



PROJECT MUSE®

The Struggling State

Riggan, Jennifer

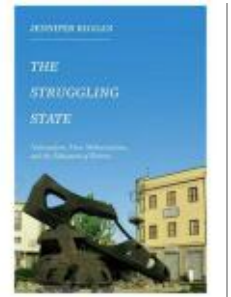
Published by Temple University Press

Riggan, Jennifer.

The Struggling State.

Temple University Press, 2016.

Project MUSE.muse.jhu.edu/book/64136.



➔ For additional information about this book

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/64136>

Access provided at 1 Apr 2020 08:59 GMT with no institutional affiliation



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/).

References

- Abrams, Phillip. 1988. "Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1:58–89.
- Adams, Laura. 2010. *The Spectacular State: Culture and National Identity in Uzbekistan*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Agamben, Giorgio. 1998. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- . 2005. *State of Exception*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Al-Ali, Nadje, Richard Black, and Khalid Koser. 2001. "The Limits to 'Transnationalism': Bosnian and Eritrean Refugees in Europe as Emerging Transnational Communities." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24 (4): 578–600.
- Al Jazeera. 2014. "Spike in Eritreans Fleeing into Ethiopia." Al Jazeera.com, October 29. Available at www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2014/10/spike-eritreans-fleeing-into-ethiopia-20141029101248192297.html.
- Althusser, Louis. 1971. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses." *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, 127–186. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Altinay, Ayse Gul. 2005. *The Myth of the Military Nation: Military, Gender and Education in Turkey*. New York: Palgrave.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.
- Anyon, Jean. 1981. "Social Class and School Knowledge." *Curriculum Inquiry* 11 (1): 3–42.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 1992. *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Arbi Harnet. 2014a. "Eritrea: Asmara Residents Will Retaliate against Roundups by Ethiopian Mercenaries Deployed by the Regime." Asmarino.com, October 24. Available at <http://asmarino.com/news/4021-eritrea-asmara-residents-will-retaliate-against-roundups-by-ethiopian-mercenaries-deployed-by-the-regime>.

- . 2014b. “Eritrea: Asmara Tense but Hopeful Following Mass Resistance to Forced Militarization.” *Asmarino.com*, October 22. Available at <http://asmarino.com/news/155-breaking-news/4017-eritrea-asmara-tense-but-hopeful-following-mass-resistance-to-forced-militarization>.
- . 2014c. “Eritrea: Residents of the Capital Quietly Resist the Government’s Militarisation Campaign.” *Asmarino.com*, October 10. Available at <http://asmarino.com/news/3991-eritrea-residents-of-the-capital-quietly-resist-the-government-rsquo-s-militarisation-campaign>.
- Aretxaga, Begoña. 2003. “Maddening States.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 32:393–410.
- Argenti, Nicholas. 2007. *Intestines of the State: Youth, Violence and Belated Histories in the Cameroon Grassfields*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Awate Team. 2013. “Isaias Regime and Lampedusa: A Week Late, a Weak Explanation.” *Awate.com*, October 10. Available at <http://awate.com/isaias-regime-and-lampedusa-a-week-late-a-weak-explanation>.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1984. *Rabelais and His World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bayart, Jean-Francois. 2009. *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bayat, Asef. 2010. *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Benei, Veronique. 2008. *Schooling Passions: Nation, History and Language in Contemporary Western India*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1978. *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*. New York: Schocken Books.
- Bereketeab, Redie. 2010. “The Politics of Language in Eritrea: Equality of Languages vs. Bilingual Official Language Policy.” *African and Asian Studies* 9 (1): 149–190.
- Berman, Edward. 1992. “Donor Agencies and Third World Educational Development, 1945–1985.” In *Emergent Issues in Education: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Robert F. Arno, Philip G. Altbach, and Gail P. Kelly, 57–74. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Bernal, Victoria. 2004. “Eritrea Goes Global: Reflections on Nationalism in a Transnational Era.” *Cultural Anthropology* 19:3–25.
- . 2005. “Eritrea On-line: Diaspora, Cyberspace, and the Public Sphere.” *American Ethnologist* 32 (4): 660–675.
- . 2014. *Nation as Network: Diaspora, Cyberspace and Citizenship*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bickford, Andrew. 2011. *Fallen Elites: The Military Other in Post-unification Germany*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Billig, Michael. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage.
- Bolten, Catherine. 2015. “A Great Scholar Is an Overeducated Person: Education and Practices of Uncertainty in Sierra Leone.” *Journal of Anthropological Research* 71 (1): 23–47.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, and Jean Claude Passeron. 1990. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage.
- Bowles, Samuel, and Herbert Gintis. 1976. *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bozzini, David. 2011. “Low-Tech Surveillance and the Despot State in Eritrea.” *Surveillance and Society* 9 (1/2): 93–113.

