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Book Reviews

Political Theory

The Dark Side of Modernity by **Jeffrey C. Alexander.** Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013. 187pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 4822 4

This book is a collection of texts by Jeffrey C. Alexander, most of which have been previously published as book chapters or journal articles. Alexander sums up his ideas and criticisms of modern thought, which he divides into four elements: 'philosophy, psychology, art and social engineering' (p. 10). His focus is on the negative effects side of modernity, whereof the gloomy title of the book. This intellectual exploration brings forth an argument that modernity is indeed two-dimensional – evil and good – and at the same time both backward- and forward-looking. Modernity, in other words, incites, encourages and produces the best and the worst kinds of social behaviour. This comprises technological and medical advances, the successful welfare systems and public education institutions, but it also includes the potential for violence of cataclysmic proportions, mass killings and limited freedoms (pp. 54–61).

This guiding premise is critically engaged throughout the book. Alexander contrasts progress with debauchery in relation to the material and moral human condition. He analyses Weber's understanding of rationality (pp. 45–9) and the process of rationalisation as an example of modern intellectual struggle where reason and faith are constantly in conflict, and where faith will inevitably lose. Rationalisation came to be a process that ultimately objectified people in order to dominate them, replacing the old forms of domination with modern ones: isolation and cultural abandonment (p. 53). Throughout the chapters, alongside demonstrating the looming darkness within (post-)modernity, Alexander also suggests ways of overcoming the deep flaws embedded in it (pp. 76–7).

By analysing various points of tension in modernity Alexander points to potential ways we, as a society, could amend and diffuse the tensions. He invokes Simmel's notion of strangeness as one element of tension, wherein a variety of opposing groups in a society seek to dehumanise the other, thus rendering them the enemy to be destroyed (pp. 95–8). These tensions are seemingly inherent and essentially a necessary part of human imagination and subsequent socialisation rooted in our conceptions of good and evil (pp. 110–22). As a sociological theorist and functionalist, Alexander gives much attention to civil society and its ability to absorb, discuss and resolve much of the noted tensions. The healing process within which the darkness of modernity can be ameliorated involves individual self-repair and introspection, collective insistence on improving human rights, social mobilisation and social criticism, but also developing international institutions that would facilitate various locally produced capacities to assuage tensions. This book offers a highly engaging and insightful overview of modernity with one major flaw – it is too short.

Emin Poljarevic
(University of Edinburgh)

Experimental Philosophy: An Introduction by **Joshua Alexander.** Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012. 154pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 4918 4

It is often thought that the strength of a philosophical theory rests on the extent to which it accords with our philosophical intuitions. These include our intuitions about whether it is permissible to kill someone intentionally in order to save a number of lives, whether a person can be morally responsible if she could not have done otherwise, and whether justified true belief is sufficient for knowledge. Traditionally, philosophers have relied on their own intuitions as the basic data for philosophical inquiry. The problem with that strategy is that they often share the same educational background as well as a similar way of thinking. Moreover, empirical evidence suggests that humans tend to overestimate the extent to which others agree with them.

Experimental philosophy promises to overcome this potential source of bias by using the tools of the cognitive and social sciences to uncover the philosophical intuitions of ordinary people. The literature in this burgeoning area of inquiry often reads like a detective novel where each researcher is engaged in a search not only for people's intuitions, but also the factors that trigger those intuitions. Joshua Alexander provides us with an excellent introduction to the empirical detective work that has been undertaken since experimental philosophy was first conceived a little more than ten years ago. From his highly readable book we learn, for example, that normative considerations influence whether people assign intentionality to a person's actions. The side effects of a person's action are interpreted as intentional in those cases where the effect is morally bad and unintentional in those cases where the effect is morally good. In addition, experimental evidence suggests that emotional responses influence the attribution of moral responsibility. In a deterministic world, people assign responsibility to a person for causing a bad outcome, but not for causing a good outcome.

Perhaps most surprising of all is that some of the standard philosophical intuitions that philosophers assume to be universally shared appear to vary between cultures and between genders. As Alexander concedes, this represents a potential problem for an approach to philosophical inquiry that takes intuitions as basic data points for constructing theory. The research findings described in this volume are genuinely fascinating, and Alexander does an admirable job of drawing out their implications for contemporary philosophy. This book should be of considerable interest to scholars and students who are curious about this intriguing approach to philosophy.

Simon Wigley
(Bilkent University, Ankara)

The Dunayevskaya-Marcuse-Fromm Correspondence, 1954–1978: Dialogues on Hegel, Marx and Critical Theory by **Kevin B. Anderson and Russell Rockwell (eds).** Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2012. 267pp., £21.95, ISBN 978 0 7391 6836 3

In these letters, Anderson and Rockwell give their readers the opportunity to be the fly on the wall for the informal discussions between three of the most noteworthy leftist theorists of the twentieth century. The correspondence between Raya Dunayevskaya and Herbert Marcuse, and Dunayevskaya and Erich Fromm runs from 1954 to 1978. The most significant contribution this text makes, beyond the correspondence between these important thinkers to the historical record, is contained in the extensive introduction, which summarises and contextualises the letters to follow.

The editors argue that the publication of this book containing their original introduction, the correspondence and the appendices (which include several re-published prefaces, introductions and book reviews discussed extensively in the letters) represents a significant contribution to ongoing discussions within Marxism and Critical Theory and their connection to Hegelian thought. However, this seems to be somewhat overstated. This contribution to the historical development and evolution of (post-)Marxist thinking re-emphasises the great contributions made by Dunayevskaya – a seriously under-appreciated radical thinker in her own right – and in these letters she often outshines the more widely read and appreciated counterparts to whom she was writing. This correspondence evinces her original thinking and scholarship in the fields of Hegelian Marxism, radical humanism and feminist socialism, as well as her influence in these regards on the more widely recognised Fromm and Marcuse.

Although the correspondence (as is often the case) contains a lot of personal discussions that are not especially relevant to the topics of Marx, Hegel or Critical Theory, some of the personal missives illuminate the human relationships at play in academia, especially during such a tumultuous domestic and international political period. Alongside that, though, there is a great deal of discussion of the personal/professional roadblocks Dunayevskaya faced regardless of her obvious intellectual ingenuity, especially in getting her work published due to her lack of formal academic credentials.

Although significant, I wonder if this work is a bit premature because of the inability to publish the actual texts of Fromm's letters (due to posthumous restrictions put in place by his estate). Fromm's correspondence is summarised by the editors and is therefore not a primary source. Overall, this book is an important piece of scholarship that is worth

reading for professional academics already interested in Critical Theory.

Bryant William Sculos
(Florida International University, Miami)

Nonviolence in Political Theory by **Iain Atack.** Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012. 202pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 0 7486 3378 4

While in recent decades international relations and democratic politics have been marked and inspired by practices of nonviolence – including the end of communism in Eastern Europe, the Orange Revolution in Ukraine and the Rose Revolution in Georgia, the Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt, and the Occupy Wall Street movement – the field of political theory has not included the category of nonviolence among its central preoccupations. In this regard, Iain Atack's *Nonviolence in Political Theory* marks a possible change of direction and suggests new research trajectories, as it examines the place of nonviolence and civil resistance in political theory. It applies the perspective of contemporary theories of power and violence, as well as the role of the state and the nature of socio-political change. Reaching beyond the historical analysis of nonviolence as a political idea and event, Atack turns to the philosophies of Leo Tolstoy, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Hannah Arendt and Gene Sharp to examine the conceptual tapestry of two main streams in the tradition of nonviolence: principled nonviolence and pragmatic nonviolence.

The question of the state, its legitimacy and role in the achievement of public liberty and security is the main reference point in the book. It is considered both from the perspective of social contract theory and the more radical traditions of Georges Sorel and Frantz Fanon. That particular conceptual and methodological approach allows Atack to highlight the complexity and diversity of the area of nonviolence insofar as it incorporates diverse, and sometimes conflicting, positions, which include Tolstoy's appeal to eliminate the coercive institution of the state inspired by his Christian anarchist ethics, and Gandhi's belief in the possibility of the 'progressive substitution' of the institutionalised violence of the state by practices of nonviolence for the goal of achieving a peaceful society (*ramaraj*). The question of nonviolence in contemporary political theorising of power and state violence is subsequently taken up in Atack's reading of Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci. Finally, the book also includes discussion of pacifism and nonviolence as related, but mutually irreducible political and philosophical positions, thus situating nonviolence specifically in the context of armed conflict and internationalism.

This book is a highly recommended text for undergraduate courses in critical political philosophy and in democratic theory, as well as for graduate students who are focusing on the topics of regime change, democratic transition and consolidation, civil protest, pacifism and war.

Magdalena Zolkos
(University of Western Sydney)

The Philosophy of Race by **Albert Atkin.** Durham, NC: Acumen, 2012. 194pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 1 84465 515 1

This is a smartly written book that is a wonderful introduction to complex debates about the philosophy of race. Albert Atkin takes readers around the world from the United Kingdom to the United States, South America to Continental Europe, and in so doing gives them an international perspective on race. This alone is commendable. Despite its small size, this book contains a wealth of information. Yet readers hoping for particularly in-depth case studies or thorough understandings of particular thinkers or philosophies will need to look beyond this text. The book will help those needing a quick refresher on the philosophy of race as well as those who want an introduction to the field.

This work is divided into five short chapters, bookended by an introduction and conclusion. The chapters – 'Is Race Real?', 'Is Race Social?', 'What Should We Do with Race?', 'Racism', 'The Everyday Impact of Race and Racism' – are judicially divided into subsections and each chapter ends with its own conclusion. This structure makes the book readable in short sittings, contributing to its utility as a study guide or quick reference. The book is accessible to readers of all experience levels.

One cannot help but notice several omissions. Frantz Fanon, Cornel West, Eric Michael Dyson and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. are absent, as are the majority of critical race theorists and critical race feminists. Atkin, an expert in Charles Sanders Peirce, pragmatism and semiotics, leaves this expertise out of the book, which

is unfortunate because such discussions might lend fruitfully to the text *á la* Ruth Wodak and Michael Pounds, who have brought semiotics into conversation with the philosophy of race.

These concerns are relatively minor. Atkin is adept at discussing the intersections of philosophy and biology as applied to race. Chapter 1 is particularly helpful for scholars interested in the ways biology has been used to promote notions of racial difference and inequality. Atkin discusses science with aplomb. He admits his discussion might be overwhelming to some, but here he is simply too modest. His ability to distil scientific arguments into readable prose is no small accomplishment.

This text is strongly written and keenly priced. It should be a welcome read for anyone, of any educational level, interested in the philosophy of race. While not flawless, Atkin has provided a solid contribution to this complex field, and has done so in an accessible and engaging way.

Nick J. Sciullo
(Georgia State University)

In Our Name: The Ethics of Democracy by **Eric Beerbohm.** Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012. 352pp., £30.95, ISBN 978 0 691 15461 9

Work on the ethics of political conduct has tended to worry at politicians' virtues, vices and dirty hands. Eric Beerbohm's important new book zeroes in on the moral responsibilities and entanglements of the individual citizen in democratic societies. In particular, as its title suggests, it is concerned with *complicity*, 'the special horror that you experience when state-sponsored injustices are committed in your name' (p. 1). The agreeable moral it draws for those who value political participation is that the fuller our engagement in politics – the more we inform ourselves and protest about the injustices carried out in our name – the lighter our moral complicity in these injustices.

Beerbohm works through three sets of ethical issues that the citizen confronts: the ethics of participation, belief and delegation. That each vote taken in isolation is a drop in the ocean, he argues, does not erase a defeasible moral reason to participate in elections where one can make a contribution against injustice. The cognitive bias and inattention of most of us when it comes to politics also does not wipe out the notion of responsibility (or, alternatively, demand that each citizen become what Walter Lippmann called 'omnicompetent'). Instead, there is a place for an appropriate set of cognitive shortcuts in a democratic ethics of belief. Finally, citizens are viewed as co-principals in shaping the terms of their interaction, whose agents are an indispensable but fallible means for the implementation of these terms. While Beerbohm's attention is largely on 'what it is like to be a citizen', as he puts it, there is some discussion of the implications of this account of complicity, participation, belief and delegation for macro-democratic design. In particular, he suggests a series of institutional paths (including opt-outs and petitions) that allow us to detach our agency from the state's actions.

This is a vigorously anti-Hobbesian book that in effect challenges those who vest less in the epistemic capacities and moral responsibilities of the individual citizen to work through the implications of their scepticism. Combining wide learning with a tenacious and undogmatic focus on the problems of democratic citizenship, Beerbohm has written a book that identifies fresh solutions to some important problems and should become a key reference point for democratic theorists.

Matthew Festenstein
(University of York)

A Companion to Political Philosophy: Methods, Tools, Topics by **Antonella Besussi (ed.).** Farnham: Ashgate, 2012. 244pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 1 409 41062 1

Antonella Besussi's edited volume has an ambitious goal – 'a complete overview of political philosophy' – but it only delivers a fair overview of contemporary thought (p. ix). The difficulties such overview texts face are numerous – two of which will be addressed here. Foremost is the question of audience, after which is the issue of what is included. By evaluating these issues, this review uncovers the strengths and weaknesses of Besussi's collaborative text.

Overall, the intended audience is unclear. The methods section contains six chapters. Chapters 1, 4 and 6 are suitable for undergraduates, while chapters 2, 3 and 5 are not. In particular, Besussi's first chapter (explaining the tension between normative political philosophy and the descriptive science of politics

shaping political science today) is recommended for undergraduates as a short, accessible introduction to political thought and is more suitable than alternatives like Strauss's *What is Political Philosophy?*.[1] Also, Pasquali's summary of the pros and cons of theories emphasising feasibility versus desirability, and Zuolo's similar evaluation of realistic versus idealistic thought, provide a good foundation for undergraduates. However, the essays on truth, objectivity and the debate over fact-grounded versus principle-grounded theories necessitate a pre-existing grounding in political philosophy more common to graduate students.

Next, the six chapters in the tools section are primarily graduate level. Only Wijze's piece discussing the means versus ends or the Machiavellian 'dirty hands' debate and possibly Reidy's piece assessing theories driven by what is right versus what is good are appropriate for undergraduates. The four chapters on politics/metaphysics, counterfactuals, justification and trade-offs are denser, graduate readings.

Following this, the eight chapters in the topics section are the most valuable in the book. Each piece takes a topic (ranging from the enduring themes of liberty, equality, justice and community to contemporary ones of pluralism, public discourse, (dis)agreement and identity/difference), identifies its key thinkers and summarises their arguments. One is hard pressed to find better concise summaries introducing contemporary debates.

As for content, Besussi's collaborative work should be called 'A Companion to *Contemporary* Political Philosophy' as this is not an overview of the history of political thought. The methods section references some classics (Plato and Aristotle) and there is some use of modern thought (limited to Machiavelli, contractarianism and utilitarianism). Contemporary thought – particularly Rawls – is the focus. Habermas receives limited treatment, post-modern and post-structural scholarship is scarce (only Derrida's deconstructionism receives much attention), and Marxist scholarship is absent. Given that most contributors are continental scholars, these choices are surprising.

Note

1 Strauss, L. (1959) *What is Political Philosophy?* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Michael T. Rogers
(Arkansas Tech University)

Hegel's Political Philosophy: A Systematic Reading of the Philosophy of Right by **Thom Brooks.** Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, second edition, 2013. 263pp., £22.99, ISBN 978 0 7486 4509 1

This book grew from a PhD thesis to a first edition in 2007. In this second edition of *Hegel's Political Philosophy*, Brooks includes additional chapters discussing Hegel's views on democracy and history. Also new is a reply to criticisms that followed the first edition. The author set out to argue for a systematic reading of Hegel's work – in particular *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* (*Elements of the Philosophy of Right*). Part of the contemporary public shies away from Hegel's metaphysical, even religious, conceptions. Such readings would focus on a single work or topic. Brooks successfully demonstrates the explanatory force of Hegel's system while reading the *Philosophy of Right*. Over the years, Hegel described a dialectic, layered system of the world and its thought. Brooks' references to conceptions Hegel introduced in other writings improve our understanding of the *Philosophy of Right*.

Brooks uses his first chapter to situate the *Philosophy of Right* in the context of all Hegel's writings. Rather than sketching the historical and philosophical context of Hegel's works, Brooks discusses interpretations of those works and of the philosopher's position. He does not side with any one school of interpretation – Hegel seen as a conservative supporting the Prussian, reactionary regime versus Hegel promoting liberal ideas. In his moderation, Brooks turns our attention back to Hegel's texts. Chapter 5, for instance, explains how Hegel thought about different forms of family life. Brooks neither dismisses nor excuses Hegel for his adherence to marriage with children, but rather shows why an unmarried couple or a same-sex marriage does not match the system of thought.

This book is aimed at those who read Hegel's works of political philosophy because it certainly helps to choose how to read and understand those works. Likewise, some understanding of the Enlightenment, German idealism, the Napoleonic wars and German state-building can be deemed necessary to grasp Hegel's philosophy. Brooks' book is less suited as a stand-alone introduction to Hegel's political philosophy, although the author discusses Hegel's views on property, punishment, morality, family, law, monar-

chy, democracy, war and history. While he relates those topics in the *Philosophy of Right* to other texts by Hegel, he hardly contextualises them within history and political theory in general.

Brooks writes clearly, does not confront readers with German and his book does not require advanced familiarity with philosophy. However, there is a downside to his clarity in that the chapters are somewhat repetitive.

Wouter-Jan Oosten
(Sociotext Foundation, The Hague)

Marx on Gender and the Family: A Critical Study by **Heather A. Brown.** Leiden: Brill, 2012. 232pp., £94.84, ISBN 9789004214286

In *Marx on Gender and the Family*, Heather Brown develops a comprehensive analysis of Marx's entire *oeuvre* in relation to the subjects of gender and the family. Based on a clearly written textual engagement with Marx's work, the book reveals the extent to which gender was an 'essential category' for him, despite the fact that he did not formulate a 'systematic theory of gender' (p. 3).

The book follows a chiefly chronological order with which the impressive breadth of Marx's writings is unpacked and examined with particular reference to gender. Starting with the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844, Brown retraces the development of Marx's thought on gender in his major and minor publications, including *inter alia*, *The German Ideology*, *The Communist Manifesto*, *Capital* and a selection of *The New York Tribune* articles. Despite the fact that Marx sometimes used the vocabulary of 'Victorian ideology' in his writings, Brown maintains that the dialectical method developed in Marx's corpus is a potent antidote to the essentialist conceptualisations of gender and the family and that Marx's categories 'provide resources for feminist theory' (p. 70). The conceptual discussion is reinforced with examples highlighting Marx's political activities and his direct engagement with the social and economic oppressions faced by women in bourgeois society.

The final two chapters provide highly original examinations of the 'Ethnological Notebooks' in which Marx studied and engaged with the anthropological works of Lewis Henry Morgan, Henry Sumner Maine, Ludwig Lange, John Budd Pear, John Lubbock and Maxim Kovalevsky. Focusing mainly on the sections related to Morgan, Maine and Lange, Brown offers a crucial reconsideration of the relationship between Marx's own analysis of Morgan's *Ancient Society* and Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. The author convincingly draws a line between Marx's and Engels' discussions of the position of women in historical development and underlines that for Marx, unlike Engels, the introduction of private property and the naturalisation of monogamy did not entail the 'world-historic defeat of the female sex' (pp. 117 and 158). Brown makes a compelling case for revisiting Marx's thought on gender since it is depicted as a productive starting point for conceptualising agency and subjectivity compared to Engels' 'relatively deterministic and unilinear framework' (p. 175).

