ing themselves of Web 2.0's talisman of the "hive mind" while chary of the commodification and datamining of user-generated content. Thoburn himself diagnoses *Mute* as a "moving tangle of contradictions" (267) but cannot resist the magazine's graphic-design dazzle and alluringly oppositional political rhetoric, especially in its deluxe quarterly editions phase. The result is reminiscent of a Fabergé egg: aesthetically opulent and representing the highest achievement of its type, but begging the question *why, to what end*? Can this be the logical end-point of Marx's exhortation to philosophers to cease merely interpreting the world and instead to *change* it?

Thoburn's methodology encompasses Continental critical theory, detailed textual and material analysis of specific case-studies, and archival work, at times complemented by interviews with print and digital practitioners. Somewhat maddeningly, given the highly niche nature of most of the case-studies examined in *Anti-Book*, Thoburn's modus operandi is to engage in elaborate theoretical set-ups before introducing the specifics of the print works under discussion, leaving the reader wading through much abstraction before finally arriving at the textual object that has given rise to such philosophical excursions. Thoburn's command of an extensive body of leftist philosophical writings, his intellectual subtlety in interpreting and deploying these, and his abundant fascination with a history of "Communist" print objects are not in doubt. But it seems the most bitter of ironies that a social movement born out of desire to improve the lives of society's most disadvantaged should, after a century and more of tortuous and torturing political history, have arrived at the point of celebrating baroquely self-involved artistic creations for the most coterie of audiences.

Simone Murray
*Monash University*

**Andrej Grubačić and Denis O'Hearn, *Living at the Edges of Capitalism: Adventures in Exile and Mutual Aid* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016). 336pp. Paperback $29.95.**

When I picked up this book, I immediately questioned what it means to "live at the edges of capitalism"—or, perhaps more importantly, what constitutes capitalism's "edges." As Grubačić and O'Hearn explain, these are spaces in which communities try to escape—or are forced out of—the capitalist world-system. In part because such groups are removed from the market economy, they rely heavily on communal mutual aid. Nevertheless, I remained skeptical; I had difficulty imagining groups that are entirely or almost entirely outside the world-capitalist system.

Grubačić and O'Hearn, however, share my skepticism. Throughout *Living at the Edges of Capitalism*, they argue that such communities remain inextricably

linked to capitalist processes and undergo a constant re-negotiation of their relationship to markets and the state. In a complicated dance that may span generations, exilic communities are sometimes drawn into stronger relationships with the state and greater incorporation into world-capitalism. At other times, these communities withdraw or are pushed out of such systems.

To illustrate these processes, Grubačić and O'Hearn bring together seemingly disparate historical and contemporary movements: the Cossacks, Zapatistas, and prisoners in Ireland, Turkey, and the United States. Throughout the book, each community is situated firmly within its relevant historical context. This unique set of cases elicits a broader definition of "exile" than readers might expect, allowing the authors to make several meaningful theoretical contributions.

One such contribution is a welcome and much-needed extension of Hirschman's classic theory of "exit, voice, and loyalty." While Hirschman demonstrates that actors who are dissatisfied with state and non-state institutions pursue one of these options, Grubačić and O'Hearn show that "exit" is not a one-time decision, as demonstrated by processes of continual renegotiation between actors, the institutions from which they are exiled, and the capitalist world-system. Moreover, exit, voice, and loyalty are not mutually exclusive; as Grubačić and O'-Hearn demonstrate, even communities in exile make and revisit "loyalty bargains" with the institutions they have let behind. Such loyalty bargains blend exit, voice, and loyalty in sometimes tenuous ways.

Exile is sometimes forced upon those whose actions or existence challenge dominant regimes, but as Grubačić and O'Hearn show in an illuminating chapter on prisoners' resistance and solidarity, even these communities practice some forms of exit, voice, and loyalty that empower them to negotiate loyalty bargains with representatives of the state. Prisoners have seemingly little control over the terms of their exit and may face severe repercussions for voicing discontent. Even "community" takes on a new meaning in this case, as prisoners are sometimes placed in total or near-total isolation from one another. Despite extremely repressive measures, however, prisoners formed networks of solidarity and established loyalty bargains with both guards and civil society. Grubačić and O'Hearn demonstrate that, in the case of Irish Resistance Army (IRA) members imprisoned by the British government, prisoners sometimes agreed to authorities' rules in return for basic needs and some privileges. At other times, they rejected authorities' offers and made loyalty bargains to receive basic needs from supporters outside the prison.

However, as scholars such as Klein have pointed out, Hirschman did not capture all possible options for dissatisfied actors, and engagement with these additional options could have bolstered Grubačić and O'Hearn's study (see, e.g., Rudolf Klein, "Models of Man and Models of Policy: Reflections on 'Exit, Voice, and Loyalty' Ten Years Later," 1980). In addition to choosing exit, voice, or loyalty, actors may also remain in various states of discontent that are not quite

"loyalty." For example, Dan Farrell examines worker slowdowns, in which aggrieved employees neglect their work but do not voice their discontent, while Jonathan Gershuny et al. study dual-career marriages in which wives remain in the relationship despite being unhappy with their dramatically higher burden of household labor (Farrell, "Exit, Voice, Loyalty, and Neglect as Responses to Job Dissatisfaction: A Multidimensional Scaling Study," 1983; Jonathan Gershuny, Michael Bittman, & John Brice, "Exit, Voice, and Suffering: Do Couples Adapt to Changing Employment Patterns?" 2005). These alternatives to "loyalty" could help Grubačić and O'Hearn's case, as actors who remain in an aggrieved condition maintain an important link to the greater society and represent potential allies to exiles. Prisoners' contacts on the "outside," for example, may fall within this category.

Perhaps the most frustrating aspect of *Living at the Edges of Capitalism* was its lack of attention to intersectionality within the communities Grubačić and O'Hearn studied. I found myself disappointed that little attention was paid to gender and other forms of social inequality within exilic communities, painting a picture of these communities that was sometimes overly rosy. "Mutual aid," after all, rarely applies equally to all members of a community. The authors' discussion of gender is largely relegated to an unsatisfying two pages in the concluding chapter, while ethnic inequality receives somewhat more attention. Greater attention to intersectionality and the role that intersecting oppressions play in each community would have been a welcome and needed addition to the work.

In addition, readers who approach social movements from a sociological perspective will likely find that this volume lacks engagement with modern social movement theory. Resource mobilization theory seems especially relevant, given the authors' work on the intersections of capitalism and exile, as does scholarship on political opportunity or political process. Loyalty bargains, for example, seem directly connected to the political opportunities that exilic communities can, or cannot, leverage. Application of these or other theories in the sociology of social movements would broaden the volume's appeal.

In the end, Grubačić and O'Hearn have produced a detailed, thought-provoking, and sometimes emotionally moving account of groups that, by choice or by force, challenge our understanding of "community" itself. Although the volume falls short on some measures, it is nevertheless a valuable contribution to the literature on both world systems and social movements.

Amanda Pullum
California State University, Monterey Bay