- . 2013. “The Catch-22 of Resistance: Jokes and the Political Imagination of Eritrean Conscripts.” *Africa Today* 60 (2): 39–66.
- Brown, Wendy. 2010. *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*. New York: Zone Books.
- Brownlee, Jason. 2007. *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Buur, Lars. 2003. “Crime and Punishment on the Margins of the Postapartheid State.” *American Anthropological Association* 28 (1): 23–42.
- Chabal, Patrick, and Jean-Pascal Daloz. 1999. *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument*. Oxford, UK: James Curry.
- Chalfin, Brenda. 2010. *Neoliberal Frontiers: An Ethnography of Sovereignty in West Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Clotey, Peter. 2013. “Lampedusa Boat Tragedy a Crime against Eritrea, Says Official.” Voice of America, October 15. Available at www.voanews.com/content/lampedusa-boat-tragedy-a-crime-against-eritrea-says-official/1770413.html.
- Coe, Cati. 2005. *Dilemmas of Culture in African Schools: Youth, Nationalism, and the Transformation of Knowledge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Connell, Dan. (1993) 1997. *Against All Odds: A Chronicle of the Eritrean Revolution*. Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press.
- . 2001. “Inside the EPLF: The Origins of the ‘People’s Party’ and Its Role in the Liberation of Eritrea.” *Review of African Political Economy* 89:345–364.
- . 2005. *Conversations with Eritrean Political Prisoners*. Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press.
- . 2011. “From Resistance to Governance: Eritrea’s Trouble with Transition.” *Review of African Political Economy* 38 (129): 419–433.
- Corbridge, Stuart, Glyn Williams, Manoj Srivastava, and Rene Veron. 2005. *Seeing the State: Governance and Governmentality in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Corrigan, Phillip, and Derek Sayer. 1985. *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.
- Das, Veena, and Poole Deborah, eds. 2004. *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Davidson, Basil. 1993. *The Black Man’s Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*. New York: Three Rivers Press.
- De Certeau, Michel. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Dorman, Sarah. 2005. “Narratives of Nationalism in Eritrea: Research and Revisionism.” *Nations and Nationalism* 11 (2): 203–222.
- . 2006. “Post-liberation Politics in Africa: Examining the Political Legacy of Struggle.” *Third World Quarterly* 27 (6): 1085–1101.
- Dorman, Sarah, Daniel Hammett, and Paul Nugent, eds. 2007. *Making Nations, Creating Strangers: States and Citizenship in Africa*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.
- Douglas, Mary. (1966) 1984. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. Boston: Ark.
- Downey, Charles Aiden. 2007. “‘You Can’t Save Them All’: The Moral Economy of Teacher Work in a ‘Failing’ Inner City High School.” Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania.
- Durkheim, Emile. 1965. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. New York: Free Press.
- Enloe, Cynthia. 1988. *Does Khaki Become You? Militarization of Women’s Lives*. London: Pandora.
- EPLF. 1977. *National Democratic Program of the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front*. Adopted at the 1st Congress. January 31.