Brown's book is a laudable heir to Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.[1] But beyond its immanent value as a powerful contribution to Marxism, the book further speaks to contemporary feminist debates by re-emphasising the significance of the dialectical method in overcoming binary dualisms (e.g. nature/culture, man/woman) and examining the non-static forms of social relations without overlooking 'local and macro power-structures' (p. 209).

Note

1 Dunayevskaya, R. (1991) *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Cemal Burak Tansel
(University of Nottingham)

Dialogues with Contemporary Political Theorists by **Gary Browning, Raia Prokhovnik and Maria Dimova-Cookson (eds).** Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. 248pp., £57.50, ISBN 978 0230303058

In this volume, Gary Browning, Maria Dimova-Cookson, Raia Prokhovnik and others interview twelve prominent contemporary thinkers. Benjamin Barber, Jane Bennett, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Jerry Cohen, William E. Connolly, Rainer Forst, Bonnie Honig, Carole Pateman, Philip Pettit, Amartya Sen, Quentin Skinner and R. B. J. Walker provide fascinating insights into their work, discuss their intellectual trajectories, and reflect on politics, ethics and society.

Barber stresses the limitations of representative democracy, and defends a theory of strong democracy

that cultivates the idea of an active and reflective citizen body. Bennett challenges traditional understandings of agency by introducing the notion of 'vibrant matter'. She argues that the real locus of agency 'is always a human non-human collective' (p. 53). Chakrabarty reflects on the possibility of a genuinely democratic modernisation based on 'an open-ended dialogue' between the subaltern classes and the elites (p. 67). For Cohen, the current economic crisis shows the problematic nature of the capitalist system, and creates more space for egalitarian and progressive theorisation. Connolly explores the dynamics of multidimensional pluralism, and speaks of the fragility and tensions that characterise the human condition today. Forst explains the key ideas of his philosophical project: normative justification in democratic politics, and a critical theory of justice. Honig's vision of agonistic humanism encompasses such issues as diagnostic political theory, 'agonistic cosmopolitanism', the confrontation with 'the other', and feminism as a democratic quest for equality and shared power. Pateman refers to her critique of the social contract tradition in *The Sexual Contract* and in *Contract and Domination* (with Charles Mills). She then notes the impact of globalisation and of the theories of deliberative democracy on contemporary political thought. Pettit argues that republicanism articulates ideals of democratic justice, public justification and civic freedom that seek to establish 'a relationship in which the governors do not dominate the governed' (p. 166). Sen extols the virtues of the 'social choice tradition' in theorising justice, and advocates a global public discourse on development and human well-being. Skinner talks about the corpus of his work, highlights his interest in the Renaissance, and defends the value and the emancipatory character of the republican theory of freedom. Walker shows that international relations theory can address a variety of innovative themes, such as spatiotemporality, the relation between subjectivity and sovereignty, boundaries, as well as issues of meaning and explanation.

The interviews in this volume are not only accessible, but also skilfully executed and intellectually stimulating. The reader is invited on a journey of exploration and reflection in the rich landscape of political thought. The experience is both rewarding and empowering.

Stamatoula Panagakou
(University of Cyprus, Nicosia)

The Poetic Character of Human Activity: Collected Essays on the Thought of Michael Oakeshott by **Wendell John Coats Jr. and Chor-Yung Cheung.** Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2012. 140pp, £37.95, ISBN 978 0 7391 7161 5

The British philosopher Michael Oakeshott is well-known for his critique of Rationalism (the assumption that social, economic and political problems can be anticipated and are readily amenable to solution through the application of human rationality), his preference for an approach sensitive to tradition and his view that the state should more closely approximate a civil association than an enterprise association. Oakeshott is also known for his preference for a morality of habit and affect over a morality of principle. *The Poetic Character of Human Activity* is a collection of essays on the element in Oakeshott's thought that, in its critique of what Oakeshott referred to as 'Rationalism', emphasises the notion of craft and art over science and reason. Also emphasised is the notion within his thought of a politics founded on the notion of conversation, and his discussion of the poetic or aesthetic as modes of experience.

Each of the authors has considered such issues in previous works: Wendell Coats in *Oakeshott and His Contemporaries* and Chor-Yung Cheung in *The Quest for Civil Order*.[1] They see this poetic or aesthetic aspect as fundamental to Oakeshott's understanding of how, while eschewing Rationalism (which he views as conducive to ideological politics), politics can keep a society together and maintain civil peace while at the same time permitting the flexibility that allows traditions to achieve continuity as well as evolution. Of the nine essays included, six are by Coats and three are by Cheung. The latter include the additional focus of considering parallels between Oakeshott's thought and that of thinkers within the Chinese tradition.

A number of other recent works on Oakeshott – one thinks of Glenn Worthington's *Religious and Poetic Experience in the Thought of Michael Oakeshott* and Elizabeth Campbell Corey's *Michael Oakeshott: On Religion, Aesthetics and Politics*[2] – have moved in a similar direction – albeit with some differences of emphasis. Such an approach does shed light on some hitherto neglected aspects of Oakeshott's thought. *The Poetic Character of Human Activity* presumes some prior familiarity with his thought, and students of Oakeshott should find this collection of interest.

Notes

1 Coats, W. (2000) *Oakeshott and His Contemporaries*. Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press; C.-Y. Cheung (2007) *The Quest for Civil Order: Politics, Rules and Individuality*. Exeter: Imprint Academic.
2 Worthington, G. (2005) *Religious and Poetic Experience in the Thought of Michael Oakeshott*. Exeter: Imprint Academic; E. C. Corey (2006) *Michael Oakeshott: On Religion, Aesthetics and Politics*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press.

James G. Mellon
(Independent scholar)

Immunitas: The Protection and Negation of Life by **Roberto Esposito.** Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011. 207pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 4914 6

A theoretically innovative book, useful for those interested in the future of life and death in the biopolitical age, *Immunitas* is the concluding piece of the trilogy that includes *Bios* and *Communitas*. The book convincingly positions immunity as the framework of modernity, employing law and religion to demonstrate the gravitas of the immunitary paradigm. Communities are rescued from violence through inoculation; the law mobilises *legitimate* violence through various apparatuses to manage proscribed violence; religion is remedy to the cognizance of life's bounds, assimilating uncertainty through a promise of immortality.

The somatic mechanism of immunity is often described through a lexicon of war and turmoil. An etymological journey through the genesis of 'immunity' before its adoption by cellular biology leads to a fascinating look at immunologists' appropriation of politico-legal language of conflict and death. Although Roberto Esposito does not deny that a bodily immunitary mechanism pre-dated the immunitary model of law, the author's focus on the notion's genealogy is effective in illustrating the use of immunity as a productive vehicle for the understanding of spheres beyond human biology.

In the book's final chapters, the discussion takes on especial energy. Esposito engages in a convincing critique of Foucauldian biopolitics, arguing that its limitations are a product of Foucault's exhaustive, but temporally contingent, analysis of a specifically modern period in which sovereign power and then biopolitics came to articulate themselves. Esposito offers a clarification of the subject of biopolitics: the population. Rather than a confluence of people sharing rights or national consciousness, a population is many individuals *each with a body*. By anchoring biopolitics to the soma and recognising developments in prosthesis, Esposito recognises that the ontology of corporeality is thrown into question. With the body's bounds in crisis, what becomes of the biopolitical subject?

We are asked whether or not there is a more effective principle than immunity in understanding the semiotic gravity of the permeable bounds of the autonomous self in opposition to the other. The book argues convincingly that the paradigm of modernity can be conceived as one of immunity; Esposito highlights the profound challenges to the body's supposedly incontestable limits that are brought into being by advancements in contemporary biotechnology. With such an emphasis on modernity's challenge to accepted human selfhood, the book effectively prompts its readers to ask whether we must reconfigure the lens through which we understand autonomous human existence.

Rosalind G. Williams
(University of York)

Nietzsche's Enlightenment: The Free-Spirit Trilogy of the Middle Period by **Paul Franco.** Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011. 262pp., £26.00, ISBN 9780226259819

Paul Franco has written a very important book advancing a compelling argument on Nietzsche's thought, that – contrary to the interpretation of various postmodern thinkers (Derrida, Kofman, Deleuze, Blondel *et al.*) – Nietzsche's middle period works (*Human All Too Human, Daybreak* and *The Gay Science*) offer a more friendly critique of the Enlightenment and rationalism of the humanist tradition than is usually portrayed by the secondary literature that deals with this period (if at all). Franco also makes the point that these middle period works often lack the rhetorical character and tone that shape Nietzsche's later works.

In addressing the works of Nietzsche's middle period, Franco suggests that they are hardly a minor respite or break from the early period of his work (with the influences of romanticism, Wagner and Schopenhauer), before Nietzsche turned to his later works (where his rhetorical character becomes that of a prophet, one who seeks 'to philosophize with the hammer'). All too often Nietzsche's middle period gets

overshadowed either by the early period or the later works, and is often seen as a transition point or a quiet interlude between the two storms that shape Nietzsche's thought. Franco argues that this middle period, although it gave Nietzsche the means to break with the overly romantic influence of Wagner and Schopenhauer on his thinking, also reveals a Nietzsche who is more restrained in his critique of the Enlightenment and various Enlightenment thinkers. One thus sees a different Nietzsche to the one usually presented in much of the secondary literature of the past thirty years; one who offers a much more friendly critique of the use of reason in various Enlightenment thinkers than he does in either the earlier or later works.

Franco's examination of the middle period works shows a Nietzsche who preaches moderation and who sees the value of rationality instead of 'Dionysian Frenzy', and a philosopher whose philosophising is achieved through 'the will to power'. Franco also argues that although the later works and their tone do break decisively with the moderation of the middle period, nonetheless key themes and concerns – such as a commitment to reason and intellectual honesty – remain in those later works as well. Franco's work shows that the Nietzsche of the later period did not simply disregard all that was cultivated in the middle period, despite the radical break with regard to tone and style.

Another important aspect of Franco's book is its clear and relatively jargon-free style, which makes the reading experience enjoyable. Overall, this is a valuable addition to Nietzsche studies and will be a book that future scholars will be forced to address one way or another.

Clifford Angell Bates Jr.
(University of Warsaw)

Rethinking Gramsci by **Marcus E. Green (ed.).** Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 336pp., £28.00, ISBN 978 0 415 82055 4

The perspectives and interpretations of Antonio Gramsci in contemporary politics have become crucial to understanding the complex conjuncture of International Relations over the decades. Under this lens, *Rethinking Gramsci*, which is a collection of 22 articles previously published in the journal *Rethinking Marxism*, edited by Marcus Green, provides a well-organised overview of Gramsci's thought. Considering the complexity of Gramsci's thought, this text's main goal is to investigate an interesting intersection between politics, economics and cultural processes analysed as being part of a continuum within the historical materialism of the past and the present (p. 7). This task is certainly accomplished.

The book is organised into four sections that discuss the main approaches of Gramsci, from culture studies, hegemony and philosophy to translation problems of the *Prison Notebooks*. The first section is dedicated to the main aspects of culture, literature and criticism according to Gramsci's interpretation of those topics. It explores, for instance, Gramsci's remarks on Dante, where Paul Bové analyses some reflections upon the problems of representation (p. 19), and Marcia Landy considers Gramsci's work with regard to cultural and political approaches towards a socialist education in the modern day (p. 39).

The second section presents several of Gramsci's major political concepts and views, attempting to bring his theory into the contemporary world in several domains – for instance, in South Asia, trade unions, feminism, political economy, ethics and capitalism. Regarding the concept of 'hegemony', Derek Boothman assesses its theoretical origins throughout the prison writings (p. 55).

The third section advocates the co-relation between political philosophy and Marxism, presenting, among others, Carlos Coutinho's argument that 'Gramsci was in dialogue not only with Marx and Lenin, or Machiavelli (which is unequivocal), but also, if at times implicitly, with other great names of modern political philosophy – Rousseau and Hegel in particular' (p. 190).

The final section explores the essential concerns regarding the translation and organisation of Joseph Buttigieg's English edition of Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*. While on the one hand David Ruccio states that 'the *Prison Notebooks* represents for me ... the discovery of a new Gramsci' (p. 269), referring to the troubles of the English translation, Peter Ives' chapter presents 'The Mammoth Task of Translating Gramsci'. In a time where we can find a great deal of political and philosophical approaches, *Rethinking Gramsci* provides the reader with distinctive approaches to interpreting Gramsci in several areas.

Fernando J. Ludwig
(University of Coimbra, Portugal)

Max Weber's Comparative-Historical Sociology Today: Major Themes, Mode of Causal Analysis and Applications by **Stephen Kalberg.** Farnham: Ashgate, 2012. 338pp., £20.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 3223 4

The focus of this book is an attempt to re-evaluate Max Weber's thought in light of the current interest in comparative-historical models of studying society. Stephen Kalberg's work reveals to the reader a Weber who is a much more complex and dynamic thinker. This is achieved by Kalberg's reconstruction of Weber's thought from the various pieces of his work that were often incomplete and unfinished due to his premature death. It also reflects another current trend in Weber scholarship to overcome the understanding and view of Weber in English and the way his thought emerged from the translations and interpretation of his writings in the mid-twentieth century. This earlier presentation of Weber and his thought all too often ignored aspects in his writing, which reflected trends and concerns in German thinking at the beginning of the twentieth century and following on from the doubts that arose from the experience of the First World War. Over the past twenty years, Anglo-American scholars have started to re-evaluate Weber in light of their confrontation with the German scholarship on him that developed from the mid-1960s to 1980s. Kalberg's volume arises in the middle of a series of new translation projects of Weber's key works that have been started in the past fifteen years. The various themes that Kalberg presents in the pieces selected for this volume give us a fresh view of Weber and his thought.

The essays in this volume are a collection of Kalberg's writings on Weber over the last thirty years, and consequently cohere rather well. Although this book is written more for those interested in sociology and social theory, it is also of interest to students of politics. I would suggest that Part III could be of great interest to students of comparative politics and especially those interested in approaches to political culture. As for Part IV, this would very much interest students of political thought and the thought of Weber and its development. Kalberg's re-examination of Weber's work on the role of religion (Jewish monotheism, the Hindu caste system and Confucianism in China) might also be of interest to students concerned with the impact religious actors have upon the structure of a society and its political culture. Overall, students of politics and political thought will find lots to mine from this volume, even if these contributions were directed more at students of sociology and social thought.

Clifford Angell Bates Jr.
(University of Warsaw)

History of Political Theory: An Introduction, Volume I: Ancient and Medieval by **George Klosko.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, second edition, 2012. 373pp., £24.99, ISBN 978 0 19 969542 3

History of Political Theory: An Introduction, Volume II: Modern by **George Klosko.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, second edition, 2013. 592pp., £24.99, ISBN 978 0 19 969545 4

By now George Klosko's two-volume *History of Political Theory* is an established textbook that has proven to be very useful both for students and teachers. Therefore, one should warmly welcome the fact that Oxford University Press has published a second, updated version.

The first edition was published in 1994. Klosko has revised his *magnum opus*, taking into account his longstanding experience of teaching undergraduate and graduate students and introducing them to the major authors and themes of the history of political thought. In doing so, he has rewritten several sections to clarify his presentation, replaced some older translations with new ones, and updated the references and suggestions for further reading. The basic structure of the book, however, has been untouched. The core of it is reserved for detailed discussions of the political ideas of 'the great authors'. So, in the first volume, Klosko narrates the history of Western political thought from its beginning in ancient Greece to the Middle Ages, culminating in the Reformation period. The major authors who receive lengthy treatments are Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, St Augustine, St Thomas Aquinas and Marsilius of Padua. There are also chapters on the origins, the Hellenistic period, the New Testament background and the Reformation period. In the second volume Klosko starts his exposition with Machiavelli and ends in the mid-nineteenth century with Marx. The other authors who figure prominently

in this volume are Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Burke, Bentham, James and John Stuart Mill, and Hegel. The reason why Klosko has included these authors in his overview is for their 'continuing relevance' (p. vii). What makes this textbook so useful is the large number of quotations from the primary texts. They give the reader the opportunity to delve directly into these authors' political philosophy and become familiar with their concepts, ways of reasoning and political language.

However praiseworthy and valuable Klosko's volumes may be, there are two points of criticism that should be noted. First, although it has been a deliberate choice to opt for 'depth rather than breadth' (p. vii), the question remains why certain authors did not receive a (detailed) discussion. Just to give one example, why does Tacitus not figure in this textbook? His ideas have been very influential and have inspired dozens of authors during the Renaissance, while he might also have been an important key figure in the understanding of the transition from Machiavelli to Hobbes. On the other hand, one may question what has brought Klosko to devote two chapters to Plato (besides the fact that this Greek philosopher has attracted his attention for a long time and on whose political philosophy he has written several very valuable contributions)?

The second point of criticism concerns the title of this textbook with its reference to 'political theory' (instead of 'political philosophy' or 'political thought'). The difference between these notions depends, as Klosko points out in a footnote, on the level of abstraction. Although it is true that he has paid careful attention to the context in which each of these philosophies took shape, it is also true that with his emphasis on depth rather than breadth as well as on continuing relevance he seems to have had a particular eye for a certain level of abstraction that has been appealing to other thinkers in the course of time. Therefore, doubts may be raised with regard to the choice of these volumes' title. Part of these doubts could have been lifted by adding a section in which Klosko dwelled for a while on these matters. At the very least, it would have made clear his views on the use of these terms and what they implied for the narration of his overview. These are all, however, minor points of criticism, which in no way detract from the value this textbook has and will have for a new generation of students, teachers and others who are interested in the history of political theory.

Erik De Bom
(University of Leuven)

Mill: A Guide for the Perplexed by **Sujith Kumar.** London: Bloomsbury, 2013. 179pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 1 84706 403 5

This book is, as the author tells us, 'an introduction to the topics in J. S. Mill's thought that are particularly challenging to access on their own' (pp. 11–12). As such, it is not an overview of Mill's thought and is written in the context of the liberal-utilitarian debate that has been the focus of much scholarship on Mill. The book is a contribution to the revisionary school, which suggests Mill's liberalism and utilitarianism are part of a coherent project of reform.

Those with a philosophical background will be especially interested in the second chapter that discusses Mill's method and his views on character. These themes are developed by an analysis of Mill's utilitarianism, such as the role of associationism in sanctions that enforce utilitarian morality. This is followed by an examination of Mill's Principle of Liberty which includes an assessment of applications of the Principle to the free market, indecency and the liberty of parents. Kumar then addresses Mill's view of history, including his views on democracy, before returning to the liberal-utilitarian debate by assessing some of Isaiah Berlin and John Gray's arguments. Although this book will be of primary benefit to students, Mill scholars will also gain from reading it.

This is a well-written, accessible and engaging book, which succeeds in providing an introduction to some of the most important aspects of Mill's thought as well as being a worthy contribution to the liberal-utilitarian debate. Kumar does not allow this debate to dominate all chapters, resulting in a larger number of topics being addressed than is often the case with such contributions. Although other important topics that have been the focus of much recent research, such as Mill's international political thought, are not discussed, this is understandable given the aims and parameters of the book.

Kumar's references to other thinkers and groups who influenced Mill, such as Jeremy Bentham and Auguste Comte, and lesser known influences such as

Thomas Hare and Malthusian ideas, help us to understand the intellectual context in which Mill developed his ideas. Although there is overall a good balance between description and evaluation, further analysis on certain topics, such as the strength of Gray's argument concerning the fallacy of progress and the implications of this for Mill's project, would have been beneficial given its potentially devastating consequences for Mill.

