

their sovereignty: just as anxious, if not more so, are the new states formed from ex-colonies since the end of the Second World War. Thus, while the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims everyone's right to seek asylum, no one has a right to asylum itself, as Gündoğdu notes; indeed, while everyone has the right to re-enter her own country, no one has the right to enter any other country. What commentators such as Gündoğdu call a crisis of statelessness⁷ is not a crisis for actual states, whose governors take for granted that they have no legal obligations to non-citizens who are not resident in their territories.

Nor will political scientists find Gündoğdu's argument for basing human rights in human action—the “founding” of human rights—rather than in foundational philosophical principles particularly enlightening. It is well known that human rights are what human beings claim ought to be their rights. Human rights are bound up in struggle, as Gündoğdu acknowledges. Rights claims change, as do the rights that (some) states grant, as new social groups enter the rights discourse and new aspects of human dignity such as respect for sexual orientation and gender identity are made.

Despite these criticisms, this is a very interesting book well worth reading. While it will be of principal interest to political philosophers, especially those engaged with Arendt's work, others will also benefit from Gündoğdu's discussion of the entirety of Arendt's thought and how it applies to migrants and camp-dwellers of all kinds. Gündoğdu

is a brilliant analyst, whose thinking is informed throughout by great empathy and by the very compassion that she herself criticizes.

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***Missing Persons: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on the Disappeared* (Derek Congram ed., Canadian Scholars' Press, 2016), ISBN 978-1-55130-930-9, 348 pages.**

“And yet perhaps this is the reason you cry,/this the nightmare you wake screaming from:/being forever/in the pre-trembling of a house that falls,” writes the poet Galway Kinnell, in a poem addressed to his infant daughter.¹ The words “missing person” evoke this same feeling: the sense of an emergency that has become frozen in time, a disaster that may have already happened but whose dimensions one does not yet fully comprehend. To mourn is to *know*, with certainty, that you have lost someone, and to mark that loss. But when a person is missing—neither certainly dead nor certainly alive—loved ones are thrown into a state sometimes called “ambiguous loss.” Ambiguous loss “freeze[s] . . . the grief process” with no possibility for closure.² The house keeps

7. *Id.* at 35.

1. GALWAY KINNELL, *THE BOOK OF NIGHTMARES* 50 (1973).
 2. Pauline Boss, *Ambiguous Loss Theory: Challenges for Scholars and Practitioners*, Family Relations 105 (2007) See also Vedrana Mladana, *Psychosocial Aspects of Interviewing and Self-Care for Practitioners*, in *MISSING PERSONS: MULTIDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES ON THE DISAPPEARED* 171, 174 (Derek Congram ed., 2016).

trembling, but never falls. This uncertainty and anxiety, this empty space that cannot be filled, can be worse than mourning, worse than the reality of disaster.

There is another, overlooked dimension to the category of “missing persons.” The “work of mourning” is often a communal affair; but out of preference or as a last resort it can also be conducted by individuals and in private.³ Sophocles’ *Antigone*, most famously, took the matter of mourning into her own hands, in defiance of the law. But to have someone missing is almost always to find oneself dependent on others: investigators, police, lawyers, charities, the hospitals and shelters that may have taken the missing person in, or the morgue where a dead body awaits identification. Those who search for their own missing enter a network of institutions, some benevolent and others not, that modernity has made responsible for keeping track of persons—for making live and letting die, in Michel Foucault’s famous formulation, but also for finding us and making us disappear.⁴ For this reason, as forensic anthropologist Lorena Valencia Caballero says in a recent article about Mexico’s disappeared, families of the missing often acquire knowledge about “a thousand things they should never have had to learn,” especially regarding institutions and bureaucratic processes they once had the luxury of ignoring.⁵

Missing Persons: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on the Disappeared provides

multiple windows into the processes by which families, communities, professionals of various stripes, governments, and nongovernmental organizations become involved in the search for the missing. Though it shares topical terrain with other recent volumes about post-conflict and post-disaster forensic science, the dead body, and disappearance, *Missing Persons* is notable for the balance of contributions from scholars in many fields, as well as people whose work involves searching for the missing on a daily basis. It is also unique for the amount of material focused on missing persons in North America (or, in some cases, from North America but now buried in foreign soil), including the results of colonial violence against indigenous populations in Canada, recovery of the remains of United States and Canadian soldiers, and the human rights crisis at the US-Mexico border.⁶