- . 1994. *A National Charter for Eritrea: For a Democratic, Just and Prosperous Future*. Nakfa, Eritrea, February.
- Feldman, Allen. 1991. *Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ferguson, James, and Akhil Gupta. 2002. "Spatializing States: Towards an Ethnography of Neoliberal Governmentality." *American Ethnologist* 29 (4): 981–1002.
- Foucault, Michel. 1990. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*. New York: Random House.
- . 1995. *Discipline and Punish*. New York: Vintage.
- . 1997. *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the College de France 1975–1976*. New York: Picador.
- . 2004. *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France 1977–1978*. New York: Picador.
- Frederik, Laurie. 2012. *Trumpets in the Mountains: Theatre and the Politics of National Culture in Cuba*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Gandhi, Jennifer. 2008. *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gebremedhin, Jordan. 1989. *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea*. Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press.
- Gedab News. 2014a. "Crisis in the Eritrean Army." Awate.com, April 3. Available at <http://awate.com/crisis-in-the-eritrean-army>.
- . 2014b. "Intense Anxiety Engulfing Eritrea." Awate.com, October 23. Available at <http://awate.com/intense-anxiety-engulfing-eritrea>.
- . 2014c. "A New Wave of Escapees Leaving Eritrea." Awate.com, October 21. Available at <http://awate.com/a-new-wave-of-escapees-leaving-eritrea>.
- . 2014d. "The Plight of 'Zuria 26' Enrages Eritrean Youth." Awate.com, October 27. Available at <http://awate.com/the-plight-of-zuria-26-enrages-eritrean-youth>.
- Gennep, Arnold Van. 1960. *The Rites of Passage*. London: Routledge.
- Geschiere, Peter. 2009. *The Perils of Belonging: Autochthony, Citizenship and Exclusion in Africa and Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Geschiere, Peter, and Bambi Cueppens. 2005. "Autochthony: Local or Global? New Modes in the Struggle over Citizenship and Belonging in Africa and Europe." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34:385–407.
- Geschiere, Peter, and Stephen Jackson, eds. 2006. "Autochthony and the Crisis of Citizenship." Special Issue, *African Studies Review* 49 (2): 1–7.
- Glaeser, Andreas. 2011. *Political Epistemics: The Secret Police, the Opposition and the End of East German Socialism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Goffman, Alice. 2014. *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Goldstein, D. M. 2003. "'In Our Own Hands': Lynching, Justice, and the Law in Bolivia." *American Ethnologist* 30 (1): 22–43.
- Gorham, Eric. 1992. *National Service, Citizenship, and Political Education*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Gottesman, L. 1998. *To Fight and Learn: The Praxis and Promise of Literacy in Eritrea's Independence War*. Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press.
- Government of Eritrea (GoE). 1995. Proclamation of National Service. Proclamation No. 82/1995. *Eritrean Gazette*, no. 11, October 23, 1995. Available at www.refworld.org/docid/3dd8d3af4.html.