Daniel Duggan
(Durham University)

Democratic Futures: Re-visioning Democracy Promotion by **Milja Kurki.** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 296pp., £26.99, ISBN 978 0 415 69034 8

The ubiquity of 'democracy promotion' on Western policy agendas provides the context for Milja Kurki's timely and compelling new book. From Afghanistan and Iraq to Libya and Mali, military interventions are increasingly justified in terms of democracy 'promotion', 'restoration' or 'support', rendering this 'one of the most powerful international policy dynamics in the post-Cold War era' (p. 1). *Democratic Futures* aims to 'go "behind the appearances" of democracy support', problematising the models of democracy that underpin policy practice in a way the positivist literature, with its 'normatively pre-given' concepts, cannot (p. 3).

With an analytic terrain stretching from John Locke to the Occupy movement, Kurki situates democracy promotion policies within a continuum of Western democratic discourse, practice and contestation. A conceptual matrix of ideal-typical 'politico-economic' visions of democracy, ranging from 'classical liberal' and 'neoliberal' to 'radical' and 'global', informs empirical analyses of democracy promotion models in practice. Discourse analysis of the policies and practices of key international actors reveals that, despite important tensions, 'liberal democratic understandings of democracy still seem to dominate' (p. 215). Crucially, it is argued that the 'triumphalist', explicit, 'big L' Liberalism of the 1990s has been replaced by 'implicit' (and often 'fuzzy' or internally contested) liberalisms in democracy promotion discourse.

Kurki's critical explanation for the dominance of 'implicit liberalism' among democracy promoters draws productively upon Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony' and Foucault's concept of 'governmentality'. In an important sense, the book provides a useful corollary to the 'end of ideology' debates of the 1990s. If 'ideology' disappeared from view with the Berlin Wall, perhaps it found clandestine refuge in 'democracy promotion' discourses. It is therefore somewhat disappointing that Kurki largely eschews direct engagement with the concept of 'ideology' here.

A cardinal achievement of *Democratic Futures* is the re-politicisation of democracy. While many have pointed to the essentially contested nature of the concept, there has seldom been so thoroughgoing an account of opposing (and overlapping) visions of democracy. *Democratic Futures* constitutes an innovative and necessary intervention in the field of democracy promotion, denaturalising and re-politicising the terms of debate, and pointing to some interesting alternative directions. The book concludes with a series of 'policy provocations'. A refreshing antidote to the insipid 'policy recommendations' found at the end of many works of political science, this set of normative injunctions directed at key actors, from non-governmental organisations to international financial institutions, culminates in a general, and laudable, demand for a 'radical democratic pluralism'.

Ben Whitham
(University of Reading)

Bergson, Politics and Religion by **Alexandre Lefebvre and Melanie White (eds).** Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. 338 pp., $17.99, ISBN 978 0 8223 5275 4

Tremendous tension is tearing consumer society apart. But any separation of society's intellectual and instinctual, or of individual-mechanistic and species-preservationist tendencies would be dreadful. Henri Bergson teaches that these dually opposed tendencies can neither be separated nor assimilated. They remain the two 'differing manifestations' of one ascetic life-process (p. 293), for how species instinct coincides with individual intellect so should society cohere with its temporal freedoms. The fifteen essays in this bundle consider Bergson's assurances that such coherence exists – and assurances may give confidence, Keck finds, which then befalls us 'in one simple action' (p. 277).

All essayists in this volume respond to the why-war-question, so finely posed throughout Bergson's *The*

Two Sources of Morality and Religion, yet almost none responds to wars against biodiversity. Worms especially could have added that the great mystics made truce with extinction by taking pleasure in not wanting pleasure: in freedom from want. Jankélévitch suggests that their mysteriously inexhaustible freedom might turn into a static ritual. Keck understands that the mystics were as free as they were bound by fear. '[Their] intelligence frightens itself' before it cohered with their actions (p. 276). Fujita compares this to Sorel's myth of the general strike, which frightened before it would cohere with the free workshops (p. 137). Not an image of awful force, but the force of an awe-inspiring image (the strike) now becomes freedom's foundation.

Free and democratic societies cannot be founded undemocratically, although they are. Societal inclusion and forceful exclusion cannot coexist, although they do. Ochoa-Espejo dissolves this paradox of democratic foundation in her wonderful interpretation. Inclusive and exclusive tendencies are the mutually opposing and yet also qualitatively different dimensions of one image, of the people. Ochoa-Espejo never speaks of the myth/mystery of the democratic people – and this appears regrettable because, as concept, mystery conveys more Bergsonism than paradox. Bergson attended a few séances and might even have known the 1914 Christmas truce – a mysterious event that could complement Barnard's reading of him as a parapsychologist well. Soulez instead reads Bergson as 'the first' to have called for a decision on the species, and thus sounds much more urgent than either Barnard or Ochoa-Espejo (p. 110). Still, these essayists are all very earnest about us risking a separation between intellectual and instinctual tendencies. Their work will be warmly welcomed by students of early twentieth-century polemological, political psychological and perhaps political ecological action as well.

Paul Timmermans
(Portland State University)

Foucault, Governmentality and Critique by **Thomas Lemke.** Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2012. 131pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 159451 638 2

Michel Foucault has been one of the most significant influences on critical and interpretive social science in Britain over the last two decades. Yet his influence during this time has not been static. Since 2003, the steady trickle of translations into English of his 1978–84 lectures at the Collège de France has allowed Foucault's mature reflections about governmentality, neoliberalism and security to provide new conceptual tools for empirical research. In this concise yet rich introduction, Thomas Lemke presents this new Foucault to an unfamiliar audience. Here, Foucault is no longer the theorist of discourse, discipline and sexuality who was known in the 1980s and early 1990s, but founder of the field of Governmentality Studies. No undergraduate guide, this tightly argued and scholarly discussion explains how governmentality not only refines Foucault's earlier, influential theory of power, but also re-engages with the study of the state and other phenomena of central concern to political science.

Lemke's first chapter deftly sketches Foucault's critique of concepts of repressive sovereign power and explains his alternative model of power as structural, relational and productive. While most introductory accounts might stop there, Lemke argues that, in such works as *Discipline and Punish*, this model confined Foucault's attention to the micropolitics of singular institutions and eschewed any consideration of more complex and more heterogeneous structures of power. Lemke explains that Foucault's lectures on governmentality transcend these limitations and offer the means to study the broader processes of state formation and subjectification that Foucault is sometimes accused of overlooking.

The second chapter explains how governmentality can usefully inform study of the genealogy and historical ontology of the state, with an instructive aside on the distinction between governmentality and governance. Chapter 3 redefines biopolitics in the context of security and neoliberalism, while Chapter 4 touches on the ethical imperatives of critique. The final chapter introduces contemporary Governmentality Studies, which, inspired yet not confined by Foucault's preliminary remarks in the lectures, has been applied to subjects as diverse as the welfare state, economic regulation and counter-terrorism. While highlighting common blind spots (teleology, historicism, Eurocentrism), Lemke's concern for concision unfortunately precludes detailed consideration of the rich interdisciplinary scholarship on governmentality in colonial and postcolonial contexts, which directly addresses many of these difficulties.

Political scientists whose last contact with Foucault occurred in the 1990s would be well advised to re-acquaint themselves with the re-born Foucault through Lemke's masterful introduction. Foucault is dead; long live Foucault!

Daniel Neep
(Georgetown University)

The Bloomsbury Companion to Hobbes by **S. A. Lloyd (ed.).** London: Bloomsbury, 2013. 334pp., £100.00, ISBN 978 1 4411 9045 1

The Bloomsbury Companion to Hobbes aims to provide an accessible guide to the major themes and ideas of Hobbesian thought (p. x). Sharon Lloyd keeps the remainder of her editorial introduction brief. The *Companion* is divided into seven thematic chapters, ranging from Hobbes' life and times through different aspects of his philosophy, finishing with enduring debates and remaining questions. Each chapter contains entries on many of Hobbes' most important ideas, and each entry can be read independently of the others. The entries are authored by a range of different scholars; some are responsible for all or most of a single chapter, while others contribute just one or two entries.

In general, the entries are informative and reliable, providing a solid reference point for both students and scholars of Hobbes alike. However, there are notable exceptions and those relatively unfamiliar with Hobbes should treat the *Companion* with caution. For example, after having read the very short entry on duty and obligation (pp. 124–5), a newcomer to Hobbes could remain completely unaware that there has ever been any controversy concerning the nature of obligation in his philosophy. That the further reading points to nothing more than three chapters from *Leviathan* and one section of *De Corpore* is unlikely to remedy this. By contrast, other articles are far more thorough and are accompanied by extensive and helpful guides to the secondary literature.

This reflects a more general problem concerning the balance and consistency of the *Companion*. Some entries are simply reference points, providing an overview of Hobbes' ideas on the topic, while others adopt a more critical and evaluative approach. For example, in a concise entry on instrumental reasoning we learn that Hobbes' goal of a fully deductive science of politics 'was bound to fail' (p. 76). Of more concern is the extent to which different entries vary in length, sometimes with seemingly no correspondence to their relative importance. In the chapter on Hobbes' method we thus find more space dedicated solely to game theoretic interpretations than to the following four entries on geometry, logic, materialism and motion combined. Some stylistic differences are unavoidable given that the entries are authored by different scholars, but at times there seems to be a lack of common purpose regarding the desired contribution of the entries. Nonetheless, the *Companion* does address a comprehensive range of topics and could prove a useful, albeit somewhat flawed, reference point for anyone studying Hobbes.

Robin Douglass
(King's College, London)

Shaping the Normative Landscape by **David Owens.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 260pp., £30.00, ISBN 978 0 19 969 150 0

In David Owens' interesting and challenging new book, he aims to explore how human beings create norms for themselves and how they shape those norms. Human beings, he says, have a need to 'mould our normative niche' (p. 172). The types of cases used to support his argument include friendships, promises and consent to sexual contact. The interesting departure in his project is that he makes little effort to attempt to ground these normative obligations in the typical framework of morality (autonomy, moral reason, equality, rights), but instead tries to build the framework of the normative landscape from the ground up, in a constructivist fashion, although Owens himself never refers to his own view as constructivist in the typical, meta-ethical sense.

Owens' primary targets are those, like David Hume and T. M. Scanlon, who hold the view he calls 'Rationalism about Obligation' – the belief that you are bound to perform your obligations only in the sense that they serve some interest (p. 124). The primary counter-example to this view, according to Owens, is cases of 'bare wrongings', where a violation (usually of a promise) constitutes no harm or action against a human interest (p. 15). A broken promise, for instance, not to photograph someone while they sleep could be a bare wronging *even if* the promisee never learns of the existence of said photo, and even if the

photo is never developed or downloaded anywhere. These bare wrongings are harms despite the fact that Rationalism can make no sense of them being harmful without someone's interest being affected by them. In Owens' view, much of the social function of activities like promising and the value of friendship is determined by our need to shape the world we live in to fit our (non-Rationalistic) phenomenology of intentional agency. Crucial concepts in moral psychology and moral agency like 'consent', 'forgiveness' and 'obligation' are examined in varying degrees of detail – although, at times, some views are more skeletal than others. The discussion of sexual consent and rape in Chapter 7, for example, lays out only the barest of theories about the nature of what 'consent' to sex might really be. This is a mere quibble, however. This is an original and challenging attempt to ground the nature of normativity, placed in the welcome contexts of (as Scanlon would say) what we owe to each other.

Eric M. Rovie
(Georgia Perimeter College, Atlanta)

Reading Hayek in the 21st Century: A Critical Inquiry Into His Political Thought by **Theo Papaioannou.** New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. 221pp., £57.50, ISBN 978 0 230 30162 7

Friedrich von Hayek has been recognised as one of the greatest economists of the twentieth century. This book is written with the explicit aim of proving his theory inadequate for the problems of the twenty-first century. The author claims that not only does Hayek's theory offer no remedy to the current global economic crises, but it is their cause (p. 193). Yet interestingly, this book is not about contemporary politics or economic theory. Rather, Theo Papaioannou's goal is to 'provide an immanent critique of the moral dimension of Hayek's political theory and its epistemological and methodological foundations' (p. 2). In a long and complex intellectual excursus – which demonstrates the author's wide-ranging philosophical knowledge and demands no less dexterity from the reader – the internal paradox of Hayek's political theory is revealed. The book explores the development of the foundations of Hayek's economic theory: biological spontaneity, anti-rational epistemology and the order of 'catallaxy' – the concept of social spontaneity and cultural evolution that sets the term of his moral and political thought (p. 131). Papaioannou's main claim is that there is a fundamental problem with Hayek's 'catallaxy': although the spontaneous order does not morally justify substantive politics, it requires powerful political institutions to be preserved in terms of liberalism. The biologically inspired system of spontaneous social order is not *per se* a guarantee against anti-social behaviour, totalitarianism and strife (p. 144).

The book is well-written, albeit at times the substance is obfuscated by repetitions or excessive use of jargon. Clearly, the author takes very seriously his commitment to purge Hayek from contemporary economic thought, and he makes a strong point about the internal incoherence in Hayek's thought. Yet at times it seems the author's own political goal – to prove that Hayek cannot be reconciled with political liberalism – cuts short the intellectual breadth of his otherwise worthy book.

Or Rosenboim
(University of Cambridge)

The Cambridge Companion to Oakeshott by **Efraim Podoksik (ed.).** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 386pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 0 521 14792 7

Following publication of a similar work by Penn State Press, Cambridge University Press (CUP) has published a companion of considerable quality on the British philosopher Michael Oakeshott. Having reviewed the first volume with reference to the second in the previous issue of *PSR*, I now briefly review the second, with reference to the first.[1]

Edited by Efraim Podoksik, CUP's volume focuses on Oakeshott's philosophical work, leaving his life largely out of the picture. Biographical information is provided only through a brief chronology of short notes. In lieu of shedding light on his thought by considering the philosopher's extra-academic activity, substantial space is reserved in the book for contextual analyses of Oakeshott's interventions in historical discourses. Thus, one part (Part III) of CUP's *Companion* is dedicated to comparative perspectives on 'Oakeshott and others'. Otherwise, the organisation of the book very much parallels Franco and Marsh's volume in that first articles are collected on Oakeshott's understanding of philosophy, history, science, aesthetics and education (Part I), and second on his political philosophy (Part II).

Whereas Franco and Marsh include pieces of scholarship that will be of greater interest for advanced scholars, the strength of CUP's *Companion* is its clear conspectus of Oakeshott's philosophy. Unfortunately, the editor provides little guidance to the reader in his introduction, which will be regretted by students unfamiliar with the content and significance of Oakeshott's thought. Podoksik affirms that the book has a plan and direction (p. 3) without explaining exactly what this plan and direction are supposed to be. Thus, the organisation of the book – in particular, the fact that the articles dealing with the intellectual influences on Oakeshott are placed at the end – will not strike everyone as self-explanatory. Also, one may have wished to know more about why the editor and some contributors hold Oakeshott's philosophy in particularly high esteem, while others are abrasively critical. In the essay meant to provide a 'general overview of Oakeshott's political theory' (p. 5), for instance, William A. Galston concludes that Oakeshott ultimately 'cross[ed] the line separating philosophical radicalism from outright implausibility' (p. 242). In the face of such dissenting voices, the editor only recalls the truism that the recognition of the value of a philosophy is a matter of subjective judgement (p. 1), which is unsatisfying if only because it tends to imply that readers sympathetic to Oakeshott need not take seriously the objections raised by critics.

However, despite the deficits of the introduction, Podoksik has certainly done a good job with assembling the contributions to CUP's *Companion*. It serves as a very good starting point for familiarising oneself with Oakeshott's thought. By portraying Oakeshott as a particularly controversial thinker, it is also likely to motivate further research.

Note

1 Franco, P. and Marsh, L. (eds) (2012) *A Companion to Michael Oakeshott*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press. For the mentioned review, see *PSR* (2014) 12 (1), 96–7.

Martin Beckstein
(University of Zurich)

On Global Justice by **Mathias Risse.** Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012. 480pp., £27.95, ISBN 978 0691142692

As Mathias Risse explains in the opening chapter of *On Global Justice*, traditionally, debates over justice in political philosophy have been concerned with domestic justice: justice *within* states. However, in recent decades, due to globalisation, the issue of justice *between* states has become increasingly salient. This is the area of global justice. Discussion in this area has been framed by two different approaches: statist and cosmopolitan. For statists, the relevant *grounds* of justice are relational: membership within states. For cosmopolitans, on the other hand, states are viewed as morally arbitrary and, as such, the relevant grounds of justice are non-relational: our common humanity.

In this book Risse develops an intermediate approach to global justice, which he terms '*pluralist internationalism*'. This novel approach generates different principles of justice for each of the various grounds. At the domestic level, Risse employs a Rawlsian approach to justice. At the global level, however, he recognises non-relational grounds of justice that must also work alongside domestic principles of justice. In short, pluralist internationalism recognises the normative peculiarity of states, while, at the same time, recognising various other grounds of justice such as our common humanity and collective ownership of the earth. Building on the work of the seventeenth-century philosopher Hugo Grotius, Risse develops a secularised account of our common ownership of the earth. As a relevant *ground* of justice, common ownership implies that each person, through having common ownership of the earth, has a right to satisfy their basic needs independently of the accomplishments of others. Common ownership has implications for immigration, intergenerational justice and climate change, and entails a minimally demanding set of rights. The *grounds* of justice approach also has implications for global trade, intellectual property rights and labour rights.

This book will appeal to those engaged in normative theorising about justice at the global level. It displays a scholarly rigour and philosophical depth that renders much of the existing literature in this area obsolete. As a unique approach to global justice, it helps us understand the way in which justice applies in nuanced ways depending on the particular context we are examining. Risse's attempted *rapprochement* between statists and cosmopolitans is persuasive and should provide a paradigm shift for many working in the area of international justice. I have no doubt that this book will come

to play a central role in normative theorising about global justice for some time to come.

Daniel Savery
(National University of Ireland, Galway)

Perpetual War: Cosmopolitanism from the Viewpoint of Violence by **Bruce Robbins.** Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. 247pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 0 8223 5209 9

'When you purchase a shirt in Wal-Mart,' wonders Bruce Robbins in *Perpetual War,* 'do you ever imagine young women in Bangladesh forced to work from 7:30 a.m. to 8 p.m., seven days a week, paid just 9 cents to 20 cents an hour?' (p. 97). At the root of the intellectual exercise in which Robbins invites his readers to indulge lies a profound disenchantment with the 'old' elitist formulations of cosmopolitan thought, informed by existential detachment from the core practices of national belonging and normative impulses ingrained with patriotic fervour, and an embrace of more immediate, 'everyday' (p. 34) and, therefore, more censorious 'new' modes of being in the world rife with economic injustices and exploitation, pathologies of global inequality, cultural and religious intolerance, militarism and asymmetries of power, and the unredeemable ghosts of imperial zeal – all of which are searchingly appraised in the book's eight incisive chapters.

In the face of gratuitous acts of violence, the author argues, cosmopolitanism can no longer afford to remain disaffected and narcissistically self-absorbed with its highly individualised emotional philanthropy toward abstract notions of humanity. Its 'bland, pious, or powerless' (p. 30) propensities, Robbins contends, must be abandoned in the name of probing critiques of nationalism, interventionism and the socio-economic consequences of unrestrained capitalism. Cosmopolitanism must seek to become a 'moral equivalent of war' (p. 30) that is audaciously committed to the defence of human dignity, humanitarian principles and translocal justice. The key challenge of the book for the author is to articulate a viable global ethic, able to express an international sense of right and wrong that is powerful enough to have an enduring 'grip on our hearts' (p. 36).

