' (p. 71). She suggests that while Tivoli residents love certain politicians, the pervasive disrespect they experience from the police has soured their attitude to state actors – these compare unfavourably with Dudas, who knew them, loved them and cared for them. In the May Pen garrison, with its less powerful don, residents are similarly afraid and angry at the police's abusive behaviour, but Campbell encountered more scepticism of donmanship, with some residents recognising its negative impact on their freedom.

The middle-class residents of the third research site still trust the police, but have largely internalised a neoliberal subjectivity, providing their own protection in more individualised strategies involving private security, though some communal attempts at organising neighbourhood watches persist. Meanwhile, they explain crime and insecurity through culturalist narratives, blaming a 'ghetto culture' that contrasts with their own 'civility'. The policy elites, who seem to overlap largely with middle-class

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Jamaicans, promote a narrative that neglects citizen security to emphasise the integrity of the state as the main security concern, and organised crime and garrisons as the greatest threat. Such narratives, as Campbell shows, justify repressive policing and the use of emergency powers that further alienate low-income urban Jamaicans ‘on the margins’.

Citizenship on the Margins brings together two key themes that are central to contemporary urban life in Jamaica: institutionalised inequalities and pervasive insecurity. Campbell is persuasive in showing how these two themes must be considered together, and in analysing the Jamaican case directly within the context of broader Latin American scholarship on citizenship and security. She could perhaps have been slightly less modest in articulating how she sees her research as furthering such scholarly conversations, for instance in extending existing work on citizenship beyond the nation-state. Her findings highlight a number of important issues that do not always receive sufficient attention in this literature, including the role of religion in everyday negotiations of security, or the significance of ‘respect’ in state–citizen encounters. A small quibble is that the book repeatedly frames don-based protection and political inclusion as ‘parallel’ or ‘alternative’ phenomena that compete with state security and citizenship, even as it shows throughout how donmanship remains entangled with party politics and state poverty alleviation programmes. This minor point aside, this book is a valuable contribution to scholarship on the politics of protection that will be of interest to scholars working in and beyond Jamaica.

Rivke Jaffe

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Díaz-Barriga, Miguel and Dorsey, Margaret E. (2020) *Fencing in Democracy: Border Walls, Necro-citizenship and the Security State*, Duke University Press (Durham, NC and London), xv + 178 pp. £ 76.00 hbk, £ 18.99 pbk, £18.00 ebk.

The Mexican–US border has been one of the main points of political contingency when the Latin American migration is addressed, and surely was one of the main topics of the 2016 American elections. Beyond the verbal imaginaries of hard border, the border, and the way in which it influences citizenship and transnational linkages, presents other realities distant from what the centres of policymaking are drafting. Miguel Díaz-Barriga and Margaret E. Dorsey explore how citizenship is reconstructed at the Mexican–US border and how the narrative of a security state is articulated in contrast to the sense of belonging of Mexican Americans. Their work explains how globalisation in terms of goods and mobility faces the paradox presented by the Westphalian state to define the citizen’s sense of belonging.

The authors’ previous works have extensively discussed the border (Dorsey and Díaz-Barriga, 2017), migration reform (Dorsey and Díaz-Barriga, 2007) and the aesthetics of the border (Díaz-Barriga et al., 2017). They also discussed ‘state of carcerment’ as a notion to describe how Foucault’s carceral state and state of exception operate in mass incarceration and check points on the ground (Dorsey and Díaz-Barriga, 2015) as well as how the physical border has been described by the American media (Dorsey and Díaz-Barriga, 2010). Their book engages with some of these previous works to theorise rebordering and the global reconfiguration of sovereignty, while examining their physical manifestations in border landscapes and culture. The main argument of their work argues that the US–Mexico border and the logic of rebordering and debordering is connected to ‘a reconstitution of sovereignty based on practices associated with necropower and generating state of exception’ (p. 9). Thus, necropower becomes essential to understand the naturalisation and normalisation of death and violence as part of the hegemonic landscape of border walls (p. 10). The authors state that the practice of necropower is done by the state where the state mainly focuses on controlling exclusion and death rather than focusing on its concerns with the life and health of its citizens (p. 12). A key concept to understand the implications of necropower shaping culture and power relations between the core centre of administration and the communities living in the border is necro-citizenship. It is used to describe the way in which citizenship is articulated under necropower in the border where it is reduced to a citizenship without rights, constructed a type of citizen who does not experience in full while being identified as part of the community and the country.