- Green, Linda. 1995. "Living in a State of Fear." In *Fieldwork under Fire: Contemporary Studies of Violence and Survival*, edited by Carolyn Nordstrom and Antonius C.G.M. Robben, 105–127. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gupta, Akhil. 2012. *Red Tape: Bureaucracy, Structural Violence, and Poverty in India*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hailemariam, Chefena, Sjaak Kroon, and Joel Walters. 1999. "Multilingualism and Nation Building: Language and Education in Eritrea." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 20 (6): 475–493.
- Haile Selassie. (1961) 1965. "An Address by the Emperor of Ethiopia at the Inauguration of Haile Selassie I University." Reported in the *Voice of Ethiopia*, December 18. Reprinted in *Education and Nation-Building in Africa*, edited by L. Gray Cowan, James O'Connell, and David Scanlon, 303–308. New York: Frederick Praeger.
- Hall, Kathleen. 2002. *Lives in Translation: Sikh Youth as British Citizens*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hansen, Thomas Blum, and Finn Stepputat, eds. 2005. *Sovereign Bodies: Citizens, Migrants and States in the Postcolonial World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Harber, Clive, and Vusi Mncube. 2012. *Education, Democracy and Development: Does Education Contribute to Democratization in Developing Countries?* Oxford, UK: Symposium Books.
- Hellweg, Joseph. 2011. *Hunting the Ethical State: The Benkadi Movement of Cote d'Ivoire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hepner, Tricia. 2009a. "Generation Nationalism and Generation Asylum: Eritrean Migrants, the Global Diaspora, and the Transnational Nation-State." *Diaspora* 18 (1/2): 184–207.
- . 2009b. *Soldiers, Martyrs, Traitors, and Exiles: Political Conflict in Eritrea and the Diaspora*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hepner, Tricia, and Samia Teclé. 2013. "New Refugees, Development-Forced Displacement, and Transnational Governance in Eritrea and Exile." *Urban Anthropology* 42 (3/4): 377–410.
- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1992. *The Social Production of Indifference: Exploring the Symbolic Roots of Western Bureaucracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1997. *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State*. New York: Routledge.
- Hinton, Alexander. 2004. *Why Did They Kill? Cambodia in the Shadow of Genocide*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hirt, Nicole, and Abdulkader Saleh Mohammad. 2013. "'Dreams Don't Come True in Eritrea': Anomie and Family Disintegration Due to the Structural Militarisation of Society." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 51 (1): 139–168.
- Hoyle, Peggy. 1999. *Eritrean National Identity: North Carolina Journal of International Law and Commercial Regulation* 24:381–416.
- Human Rights Watch. 2009. "Service for Life: State Repression and Indefinite Conscription in Eritrea." New York: Human Rights Watch. Available at www.hrw.org.
- . 2011. "Ten Long Years: A Briefing on Eritrea's Missing Political Prisoners." Available at www.hrw.org. Accessed November 17, 2014.
- Humphrey, Caroline. 2007. "Sovereignty." In *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*, edited by David Nugent and Joan Vincent, 418–436. New York: Blackwell.
- Hyden, Goran. 2006. *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- International Crisis Group. 2010. "Eritrea: The Siege State." September 21.
- . 2014. "Eritrea: Ending the Exodus?" August 8.
- Iyob, Ruth. 1995. *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence: Domination, Resistance, Nationalism 1941–1993*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jackson, Stephen. 2006. "Sons of Which Soil? The Language and Politics of Autochthony in Eastern D.R. Congo." *African Studies Review* 49 (2): 95–123.
- . 2007. "Of 'Doubtful Nationality': Political Manipulation of Citizenship in the D.R. Congo." *Citizenship Studies* 11 (5): 481–500.
- Kanaaneh, Rhoda Ann. 2009. *Surrounded: Palestinian Soldiers in the Israeli Military*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Kaplan, Sam. 2006. *The Pedagogical State: Education and the Politics of National Culture in Post-1980 Turkey*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Kibreab, Gaim. 2009a. *Eritrea: A Dream Deferred*. London: James Curry.
- . 2009b. "Forced Labor in Eritrea." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 47 (1): 41–72.
- Kupchik, Aaron. 2010. *Homeroom Security: School Discipline in an Age of Fear*. New York: New York University Press.
- Lerman, Amy, and Vesla Weaver. 2014. *Arresting Citizenship: The Democratic Consequences of American Crime Control*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Levinson, Bradley. 2001. *We Are All Equal: Student Culture and Identity at a Mexican Secondary School*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Levinson, Bradley, Douglas Foley, and Dorothy Holland. 1996. *The Cultural Production of the Educated Person: Critical Ethnographies of Schooling and Local Practice*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Levinson, Bradley, and Dorothy Holland. 1996. "The Cultural Production of the Educated Person: An Introduction." In *The Cultural Production of the Educated Person: Critical Ethnographies of Schooling and Local Practice*, edited by Bradley Levinson, Douglas Foley, and Dorothy Holland, 1–56. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lipsky, Michael. (1980) 2010. *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. New York: Russell Sage.
- Lutz, Catherine. 2002. *Homefront: A Military City and the American Twentieth Century*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Luykx, Aurolyn. 1999. *The Citizen Factory: Schooling and Cultural Production in Bolivia*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Lyons, B. J. 2008. "Discipline and the Arts of Domination: Rituals of Respect in Chimbo-razo Ecuador." *Cultural Anthropology* 20 (1): 97–127.
- Lyons, William, and Julie Drew. 2006. *Punishing Schools: Fear and Citizenship in American Public Education*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Macleish, Kenneth. 2013. *Making War at Fort Hood: Life and Uncertainty in a Military Community*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Mahmood, Saba. 2005. *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Mahrt, Michael. 2009. "War, Spatiotemporal Perception, and the Nation Fighters and Farmers in the Eritrean Highlands." In *Biopolitics, Militarism, and Development: Eritrea in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by David O'Kane and Tricia Redeker Hepner, 17–33. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Mains, Daniel. 2012. *Hope Is Cut: Youth, Unemployment, and the Future in Urban Ethiopia*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