Scholars of cosmopolitan thought who expect Robbins to furnish a nuanced exposé of juridical repercussions of war from a cosmopolitan point of view will be disappointed. For one thing, the book's title is, at face value, misleading. Robbins' thematically disconnected chapters survey instead contributions of the mainstream academic left (Noam Chomsky, Edward Said and Slavoj Žižek, among others) to a conception of cosmopolitanism *qua* exile, secularism and anti-imperialism in order to elucidate its often paradoxical nature and alert the reader to the cosmopolitan duty of waging 'perpetual war' with the lingering echoes of national self-righteousness. The author falls short, however, of imbuing the peculiarities of cosmopolitan normativity with the overpromised and under-delivered 'weighty, positive, and socially grounded' (p. 34) orientation. Nevertheless, a forgiving and open-minded audience will appreciate the determination with which Robbins dissects the vicissitudes of political action in the world of profound socio-cultural complexities and ever-shifting allegiances.

Joanna Rozpedowski
(University of South Florida, Tampa)

Hegel's Rabble: An Investigation into Hegel's Philosophy of Right by **Frank Ruda.** London: Continuum, 2011. 218pp., £21.99, ISBN 978 1 4725 1016 7

Frank Ruda is not the first to take an interest in what Hegel has to say about the existence of 'the rabble' in the *Philosophy of Right.* Others have seen in this account evidence of Hegel's sociological sensibility about the underside of an emergent market economy and have borne witness to the great thinker's uncertainty about what – if anything – can be done about the challenge this creates. This book takes Hegel's remarks on the rabble and spins out from them a critique of the entire structure of the mature Hegel's politics. In his recognition of the existence and the attitude of the rabble, Hegel reveals an entity that his account of civil society (and family and state) cannot comprehend. 'The rabble' is not just another name for the poor. In fact, Hegel speaks of both a 'poor' rabble and a 'rich' rabble, with the latter characterised above all by the figure of 'the gambler' – the one who has taken a punt in the lottery of the market and won. Both rich and poor are excluded (or exclude themselves) from the life (and norms) of civil society. Upon Ruda's account, the poor rabble (the only authentically radical rabble) rebels against the morality of civil society and its rights. It is 'indignant' – and, in some sense Hegel feels, it is right to

be indignant. It is required to share the norms of a civil society from which it is systematically excluded. It *demands* subsistence from society because it *cannot* play by the rules. In the book, Ruda tracks the various ways in which Hegel tries (and fails) to resolve this challenge from within the framework of his philosophy of right. But, in the end, it is a problem he cannot solve. It is only really 'resolved' when, in the work of Marx, rabble morphs into proletariat.

Hegel's Rabble is not an easy read. In a dense argument, paradox piles upon paradox in an accumulation of *un*-everything (the *un*-estate, the *un*-organ, the *un*-right and so on). And the difficulty of the text is not made any easier by some infelicitous translation and some careless proofreading. Nonetheless, it is a book that rewards the considerable effort required to decipher it. Ruda pays extremely careful attention to Hegel's text and reads it with sensitivity and imagination. He manages to say something new and interesting where we might well have expected that there was nothing left to be said.

Chris Pierson
(University of Nottingham)

Two Cheers for Anarchism by **James C. Scott.** Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012. 169pp., £16.95, ISBN 978 0 691 15529 6

In *Two Cheers for Anarchism*, James Scott puts on his anarchist glasses and looks at the modern world through an 'anarchist squint'. Following the works of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who first used the term 'anarchism' as mutuality or *cooperation without hierarchy or state rule* (p. xii), Scott emphasises a 'process-oriented' anarchist view that involves a 'defense of politics, conflict and debate' and rejects the 'utopian scientism' – grounded on the principles of statistical reductionism of reality and depoliticised administration of things – that dominated much of anarchist thought in the twentieth century (p. xiii). The central question that drives Scott in this book is whether apparent visual disorder could be the key to a finely tuned working order. Addressing this, Scott builds his arguments on anarchism and order in modern society through a series of essay fragments bound together by distinct themes rather than a single linear thesis.

The book is divided into six chapters. The first chapter looks at the issue of insubordination and discusses 'the paradox of the *contribution of law breaking and disruption to democratic political change*' (p. 17). For Scott, when individuals are denied the institutionalised means of public protest, they follow the non-institutionalised means which, although they create mass disruption and threaten public order, often act as a medium of reforming the system and bringing political change. In Chapter 2, Scott discusses how the modern nation state's homogenising and hegemonising tendencies have resulted in the destruction of vernaculars. However, he believes that the modern state is *not* 'everywhere and always the enemy of freedom' (p. xiii). The importance of freedom, openness and creativity, expressed through the 'adventure playground', in the growth of human beings is discussed in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 examines the role of the petty bourgeois, who Scott believes represent a 'zone of autonomy and freedom'. In Chapters 5 and 6, Scott provides a defence of politics and exposes the anti-politics machine at work in knowledge production.

What is evident in all this is a sense of disenchantment. Scott seems worried about the decline of 'anarchist sensibility' – mutuality, creativity, cooperation and freedom – in post-modern societies. Although it may be alleged that Scott is a romantic, living in a pre-modern agrarian society, his book provides an excellent anarchist critique of the modern state and society. It is filled with numerous examples from around the world, which makes it an interesting read and recommended to students of sociology, political philosophy and comparative politics.

Sarbeswar Sahoo
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Politics without Vision: Thinking without a Banister in the Twentieth Century by **Tracy B. Strong.** Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012. 406pp., £26.00, ISBN 978 0 226 77746 7

Tracy Strong has produced a compelling text that provides valuable insight into the ideas of a handful of modern era thinkers, while placing emphasis on the liberating moment, as he sees it, currently at hand in the history of political thought. Strong argues that twentieth- (and twenty-first-) century political thought can be best described as an ability to 'think without a banister' – without the support of known moral frameworks (offered by history, nature, religion) – while still

engaging in the contemplation of the good political life. His main thesis is a claim for the liberation of political philosophy: that the 'vision texts' of the Western tradition are to a large degree inapplicable to current political concerns, and that if political theory is to speak effectively to the politics of today, it *needs* to think without a banister. Modernity, according to Strong, is marked by being able to experience the world critically – to be able to ask not how can this happen, but what is it that is happening? This also means that we can ask ourselves what *is* thinking? Strong argues that to read and write like a modern – to think without a banister – is to open oneself up to the 'noumenal' world – the world of things we cannot 'know' through logic and the senses, but that are nonetheless essential to us.

Strong organises the book into eight chapters, buttressed by a lively introductory chapter and a thoughtful concluding one. Each chapter is devoted to the ideas of one of the thinkers whom Strong asserts function philosophically without a 'vision': Immanuel Kant, Friedrich Nietzsche, Max Weber, Sigmund Freud, Vladimir Lenin, Carl Schmitt, Martin Heidegger and Hannah Arendt.

The primary idea in this book is that we can and should think without a banister and that such an approach does not obliterate or make irrelevant claims of morality, but it rather enables liberated thought that has little need for labels but rather thrives on an inclusive community of claims that are heard and valued. Thinking without a banister yields a politics that flourishes without vision and one that is necessary to us now because it reminds us that to be political inherently *means* to be in relation to others, to all others – to bear the recognition that even our own selves, in their intrinsic dependence on other humans, are in some sense a collective creation, and thus we should consider and treat everyone, and our moral choices, with that in mind.

Diana Boros
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Neoclassical Realism in European Politics: Bringing Power Back in by **Asle Toje and Barbara Kunz (eds).** Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012. 272pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0719083525

Times of crisis, when the old era and what we were accustomed to no longer exist, yet where the new era is still to come, are fruitful times for International Relations scholars who wish to respond to the upcoming challenges. In this sense, *Neoclassical Realism in European Politics* is more than a timely edition. Neoclassical realism was until recently monopolised by American scholars, while in Europe institutional and normative approaches prevailed. The essays in this book therefore sound like a call back to basics: power, interests and states objectives. In their effort to introduce neoclassical realism to the European audience, the scholars in this book trace its relationship to classical realism and its European roots, reinvigorating the scholarly debate on the timeless wisdom of realism and eventually offering a thought-provoking work.

The scholars in this book believe that neoclassical realism offers the most appropriate tools for analysing the upcoming era. When summarising the book's basic arguments one should first point out the neoclassical realism thesis that a state's relative capabilities and its position in the international system play the primary role in a state's behaviour. However, domestic factors and non-material aspects such as leadership perceptions should not be under-estimated as systemic pressures can be translated differently under different circumstances. Thus, the case studies in this book explore three different variables: the dependent variable, a state or institution's (in the case of the European Union) behaviour; the independent variable – namely systemic forces; and the intervening one, which has to do with various domestic factors. It is this all-encompassing approach that makes neoclassical realism a rich source for comprehensive research and analysis. The editors stress that European neoclassical realism is not merely neorealism with intervening variables, making clear the distinction it has from its American counterpart and also emphasising the benefits that come with linking neoclassical realism to the continental tradition of realism.

Nevertheless, neoclassical realism is a research programme in development. The scholars in this book are aware of its strengths and weaknesses. Above all, they recognise that analysing the mixture of dependent, independent and intervening variables in IR cannot be an easy enterprise. However, raising questions is sometimes as important as offering answers. In this context, this work is of value not only to those who are wondering where IR theory is going, but also to those seeking a theory to navigate multipolarity, taking

into consideration the interplay between theory and practice.

Revecca Pedi
(University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki)

Morality, Leadership and Public Policy: On Experimentalism in Ethics by **Eric Thomas Weber.** London: Continuum, 2011. 208pp., £65.00, ISBN 9781441173119

Morality, Leadership and Public Policy is a normative appeal for a philosophically pragmatic approach to public policy making. A special emphasis is placed on the ethical and leadership aspects of this activity. Eric Weber's hope is to influence policy leaders towards a more experimentalist approach, helping them to cut through the divisive and often religiously inflected issues that can bog down debate and decision making. Adopting the more critically reasoned yet flexible experimentalist stance could mean 'moral growth and societal benefit' (p. 12). Weber is no doe-eyed perfectibilist, but still this is an ambitious hope, beating to an Enlightenment pulse which some think is better dead and buried.[1] Hopes *should* be ambitious, Weber would presumably say; without them there may be no progress at all and ameliorative efforts would die at conception. This is debatable, but Weber's guiding maxim is that 'ought implies can' (p. 116).

After a succinct introduction, the book leads in with a discussion on applying ethics to public policy debates. Philosophers have a helpful role to play here, says Weber, and should not remove themselves from trying to piece together the practical implications of their typically more abstract pursuits in this domain. Next, he moves to the vexed issue of how to reconcile religious or ideologically motivated arguments in the policy-making arena. The solution suggested entails travelling down a humanist middle road where some form of commensuration of values occurs.

This is contingent on interlocutors being willing to accept and privilege for a time the experimentalist paradigm of fallibility. Fallibility is an epistemological virtue for experimentalists who are willing to revise what they currently know when confronted with new, more compelling evidence that will bring their practical projects forward. Again, the underlying presupposition is critical thinkers oriented by enlightened rational compasses. Weber continues on in this vein and in fairness he does not lack examples to support his argument. The problem is that many of these seem weak when stacked up against the exceedingly tall order set by the premise of his book. While well-written and at times genuinely thought-provoking, it was hard not to feel that a more comprehensive and self-consciously critical work could have treated the topic better. As a whole, the book comes across as an Americo-centric overture to reason and the scientific method, sung in a pragmatist key. It would be interesting to hear what policy makers themselves think about it.

Note

1 Gray, J. (2007) *Enlightenment's Wake: Politics and Culture at the Close of the Modern Age*. London: Routledge.

Richard Cotter
(National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

International Relations

How Fighting Ends: A History of Surrender by **Holger Afflerbach and Hew Strachan (eds).** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 473pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 19 969362 7

In military history and war studies questions as to why wars begin, how fighting proceeds and the implications of peacemaking have been thoroughly researched. The present volume, in contrast, deals with the history of surrender and capitulation. It addresses questions as to how, when and why battles end, focusing on different levels of combat – that is, on individual soldiers, commanding officers and entire societies or nations. Its contributions thereby seek to find comparable elements for surrender in different wars, periods and societies.

How Fighting Ends covers a broad range of epochs: beginning in prehistoric times it moves on to classical Greece and the Roman era, medieval and early modern times. The main part of the book is dedicated to analyses of the (inter-)national wars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, ending in the present with articles on asymmetric wars and global terrorism.

There are of course many reasons for why and how fighting ends, depending on the particular cultural, political and military norms and conditions of the specific epoch. Crucial points, for example, are differ-

ent military codes of honour, the strength of structures of command, various forms of battle (naval and siege warfare), different war situations with different chances of surrender and the degree of (a)symmetry of the forces involved. Whereas the contributions clearly elaborate these differences and specificities, they do explicate some common ground. For instance, surrender in its strict sense – as the deliberate, 'unforced' decision to cease fighting – became an option only because of the developing cultural and political regulation of war and peace, thus allowing for a relatively safe and risk-free transition from fighting to prisoner-of-war status. The authors share the view that the increased instances of (mass) surrendering in the twentieth century point towards a general tendency to a civilising process of war (despite some prominent exceptions in recent times).

Afflerbach and Strachan's history of surrender offers a well-researched and multifaceted overview of the topic and poses valuable, insightful questions about the changing nature of warfare.

Kurt Hirtler
(University of Lodz)

Cities and Global Governance: New Sites for International Relations by **Mark Amen**, **Noah J. Toly**, **Patricia L. McCartney and Klaus Segbers (eds).** Farnham: Ashgate, 2011. 226pp., £55.00, ISBN 9781409408932

This edited volume makes an attempt to take the global cities literature and framing concepts, which largely arise from urban studies and sociology, and apply them to political studies – particularly international relations. The book appears to be aimed at junior professors and graduate students of political science with an interest in the topic of world cities. In the final chapter, Peter Taylor adopts his world city connectivity measures and applies them to diplomatic networks, non-governmental organisation (NGO) linkages and connectivity to United Nations offices. Saskia Sassen somewhat less successfully repurposes her global cities analysis, though the main difference from her previous work and this chapter can be found in her comments on the sub-prime crisis in the United States and its ripple effects through the global city network. In general, the essays focus on the rise of 'flows' and 'network society' to the detriment of centralised state power, though Klaus Segbers notes in his introductory essay that world city scholars are not claiming that states have completely withered away over the past twenty years. The chapters typically provide examples of world cities in networks focused on a specific area, such as environmental protection or North–South relations.

While the book sets out a compelling argument that these general concepts would be of interest to political scientists, most of the essays in the book fall short of their stated goals and are not likely to be of interest to those just coming to the global cities literature. Two of the chapters outline proposed research projects and/or measurement schemes, but are fairly empty of content. The chapter on cross-border regions of Canada and the United States is ultimately quite disappointing since the available data were at the state and provincial levels and thus had little to say directly about global cities and did not support the general thrust of the book. The strongest chapters are the three that close the book – the aforementioned Sassen and Taylor chapters, and a chapter on global environmental NGOs by Sofie Bouteligier. It should be noted that Sassen and Taylor have written more extensively elsewhere and with better results on global cities than they do in this collection. This book cannot be considered an essential addition to the global cities literature, though it points the way to future research that may be of greater interest to graduate students and junior professors of political science.

Eric Petersen
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NATO's Security Discourse after the Cold War: Representing the West by **Andreas Behnke.** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 234pp., £85.00, ISBN 978 0 415 58453 1

NATO's Security Discourse after the Cold War attempts to give a comprehensive presentation of that organisation's *raison d'être* in a world where its initial arch enemy no longer exists. As Andreas Behnke notes, contrary to predictions in the early 1990s, the Alliance has been preserved and expanded (p. 1). In the book, Behnke tries to explain the transformations that have occurred in order to adapt the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to the new security environment. The absolute question which should be addressed is why

the organisation continued to exist after its primary antagonist ceased to do so. In other words, the author attempts to explore the efforts put into adapting the organisation to a post-bipolar world and to the new threats that emerged after 2001. Special attention is given to the remapping of NATO's relationship with the Central and Eastern European countries that became invaluable members of the Alliance, and to the restructuring of the relationship with the Russian Federation. Moving away from the Cold War logic, the political leaders understood the need for going 'out of area' or being sent 'out of business' (p. 136).

The effort in understanding how to 'read and write' NATO is indispensable to any analysis of its policy discourse. The reader will benefit from a well-written chapter that explains this central issue in understanding the challenges to which NATO has had to become accustomed. Two central questions concern the degree to which the Alliance is flexible in the face of changing threats and its increasing number of members. The topic selection is well-articulated and integrates smoothly into the general structure of the volume. One positive aspect worth highlighting is the substance of the writing, which illustrates the author's expertise and good analysis of the topic. The volume brings much relevant knowledge to the reader, and its findings respond to the initial questions not only in Europe, but also at the global level.

In short, this is an important volume for those wanting to understand both the conceptual framework of NATO and its evolution, as well as for those aiming to anticipate the design of the next steps in the Alliance's future.

Andrei Alexandru Babadac
(Independent scholar)

Becoming Enemies: US-Iran Relations and the Iran-Iraq War, 1979–1988 by **James Blight**, **Janet M. Lang**, **Hussein Banai**, **Malcolm Byrne and John Tirman.** Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012. 391pp., £31.95, ISBN 978 1 4422 0830 8

Employing the approach of critical oral history, this work provides important insights into American policy during the Iran-Iraq War. The book is centred on a series of discussions held between scholars and former American officials on many of the most salient aspects of United States policy during the conflict. Through the candid testimonies of the former officials, this format proves highly effective at drawing out the rationale behind the difficult decisions made by the Carter and Reagan administrations towards the war.

With regard to the Carter administration, there is much discussion as to why it was taken by surprise with the embassy takeover, despite a prescient warning from Bruce Laingen who was stationed in Tehran. The discussions also tackle the question of whether the administration gave Iraq a 'green light' to attack – a charge that has long been made by Iran.

Turning to the Reagan administration, the discussions tackle a number of critical and often controversial subjects. The American 'tilt' toward Iraq is seen to have been driven primarily out of a fear that an Iranian victory was likely and that this would have dire consequences for United States interests in the region. For this very reason, the former officials argue, the administration was willing to largely ignore Iraqi use of chemical weapons and continue to provide Iraq with critical military intelligence.

The Iran-Contra Affair is also discussed, with much debate as to whether the administration was driven solely by a desire to free American hostages in Lebanon, or whether there was a belief that a rapprochement with Iran was possible. On this question the former officials present an administration deeply divided and argue that Israel played an active role in encouraging Washington to reach out to Tehran. The former officials, some of whom were in Baghdad at the time, also discuss the damaging consequences the emergence of the Iran-Contra Affair had on US-Iraqi relations.

Further important revelations that emerge from the discussions include the fact that Washington believed it had very little leverage over Baghdad during the war, the complete lack of US knowledge of what was happening internally within the Iranian regime, and serious American concerns of Soviet intervention in the Persian Gulf.

These engrossing discussions, coupled with a rich appendix of annotated documents, make this book a necessary read for anyone interested in United States policy in the Middle East during this period and for those wishing to understand the roots of the current US-Iranian hostility.

