

relationship of exchange—whether this is a typical mother-infant dyad or a donor-recipient relationship. This collection explores the multiple facets of systems and structures controlling breastfeeding and the use of breastmilk as well as multiple perspectives on the value of breastmilk. This compilation includes 17 submissions organized into four sections: “Making Milk”; “Sharing Milk”; “Milk Politics”; and “Milk Theory.”

This collection of historical, cross-cultural, and ethics pieces on breastfeeding, breastmilk sharing, banking, and cross-nursing illustrates the ways that breastmilk and breastfeeding mothers have been valued and/or characterized as “risky.” Shaw’s recommendation to policy makers and legislators in her article, entitled “Perspectives on Ethics and Human Milk Banking,” is to take into consideration a breadth of perspectives including “cultural, ethical, legal and spiritual” from “as many cultural groups as possible.” This is exactly what Shaw and Bartlett have done in choosing submissions for this collection. The perspectives range from women of the Berti culture in Sudan, mothers and nurses of premature infants in Ireland and New Zealand, mothers under scrutiny of the child welfare system in the US, breastfeeding advocates, and many more.

Readers will appreciate this cross-section of current scholarly and policy debates on breastfeeding. It is widely accepted that breast-feeding and breastmilk provide superior health benefits for infants (McBride-Henry and Shaw, “Giving Breastmilk as Being With”). Yet, infant nutrition and the body politics of breastfeeding remain hot topic issues—particularly in the context of widespread marketing of infant formula under global capitalism as illustrated in Beasley’s chapter, entitled “Breast is Best” and Other Messages of Breastfeeding Promotion.” Also, high demand for donor milk in neonatal intensive care units as revealed in Bartlett, “Going With the Flow” conflicts with fear and

inadequate evidence related to the sharing and donation of breastmilk post-HIV/AIDS, as illustrated by Van Esterik, in her chapter “Breastfeeding and HIV/AIDS: Critical Gaps and Dangerous Intersections.”

Cassidy and El-Toms’ chapter, “Comparing Sharing and Banking Milk,” succeeds in expanding scholarly knowledge on the ethics of compensation for sharing breastmilk and shedding light on the concept of milk kinship. The rewards and sacrifices in milk kinship situations pose an interesting philosophical query. The authors reveal that milk kinship is like “old age insurance” but also prevents the families’ children from marrying among each other as they become like siblings. The family in effect gains another child—someone who will look out for them in their elder years. Donors in milk bank contexts, on the other hand, are rewarded with stories of the thriving infants they are helping in NICU units.

Gribble’s chapter delivers yet another perspective on compensation for breastfeeding by sharing the gratified and happy words of breastfed children. The ethical theme put forth in these chapters illustrates that financial compensation seems an inappropriate reward in this context. Yet, the feminist question remains of women’s characterization as duty-bound to contribute to the survival of infants by donating milk as an extension of the feminine role.

Shaw’s chapter explores feminist concerns related to essentialism, duty, gift, sacrifice, commodity/product, and choice in consideration of breastmilk banking. This discussion reveals the reverberating consequences of the subtleties of language in the construction of breastmilk donation as a “gift,” and in later chapters the language around “nursing” (Epstein-Gilboa, “Breastfeeding Envy”) and “time” (Bartlett, “Breastfeeding and Time”). Shaw’s theorization of this process allows scholars to recognize the complexities of this characterization across cultures and social groups, where a social hierarchy determines whose body is capable of achieving

the giving of breastmilk without sacrifice and whose is not. Bartlett’s chapter brings this compilation full circle—drawing connections to Stearns’ first chapter, entitled “The Breast Pump.” Pumping breastmilk is the physical embodiment of Bartlett’s discussion of time wherein the medicalization and commodification of women’s bodily processes is sustained through scientific measurement and male dominated conceptualizations of time well spent.

This book is significant for current scholars in many health disciplines and health studies, health policy, medical sciences, philosophy, women and gender studies, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and economics. Lastly, yet certainly not least of all, this book is of interest to breastfeeding mothers and donors who are often asked what they spent their time doing all day.

Carolina Crewe is a doctoral student in Gender and Women’s Studies at York University in Toronto, Canada. She has three children. Her current research examines breastfeeding support and policy related to breastfeeding in Canada.