The volume is dedicated to the families of missing persons, and Clyde Collins Snow. Snow was the famed forensic anthropologist who pioneered the practice of forensic science in the service of human rights. He promoted a model of scientifically rigorous but also victim-centered medico-legal investigation in Argentina, Guatemala, and at US-based organizations, such as my former employer, Physicians for Human Rights.⁷ Snow died in May 2014, and the book’s epitaph for “a man who taught so many of us how to work to bring a measure of

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3. See JACQUES DERRIDA, *THE WORK OF MOURNING* (Pascale-Anne Brault & Michael Naas eds., 2003).
 4. MICHEL FOUCAULT, *SOCIETY MUST BE DEFENDED: LECTURES AT THE COLLÈGE DE FRANCE, 1975–1976*, at 241 (Mauro Bertani, Alessandro Fontana, & François Ewald eds., David Macey tran., 2003).
 5. Quoted in Lizzie Wade, *How Forensic Anthropologists Are Helping the Families of Mexico’s Disappeared Seek Justice*, *SCIENCE*, 14 Dec. 2016.
 6. See *DISTURBING BODIES: PERSPECTIVES ON FORENSIC ANTHROPOLOGY* (Zoë Crossland & Rosemary A. Joyce eds., 2015); *NECROPOLITICS: MASS GRAVES AND EXHUMATIONS IN THE AGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS* (Francisco Ferrándiz & Antonius C.G.M. Robben eds., 2015).
 7. See ADAM ROSENBLATT, *DIGGING FOR THE DISAPPEARED: FORENSIC SCIENCE AFTER ATROCITY* 1–37 (2015).

peace to these families" pays due homage to his generosity as a mentor.⁸

Beginning with a portrait of Clyde Snow also helps to clarify the focus of a book whose title could indicate many things. *Missing Persons* is dedicated to a pioneering forensic anthropologist and edited by Derek Congram, an archaeologist, anthropologist, and independent forensic consultant—in other words, two people who specialize in exhuming and identifying the victims of wrongful death. *Missing Persons* is largely a book about people who have gone missing in life, but who now number among the dead. The settings most prominent in this volume are not the police stations where missing persons cases are first reported, the living rooms or NGO offices where family members organize their searches, or the courtrooms where they file habeas corpus petitions. Rather, the book ventures into mass graves (both infamous and forgotten), museum collections, borderlands and battlefields: places where the missing persist as absent and displaced bodies. These missing bodies, when recovered and examined, can reveal the dimensions of an individual's life and the circumstances of their death; but they also tell larger stories of "armed conflict, repressive regimes, criminal behaviour, mass fatality incidents, structural violence, and the legacy of racist colonial policies towards Indigenous persons and minority populations."⁹

In fact, one of the volume's great strengths is how it exposes the context-dependent and often highly unstable nature of the two categories that collide in its title: "missing persons" and "the disappeared." In colloquial English usage, "missing person" conjures up associa-

tions with runaways, kidnappings, and other unfortunate but everyday incidents, whether criminal or not. It is the stuff of messages on milk cartons and crime dramas. "The disappeared" (originally from the Spanish, *los desaparecidos*) calls to mind authoritarian regimes, political programs of extermination, and the language of human rights reports. In practice however, these two kinds of events can occur simultaneously in one geographical setting. For example, people living under oppressive regimes can go missing for ordinary reasons, and those same regimes can try to cover up their programs of disappearance by claiming that their victims have actually run off with lovers, or gone into involuntary exile, and so on.

Furthermore, the complex dynamics of violence and marginalization show that separating the "ordinary" missing from the victims of political violence is an imprecise and ideologically loaded endeavor. When a poor, indigenous woman in Canada or Guatemala goes missing, it may occur against a backdrop of normal political conditions and be reported (if at all) to local authorities rather than to Amnesty International. Yet it is still far from random that to be an indigenous person, a poor person, and a woman in these places is to live with greater risks and added vulnerabilities—including a higher likelihood of experiencing violence, going missing, and having one's disappearance be folded quietly back into the fabric of the unremarkable. As Robin Reineke and Bruce Anderson argue in a standout chapter, "Missing in the US-Mexico Borderlands," disasters (even of the so-called "natural" variety) are always "socially structured"—and so,