Stephen Ellis
(University of Leicester)

Rethinking Foreign Policy by **Fredrik Bynander and Stefano Guzzini (eds).** Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 216pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0 415 63343 7

This timely volume presents a series of debates and reflections centred on Walter Carlsnaes' contribution to the study of international relations more broadly, and more specifically to the study of foreign policy analysis and European foreign policy. The book explores the long-lasting agency–structure debate both empirically and theoretically, revisiting the issue of how human activity and decision making is affected by the structures and institutions within which it takes place and comes to shape them. Divided into three parts, the book first zooms in on Carlsnaes' legacy and contribution, followed by a series of chapters that recast the agency–structure debate, while the third probes into the practice of foreign policy and the way in which the relations between individuals and institutions function empirically.

Guzzini and Groom's introductory chapters thoroughly map out Carlsnaes' academic career and his contribution to the agency–structure debate, and identify the various intellectual traditions that have inspired his work. They argue that Carlsnaes, through his 1992 piece in *International Studies Quarterly*,[1] brought a new dimension to the debate that has informed the scholarship of many researchers ever since. Patomäki, in his chapter (p. 44), coherently summarises Carlsnaes' contribution to the debate: '[T]hat decision-makers make choices and, through their actions, take part in the (re)production of structures the result of which, in turn, enable and constrain their subsequent' actions.

In the second part, Wight and Goldman provide an overview of the debate and its meaning and role in shaping the study of international relations and foreign policy. Ringmar, Ekengren and Parker then provide three different accounts of how the agency–structure debate can be viewed and applied in light of three cases: European diplomats at the Chinese court; EU foreign policy practices; and international regimes.

The third part moves the focus away from the agency–structure debate to the study of foreign policy *per se*. Much of the attention is devoted to European foreign policy, where authors outline current themes (Sjursen, Rieker and Matlary), review the underlying traditions (Jørgensen) or look at the Iraq invasion comparatively (Bynander examining the American and British case), while Geldenhuys' chapter focuses on South Africa. Finally, Risse provides a more theoretical account of how foreign policy can be studied in relation to transnational governance. With contributions from collaborators and former PhD students, the volume presents a thorough overview of Carlsnaes' contribution while also providing new empirical and theoretical reflections on the agency–structure debate, foreign policy analysis and European foreign policy.

Note

1 Carlsnaes, W. (1992) 'The Agency Structure Problem in Foreign Policy Analysis', *International Studies Quarterly*, 36, 245–70.

Cristian Nitoiu
(Loughborough University)

Women and Wars: Contested Histories, Uncertain Futures by **Carol Cohn (ed.).** Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013. 296pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 4245 1

The complex relationship between women and wars continues to be a point for debate in feminist international relations discourse, and like the mythical Hydra it seems that when one complexity is addressed, several other complexities rise in its place. Following in the footsteps of Jean Bethke Elshtain and Cynthia Enloe, Carol Cohn's *Women and Wars* is an ambitious collection that seeks to address some of these complexities. It comes as no surprise that Cohn edits this volume in a similar fashion to previous publications on mainstreaming gender within international peace and security processes and institutions. This is a strong feminist collection that targets a specific audience within its own field, but it certainly will appeal to students of international relations through its approachable writing style.

Women and Wars provides a critical analysis on the varying impacts wars have on women and the ways women participate in wars – i.e. the political stances women take towards war and the ways women work to build peace. Gender is placed at the heart of this collection and is conceptualised as a framework for understanding how men and women experience wars. It also functions as an intersectionality tool as it is placed with critical themes of race, class, sexuality, ethnicity and global forces. It is this emphasis on gender, gendered roles, gendered forces and gendered

relations during and after wars that drives the discussions within the chapters.

'Women and Peace Processes' – the chapter by Alwis, Mertus and Sajjad – is of particular interest as it problematises the traditional stereotype that depicts women as natural peacemakers and as the victims of wars. The authors recognise women as being legitimate political actors who freely take part in the enterprise of war. They provide examples of women engaging in peace processes that transgress the boundary of the private sphere. The case of the Sudanese women engaging in peace processes serves as an example of how women have campaigned for peace beyond grassroots levels.

In summary, this is a strong collection. The chapters are well thought out and address the central theme of the book. Methodologically, it bridges the gap between the theories that shape our understanding of wars by providing empirical narratives that offer a critical eye into the theme of women and wars. In a world plagued with emerging conflict situations, it is imperative that we understand the challenges that wars pose and *Women and Wars* provides a feminist insight and highlights some significant dilemmas.

Esther Akanya
(University of Nottingham)

Symbolic Power in the World Trade Organization by **Matthew Eagleton-Pierce.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 260pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 19 966264 7

Trade, Poverty, Development: Getting beyond the WTO's Doha Deadlock by **Rorden Wilkinson and James Scott (eds).** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 242pp., £26.99, ISBN 978 0 415 62450

In 2001 the World Trade Organization (WTO) commenced its first formal round of trade negotiations. Thirteen years later, as Rorden Wilkinson and James Scott would have it, the talks remain deadlocked. Much has been written both on the WTO as a major and powerful player in the realm of global governance and on its failure to bring the Doha Round of trade negotiations to any sort of conclusion (discounting deadlock as an emergent conclusion!). *Trade, Poverty, Development* presents a snapshot of the current state of play in the Doha Round with a strong (though not exclusive) focus on Sub-Saharan Africa. The collection leads off with chapters from the editors and Bernard Hoekman that establish the general political context of the Round's deadlock and suggest ways forward, including relaxing the 'single undertaking' while also de-emphasising market access issues. Both contributions agree that without some form of agreement, significant 're-balancing' of the global economy will prove difficult.

Subsequent chapters unpick some of the detail of these conclusions, with Jennifer Clapp looking at how food security, and Donna Lee the market for cotton, impact on the poorest and what would be required from the Round to start to ameliorate the suffering of the most impoverished. The next section draws in five insiders (trade negotiators and WTO diplomats) to add a different set of considerations. These chapters offer interesting first-hand testimony about the stalled Round, but also in places demonstrate the at least partial co-option of negotiators from developing countries into the dominant discourse at the WTO. The final section (again) emphasises Sub-Saharan Africa and maps the consequences of various putative outcomes to the Round. The volume also includes *The Johannesburg Statement on the Doha Development Agenda* from the January 2011 Global Poverty Summit, demonstrating neatly that this is a book that links academic debates and analysis with the communities and individuals involved in these negotiations.

In his account of the WTO, *Symbolic Power in the World Trade Organization*, Matthew Eagleton-Pierce draws heavily on the work of Pierre Bourdieu to examine anew the manner in which the organisation exercises authority in the global political economy. Following an increasingly common path in international political economy (IPE), Eagleton-Pierce rejects materialist analyses of power, instead seeking through a terminology of 'symbolic power' to focus on discursive and normative elements articulated through language (including framing). This approach is well set out in an account that integrates the analytical development with evidence from the WTO (as the case in point), and is organised around three linked aspects of Bourdieu's linguistic market: the role of classifications; the organisation of arguments into orthodox and heterodox opinions; and the social valuation of particular context and speakers. These forms of articulated power then play out in the trade issue areas that the

balance of the book is concerned to explore: the international trade in cotton; and the (most vexing) case of agriculture (both of which, of course, also feature in *Trade, Poverty, Development*).

Given the interactionist account of symbolic power that Eagleton-Pierce constructs it is perhaps unsurprising that the Doha Round has remained unresolved; his analysis suggests that the WTO does not have the ability to construct a favourable ideational universe for the negotiations. Again, this is a useful perspective on the practitioner chapters in *Trade, Poverty, Development*, which demonstrate this partial failure to establish a single agreed approach. Indeed, at times of most fraught interaction between the various parties at the WTO (such as in a stalled negotiation round), the aspects of symbolic power identified by this analysis become subject to extensive contestation, which ensures that the WTO (as a membership organisation) is unable to force an end to the round based on the constellation of material interests of the developed states.

These two books therefore complement each other well – both empirically and by allowing us to construct a compelling multilayered account of the stalled Doha Round by reading one with the other. That said, and unfortunately reflecting the likely origins of the book in Eagleton-Pierce's PhD thesis, an inordinate amount of time in *Symbolic Power* is spent on a (perfectly acceptable, if workmanlike) chapter reviewing conceptualisations of power. Surely that is something that nowadays could be achieved with a survey footnote, especially as it is merely a ground-clearing exercise for the development of his Bourdieu-inspired approach to the issues set out in the later chapters. Otherwise, this is an excellent contribution to this important set of debates in IPE. *Trade, Poverty, Development* is well-assembled, but as with most snapshots, will swiftly move from a timely analysis to a book of largely historical interest (often the case with books with strong advocacy credentials). Nevertheless, read together today these books tell us something useful, if depressing, about international trade relations, and for anyone interested in understanding the current state of play with the Doha Round they represent an interesting and immediate opportunity for further thought and reflection.

Christopher May
(Lancaster University)

Just Peace: How Wars Should End by **Mona Fixdal.** Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. 257pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 230 60034 8

'A war should end in a "better state of peace", a peace that is more just and more stable than the situation that led to the war in the first place' (p. 51). This is the central argument in this book by Mona Fixdal. As one of the most accurate and theoretically ground-breaking books on just war theory in recent years, this study advances a new perspective in the research on conflict in general, and on the role of secession in particular. Focused on attempting 'to describe the process by which a just peace can be reached' (p. 4), the book follows a straightforward case study methodology that captures the novel character of the main argument. Thus, by defining 'war' as 'a reflection of a disagreement between the contending parties' (p. 23), Fixdal constructs a precise theoretical foundation that engages not only with the current developments in just war theory, but also with the intricate debate on new wars and changes in the character of war.

The structure of the book corresponds to a triadic theoretical conceptualisation of war carried out on the basis of the issues over which wars are fought: secession, territory and government. Moreover, in building this argument, Fixdal draws on Hidemi Sugamani and Kalevi Holsti and points out that 'when we ask what caused a war, we might in fact be referring to three different things' (p. 27). The author makes a compelling argument and demonstrates that the causes and circumstances of wars are elements that condition differently the process of post-war peace-building.

The relationships between each particular kind of war and the various patterns of conflict resolution are detailed by reference to cases such as the Sri Lankan civil war, the war in the Falkland Islands and the conflicts in the Balkans. These provide the background for a strong analysis of the principles of justice that captures the multilayered complexity of just war theory. Particular attention is paid to the categories of *ad bellum*, *in bello* and *post bellum* and to how these affect the end of the war. Furthermore, Fixdal explains both the consequential dimension of opting for secession and the negotiations leading to secession by making use of realism and neo-realism. The engagement is critical and the discussion on the resemblance

of such processes with security dilemmas is juxtaposed with the international law perspective. This further adds to the book's strong focus and to its comprehensiveness, making it a reference book for students, researchers and academics.

Vladimir Rauta
(University of Nottingham)

Human Rights in International Relations by **David P. Forsythe.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 354pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 1 107 62984 4

As its title suggests, the focus of this book is on the central value of human rights in present-day international relations, and David Forsythe states that he regards 'Liberalism as a synonym for attention to personal rights' (p. 3). The author adopts a liberal and Eurocentric approach to framing his analysis. The mode of analysis is mainly empirical, with significant, though insufficient case studies. In the first two chapters Forsythe describes the institutionalisation of human rights since 1945. The next six chapters depict the integration of 'Human Rights into the routine part of IR' (p. 317). These chapters outline the inextricable link between human rights, sovereignty and liberalism. Forsythe presents the development of regional organisations (i.e. the European Union the Organisation of African Unity, the Organization of American States, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization), transnational courts (the International Criminal Court (ICC) and hybrid courts), non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) principle and other private actors that impinge on state sovereignty. Although Forsythe later affirms the role of the state in implementing human rights standards through foreign policy, he concludes that this is merely a change in the nature of sovereignty, and not an encroachment of the concept itself. In general, the author is addressing a mainstream audience while others are excluded, although he does provide an illuminating analysis in his conclusion on the havoc effects of transnational corporations (TNCs) on issues of sovereignty and the negation of human rights, especially labour rights, by international institutions such as the World Trade Organization and the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Human Rights in International Relations has to be read against the backdrop of the fourth debate in IR not least because the book is based upon the preponderance of Europe in the development of human rights. The author explains the global application of human rights through the acceleration of regional, transnational and other non-state actors, and yet he prioritises the supremacy of the EU, the European Court of Justice and other European NGOs in universalising human rights, even with regard to the legitimation of labour rights by the EU. Forsythe does not recognise the significant role of non-Western states and actors in the evolution and implementation of human rights. The celebration of the ICC fails to mention that the list is only of Africans who were prosecuted. Also, there is an emphasis on civil and political rights while other rights are excluded – even though these are the most important human rights on the globe. As the author states, the book 'tries to liberalize international relations – to make international relations conform to the liberal prescription for the good society' (p. 3), while at the same time excluding others. The above criticisms notwithstanding, Forsythe's empirical illustration of the significance of human rights through case studies will provide a useful source for students of both IR and International Law.

R. Sarulakshmi
(Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Genocide and Its Threat to Contemporary International Order by **Adrian Gallagher.** London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. 240pp., £67.50, ISBN 978 1137280251

In the shadow of the emotive debates that have surrounded the Arab Spring, *Genocide and Its Threat to Contemporary International Order* is a timely and insightful addition to the literature on genocide, and humanitarian intervention more generally. Adrian Gallagher's study is informed by two broad and interrelated objectives: first, to encourage International Relations scholars to focus more on genocide (p. 5) and second, to prove that preventing genocide is not just altruistic, but also in the interest of all who seek international peace and stability. The latter objective is obviously of much greater importance, and Gallagher rightly notes that the 'why should we care?' question continues to be asked, and is invariably answered by appeals to 'common morality'.

He notes further that this altruistic defence of genocide prevention has demonstrably failed, and uses the English School theoretical framework to identify a link between genocide and international order via an exploration of legitimacy and the United Nations.

Gallagher challenges the Realist preference for order, not on principle, but on its own logic (p. 150). If, he argues, we can agree that international order is a universal good, and if we determine that the UN constitutes the international institution with the greatest claim to host and proliferate those norms and laws that facilitate the promotion of international order, then clearly we must have an interest in preserving its legitimacy. The inability of the UN to prevent or halt genocide constitutes a grave diminution of its legitimacy and thus the link between genocide prevention and international order is made. Gallagher advances a succinct critique of the relativist/pluralist opposition to humanitarian intervention (p. 154), but he also suggests that the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) does not constitute a viable means to facilitate effective prevention or intervention (p. 144).

While the debate on – and indeed the practice of – genocide prevention can be disheartening, Gallagher argues that it provides us with 'both a fundamental problem and opportunity: to establish a universal legitimate order that embodies both a commitment to sovereignty (in the conditional sense) and human rights (in the universal sense)' (p. 162). This book, therefore, almost uniquely avoids both the Realist and pro-R2P perspectives on genocide prevention and humanitarian intervention and advances a theoretically informed defence of a new disposition that is based on reason and logic rather than emotion. *Genocide and Its Threat to Contemporary International Order* is an important, fresh perspective on this (sadly) perennial issue.

Aidan Hehir
(University of Westminster)

Crimes against Humanity: Birth of a Concept by **Norman Geras.** Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011. 144pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0719082412

In his new book, Norman Geras illuminates the deficiencies of, and promotes improvements in, Crimes against Humanity law. Geras writes that Crimes against Humanity, in their pure form, '(1) are offences against the human status or condition, and (2) lie beyond a certain threshold of seriousness, being harmful to the fundamental interests of human beings just as such' (p. 75). The discrepancy between his reconstructed pure conception and the international law of Crimes against Humanity – a divergence caused by the threshold of scale in the latter – is intended to highlight the overly (and arbitrarily) restricted nature of Crimes against Humanity law.

Yet the reality is that Crimes against Humanity law was never intended to protect every individual from murder, rape, torture and so on. It presupposed that states would, for the most part, fulfil this duty. The purpose of Crimes against Humanity law, as mentioned time and again in the book, was to give individuals rights against their own government, which could be upheld by other governments or an international court. The law was designed to restrain the hitherto unlimited sovereignty of tyrannical regimes.

The broad scope of the pure concept frustrates the enterprise of magnifying a troubling issue for scholars of law, human rights, international relations, politics and philosophy: that, due to a threshold of scale in the law, there is a major inconsistency between the way the law is and the way the law was intended to be – that there are some terrible crimes, 'crimes against the human soul', which do not fall under the jurisdiction of international law, even when municipal law fails to protect the victims (p. 130).

Yet it is the unrestricted conception of Crimes against Humanity that makes this book so valuable. It is because the pure concept leaves so much open to question that the reader is exposed, with the aid of lucid prose and rigorous argument, to such a wide and informative guide to Crimes against Humanity law. Readers will learn not only about the nature of the law, but also about the predicates underlying it, the influences on it, its history and its possible progression as well as its relationship to humanitarian intervention.

Timothy Mawe
(University College Cork)

Regional Co-operation in the South Caucasus: Good Neighbours or Distant Relatives? by **Tracey German.** Farnham: Ashgate, 2012. 195pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 0721 8

This book focuses on challenges to regional cooperation and potential for extensive future collaboration

among the South Caucasian states situated on a strategic land bridge and vital transport and communications corridor. The work questions whether a local saying, 'better a good neighbour than a distant relative' is true for Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, who stress enmity over amity in their relations and look outwards for alleviation of their security challenges. Tracey German builds her fundamental argument on externally imposed understandings of the South Caucasus as a united 'region' and claims that these states, despite being geographical neighbours, do not share a common regional identity or enjoy positive interdependence. Therefore, externally originated regional cooperation initiatives have not improved collaboration on high-profile matters. Based on investigation of cases ranging from common security challenges and differing foreign policy strategies of the locals to examination of diverging policies of external powers (Russia, Turkey, Iran and European security organisations), German concludes that unless the geopolitical realities impeding regional collaboration (i.e. unresolved ethnic conflicts and rivalry among external powers for influence) are solved, and unless the local states turn towards each other for security, future initiatives will not bear effective results.

This book is a useful source for scholars and students with background knowledge of and research interests in the region. It is successful in providing an overall picture of regional affairs and examining the causes of limited regional cooperation. The author develops a convincing argument on geographically neighbouring but politically, economically and socially distinct states relying on distant relatives for their security. The work is noteworthy in its application of Buzan and Wæver's theory of Regional Security Complexes to the South Caucasus, which clarifies negative security interdependence among the locals. The book is well-written, based on detailed and extensive research, and makes an important contribution to the field with its comparative and interrelated examination of the foreign policy and security challenges of the three states. It might have been useful to have had a slightly greater focus on the impact of the United States in the region. As a principal driver of regional cooperation on energy pipeline infrastructure, which German acknowledges as the most successful cooperation initiative, Washington's role arguably necessitates greater consideration. Nevertheless, this book makes an interesting contribution to the literature on the South Caucasus.

Gunay Bayramova
(University of Sheffield)

Child Soldier Victims of Genocidal Forcible Transfer by **Sonja C. Grover.** Heidelberg: Springer, 2012. 302pp., £90.00, ISBN 978 3642236136

In this book, Sonja Grover develops a unique idea that, if successful, would advance understanding of both the concepts of child soldiering and genocide. Grover posits that the recruitment of child soldiers is not only a violation of the rights of children and a war crime, but also an act of genocide. According to Grover, recruitment of child soldiers is akin to the genocidal crime of forcible transfer of children from one group to another. Grover admits that 'it might be argued that the forcible transfer of children from one group to another is not always intended to destroy the original national, ethnical, racial or religious group of which the children are members' (p. 162). Her argument, however, is not that this transference of children from their native group threatens the native group 'in whole or in part', despite recognition that it might do so, but rather that the threatened group is 'children'. It is 'the "culture of childhood" ... that is destroyed' (p. 168). This is a novel idea in international criminal law.

