Review of Lean, N. (2017) The Islamophobia industry: how the right manufactures hatred of Muslims

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and fiction, Izzo argues, are in constant dialogue in ways that productively undermine master narratives of race, culture, and empire.

One blindspot in the text is that gender is only implicitly addressed, despite the fact that all the authors and film-makers he cites are men. Women knowledge producers were key to many of the debates shifting the paradigm of representation in anthropology over the same time periods he covers, such as the semi-autobiographical, ethnographically didactic novel of Senegalese writer Mariama Bâ *Une si longue letter* (1979), the radically genre-blending of works by Zora Neale Hurston, and Eslanda Robeson's ethnographically informed memoir *African journey* (1945). Despite not all being a part of the 'French Atlantic', these women's voices might have been included in the theoretical framework for cross-pollinating genres, introspective writing in the pursuit of understanding empire 'across the presumed divide of decolonization' (p. 3).

Izzo seeks to redeem anthropology with a novel approach. In *Experiments with empire*, the past century of play between fiction and ethnography in literature and cinema instructs the reader as to how 'the discipline can offer radical forms of political connectivity' (p. 208). The text provides a framework for thinking through the imaginative possibilities of ethnography for subverting the constricting agenda of empire in any given time period.

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Lean, Nathan. *The Islamophobia industry: how the right manufactures hatred of Muslims* (second edition). xxiv, 304 pp., bibliogr. London: Pluto Press, 2017. £12.00 (paper)

Nathan Lean's second edition of *The Islamophobia industry: how the right manufactures hatred of Muslims* is even more urgent now than its first edition was in 2012. The second edition comes at a time in which Islamophobia has become more mainstream and widespread and prejudices against Muslims are normalized and institutionalized in Western societies.

Lean has significantly updated the 2012 edition to represent events in the last decade, including the Trump presidency. It also comes with a beautiful foreword by the late Jack G. Shaheen, which reflects on how Arab-phobia became Islamophobia for ideological and political gains. It is hard not to notice the change in the subtitle: from manufacturing *fear* in the first edition to manufacturing *hatred* in the second. Islamophobia (like homophobia, transphobia, etc.) refers literally to a fear, but hatred and prejudice are part of its definition. The new subtitle suggests it is not just fear, but a new racism against Muslims that is produced. This is an important change that could indicate a shift in affect, but it is unfortunately not explicitly reflected upon by the author.

Key to the book is the argument that anti-Muslim sentiment is manufactured: it is part of an industry that benefits in one way or another from the 'product' of Islamophobia. An important merit of this book is therefore not only in the thorough descriptions of the process of othering Muslims (mainly in chap. 1), but also in designating who benefits from the pain of others. Starting with how hate is spread on the internet (chap. 2) and how it moves beyond the internet into mainstream media (chap. 3), Lean reveals the money-machine behind these enterprises. The book thereafter elaborates on specific political ideologies that use Islam as a common target for their own benefit: the Christian right and the pro-Israel right. A detailed examination of these ideologies in chapters 4 and 5 shows their ideological overlap and financial connections.

While the book focuses on how the right manufactures Islamophobia, chapter 6 nuances this by demonstrating the manifestation of Islamophobia in both rhetoric and action on the left side of the political spectrum. This chapter is a new and important addition to the second edition, because we cannot neglect how the spread and institutionalization of Islamophobia is enabled by 'liberals' and 'the left'. Liberal Islamophobia is less blatantly racist and concealed in a rhetoric of liberal values and progress. But narratives of reforming Islam, 'saving' Muslim women, and critiquing Islamism are nonetheless based on orientalist stereotypes that inherently imply Western superiority. Chapter 7 follows up on this by strikingly demonstrating how Islamophobia is institutionalized in legislation and policies.

The final chapter deals with Islamophobia and European populism and therewith exposes how widespread the reach of the fear factory is. The chapter demonstrates how Islamophobia in Norway, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom is connected through like-minded politicians. Lean shows the differences and similarities in Islamophobia in North America and Western Europe, and does not shy away from drawing out the flows of money that connect the continents. The scope of the book, however, does not allow for a thorough description of Islamophobia in Europe, and the chapter is more

of an illustration of the spread of the American Islamophobia industry. It also leaves the reader with another question: is this merely a Western industry? Ethnicity, religion, and race are exploited in different ways to persecute Muslims around the world, such as the Uyghur in China, the Rohingya in Myanmar, and the Moro people in the Philippines. How is Islamophobia in North America and Western Europe connected to other parts of the world?