- Makki, Fouad. 2011a. "Culture and Agency in a Colonial Public Sphere: Religion and the Anti-colonial Imagination in 1940s Eritrea." *Social History* 36 (4): 419–442.
- . 2011b. "Subaltern Agency and Nationalist Commitment: The Dialectic of Social and National Emancipation in Colonial Eritrea." *Africa Today* 58 (1): 28–52.
- Malkki, Lissa. 1995. *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. 1996. *Citizen and Subject*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Markakis, John. 1987. *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mbembe, Achille. 2001. *On the Postcolony*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- McLaren, Peter. 1986. *Schooling as Ritual Performance: Towards a Political Economy of Educational Symbols and Gestures*. New York: Routledge.
- Ministry of Education. 2002a. "Concept Paper for a Rapid Transformation of the Eritrean Education System." Ministry of Education of Eritrea, July.
- . 2002b. "Proposal for the Development Plan for RaTEES: The Rapid Transformation of the Eritrean Education System." Ministry of Education of Eritrea, December.
- Ministry of Education, Curriculum Research and Development Institute (CRDI), English Panel. 1993. *English for Eritrean Schools, Grade 10 Reading Book*. Asmara, Eritrea: Curriculum Development Institute.
- . 1994. *English for Eritrea Grade Six Textbook*. Asmara, Eritrea: Garnet Publishing and Adulis Printing Press.
- . 1995. *English for Eritrea Grade Seven Textbook*. Asmara, Eritrea: Garnet Publishing and Adulis Printing Press.
- Mitchell, Timothy. 1991. "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics." *American Political Science Review* 85 (1): 77–96.
- . 2006. "Society, Economy, and the State Effect." In *The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*, edited by Aradhana Sharma and Akhil Gupta, 196–186. New York: Blackwell.
- Müller, Tanja. 2005. *The Making of Elite Women: Revolution and Nation Building in Eritrea*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.
- . 2008. "Bare Life and the Developmental State: Implications of the Militarisation of Higher Education in Eritrea." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 46 (1): 111–131.
- . 2012a. "Beyond the Siege State—Tracing Hybridity during a Recent Visit to Eritrea." *Review of African Political Economy* 39 (133): 451–464.
- . 2012b. "From Rebel Governance to State Consolidation—Dynamics of Loyalty and the Securitization of the State in Eritrea." *Geoforum* 43:793–803.
- Nader, Laura. 1972. "Up the Anthropologist: Perspectives Gained from Studying Up." In *Reinventing Anthropology*, edited by Dell Hymes, 284–311. New York: Pantheon.
- NOKUT (Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education). 2013. "Report on Recognition of Higher Education in Eritrea and Ethiopia: A Study Trip to Eritrea and Ethiopia in October 2012 and January 2013." Available at www.nokut.no/Documents/NOKUT/Artikkelbibliotek/Kunnskapsbasen/Rapporter/UA%202013/Gulliksen_Anne-Kari_Audensen_Erik_Report_on_recognition_of_higher_education_in_Eritrea_and_Ethiopia_2013-1.pdf. Accessed August 19, 2013.
- O'Kane, David. 2012. "Limits to State-Led Nation-Building? An Eritrean Village Responds Selectively to the Plans of the Eritrean Government." *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 12 (2): 309–325.
- O'Kane, David, and Tricia Redeker Hepner, eds. 2009. *Biopolitics, Militarism, and Development: Eritrea in the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Berghahn Books.