The argument is an interesting one, but might aim to stretch the definition of 'genocide' unnecessarily too far. Throughout the book, Grover uses the Ugandan rebel Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and its recruitment of child soldiers as an example of genocidal forcible transfer. The fact that children are forcibly removed from their communities of origin and that there are deliberate attempts by the LRA to sever ties between the children and their communities to prevent attempted escapes, Grover argues, is proof of genocidal intent. The problem here, however, is that despite the intention to separate children from their communities and to remodel them into something other than the children that they were (e.g. from Acholi children living according to their culture into child soldiers), it seems a stretch to argue intent to destroy a group in whole or in part, even if it seemed reasonable to extend the definition of 'genocide' to include 'children' as a protected group.

Written into the definition of 'genocide' is special intent that Grover does not sufficiently address. The argument that the 'child group' should have its own standing under the Genocide Convention is also not persuasive to this reviewer, given childhood's ubiquitous and evolving nature. That children are rights bearers does not mean that 'childhood' should be a recognised group protected by the Genocide Convention. Nevertheless, Grover's proposal is thought-provoking and worthy of contemplation by scholars of international law.

Kirsten J. Fisher
(University of Ottawa)

Give Peace a Chance: Preventing Mass Violence by **David A. Hamburg and Eric Hamburg.** Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2013. 211pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 1612051383

In *Give Peace a Chance*, father and son co-authors present a 'compendium of ideas on minimizing mass violence' (p. 180). This series of ideas is harvested from a range of scholarship (mostly from natural and social scientists) and grows from the elder Hamburg's life's work in medical, educational and international organisational contexts dedicated to understanding and mitigating violence as a human phenomenon. Notable among these experiences is his work for peace with the Carnegie Corporation, in close partnership with United Nation agencies, and in dialogue with a range of people from Jane Goodall to Mikhail Gorbachev to Desmond Tutu to Hillary Clinton.

Recurrent themes in this volume include the need for more peace-focused and research-informed violence prevention centres, the importance of addressing genocide-related indicators prior to crisis moments, and the value of crafting peace by employing superordinate goals (requiring cooperation among actors). In addressing mass violence, prevention geared towards peace is preferred by the Hamburgs. In this light, the following 'pillars of prevention' are presented in Part I of the book: (1) education actively promoting peace and justice, (2) early warning and proactive measures when intergroup relations begin to break down, (3) democratic and equitable socio-economic development, (4) active promotion of human rights, and (5) effective arms control. Part II of the book suggests peace promotion roles for specific political actors including democratic nation states (with particular emphasis on the United States), the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, regional organisations (with a focus on the European Union) and the UN.

From a Peace Studies perspective, this volume is both problematic and promising for the way it presents ideas in a matter-of-fact manner, employing the power of social and natural scientific research as a basis for preventative peace-building action. These types of arguments may have appeal in a political environment that seeks measurable results and would help explain why David Hamburg is able to gain the ear of establishment figures, to the point of leading a retreat weekend for the UN Security Council on violence prevention. Hamburg also has an in-depth understanding of how to build cooperation across prestigious and powerful organisations as evidenced in a number of his anecdotes and descriptions of interorganisational initiatives. These forms of discourse are not always brought to the fore in peace research. Further, they should provide a good entry point to peace-building issues for those coming to violence prevention and intervention from areas such as a mainstream International Relations or a Security Studies perspective.

Christopher Hrynkow
(University of Saskatchewan)

Constructing Global Enemies: Hegemony and Identity in International Discourses on Terrorism and Drug Prohibition by **Eva Herschinger.** London: Routledge, 2011. 203pp., £90.00, ISBN 978 0 415 59685 5

Constructing Global Enemies explores the highly relevant issue of identity construction based on hegemonic practices generating the images of the Other in international politics. As the fight against terrorism and drug abuse scores high on the political agenda of many countries, Eva Herschinger's book follows the international dimension of these two discourses. By using a post-structural form of discourse analysis the author offers an approach that highlights how terrorism and drug abuse surfaced as problems for the international community and how they are linked to the production of collective identity.

The author's central argument is that the establishment of hegemonic orders at the international level is subject to a dual process of discursive homogenisation of the Other and a simultaneous creation of a cohesive vision of the Self. Herschinger points out, however,

that the identity-making process does not necessarily occur as a simple Self–Other duality. Instead, it is situated in a web of identities, in which we can differentiate varying degrees of Otherness. In the context of this identity complexity, 'hegemonic orders rely essentially on the construction of an unequivocal, radically different, and menacing Other' (p. 8). Thus, the book explores the relationship between hegemony and identity by showing not only how hegemonic discourses emerge in the field of security, but also how counter-hegemonic projects are suppressed. Inspired, among others, by the writings of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, the book highlights the notion of discursive hegemonic and counter-hegemonic strategies.

Herschinger's comparative approach to the international discourse on terrorism and drug abuse shows insightful results. Both discourses use war-like language in their attempts to forge hegemonic projects creating an antagonistic Other and promoting the construction of the 'good' Self. In addition, both discourses articulate ultimate and common goals to overcome the collective problems at hand. However, there are striking differences between them. While in the drugs case a constitution of a hegemonic order at the international level was successful, the discourse on terrorism could not establish a cohesive collective Self, mainly due to a heterogeneity of the antagonistic Other.

Herschinger's book is a very timely and stimulating analysis of the hegemony-identity nexus in international politics. It offers a successful mixture of post-structural concepts and theory with clear-cut empirical findings. Still, the book leaves the problem of intentionality in the hegemonic projects open. Certainly, it is not easy to bring post-structual theory and rational actorness together. Nonetheless, this could be the next step towards further cross-fertilisation between reflexive and rational approaches in the discipline of International Politics.

Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski
(University of Wroclaw)

The Postcolonial Subject: Claiming Politics/Governing Others in Late Modernity by **Vivienne Jabri.** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 188pp., £24.99, ISBN 978 0 415 68211

Very few things in current analyses of international relations are more urgent than seeking to engage in reflections departing from a critical perspective and, especially, departing from a post-colonial approach. This is exactly what Vivienne Jabri successfully accomplishes in her latest book. Contrary to more mainstream reflections, Jabri brings the post-colonial subject to the centre of the analysis of international politics. Focusing on post-colonial agency and resistance, the author engages with the challenge of providing 'an international political theory of the subject of politics in postcoloniality' (p. 10). In order to accomplish this, Jabri traces the trajectory of the post-colonial subject in three interrelated temporal and spatial locations: the colonial modernity, the post-colonial international and the late modern cosmopolitan.

Rethinking resistance in terms of the subject's claim to politics, or more precisely as the claim to the right to politics, Jabri very innovatively sees the post-colonial resistance as the right to (re-)claim the 'international' and the international politics – something that takes different configurations in each temporal and spatial location problematised by the author. Furthermore, Jabri evinces that, in each one of these locations, the post-colonial subject faced technologies of power and domination which sought, and continue to seek, to suppress such claim. For Jabri, both the anti-colonial struggle and the 'declaration of independence' are pivotal moments wherein a political community emerges in post-colonial settings, which in turn claims the 'international'. Nevertheless, the author perhaps places a disproportionate emphasis on the latter as the 'founding' moment wherein a people emerges as a political community. In addition to it being very hard to pinpoint *the* foundational moment of such a process, in several post-colonial environments – notwithstanding the enormous importance that the declaration of independence had – the anti-colonial struggle had a much larger impact in constituting the post-colonial political community.

The book engages with a wide range of critical and post-colonial theorists. However, it would have benefitted from greater engagement with de-colonial scholars – namely Latin American ones. Departing from a post-colonial environment which is often invisible in post-colonial analyses – i.e. Latin America – such scholars provide a wide range of insights that could be beneficial for Jabri's overall enterprise. In a time like the present where deep power relations are often operating clothed in beneficial rhetorical con-

structions, Vivienne Jabri provides a highly important and timely contribution to current analyses of international politics, which makes her book very interesting to any scholar engaged in critical and refined readings of international relations.

Ramon Blanco
(University of Coimbra, Portugal)

The Foreign Policy of Counter Secession: Preventing the Recognition of Contested States by **James Ker-Lindsay.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 224pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 199 69839 4

While much has been written on the dynamics and dimensions of separatism and secession, the aspect of how 'parent' states respond to secession has been less studied in international relations. *The Foreign Policy of Counter Secession* seeks to fill this gap. The central question motivating Ker-Lindsay's study is: 'How do states prevent breakaway territories from being recognized after an act of unilateral secession?' (p. 2). Analysing the foreign policy efforts of Cyprus, Georgia and Serbia, Ker-Lindsay brilliantly explains how these states have developed and implemented counter secession strategies to prevent the international recognition of Northern Cyprus, Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and Kosovo, respectively.

Drawing on in-depth interviews with a number of leading policy makers, as well as on history, politics and international law, Ker-Lindsay argues that the act of contesting secession is about defending specific interests, real or perceived, while preventing recognition is about process and strategy. After a brief discussion of how the practice of recognition has evolved in international politics since the emergence of the modern state (Chapter 1), and presenting the current cases of contested secession (Chapter 2), the ensuing five chapters investigate the reasons why states oppose secession as well as the process through which they aim to prevent the international recognition of contested states. In addition to the obvious reason for contesting secession (i.e. preservation of the territorial integrity), Ker-Lindsay intelligently incorporates into the analysis, and cleverly discusses, other reasons such as those related to emotions, culture, history and economics. In regard to the process and strategy of counter-recognition, the author argues that in addition to state efforts to prevent recognition, public diplomacy, diaspora communities and international organisations also have an important role in the process.

The Foreign Policy of Counter Secession is well-written and will be of great interest to policy makers and academics alike. The book is easy to read and extremely informative about foreign policy. As current battles over recognition endure, and the issue of secession continues to gain importance in international politics, the argument advanced in this study is an important contribution to our understanding of how states design and implement their foreign policy of counter-recognition.

Perparim Gutaj
(University of Utah)

Battlestar Galactica and International Relations by **Nicholas J. Kiersey and Iver B. Neumann (eds).** Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 240pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0415632812

The cult classic television series *Battlestar Galactica* has found many fans in the corridors of International Relations departments. In this, the fourth volume of Routledge's 'Popular Culture and World Politics' series, it is given an enthusiastically appreciative but critically astute analysis. The show tells the story of how an advanced human civilisation of polytheistic faith creates artificially intelligent robots to be its servants; these 'cylons' become self-aware, revolt, and after a civil war, flee. Having evolved, they return and launch an all-out attack. Roughly 50,000 humans survive in space, where they are rescued and protected by the battle cruiser, the Galactica. The main series aired during the Iraq War, and in its gritty realism, its moral and political seriousness, and its complex plot lines and characterisations it easily served as a proxy for some of the most difficult and challenging questions and discussions that a nation at war might face. This 'circulation of representations' between the 'in-show' world and 'in-world' international relations (the 'problematiques following 9/11') is central to the approach taken by the authors in the volume (pp. 8–9).

The book commences with a discussion of critical humanism, where key questions about the boundary of humanity are raised – a complex matter given the relationships between humans, cylons and moral personhood. These questions recur throughout the book, as, for example in the title of a later chapter 'So say

who all?' – a play on the religious phrase of consolation and unity used throughout the series: 'So say we all'. Religious practice and pluralism is central to the series, and receives several diverse treatments in the book, ranging from an optimistic interpretation that sees in religion an element of common practices that allow diverse peoples to live together, through a strong critique of the show's troublesome use of religion to justify and explain all of its events, including genocide, to the final chapter which includes a discussion of why academic critics in particular seem not to like the role religion plays in the series. Technological rationality, the 'technology myth' of the series and the changing ways in which 'machines matter' receive several different treatments. There are also important and insightful chapters on security, civil-military relations and insurgency. The book's themes are all taken up in a way that exemplifies the 'circulation of representations' approach, producing thoughtful and stimulating results for IR theorists and *Battlestar Galactica* fans alike.

Anthony J. Langlois
(Flinders University, Adelaide)

Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding by **Roger MacGinty (ed.).** Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 415pp., £125.00, ISBN 978 0 415 69019 5

Although peace-building has been a key theme of peace studies since the early 1990s, few attempts have been made to comprehensively introduce the various dimensions of it. Hence, the publication of this *Handbook* is welcome news to many practitioners and scholars in the field of peace-building.

This publication consists of 29 chapters that are categorised into six parts. The first three parts deal with the concepts, theories and approaches towards peace-building. Part I presents perceptual and theoretical frameworks being applied in peace-building studies and the historical development of peace-building theory and practice. Part II discusses four themes that have influenced peace-building practices: gender, religion, reconciliation and memory. Part III explains how peace-building is understood within the different social science disciplines.

In the latter half of the book, a wide range of topical issues are examined based on three focus areas. Part IV deals with five issues relevant to security and violence – securitisation, security sector reform, DDR (disarmament, demobilisation, and re-integration of ex-combatants), zones of peace, and law and human rights; and Part V discusses the issues related to people's everyday lives, such as their employment, education and the role played by young people in peace-building. Finally, from more bird's eye perspectives, Part VI discusses the structural and institutional dimensions of peace-building.

Readers will benefit from the *Handbook*'s clear and concise presentation of the issues by leading scholars in the subject fields. For instance, although the significance of the roles played by gender, memory and education in peace-building is both subtle and complex, the *Handbook* provides a lucid and cogent examination of each of them within ten pages. In addition, the way in which the book is set out is another distinctive feature. In a sense, this publication is more a compilation of theme-based writings rather than an encyclopaedic information source. Furthermore, it includes a number of issues that have rarely been explored in mainstream academic debates, such as anthro-political interpretations of peace-building, microlevel analysis from the perspective of households and non-normative examination of the roles of civil society.

However, a missed opportunity is the book's selection of topics, which is somewhat biased in favour of qualitative analysis. Apart from Regan's chapter on quantitative research, studies employing positivist approaches towards peace-building are largely excluded. In addition, as the editor admits, non-Western perspectives are not vigorously pursued. Regarding its potential readership, although the contents are written in plain English, the *Handbook* is more suited to postgraduate students or researchers in this field rather than to students who have just begun to explore peace-building.

Sung Yong Lee
(Coventry University)

Worldviews of Aspiring Powers: Domestic Foreign Policy Debates in China, India, Iran, Japan and Russia by **Henry R. Nau and Deepa M. Ollapally (eds).** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 241pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 0 19 993749 3

As traditionally subordinated states accumulate power resources and take on a greater functional importance

in the global political economy, their perceptions of the world and their place in it will have important implications for world order. Consequently, *Worldviews of Aspiring Powers* appears both well-timed and substantively important. Moreover, it provides a rare insight into policy debates within countries too often neglected by Western international relations.

Book-ended by a conceptual introduction and a conclusion drawing out patterns and implications, the book consists primarily of five case studies of the 'worldviews' structuring domestic foreign policy debates in five 'aspiring powers': China, India, Iran, Japan and Russia. Generally well-documented and convincing, the goal of the case studies is not to treat these countries as monolithic entities but to survey contending domestic 'schools of thought' that structure debates over their foreign policies. This arguably constitutes one of the book's major strengths, highlighting the diversity and internal tensions over foreign policy within each country. Sometimes, however, this emphasis on foreign policy debates may obscure broader elements of clarity and 'taken for granted' assumptions that underpin aspiring powers' conduct. Consequently, China is called 'conflicted', India is seen as 'ambiguous', Russia has a 'contested' foreign policy and Iran has a foreign policy 'puzzle'. Japan may have a slightly more cogent 'grand strategy', but one with 'emerging contradictions'.

The prevalence of realist and nationalist schools of thought in all of the countries examined in this book might give us an indication of the kind of world order that will emerge under their influence. Their major outlooks are political self-reliance, putting little stock in international institutions, privileging great powers on the international stage, emphasising traditional 'hard' notions of sovereignty and shying away from universalist pretensions in favour of more strictly national aspirations. However, in all of the countries examined, there are sizable 'globalist' coalitions which promote closer collaboration with established powers in a world of multilateralism and interdependence. In this respect, the concluding chapter observes that, crucially, nationalist, realist and liberal globalists all agree on the need for continued economic growth, which has come to depend on economic globalisation (p. 217). This may indicate that while economic globalisation is to be embraced, political liberalism and global governance is to be treated more sceptically. There is much more we can learn from studies such as this, and this collection is a good way to start.

Matthew D. Stephen
(WZB Berlin Social Research Centre)

World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations by **Nicholas Onuf.** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 340pp., £26.99, ISBN 978 0 415 63039 9

When it was first published in 1989, *World of Our Making* introduced International Relations to Constructivist Social Theory. Now reissued in Routledge's 'The New International Relations' series, Nicholas Onuf's contribution retains much of its theoretical value while also providing a look back at an important point of departure in IR scholarship. In Onuf's words, the task of this book was to 'reconstruct' international relations (p. 1) by offering the first step towards a new disciplinary paradigm (p. 22).

Onuf offers a particular vision of Constructivist Social Theory that has foundations in philosophy of language and sociology. The general assumptions of Constructivism are present here: Onuf avoids sharp distinctions between material and social factors, arguing instead that both contribute to the co-constitution of people and societies. However, Onuf's approach presents this as a 'rule-governed' process where rules form the range of social action that is permissible and possible (p. 49). In this process, language is both formative and representative of rules. Three forms of speech acts – directives, assertives and commissives – express rules through directions, instructions and commitments, respectively. Beyond constituting the rules that effectuate rule in society, Onuf sees these three forms as 'paradigms of experience' (p. 291). Through this hypothesis, Onuf argues that these rules govern individual rationality, world politics and everything in between.

Ultimately, Onuf relates these speech acts to three human senses (pp. 290–3) to suggest that they encompass the totality of modes in which humans experience the world. Some will find such a conclusion overly constrictive or reductive of the complexity of humanity and society, while others will object to the primacy given to speech in this approach.

In the process of detailing his own theory, Onuf continuously situates his ideas within and against those

of classical social thinkers. Thus, philosophers and social theorists, in addition to IR scholars, will find value in *World of Our Making*. However, this book is not for the idle reader or new student: some familiarity with social theory and philosophy of science is presupposed, and many will find the complexity and breadth of Onuf's explanations to be inaccessible without close reading. Nevertheless, Onuf's unique take on Constructivist Social Theory stands to complement or critically engage contemporary IR scholarship – constructivist or otherwise. A return to *World of Our Making* is warranted both for its own merits and for consideration of its impact on the field.

Michael Newell
(Syracuse University)

The Great Rebalancing: Trade, Conflict and the Perilous Road Ahead for the World Economy by **Michael Pettis.** Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013. 206pp., £19.95, ISBN 978 0691158686

In this book, Michael Pettis presents a clearly written discussion that focuses on what he argues are the central causes of the current global economic crisis, each of which are interrelated and represent the inverse of each other: the American trade deficit and Chinese trade surplus; the high level of consumption and low level of saving in the United States, and low level of consumption and high saving in China; and the under-valuation of the renminbi and over-valuation of the dollar.

The book argues that each of the imbalances noted above are the result of public policies adopted by the governments of *both* parties on either side of the imbalance. Thus, Chinese monetary and investment policy have combined to repress domestic consumption, to increase savings and to export capital (in the form of Chinese purchase of American government bonds), which has in turn prompted the trade deficit of the United States; while simultaneously the American administration's continued attempt to maintain the reserve currency role of the dollar has facilitated the trade deficit and corresponding low savings/high consumption rates within the domestic economy in the United States. The (necessary) unravelling of these imbalances, if it is to occur in as painless a way as possible, will therefore require coordinated policy changes on *both* sides of the imbalance. Failure to do so, which seems likely, will result in prolonged global economic crisis and instability as the unravelling occurs in a painfully uncoordinated and crisis-driven fashion.