8. MISSING PERSONS, *supra* note 2, at v.

9. Derek Congram, *Introduction*, in MISSING PERSONS, *supra* note 2, at 1, 4.

too, are the trends in who goes missing and what resources are expended to account for them.¹⁰ In order to promote this understanding of the relationship between structural violence and missing persons, it may make sense to use the term “going missing” (with its implication of individual free agency) less often, and to prefer language that is more complex, or at least more ambivalent, as to the tension between individual choices and the societal forces that drive people to disappear. As Francisco Ferrándiz and Emilio Silva Barrera powerfully illustrate in their chapter on mass graves from the Spanish Civil War (“From Mass Graves to Human Rights: The Discovery of Forced Disappearances in Contemporary Spain”), the terminology and framing of missing persons issues often move through multiple levels of local, national, and even international discourse. Families of victims and human rights activists can exert influence, for example, by “downloading” the international legal vocabulary of “forced disappearance” and applying it to settings where its legal applicability is debatable, but its rhetorical power undeniable.¹¹ An important theme that emerges in *Missing Persons* is the “curious grapevine” of transnational activism that winds up linking the descendants of victims of the Spanish Civil War to families of the disappeared in Chile and Argentina, or the families of missing Vietnam soldiers

back to their predecessors from World War II and the Korean War. New links are also being forged between investigative organizations such as the US-based Colibrí Center for Human Rights and Clyde Snow’s early group of students, the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team.¹²

Missing Persons is divided into two sections, “Contexts and Perspectives” and “Methods Used Towards Finding and Identifying the Missing.” Contributors to the volume include forensic and cultural anthropologists, archaeologists, historians, psychologists, geographers, and people working in museums, law enforcement, and advocacy organizations. Thankfully, the book’s division into two halves does not indicate an orthodox split between theory and practice. Some chapters feature people who might be considered strictly “practitioners”—such as Janet Young, a curator at the Canadian Museum of History—asking deeply philosophical questions. Young’s chapter explores whether Native American skeletal remains held in museum collections can be considered missing persons.¹³ One of Congram’s own contributions, written with Ariana Fernández Muñoz, makes a set of compelling practical recommendations for dealing with material artifacts encountered in the search for the missing; yet the practical advice is informed by social scientific thinking about the possessions of the deceased and how they

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10. Robin Reineke & Bruce B. Anderson, *Missing in the US–Mexico Borderlands*, in *MISSING PERSONS*, *supra* note 2, at 249, 251.
 11. “[T]he concept of disappearance, with its nuances and different manifestations, has an heuristic and interpretative potential which, with its symbolism and its capacity to represent political violence, goes far beyond its strict legal application in the framework of universal justice.” Francisco Ferrándiz & Emilio Silva Barrera, *From Mass Graves to Human Rights: The Discovery of Forced Disappearances in Contemporary Spain*, in *MISSING PERSONS*, *supra* note 2, at 74, 88.
 12. See WILLIAM KOREY, *NGOs and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1998).
 13. Janet Young, *Collection, Curation, Repatriation: Exploring the Concept of Museum Skeletal Populations as Missing Persons*, in *MISSING PERSONS*, *supra* note 2, at 119.

serve as both “potential evidence” and “meaningful parts of the lives of victim families and communities.”¹⁴

Not all of the chapters live up to these examples, or to the multidisciplinary dialogue promised in the book’s title and introduction. While there is value in learning about a wide variety of different types of missing persons investigations, from the graves of abused and neglected Canadian Aboriginal children consigned to “residential schools” from the late 1890s through mid-1990s; to the identification of soldiers’ remains on battlefields in France and North Korea, too many chapters read like the accompanying text to a power point presentation given at an internal agency meeting. The information is presented as a list of accomplishments and best practices that were followed, without further reflection or guidance for readers in understanding how these contributions fit into the broader discussion of missing persons as widespread and interconnected phenomena.