- Ong, Aihwa. 2007. *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Peteet, Julie. 1994. "Male Gender and Rituals of Resistance in the Palestinian Intifada: A Cultural Politics of Violence." *American Anthropological Association* 21 (1): 31–49.
- Plaut, Martin. 2014. "Eritrean Resistance Steps Up Pressure on President Isaias Afewerki." *Guardian*, October 28. Available at www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2014/oct/28/eritrean-resistance-pressure-isais-afewerki.
- Pool, David. 2001. *From Guerillas to Government: The Eritrean People's Liberation Front*. Oxford, UK: James Curry.
- Poole, Amanda. 2009. "The Youth Has Gone from Our Soil: Place and Politics in Refugee Resettlement and Agrarian Development." In *Biopolitics, Militarism, and Development: Eritrea in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by David O'Kane and Tricia Redeker Hepner, 34–52. New York: Berghahn Books.
- . 2013. "Ransoms, Remittances, and Refugees: The Gatekeeper State in Eritrea." *Africa Today* 60 (2): 67–84.
- Quantz, Richard. 2011. *Rituals and Student Identity in Education: Ritual Critique for a New Pedagogy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Reid, Richard. 2005. "Caught in the Headlights of History: Eritrea, the EPLF and the Post-war Nation-State." *Journal of Modern African History* 43 (3): 467–488.
- . 2009. "The Politics of Silence: Interpreting Stasis in Contemporary Eritrea." *Review of African Political Economy* 120:209–211.
- Richard, Analiese, and Rudnyckyj, Daromir. 2009. "Economies of Affect." *Journal of the Royal Institute of Anthropology* 15:57–77.
- Riggan, Jennifer. 2009. "Avoiding Wastage by Making Soldiers." In *Biopolitics, Militarism, and Development: Eritrea in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by David O'Kane and Tricia Redeker Hepner, 72–91. New York: Berghahn Books.
- . 2011. "In Between Nations: Ethiopian-Born Eritreans, Liminality and War." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 34 (1): 131–154.
- . 2013a. "Imagining Emigration: Debating National Duty in Eritrean Classrooms." *Africa Today* 60 (2): 85–106.
- . 2013b. "'It Seemed like a Punishment': Teacher Transfers, Hollow Nationalism, and the Intimate State in Eritrea." *American Ethnologist* 40 (4): 749–763.
- . 2014. "Biopolitical Departures: A Love Story." *Journal of Narrative Politics* 1 (1): 44–60. Available at <http://journalofnarrativepolitics.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/JNP-Vol-1-Riggan.pdf>.
- Rios, Victor. 2011. *Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys*. New York: New York University Press.
- Rippberger, Susan J., and Kathleen A. Staudt. 2003. *Pledging Allegiance: Learning Nationalism at the El Paso–Juarez Border*. New York: Routledge Falmer.
- Rodney, Walter. 1974. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.
- Schmitt, Carl. (1922) 2005. *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2003. *Nomos of the Earth*. New York: Telos Press.
- Scott, James C. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- . 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

