

These criticisms aside, Puar's larger aim of calling attention to debilitation as an instrument of exploitation and control is a crucial contribution to efforts to understand the relationships between material bodies, the state, and capitalism. This is especially true as scholarly and popular discourses on precarity focus increasingly on its white-collar, Euro-American manifestations, neglecting all the bodies that are on the line due to precarity elsewhere.

After *The Right to Maim*'s initial publication in November 2017, and again after it was granted the National Women's Studies Association Book Prize in September 2018, critics attempted to generate scandal around the book and its publisher, Duke University Press, with accusations of anti-Semitism or even blood libel. These accusations—likely promoted by those who have not read it, let alone carefully—should not be allowed to reduce it to polemic. Readers able to make their way through *The Right to Maim*'s arduous language and somewhat disjointed structure will be rewarded with new ways to think about crucial questions.

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The Privatisation of Israeli Security, by Shir Hever. London: Pluto Press, 2017. 256 pages. \$99.00 cloth, \$25.00 paper, \$25.00 e-book.

REVIEWED BY LYNDALE HERMAN

In *The Privatisation of Israeli Security*, Hever presents a timely and captivating argument that the Israeli government has gradually privatized significant components of state security. Over the two decades spanning 1994–2014, privatization occurred both through sale and outsourcing, as well as “by default” (p. 11), with outsourcing of various security responsibilities claiming the largest portion of the activities. Much as in his first book, *The Political Economy of Israel's Occupation* (Pluto Press, 2010), Hever draws on Max Weber and Pierre Bourdieu for most of his theoretical analysis to address the transition of military elites, from active service to the private sector, as well as their leadership

role in much of the privatization drive.

This book fits into the sub-genre of literature that addresses the Israeli occupation through the lens of political economy, continuing to build on the groundbreaking research of Sarah Roy's *The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of De-development* (Institute for Palestine Studies, 1995) that arguably launched this approach to studying the occupation. Hever's unique contribution comes from his focus on the Israeli security establishment; here, he builds on work by Neve Gordon, Shira Havkin, and Tariq Dana, as well as Jonathan Nitzan and Shimshon Bichler's *The Global Political Economy of Israel* (Pluto Press, 2002).

The book is divided into two sections. The first, which includes chapters 1 and 2, shows the depth of Hever's research into the topic and presents an intriguing theoretical approach: differential accumulation theory, developed by Nitzan and Bichler, as a means to study the conflict within Israeli elite groups on the privatization of the Israeli security sector. In particular, while the focus is on promoting one's own elite group, "the point is not to accumulate as much capital as possible, but rather to accumulate faster than the others" (p. 4).

Hever hypothesizes that the privatization of the Israeli security sector is a by-product of a neoliberal agenda, which in his application stands for more than just "massive privatization of government assets" and is an effort to "restructure" the relations between the state and the private sectors (p. 5). The close educational, professional, and economic ties between Israel and the United States, particularly those within the security sector, are the drivers of this agenda. Hever supports this argument by elucidating how former mid- and high-ranking officers transition from government service to the private sector and then "sell back" their training as contractors and consultants with private sector companies, ostensibly to promote greater efficiency in the public sector (p. 49).

The second section of the book covers chapters 4, 5, and 6, each of which offers a series of case studies. The studies are of varying relevance, at times serving to confuse the reader more than to support the overarching arguments. In large part, this is because of the breadth of examples proffered rather than their depth. In each of the later three chapters, there are four or five case studies presented, and these examples occasionally feel rushed, leaving the reader with questions rather than clarity.