Anthropologists might find this book lacks a representation of the experiences of the people who live Islamophobia, besides some illustrative anecdotes here and there. It is, however, still a must-read for scholars working on Muslims in North America and Europe, and anyone interested in the interconnectedness of the blogosphere, mainstream media, and politics when it comes to the manufacturing of fear and hatred. *The Islamophobia industry* is a journalistic account that is meticulously researched and written in a concise and accessible style, which makes it readable for a broad audience. Lean concludes with a call for action that is only more compelling after reading this book: we have to resist and counter the Islamophobia industry.

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Samet, Robert. *Deadline: populism and the press in Venezuela*. xii, 244 pp., illus., bibliogr. Chicago: Univ. Press, 2019. £21.00 (paper)

Mention Venezuela and thoughts of polarized political tensions often come to mind: protests, demonstrations, and pundits that volley between a binary framework of '*chavista*' and 'opposition'. While these tensions are indeed central to Robert Samet's *Deadline: populism and the press in Venezuela*, this work focuses on how the *chavista*-opposition divide is discursively produced in the press, rather than taking this polarization as a given. With richly human ethnographic detail, Samet builds a framework for new ways of thinking about populism that centre the notion of 'the popular' and 'the people' rather than (only) the force of charismatic leaders.

The introduction presents the 'people', the 'popular', and the 'press' as anchoring concepts of the book, arguing that they can all be enacted through *denuncias*: public accusations made by crime victims in the popular press. Chapter 1 sets up the historical context of Samet's research, with particular attention to the ways in which the 'communicational hegemony' of Hugo Chávez's regime (p. 27) shaped how Venezuelan journalists approached crime reporting. Chapters 2 and 3 immerse the reader in the ethnographic context of news production in Venezuela: the former follows Samet through a day in the life on the crime beat in Caracas, whereas the latter illustrates how the news stories published the following day discursively construct 'cartographies of crime' (p. 20) that reify gendered, raced, and classed stereotypes.

Chapter 4 builds on this by excavating the cultural models of personhood (the *malandro* or 'thug/thief', and the *sano* or 'wholesome/innocent') used by the press to categorize crime victims in ways are legible within broader Venezuelan structures of marginalization. Chapter 5 focuses on the media uptake of the murder of photojournalist Jorge Tortoza, killed during a 2002 uprising in Caracas. It is this chapter that best destabilizes the ontological givenness of the *chavista*-opposition divide, through interviews with journalists and members of the public exploring the various framings of the story of Tortoza's death. Together, these first five chapters create the scaffolding for two of Samet's central ethnographic claims: that crime news discursively creates crime victims, and that victims become 'legible to themselves and others' through making *denuncias* (pp. 19-20).

Chapters 6 and 7 turn to an investigation of *denuncias* themselves, illustrating not only how *denuncias* in the popular press created the conditions for the rise of Hugo Chávez, but also how they were used in nuanced ways by both the state and private presses in order to lay claim to being or animating 'the voice of the people'. Chapter 6 is especially compelling for its ethnographically grounded distinction between 'objectivity' and 'truthfulness' in Caracas crime reporting and in Latin American media more generally. Samet's analysis of these two 'regimes of truth' (p. 118) helps us understand the goals of crime victims and journalists in enacting *denuncias* and their function as tools of popular mobilization (p. 10).

Given the fact that *denuncias* in particular, and journalism more broadly, are (in part) linguistic work, I found a missed opportunity in the limited engagement with linguistic anthropology. In chapter 7, Samet does nod to Austinian frameworks of performative utterances to explain the pragmatic force of *denuncias* as invocations of a collective public and appeals to the state. Yet I wondered what a more detailed analysis of the generic conventions of *denuncias* might reveal about their performative powers and mimetic circulation. Similarly, the analyses of voice, intertextual chains of signification, and the