The argument is convincing and does a lot to debunk myths about trade surpluses/deficits being the result of national-cultural excesses of frugality/profligacy. It is written in an accessible style and benefits from an attempt to mirror 'the spirit of the new economic blogs' that have proliferated in recent years (p. 23). One of the consequences of this writing style, however, is that referencing is sparse – sometimes to the extent that the reader is left to take it on trust that the arguments and data upon which they are based are sound. It also means that the theoretically contending views tend not to be fleshed out. The book is also heavily nation-state-centric in its analysis, with imbalances *between* nation states identified as the core cause of global economic instability. More could have been done to highlight the distributive issues *within* nation states. More also could have been done to explore the reason that imbalance-generating policies were adopted in the first place.

David Bailey
(University of Birmingham)

Contemporary Conflict Resolution by **Oliver Ramsbotham**, **Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Miall.** Cambridge: Polity, 2011. 486pp., £24.99, ISBN 9780745649740

Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall draw out a general perspective on conflict studies, its components and application to various disciplines and their book is separated into two main parts called 'Contemporary' and 'Cosmopolitan' conflict resolution. In Part I the authors set out to define the components and features of conflict resolution and focus on its most important yet notable factors – namely peace-building, reconciliation, peacekeeping and peacemaking. In addition, each section ends with a case study to draw out each concrete idea in people's minds. For instance, with regard to interethnic conflict, Kenya is presented as a case study for preventing violent conflict among ethnic groups (p. 143). Similarly, Somalia is offered as a case study for peacekeeping, and South Africa and Israeli-Palestinian issues are considered in terms of peacemaking efforts.

In Part II, relations between conflict resolution concepts and various disciplines such as the environment, gender, culture, religion and media are analysed

through interdisciplinary efforts at conflict resolution and its analytic features. According to the authors, conflict resolution is one of the most noteworthy theories in the literature. As a conflict resolution researcher, I strongly recommend this book to students and researchers involved in security studies or generally interested in these concepts.

Having read several books and other types of literature in this field, I can say that this book brings an exclusive frame to the literature. The theoretical framework presented in Chapter 1 is excellent, especially the hourglass models (p. 14) and the conflict tree describing the Kenya issue (p. 15). These are effective examples showing how to characterise tasks of resolution. The authors' thoughts on conflict resolution theory are very clear, even for readers who are new to the field. Overall, the book is structured in a logical way, with each chapter and section explaining, analysing and then exemplifying the specific topic. The writing is very clear and the sources chosen for the book are used in a suitable way. I have only one criticism: although the authors talk in part about critiques of conflict resolution, I would prefer more analysis of critical resolution.

I. Aytac Kadioglu
(University of Nottingham)

Sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect: The Power of Norms and the Norms of the Powerful by **Theresa Reinold.** New York: Routledge, 2012. 216pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0415626293

It is necessary to stress that this study is about much more than 'just' sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). This is essentially an exploration of hegemonic lawmaking, which analyses American foreign policy in relation to the three norms of mass atrocity prevention, counter-terrorism and counter-proliferation. To gauge the scope of the book it is important to explain that it has four central chapters – excluding the introduction and conclusion. Chapter 2 – 'Setting the Theoretical Content' – puts forward a 43-page overview of the underlying theoretical foundation, which sees the author develop a 'realist constructivist' framework (p. 4) that draws on international relations, international law and sociology. Building on this, Chapter 3 shifts the focus of the book to the first of the three norms analysed – 'The Responsibility to Protect' – which, it is claimed, represents a 'shallow consensus' that embodies no legal duty (p. 65). Chapter 4 analyses 'The Obligation to Control', investigating state failure and self-defence against non-state actors. Juxtaposing the American position toward this norm in 1986 (the *Nicaragua Case*) with its post-9/11 stance (pp. 91–7), the author argues that the United States did not in fact change its approach toward the norm of self-defence in a post 9/11 world; it is merely that 9/11 helped the United States gain support for its pre-existing policy (p. 113). Finally, Chapter 5 – 'The Duty to Prevent' – looks at the norm of preventative war, differentiating it from pre-emptive war (p. 125), in relation to rogue states to conclude that the backlash against the invasion of Iraq signifies the failure of the United States to legitimise a norm of preventative war. Each norm is tested against four hypotheses: 'freedom of action', 'gradation', 'incomplete transformation' and 'world time/normative fit'. The author integrates these in such a manner that the book becomes more than just a sum of its parts.

It is beyond the scope of this review to analyse the four tests presented in each chapter. I therefore urge anyone interested in sovereignty, the responsibility to protect, counter-terrorism, counter-proliferation, norms, American foreign policy and hegemony to read this book. Yes, it has limitations; at times, the theoretical framework does feel as though it is pulling in a number of different directions, and the reader may be disappointed to discover that it focuses on George W. Bush's two terms with only fleeting references given to developments under Barack Obama. Having said that, the balance between theory and practice is excellent, the primary interviews conducted with actors such as John Bolton, Anthony Lake, Edward Luck and Roberta Cohen (to name just a few) add to the vibrancy of the study, and overall this is a thoroughly enjoyable, far-reaching and refreshing analysis. A brilliant book.

Adrian M. Gallagher
(University of Leeds)

International Relations and Non-Western Thought: Imperialism, Colonialism and Investigations of Global Modernity by **Robbie Shilliam (ed.).** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 272pp., £24.95, ISBN 978 0 415 52284 7

With *International Relations and Non-Western Thought* Robbie Shilliam has produced an edited text that

should be considered alongside John Hobson's *Eurocentric Conception of World Politics*[1] in terms of importance on this topic. As the subtitle states, the text focuses on non-Western considerations of imperialism, colonialism and global modernity. This is conducted through a range of essays that analyse the processes of colonial conditions, cultural contexts and the possibilities for moving beyond Western constructs of the nation state.

In substantive form, the book takes the following path. Initially, Shilliam provides an excellent opening essay highlighting the inadequacy of Western thought through the primacy of its epistemological preferences, which are tied to colonial/imperial experiences. He also calls on us to re-orient towards the non-West, which the rest of the text does with great efficacy. The opening section attempts to overcome the fact that although the 'colonial condition has been more the normal than exceptional historical path to modernity' (p. 4), there has been limited engagement with such a condition on its own terms. To assist in overcoming such a lacuna, there are essays on Cuban colonial modernity (Chapter 3), the thought and practice of anti-racism and emancipation through several thinkers (Chapter 4), and questions about the 'Jewish Colony' (Chapter 5). The second section moves to explore various cultural contexts, with a focus on Islamic democratic participation and political thought (Chapters 6 and 7, respectively), Japanese humanism (Chapter 8) and contemporary Chinese International Relations theory (Chapter 9). The third section moves beyond the confines of nation state constructs to consider cosmopolitanism in the Francophone Caribbean (Chapter 10), the ethical modernity of Jawaharlal Nehru (Chapter 11) and radical anti-colonial thought in Africa (Chapter 12). The text is rounded off with some 'untimely reflections' (Chapter 13) on how the non-Western world has not succumbed to the process of global modernity *tout court*, but may provide the foundations upon which to re-invigorate the field of IR through differentiated understanding of such a historical process.

This edited text offers a vital intervention into the process of thinking beyond the confines of Western academia and its dominant epistemology. Any student of IR who does not take such texts to offer a thoroughgoing reflection not only of the non-Western terrain but also of our own practices within the West will be left intellectually and culturally poorer for it.

Note

1 Hobson, J. (2012) *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics: Western International Theory, 1760–2010*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jamie Jordan
(University of Nottingham)

Who Wins? Predicting Strategic Success and Failure in Armed Conflict by **Patricia L. Sullivan.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 177pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 19 987835 2

This short book is an ambitious attempt to tackle some of the big questions in the field of international security. Why do great powers lose wars against much weaker opponents? Under what conditions can actors employ military force to achieve their political objectives? Why do actors decide to go to war and what determines their ability to prevail? Patricia Sullivan's general response to these questions is that strategic success in war – the attainment of political rather than military objectives – necessitates that an actor's goals, available means and strategic approach be aligned. While this insight is not novel, she offers a predictive model that combines a typology of war aims (based on how dependent they are on target compliance) and military strategies (punishment or denial in nature) with measures of destructive capacity and cost tolerance to explain when states are likely to achieve their political objectives through military force.

Sullivan statistically tests the model using two large-N datasets: the Correlates of War Project's Militarized Interstate Dispute and her own Military Intervention by Powerful States. She finds, *inter alia*, that the balance of military capabilities between the belligerents is a critical determinant of war outcomes only when the objects at stake can be seized and held with physical force alone, while tolerance for costs is more significant when the war aims require a change in target behaviour. In essence, the more compliance-dependent a political objective, the more difficult it is to translate it into operational military objectives and to establish a clear link between destructive capacity and the desired end state.

Overall, the model is logically consistent and has a stronger predictive power than its rival theories. However, primary reliance on comparative statistical approaches does not give us much analytical purchase when we seek to explain individual cases, especially in

the absence of specific causal mechanisms linking the belligerents' different military and political objectives to different pre-war assessments, destructive capacities, cost tolerance and their evolving strategic choices and different war outcomes. There are also some measurement and conceptual labelling problems – e.g. designating war aims based on the methods to acquire them, or the conflation between the different levels of strategy and levels of goals.

The book nevertheless offers a solid, precise and original theoretical model worthy of further development and discussion by scholars of international security. Future research could extend its logic, formulate specific causal mechanisms and tackle the different processes related to the belligerents' goal formation and their change or evolution during war.

Evan A. Laksmana
(Syracuse University)

War, Clausewitz and the Trinity by **Thomas Waldman.** Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. 203pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 5139 6

Carl von Clausewitz's *On War* requires a patient reader. It is disjointed, unfinished, conceptually outdated and even contradictory at times. But it remains the single most important book in the study of war, and this is not only because of its penetrating and sobering insights on the nature and character of war and warfare, but also because of its capacity to determine dichotomist paths of understanding conflict as a socio-political phenomenon. However, much of the ink with which Clausewitz has been written about draws deceptive and theoretically void hagiographies that either mislead 'or do not fully convey the complexity of his arguments' (p. 1). Thomas Waldman's new book, *War, Clausewitz and the Trinity*, challenges this pattern of thinking and articulates an intellectually refreshing and novel understanding of the core elements of Clausewitz's theory of war: the trinity.

Analysing the interplay of passion, chance and policy, Waldman maps the Clausewitzian mind primarily not as an author, but as a careful and avid reader. As a modern *lector belli*, Waldman departs from existing Clausewitzian thinking by clarifying that 'the trinity is a framework that is intended to convey dynamism, flexibility, change and complexity' (p. 185). Elsewhere, the author emphasises that it is fundamental to understand the idea of trinity as encompassing not the people, the commander and the government, but rather a triptych of tendencies that has 'been variously condensed into short-hand versions such as "violence, chance and politics", "hostility, change and purpose" or even "irrational, non-rational and rational factors" ' (p. 6). Moreover, as 'the idea of change is thus integral to the concept' (p. 56) of war, Waldman sets his study of the three tendencies in the debate surrounding the contemporary relevance of Clausewitz. With Enlightened rationality, and while stressing the importance of Clausewitz's work for the current security environment, Waldman proposes the less radical approach of integrating the arguments as opposed to deepening the academic schism.

Against this background, Waldman deconstructs the trinity by making use of a methodology that remains consistent throughout the entire book. The analysis of the trinity is clear and comprehensive, and captures the theoretical complexity of passion, chance and policy. For example, Waldman masterfully examines the role of chance and observes the process through which Clausewitz integrated it into the analysis of war by developing its military explanatory capacity. Furthermore, the comparison of war with a chameleon, 'friction', the role of the context, as well as the idea of the 'fog of war' are Clausewitzian concepts that are also examined in this book, which is a truly groundbreaking study of strategic thinking.

Vladimir Rauta
(University of Nottingham)

Humanitarian Intervention by **Thomas G. Weiss.** Cambridge: Polity Press, second edition, 2012. 226pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 5981 7

Humanitarian Intervention – now updated and expanded in this second edition – analyses the concept of the 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P). Thomas Weiss' aim is to understand whether we are witnessing a new normative era as well as the emergence of more incisive practices of humanitarian intervention that stress the responsibility of every state to diminish the suffering of human beings. First, Weiss presents his conceptual building blocks: (1) the notion of humanitarian intervention itself; (2) the principles of state sovereignty and non-intervention defining the Westphalian order; (3) respect for human rights; and (4) the nature

of change in world politics. Next, he looks at historical cases of humanitarian intervention in order to provide empirical background for comprehending controversies surrounding this concept. He highlights the crises in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Zimbabwe and Darfur, which offered little evidence of any new imperative to save suffering strangers, even though accompanied by well-rounded discourses about the responsibility to do so. The section concludes with the interventions in Côte d'Ivoire and Libya in 2011. These interventions revealed that despite the increasing robustness of normative consensus, practical action remains inconsistent.

In the second part of the book, Weiss discusses the new dimension of war and humanitarian activities in a globalised world. The easy flow of arms across borders and facilitation of cross-border illegal activities contribute to the fragility of quasi-states and diminishing role of international humanitarian laws. Humanitarian action is therefore obliged to assume a politicised agenda, shifting from emergency relief to attacking root causes and post-conflict peace-building. Weiss subsequently provides the details of the contemporary norm of R2P, focusing on the ground-breaking work of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS). The Commission's work is praised for its ability to condition sovereignty on human rights and R2P. Finally, Weiss examines what differences changing norms make to victims on the ground, emphasising the urgent need to translate agreed principles into universally delivered practices.

The book combines Weiss' renowned normative knowledge on the subject with his experience as research director of the ICISS report on *Responsibility to Protect*. Not only is it pitched at students looking for a clear and concise guide on the moral and political challenges of humanitarian intervention, but above all it is addressed to policy makers who are supposed to translate discourses into actions.

Alessandra Sarquis
(University of Paris IV)

We welcome short reviews of books in all areas of politics and international relations. For guidelines on submitting reviews, and to see an up-to-date listing of books available for review, please visit http://www.politicalstudiesreview.org/.

Comparative

Coping with Crisis: Government Reactions to the Great Recession by **Nancy Bermeo and Jonas Pontusson (eds).** New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2012. 430pp., £42.50, ISBN 978 0871540768

This volume brings together a set of distinguished contributors to answer the broad question of how Western governments responded to the economic crisis that erupted in 2007 and 2008. The answer follows three perspectives: international institutions have generally not played a very central or effective role in crisis management; the menu of policy measures has shortened considerably since the crisis of the 1970s; and the most common explanations from the current literature on economic policy making in good times are of surprisingly little help in understanding crisis management.

The book is organised into three parts. The first part deals with the international level of the crisis. Iversen and Soskice argue that national responses to international regulatory efforts pre- and post-crisis are best understood from the perspective of national governments promoting and trying to control the high value-added sectors of their economies, leaving little promise for future international cooperation. Helleiner's conclusion concurs, arguing that the significance of global bodies like the G20, and international cooperation more generally, is easily overstated. Things are not looking much better in a European context: Cameron argues that the lack of fiscal capacity within the European Union left it relatively impotent in its response to the crisis; Schelkle demonstrates how the EU's response can be explained with reference to domestic political processes in Germany and France; and Armingeon and Baccaro argue that domestic institutions and politics in the less powerful EU countries explain very little of the response of these countries to the sovereign debt crisis – external constraints are much more important. Part II contains analyses of policy responses in the United States (McCarty), the Nordic countries (Lindvall), Japan (Tiberghien), and the United Kingdom and Ireland (Barnes and Wren). Finally, Part III contains two articles about cross-national consequences of the crisis: Ansell on the central role of housing markets in government responses to the crisis (the article seems more explana-

tory than focused on consequences of the crisis *per se*); and Rueda, who explores whether advanced welfare states remain powerful buffers between unemployment and poverty (the short answer is 'no').

Unfortunately there is no overarching theoretical perspective guiding the volume. That is too bad, since it results in a lack of connection between the contributions and makes it difficult for the reader to take away clear or general lessons from otherwise interesting (but perhaps also soon outdated?) analyses of the crisis.

Martin B. Carstensen
(Copenhagen Business School)

Parliamentary Roles in Modern Legislatures by **Magnus Blomgren and Olivier Rozenberg (eds).** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 244pp., £75.00, ISBN 9780415575683

Parliamentary Roles in Modern Legislatures deals with a topic that has gained little attention from scholars during the last years: the study of different roles within legislatures. The renewal of interest in the study of roles is very closely linked to New Institutionalism. In particular, two approaches have been influential in this book: the motivational approach of Donald Searing, and Kaare Strøm's theory of strategic behaviour. Blomgren and Rozenberg provide in the introductory and concluding chapters the theoretical framework of role studies, underlining the heuristic potential of this kind of study but also some of its weakness. The two editors pay particular attention to the problematic relation between the theoretical framework of role theory and the real political behaviour of members of parliament (MPs) and the difficult use of roles as dependent or independent variables.

All of the contributors try to demonstrate by means of rich empirical material, covering the analysis of many countries in Europe and also of the European Parliament, the usefulness of the study of representative and legislative roles and behaviour for understanding the strategic choices of MPs.

All the chapters analyse the relationship between roles, institutional setting and MP behaviour. Independently and depending upon the approach used by the different authors, they all underline how the roles played by individual MPs are influenced by the idea of who they have to represent (e.g. the party, the district, the entire country). This choice also influences how MPs organise their political activity. The book is particularly important, not only because it brings the topic of role theory back to the centre of the political science research agenda, but also because it does so by using a rich amount of empirical data resulting from an innovative and in-depth methodological analysis produced by qualitative and quantitative research.

Another important achievement of the book is the presentation of a future research agenda concerning the study of parliamentary roles: from the influence of electoral systems to the conception of representation, passing through the future of political parties, it seems that role theory could gain a paramount place in institutional studies. Summing up, this book represents an important text for all scholars devoted to the study of comparative politics, political parties and legislative studies as well as those interested in multilevel governance and its impact on national political systems.

Eugenio Salvati
(University of Pavia)

Roads to Regionalism: Genesis, Design and Effects of Regional Organizations by **Tanja A. Börzel**, **Lukas Goltermann**, **Mathis Lohaus and Kai Striebinger (eds).** Farnham: Ashgate, 2012. 294pp., £60.00, ISBN 9781409434641

Students of regional formations in the contemporary world labour under debilitating shackles that they seem unable to discard. They focus almost exclusively on the benefits that states accrue from creating regional organisations; they emphasise functional similarities across regionalist experiments over how such organisations diverge in structure; and they assume that the European Union represents the standard against which other cases can most usefully be measured. *Roads to Regionalism* runs true to form in all three respects. Niklas Wirminghaus lays out a variety of problems that the states of Central Eurasia have tried to solve by creating regional organisations, from labour migration to water scarcity (pp. 30–1 and 38), to resisting renewed Russian dominance (pp. 34–5 and 38–9). Niklas Aschhoff spells out the economic (pp. 51–4) and diplomatic (pp. 54–5) incentives that led Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam to join the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) once the Cold War ended. Closely following Andres Malamud, Felix Hummel and Mathis Lohaus assert that the

Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) owes its existence to the political advantages that it accords member state presidents. More subtly, Leon Kanthak argues that ASEAN and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) have developed different institutional arrangements due to variations in the kind of economic uncertainty that the member states of each grouping confront: ASEAN states find themselves more vulnerable to shifts in global trade, which leads them to adopt flexible regionalist structures, whereas Canada, Mexico and the United States are more vulnerable to each another and thus construct rigid and highly legalistic institutions. Annika Korte adds that ASEAN and NAFTA display mechanisms to settle disputes that reflect the commercial interests of their respective member states. And Kai Striebinger shows that the Economic Community of West African States has intervened to protect liberal democratic regimes from *coups d'état* whenever Nigeria's 'material and geopolitical interests' are in jeopardy (p. 193). Comparisons to the EU are most explicit in Corinna Krome's discussion of ASEAN as a stimulus for domestic civic associations and Alexander Spielau's survey of monetary policies inside NAFTA, but pervade other chapters that rely heavily on theories deeply rooted in the European experience.