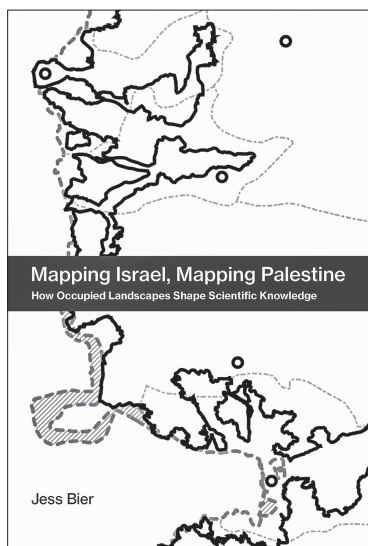
This was particularly true in chapter 5, which felt hastily written and disjointed as it attempted to lump together case studies discussing the outsourcing of Israeli security to the South Lebanese Army, the Palestinian Authority, and Israeli private security companies, as well as the privatization of checkpoints and a recent Israeli court case that afforded private citizens the right to "wield deadly force" (p. 94). Dedicating an entire chapter to the strongest case studies would have provided a more fulfilling and edifying read. Likewise, the absence of contemporary Palestinian voices on the controversial claim that the Palestinian Authority is an example of the outsourcing of security by the Israeli government is truly a missing element within this argument.

In the instance of chapter 4, the four case studies are well connected and offer the reader an opportunity to see elements of the theories presented put into practice. The case studies of Bahad City, a giant military base in southern Israel (pp. 63–66), and Israeli Military Industries (pp. 71–75) are especially strong and valuable examples. However, even the informed reader would have benefited from more substantial details and histories; in particular, interviews with individuals involved in or impacted by the agreements governing these privatization projects would have been particularly useful. I acknowledge an endnote in chapter 6 where Hever says that "interviews are impractical as a means to obtain research information" from the security establishment, owing to secrecy concerns (p. 195). But inviting alternative voices would only have strengthened the arguments presented.

The Privatisation of Israeli Security lays out some unique arguments and approaches regarding the evolving role of Israeli security agencies. However, it is not for the casual reader,

but more appropriate for those with a substantial background in Israeli domestic politics, Israeli government (and security) structure, and for readers well read in settler-colonial theory, which is obliquely referenced but not discussed. While Hever makes a unique contribution by introducing differential accumulation theory to this audience, more in-depth case studies are needed to truly explore this theory in the Israeli security context.

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***Mapping Israel, Mapping Palestine: How Occupied Landscapes Shape Scientific Knowledge*, by Jess Bier.**

Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2017. 336 pages. \$35.00 cloth, e-book available.

REVIEWED BY ANNA KENSICKI

In her insightful ethnography of cartography, *Mapping Israel, Mapping Palestine: How Occupied Landscapes Shape Scientific Knowledge*, Jess Bier embarks on an exploration of the history, practice, and implications of conducting geographic research in Jerusalem and the West Bank. Bier's main thesis challenges the notion of impartiality in geography, outlining the consequences of conducting geographic research when the researcher herself is part of the very landscape she studies. Using the locations of various historic and present-day researchers, NGOs, and governmental authorities in the landscape, Bier problematizes

our continued reliance on technology and the limitations of objectivity in the practice of mapping, now commonly referred to as GIS (geographic information sciences).

In each of her analyses, Bier applies the notion of symmetry. This is not predicated on the assumption that Palestinian and Israeli accessibility or experiences are equal; rather, Bier juxtaposes Palestinian and Israeli observations and productions of knowledge to highlight the *asymmetrical* conditions leading to their development. These analyses are also guided by Edward Said's traveling theory, which explores how a theory or idea is shaped over time as it is applied in various landscapes and contexts. In this way, she focuses on the differential conclusions of Palestinian and Israeli cartographers as they both help to shape the landscape and are themselves, as researchers, shaped by it.

For example, in her comparison of Palestinian and Israeli state population maps, Bier finds that Israel's bureaucratic and political need for the census, combined with its methodological incorporation of the Palestinian presence, produced the region's geography and dominant narrative for *both* parties. Specifically, she illustrates how Palestinians' reliance upon these maps in producing their own necessarily involves the use of British colonial maps as their foundations. Those maps, hailed as empirical triumphs of their time, employed definitive boundaries (often