- Silver, Patricia. 2007. "'Then I Do What I Want': Teachers, State, and Empire in 2000." *American Ethnologist* 34 (2): 268–284.
- . 2010. "'I Am a Worker-Professional': Teachers and Their Classes in Puerto Rico." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 17:86–107.
- Skidmore, Monique. 2004. *Karaoke Fascism: Burma and the Politics of Fear*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Sluka, Jeffrey, ed. 2000. *Death Squad: The Anthropology of State Terror*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Smith, Jordan. 2004. "The Bakassi Boys Vigilantism, Violence, and Political Imagination in Nigeria." *Cultural Anthropology* 19 (3): 429–455.
- Sorenson, John. 1991. *Imagining Ethiopia: Struggles for History and Identity in the Horn of Africa*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Stambach, Amy. 2000. *Lessons from Mount Kilimanjaro: Schooling, Community, and Gender in East Africa*. New York: Routledge.
- Svolik, Milan. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taddia, Irma. 1994. "Ethiopian Source Material and Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth Century: The Letter to Menelik (1899) by Blatta Gabra Egzi'abher." *Journal of African History* 35 (3): 493–516.
- Treiber, Magnus. 2009. "Trapped in Adolescence: The Postwar Urban Generation." In *Biopolitics, Militarism, and Development: Eritrea in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by David O'Kane and Tricia Redeker Hepner, 92–114. New York: Berghahn Books.
- . 2010. "The Choice between Clean and Dirty: Discourses of Aesthetics, Morality and Progress in Post-revolutionary Asmara, Eritrea." In *Urban Pollution: Cultural Meanings, Social Practices*, edited by Evaline Durr and Rivke Jaffe, 123–143. Oxford, UK: Berghahn Books.
- Trevaskis, G.K.N. 1960. *Eritrea: A Colony in Transition: 1941–1952*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Tronvoll, Kjetil. 1996. *Mai Weini: A Highland Village in Eritrea. A Study of the People, Their Livelihood and Land Tenure during Times of Turbulence*. Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press.
- . 1998. "The Process of Nation-Building in Post-war Eritrea: Created from Below or Directed from Above?" *Journal of Modern African Studies* 36 (3): 461–482.
- Tronvoll, Kjetil, and Daniel Mekonnen. 2014. *The African Garrison State: Human Rights and Political Development in Eritrea*. Oxford, UK: James Currey.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 2001. "The Anthropology of the State in the Age of Globalization: Close Encounters of the Deceptive Kind." *Current Anthropology* 42 (1): 125–138.
- Turner, Victor. 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*. Chicago: Aldine.
- UNHCR. 2000–2011. UNHCR Statistical Yearbooks. Available at www.unhcr.org/pages/4a02afce6.html. Accessed May 3, 2013.
- . 2014. Sharp Increase in Number of Eritrean Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Europe, Ethiopia and Sudan. Briefing Notes. November 14, 2014. Available at www.unhcr.org/5465fea1381.html.
- . 2015. 2015 UNHCR Subregional Operations Profile East and Horn of Africa. Country Pages: Eritrea. Available at www.unhcr.org/pages/49e4838e6.html.
- UN News Centre. 2014. "Number of Eritrean Asylum-Seekers in Europe Soars from Past Year." UN News Center, November 14. Available at www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=49343#.VGouxFff96Y.

- U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. 2011. "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2011: Eritrea." Available at www.state.gov/documents/organization/186404.pdf. Accessed November 15, 2013.
- . 2012. "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2012: Eritrea." Available at www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/index.htm?year=2012&dclid=204118. Accessed November 15, 2013.
- Verdery, Katherine. 1996. *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next?* Princeton, NJ: University of Princeton Press.
- Vincent, Leonard. 2014. "Eritrea: Conversation with the Resistance Movement inside Asmara." *Horn Affairs*, October 26. Available at <http://hornaffairs.com/en/2014/10/26/eritrea-interview-resistance-activists>.
- Wacquant, Loïc. 2009. *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Weber, Eugen. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Wedeen, Lisa. 1999. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2008. *Peripheral Visions: Publics, Power, and Performance in Yemen*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Weldehaimanot, Simon, and Emily Taylor. 2011. "Our Struggle and Its Goals: A Controversial Eritrean Manifesto." *Review of African Political Economy* 38 (130): 565–585.
- Wilson, Amrit. 1991. *The Challenge Road: Women and the Eritrean Revolution*. Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press.
- Wilson, Fiona. 2001. "In the Name of the State? Schools and Teachers in an Andean Province." In *States of Imagination: Ethnographic Exploration of the Postcolonial State*, edited by T. B. Hansen and F. Stepputat, 313–344. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Woldemikael, Tekle. 1993. "The Cultural Construction of Eritrean Nationalist Movements." In *The Rising Tide of Cultural Pluralism: The Nation-State at Bay?* edited by Crawford Young, 179–199. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- . 2009. "Pitfalls of Nationalism in Eritrea." In *Biopolitics, Militarism, and Development: Eritrea in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by David O’Kane and Tricia Redeker Hepner, 1–16. New York: Berghahn Books.
- . 2013. "Introduction: Postliberation Eritrea." *Africa Today* 60 (2): v–xix.
- World Bank. 2003. *Eritrea Education Sector Improvement Project: Project Information Document*. Available at www.worldbank.org/infoshop. Accessed May 3, 2006.
- Young, Crawford. 2007. "Nation, Ethnicity and Citizenship." In *Making Nations, Creating Strangers: States and Citizenship in Africa*, edited by Sarah Dorman, Daniel Hammett, and Paul Nugent, 241–264. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.
- Zigon, Jarrett. 2008. *Morality: Anthropological Perspectives*. New York: Berg.