Reineke and Anderson’s chapter is exemplary for its synthesis of social scientific understandings of violence and disappearance with a practical look at how cases, and bodies, are managed by investigative authorities, many of them choosing to care for dead migrants rendered invisible and “ungrievable” to most people.¹⁵ It also best fulfills the

book’s promise to incorporate structural violence into its discussion of missing persons issues. Additional highlights in the volume present new perspectives on how space, time, and data impact missing persons’ investigations, but are at the same time reconfigured through them. A pair of chapters addresses violent death and the recovery of bodies as events that occur in space in somewhat predictable ways—ones that can become intelligible through multidisciplinary research and new technologies.¹⁶ Patterns in the way murderers and the bodies of their victims move through spaces of encounters, or in the clustering of burial sites, make for harrowing reading but also an exciting introduction to powerful, creative new tools of investigation. Social anthropologist Sarah Wagner and forensic pathologist Rifat Kešetović offer an overview of the identification efforts that have developed over nearly two decades in postwar Bosnia: a story full of “twists and turns,” and—for many families—the “piecemeal” recovery of scattered portions of their loved ones’ bodies.¹⁷ Over this long duration, Wagner and Kešetović write, time itself becomes a “threat and burden,” undoing the precision of memories, consuming resources and the international community’s interest in projects of repair, and of course gradually chipping away at the lives of those who are still searching for

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14. Ariana Fernández Muñoz & Derek Congram, *The Evidentiary Value of Cultural Objects from Mass Graves: Methods of Analysis, Interpretation, and Limitations*, in *MISSING PERSONS*, *supra* note 2, at 269, 275.
 15. Reineke & Anderson, *supra* note 10, at 249–68. On grievable and ungrievable deaths, see JUDITH BUTLER, *FRAMES OF WAR: WHEN IS LIFE GRIEVABLE?* (2009).
 16. Samantha Lundrigan, *A Review of Research into the Spatial Behaviour of Murderers and Implications for Investigations Involving Missing Murder Victims*, in *MISSING PERSONS*, *supra* note 2, at 184–206; Derek Congram, Arthur Green, & Hugh Tuller, *Mapping the Missing: A New Approach to Locating Missing Persons Burial Locations in Armed Conflict Contexts*, in *id.* at 207–23.
 17. Sarah Wagner & Rifat Kešetović, *Absent Bodies, Absent Knowledge: The Forensic Work of Identifying Srebrenica’s Missing and the Social Experiences of Families*, in *MISSING PERSONS*, *supra* note 2, at 49, 54.

loved ones.¹⁸ Finally, various chapters in *Missing Persons* remind us of the data-saturated world in which we live, where locating the missing and disappeared requires not only finding new clues, but also the careful management and productive sharing of data we already possess.

Reineke and Anderson write, “The lack of a stated legal imperative [to locate and identify the missing] does not preclude a moral imperative.”¹⁹ To read *Missing Persons* is to recognize that, as Congram states in his stirring introduction, when people go missing it is “a social problem that affects us all, directly or indirectly”—that we might all, in some way, be part of what Michael R. Dolski calls the “accounting community.”²⁰ It is also to be inspired by the number of thoughtful people who bring both passion and kaleidoscopic expertise to bear on relocating the missing and reaffirming the trust in society’s institutions that so often disappears along with them.

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Michael Newman, *Six Authors in Search of Justice: Engaging with Political Transitions* (Oxford University Press, 2016), ISBN 978-0190495749, 315 pages.

Michael Newman’s new book, *Six Authors in Search of Justice*, is an unusual study. It is the sort of work, I surmise, that can only have been written by a scholar who, looking back on an accomplished career, no longer feels the need to acquiesce to the disciplinary divisions that define success in most scholarship and publishing.

Six Authors in Search of Justice is a work of literary history by a political scientist that takes as its topic, broadly speaking, patterns of aesthetic and ethical reflection during times of political transformation. The monograph seeks to bring together two audiences: on the one hand, literary scholars who might be attracted to the case studies of writers Victor Serge, Albert Camus, Jorge Semprún, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, Ariel Dorfman, and Nadine Gordimer; on the other hand, political scientists who might be interested in the case studies, respectively, of Stalinist Russia, Vichy France, Spain under Franco, post-colonial Kenya, Chile under Pinochet, and apartheid South Africa. With this as its aim, *Six Authors in Search of Justice* must thread a needle, simplifying each discipline to appeal to the other. The risk is that literary scholars will find Newman’s readings of the selected *oeuvres* in-

18. *Id.* at 55.

19. Reineke & Anderson, *supra* note 10, at 261.

20. Congram, *supra* note 9, at 9; Michael R. Dolski, *When X Doesn’t Mark the Spot: Historical Investigation and Identifying Remains from the Korean War*, in *MISSING PERSONS*, *supra* note 2, at 137, 160.