THE GENDER OF REPARATIONS: UNSETTLING SEXUAL HIERARCHIES WHILE REDRESSING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Ruth Rubio-Marín, Ed.
Cambridge: International Centre for Transitional Justice and Cambridge University Press, 2009

REVIEWED BY EMILY ROSSER

In the aftermath of war and authoritarianism, states increasingly award reparations for individual and collective human rights violations. As with many transitional processes,

reparations programs too often fail to adequately recognise or redress harms to women. *The Gender of Reparations: Unsettling Sexual Hierarchies While Redressing Human Rights Violations* is a welcome and timely collection on how gender analysis can positively influence the conceptualization and allocation of reparations. It follows the same group's 2006 project, *What Happened to the Women?* which presented detailed case studies from which this collection draws extensively. Here, the authors take up their earlier call to develop a more comprehensive gendered framework for use in reparations programs.

In her introductory chapters, editor Ruth Rubio-Marín stresses that transitional periods present a unique opportunity for women to permanently transform oppressive systems. She highlights the gendered dimensions of key debates, including how to name and categorise victims, the relative importance of monetary and other symbolic awards, what constitutes a "participatory" process, and balancing individual and collective aspects of surviving atrocity. Margaret Urban Walker then presents concrete theoretical tools to challenge the endemic framing of women as rape victims with no agency or political consciousness, and to bring masculinity more centrally into discussions of victimisation. In a bid to move beyond static binaries, she also rejects the common-sense feminist notion that violence against women in war and peace exists on a continuum. This is a particularly useful and provocative contribution to current feminist debates, both within and outside the fields of reparations and transitional justice.

Law provides an important backdrop in some chapters. Duggan and Jacobson illustrate how recent legal developments on sexual violence contribute to the struggle to implement broader policy changes for women, in transitional processes and in national law. Bernstein's chapter on tort theory and micro-finance holds up microcredit as a

creative way for cash-strapped programs to support women, but perhaps does not adequately address the tendency of states to kill two birds with one stone, or "award" development aid as though it is a reparations package.

Others examine the complexities of recognizing harms and naming beneficiaries. Mazurana and Carlson's work on harms to girls and boys argues that reparations programs must see children as rights-bearers rather than add-ons to their mothers, while Rubio-Marín, Sandoval and Diaz's examination of reparations for family members pushes for a broader understanding of "primary victimhood," beyond conventionally "political" violations such as death in combat or disappearance, in which men are overrepresented. Hamber and Palmay's chapter considers how dilemmas around representation, harm, and gender might shift the way that memorials are designed and promoted. This foray into the symbolic provides a good change of pace and adds a new dimension to the discussion.

Despite important inroads, the book's focus remains primarily on women over "gender." Rubio-Marín acknowledges this focus as a recognition of the enormous, well-documented impact of conflict on women, and the urgent need to keep momentum in struggles for recognition, without neglecting the call for more research into masculinities and militarization. To this end, the collection has great potential to inform and influence current and future reparations programs, and perhaps the next stage of the project will address the remaining research gaps. Less astutely addressed are hard-won feminist gains around gendered language, which seems somewhat haphazardly applied throughout. Women and "females," as well as sex and gender are used interchangeably in several chapters. The title's "sexual hierarchies" are never explained. "Comfort Women," or survivors of Japanese sexual slavery in WWII,

are discussed without sufficiently problematizing this extremely euphemistic term, discarded as insulting by at least some survivors themselves.

The chapters in this volume can more or less stand alone. While several themes thread throughout the exhaustively referenced text, when read as a book, repetition occasionally stands in for dialogue. But methodologically sound, empirical studies based in feminist principles are crucial in a field dominated by legalism. Much transitional justice scholarship assumes that liberal, "universal" principles and methods can be applied globally with little variation. With its data-heavy, comparative focus, this book challenges such an approach, while simultaneously grappling with the urgent need for some generalisation that does not flatten vast differences between cases. Yet it also appears that, at this phase of the project, *The Gender of Reparations* group has only scratched the surface of rich feminist literatures also confronting the wealth of questions raised in their book. Recent, transnational feminist research and theory straddling many fields could inform their discussions and only sharpen their critique.

A substantial contribution, this collection will provide many with a valuable reference, a wealth of data, a jumping-off point, and an opportunity for more dialogue.

Emily Rosser is a Ph.D. candidate in Women's Studies at York University. Her research focuses on feminist activism and discourses of sexual violence in transitional justice processes, specifically in Guatemala.