Two innovative contributions come from Veronika Kirchner and Sören Stapel and from Lukas Goltermann, who connect the emergence of regionalist formations to the spread of liberal democracy in West Africa and the consolidation of state capacity in Southeast Asia, respectively. Tanja Börzel closes the volume with a rousing call to explore non-European forms of regionalism in their own right, without privileging economic dynamics. That quest remains before us.

Fred H. Lawson
(Mills College, Oakland, California)

The Dynamics of Democratization: Dictatorship, Development and Diffusion by **Nathan J. Brown (ed.).** Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011. 319pp., £15.50, ISBN 9781421400099

This book offers a critical assessment of the current state of the democratisation literature in an accessible manner. Insights offered by contributors are relevant not only to students of democratisation, but also to policy makers engaged in democracy promotion across the world. Indeed, the book raises a number of important lessons that policy makers should bear in mind. For example, it highlights the durability of authoritarian/semi-authoritarian regimes, challenging the popular perspective widely shared among the policy circle that sees these regimes as travelling on the path to a greater liberal democracy. It also identifies some structural conditions, such as dependence on natural resources, which constrain the move to greater democracy – a cautionary tale for advocates of institutional fixes for political problems.

There is some good news for policy makers, though. For example, one of the chapters suggests that democracy, in the long run, tends to have a positive impact on economic performance. This finding challenges the conventional wisdom that there is no consistent relationship between democracy and development, and should offer welcome encouragement, particularly to those in the international donor community who now embrace 'democratic governance' as an important component of aid conditionality. Another chapter demonstrates that international-democracy promoters can make a positive difference to the democratisation process under certain conditions – namely if local conditions are receptive and if they are able to forge close alliances with local supporters of political change.

Beyond policy debate, *The Dynamics of Democratization* raises important questions that have not been adequately addressed in existing scholarship. For example, it problematises a dominant tendency in the literature of studying hybrid regimes – regimes that combine democratic and autocratic elements – 'primarily through the lenses of what they are not, treating them as defective democracies, weak autocracies or unstable countries in a potentially long process of transition to democracy or backsliding to autocracy' (p. 23). The book emphasises the importance of studying hybrid regimes in their own right and suggests research questions that need to be addressed to pursue this line of inquiry, such as the distinctive effects that hybrid regimes may have and the logics of hybridity that explain their longevity and effect. It is to be hoped that future research takes up the challenge of addressing these (and other) questions identified here, which would certainly help us further enrich our understanding of the subject.

Yuki Fukuoka
(Waseda University)

Secessionism and Separatism in Europe and Asia: To Have a State of One's Own by **Jean-Pierre Cabestan and Aleksandar Pavković (eds).** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 280pp., £85.00, ISBN 978 0415667746

This edited collection addresses the interrelated phenomena of secessionism and separatism in a comparative context. It illuminates the dynamics of interaction between separatist movements, their host states and outside actors. A general chapter looks at how the principle of national self-determination has been approached and accommodated in theory and practice, as well as some key differences in attitudes towards secessionism between Europe and Asia. This is followed by a wide variety of case studies (13 in total) ranging from the former Soviet Union to the Balkans, Tibet and Taiwan.

The first part focuses on Europe. For example, John Cuffe and David Siroky present an original and theoretically sophisticated attempt to explore the relationship between historic autonomy of groups and their motives and capacity to pursue separatist goals. Using qualitative and quantitative data they convincingly argue that the notion of 'autonomous groups' needs to be disaggregated into several subcategories since the historical setting of the (non)possession of autonomy can have a significant bearing on the propensity for separatism. Keichi Kubo compares and contrasts state responses to ethnic activity in Serbia and Macedonia, examining electoral incentives, military repression and signals from external forces. Aleksandar Pavković makes a strong case for the consideration of nuanced agency-centred models in understanding the differential propensity of secessionists to use armed force.

The second part examines the links between identity, ethnic politics, secessionism and separatism in Asia. This reviewer found chapters on language practices in the Tibet-China dispute, separatism in China's Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, and secessionism and accommodation in India particularly empirically interesting and theoretically engaging.

The diversity of empirical material presented here is enriching but it also leads to the blurring of a common theoretical core. As is often the case with edited collections, there is some unevenness in that the constituent chapters vary quite significantly in terms of the scope of empirical analysis and the extent and depth of theoretical framing. While some contributions feature elaborate and quite innovative theoretical sections, others tend to be presented merely as summaries of the current situation in the conflicts in question. The book would have benefited from a substantive theoretical conclusion. Nevertheless, it is a welcome addition to the literatures on ethnic politics and conflict regulation. It will, no doubt, prove a useful resource for policy practitioners, political scientists and sociologists, especially those specialising in conflict studies as well as in comparative politics and international relations more broadly.

Anastasia Voronkova
(Independent scholar)

Managing Terrorism and Insurgency: Regeneration, Recruitment and Attrition by **Cameron I. Crouch.** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 196pp., £24.95, ISBN 978 0415622271

This book discusses how authorities can positively affect terrorists and insurgents' 'regenerative capacities' (p. 2). Cameron Crouch compares the actions of the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ), the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional-Tupamaros (MLN-T) in Uruguay and the Provisional Irish Republican Army, which he suggests were stirred by 'nationalism and socialism' (p. 11). The author scrutinises 'arguments' and 'ideas' being used by insurgents (p. 15) and examines the correlation between the amelioration of grievances and recruitment (p. 19). Whether the said groups were weakened because of a decrease in recruitment remains questionable, as Crouch asserts. He is sceptical regarding repression. He adds that it only contributes to 'human misery' against civilians (p. 21).

Crouch declares that repression boosts the morale of trouble makers, as it did for the the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador (p. 23). He reveals that discrediting an insurgent's ideology will work, but stresses the need for caution, citing the United States' 'image problem' that has been battered (p. 22) in this regard. Crouch notes a consensus about the need to enhance a 'government's intelligence capacities' and anti-terror enactments, although this is controversial (pp. 25–6). Even scholars, the author asserts, are doubtful about the benefits governments derive from restricting liberties (p. 28).

Crouch's major point is that no method is perfect in dealing with insurgents and terrorists. Each group should therefore be studied separately. For example, the FLQ was concerned with 'constitutional dominance' within the 'realm of economics' (p. 35); the MLN-T was motivated by 'what it saw as Uruguay's subservience to foreign powers' (p. 62); and the Provisional IRA's driving force was disdain for the British presence in Ireland (p. 94). This is an excellent analysis since it is disastrous to designate groups as 'terrorists' without rigorous study. Violence is unwanted, but when pushed to the wall and peaceful change is denied one should expect people to react. From the governments' perspective, 'to weaken an insurgent actor's capacity to regenerate is seemingly intuitive' (p. 120), but governments must first understand different groups' peculiarities and the 'policy options' to adopt if terror is to be managed (p. 130), and they must shun the politics of repression which, interestingly in the author's view, is a 'moral wrong' (p. 131).

This book is an important contribution to the literature on terrorism. Although it contains some minor typographical errors, it is an exciting read.

Kawu Bala
(Bauchi State Judiciary, Nigeria)

Political Extremism in Democracies: Combating Intolerance by **William M. Downs.** Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. 254pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0230340794

Over the last few years, extremist political parties throughout Europe have made gains in reaction to economic crises and austerity measures, which have left mainstream parties and governments struggling with how to tolerate the intolerant parties. William Downs' book proves timely for explaining strategic responses to European extremism. He describes the radical movements as 'pariah' parties to avoid the pejorative term 'extremist', and analyses the history and goals of the parties that have had some success in national politics. Using case studies and survey data, Downs offers a theoretical framework for understanding why countries react differently to the pariah parties and for explaining the outcomes of combating extremism.

The book has seven chapters that serve as analytic categories for mapping the strategic reactions to extremist parties with attention to each country's historical context, institutional differences (such as election rules) and competing visions of democracy. Downs plots the general responses to perceived democratic threats using a 'tolerance/militancy and engagement/disengagement typology' in classifying general reactions as isolation, co-optation, collaboration and legal exclusion (p. 51). Comparing the differences between banning the pariah with the Vlaams Blok in Belgium, and the consequences of allowing the pariah into the government with the Freedom Party in Austria, Downs argues that the outlawed party actually gained support and the pariah included in the government lost support because it was seen as incompetent. Next he analyses policy co-optation with the debates about immigration and citizenship in unified Germany, and shows that 'the political extremes can confound the natural preferences of mainstream parties' (p. 171). Finally, Downs connects the theoretical framework by looking at 'newly' democratic states dealing with extremism in Slovakia and Hungary, where new institutions help absorb popular frustrations. He concludes that electoral thresholds, stronger democratic opposition and transparency can mitigate the extremist risk and 'some forms of regulated inclusion of extremist parties can actually induce the kind of internal tensions as well as accountability pressures that result in the pariah's decline' (p. 199).

Though there are many books that explore the rise of the radical right in Europe, *Political Extremism in Democracies* sheds light on the efforts of combating anti-democratic forces and the problem of banning or collaborating with such parties. One concern, however, is that it lumps ideologically diverse parties together without explaining distinctions and cultural context, such as the parties' levels of antisemitism and the ethno-religious differences between countries like the United Kingdom and Hungary. Nonetheless, the book is a valuable contribution to understanding extremist and anti-democratic political parties in Europe.

Ryan Shaffer
(Stony Brook University)

Politics in Deeply Divided Societies by **Adrian Guelke.** Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012. 178pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 4850 7

In this well-written book, Adrian Guelke skillfully unpacks the characteristics of deeply divided societies

and explicates the challenges these societies face in accommodating internal divisions. Drawing upon the literature of conflict regulation in divided societies and on a wide range of important cases (primarily Northern Ireland, South Africa and Israel/Palestine), Guelke provides us with lucid and insightful analysis of ethnic, religious and class struggles in these societies and the political conflicts they produce. External mediation and the role of external powers in conflict management in deeply divided societies are also examined in this study. Aimed at policy makers and academics, the book argues that 'agreements that are reached by the parties themselves (i.e. internal parties) with a minimum of outside interference stand the best chance of taking root' (p. 160).

Guelke's approach in this study is thematic, but it is linked to consideration of individual polities throughout. In Chapter 2, he identifies various sources of division in deeply divided societies; nevertheless, he contends that, for the most part, the divisions that give rise to deeply divided societies and violence are binary ones. Themes covered in Chapters 3 and 4 are violence, order and justice. Linking these themes to individual polities, Guelke competently connects the sources of division in these societies to the level of violence, maintenance of order and the existence of justice to understand when and under what conditions divided societies adopt methods of managing or eliminating differences.

In the ensuing three chapters Guelke examines the ways in which divisions in deeply divided societies can be eliminated or managed. Integration, partition, population transfer, power sharing and political accommodation are five mechanisms or elements that are studied in detail. Although different approaches to conflict management are discussed, internally generated consociationalism is Guelke's preferred model for deeply divided societies.

This is a captivating and provocative book that offers new and important insights into how to establish order and justice in these politically unstable societies, as well as democratic institutions that promote integration. The chapters in the book are empirically rich and detailed enough to back the author's claims. *Politics in Deeply Divided Societies* is a model of original and engaging scholarship that anyone interested in the dynamics of ethnic conflict and nationalism, democracy promotion, and management of ethnic, religious and class struggles will want to read.

Perparim Gutaj
(University of Utah)

Constructing and Imagining Labour Migration: Perspectives of Control from Five Continents by **Elspeth Guild and Sandra Mantu (eds).** Farnham: Ashgate, 2011. 311pp., £65.00, ISBN 9781409409632

The complex developments of global migration politics over the past decades have stimulated intense debates in the field of migration research. Against this background, this edited volume aims to map shifting paradigms of control and emerging patterns in global migration politics. The book's contributors discuss: (1) the interests, images and illusions upon which migration control policies are built; and (2), partly, how these policies affect the lived experience of labour migrants. With few exceptions, the methodological approach is one of 'informed discussion and commenting' on policies and the role of political actors. The book is organised into three parts according to the rigidity of control claims of the migration regime. Part I deals with regimes marked by weak control claims and contains chapters on migration politics in Southern Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia. Part II turns towards migration regimes with stronger control claims, discussing developments in Canada, the European Union, Australia and Japan. Finally, Part III discusses various 'supranational' constellations characterised by 'ambiguous control claims': the EU, the North American Free Trade Agreement and emerging migration regimes in Central Asia. The editors conclude that paradigms built around theories of control and security have failed on a global scale, even though securitisation is still among the dominant logics organising migration politics throughout the world.

Not least due to its broad geopolitical scope, this volume offers relevant insights and in-depth information for experts as well as newcomers to the field. The collected articles mirror the broad variety of diagnoses concerning global migration politics. Especially regarding the EU (dealt with in four chapters), the different arguments illustrate the contradictory character of recent political developments. However, the volume has its blind spots. Most importantly, the relation between migration politics and migration research is hardly discussed. Considering the increasing integration

of migration researchers into policy making, this is surprising. Some of the contributions are framed by rather orthodox approaches and seem to share both problem definitions and central concepts with the policy field they are investigating, as if neither diagnoses of methodological nationalism nor post-colonial critique had ever happened. Other authors choose more innovative and critical frameworks linked to well-established and more recent analytical concepts (such as 'securitisation' or 'deportability'). In some cases, discussion of these concepts deserved more attention – the bridging of empirical analyses and theoretical frameworks is mostly left to the reader. Nonetheless, the conceptually more innovative chapters and those linking depictions of political developments to empirical research among migrants point to important paths for further research.

Kenneth Horvath
(Pädagogische Hochschule, Karlsruhe)

Women, Civil Society and the Geopolitics of Democratization by **Denise M. Horn.** New York: Routledge, 2012. 144pp., £22.50, ISBN 978 0 415 810579

In this work, Denise Horn explores how support for civil society during the transition from communism has functioned as a foreign policy tool employed by powerful states. By centring the analysis on civil society assistance directed towards enhancing the position of women in the emerging political economies, Horn sets out to reveal the geopolitical underpinnings of strategies ostensibly promising to support women's political participation and citizenship, and ultimately the consequences that this has for non-governmental organisations and governments in the region.

This case is made in a compelling manner in the two concise parts of the book. In the first part, Horn introduces the book's central concept – that of 'gentle invasions': the strategies through which states or international institutions have sought to foster civil societies aligned with their security interests in the former communist region. In the second part of the book, this model is employed to analyse how the United States, the Nordic states and the EU have sought to encourage women's participation in civil society in Estonia and Latvia.

Although Horn's theoretical attempt to combine constructivist and feminist perspectives initially promises to be one of the book's most innovative features, perhaps due to the brevity of the volume this discussion fails to convince readers from a feminist background of both the desirability and real possibility of such a combination. Rather, the substantive contribution of the book lies in the thoroughly researched case studies in which Horn more firmly asserts the importance of feminist insights and analysis. By targeting the language through which donor states frame 'women's issues' and 'gender', Horn continues the vital project of problematising how notions of 'feminism' have all too often become entangled with free market and national security agendas. Thus, while the brevity of the book to some extent frustrates the reader by not allowing for a more detailed analysis of complex issues and debates, on the whole Horn succeeds in providing an easily accessible account that should be of interest to all scholars interested in the theory and practice of civil society development.

Sara Wallin
(University of Sheffield)

Governing for the Long Term: Democracy and the Politics of Investment by **Alan M. Jacobs.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 293pp., £18.99, ISBN 9780521171779

For democratically elected governments, the quotidian fear of voter backlash often creates an incentive to pander to the electorate's short-term interests. However, history is replete with examples of governments successfully implementing farsighted reform in spite of the imposition of short-term costs on the voting constituency. This observation lies at the heart of Alan Jacobs' thorough and well-written examination of intertemporal governance examining the conditions under which democratic governments 'will impose short-term costs on society in order to invest in long-term social benefits' (p. 17).

Jacobs employs a theoretical framework of three necessary conditions for policy investment. Governments must first have *electoral safety*: any backlash by voters will not cost them their incumbency; second, *expected long-term social returns*: a policy's long-term benefits are greater than their short-term costs; and third, *institutional capacity*: the ability to overcome organised interest groups and enact law. He uses a set of ten case

studies (across the United States, Germany, Britain and Canada) to test his theory. In each, Jacobs examines the conditions under which governments designed, implemented and eventually reformed pension systems. This approach allows for clear parallels to emerge (both between countries and over time) in how governments systematically imposed short-term costs to ensure adequate retirement incomes and fiscal sustainability over the long term.

Jacobs' treatment of each case is comprehensive and convincing. However, one gets the sense that the theory may have been more inductively grounded had it been substantiated against other fields of reform, such as financial regulation or environmental policy. This, however, speaks to the book's theoretical value in that it lends itself so logically to analytical generalisation across policy fields. In light of Jacobs' empirically innovative treatment of this important topic, this book is certain to be of interest to specialists in comparative politics, students of public policy and general readers alike.

Overall, Jacobs' contribution here has been to identify the processes through which governments manage the vagaries of democratic politics when engaging in long-term policy trade-offs. In doing so, he discredits the analytically convenient conception of governments as short-term vote maximisers. True enough, democracies bear myriad social and political structures designed to obviate considerations of intergenerational equity. However, a theory of the conditions under which governments are able to work around and within these structures is a valuable contribution to our understanding of how our political leaders will continue to govern for the long term.

Note

This review does not represent the views of, and is not associated with, the Australian government.

Nicholas J. McMeniman
(Australian Commonwealth Government, Canberra)

Party Patronage and Party Government in European Democracies by **Petr Kopecký**, **Peter Mair and Maria Spirova (eds).** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 415pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 0 19 959937 0

This volume explores patronage appointments and the role of politics in public administration in contemporary Europe. In their introductory chapters, the editors distinguish between 'patronage as an electoral resource' (clientelism) and 'patronage as an organisational resource', and hypothesise that changing conditions facing parties and politicians have changed their strategies from the former to the latter. They detail the methodological approach: comparable case studies written by specialists on 15 European countries relying on a large number of expert interviews. These case studies form the bulk of the volume and all address the same issues: the extent of patronage differentiated across sectors and institutions, the motives behind political appointments, the role of parties in these appointments and the sharing of patronage between parties. Thus, the volume has an ambitious, principally descriptive aim based on a hypothesis that political appointments today, where they exist, are different from the clientelism of the past. Succinctly put: As politics and administration change, the intersection between them changes too since parties and politicians take on new roles in the executive.

The volume fulfils its ambition well. The methodological approach is sound, though one might question the representativeness of the case selection in the examination of local governments. The 15 cases themselves, though perhaps not representative either, are wisely chosen with diversity in mind to include Western, Northern, Southern and East Central Europe. And the individual chapters analyse the data in the context of the respective political systems, to their credit. A few interesting themes reappear in several chapters, including administrative tradition, political competition, and formal institutions and the creativity of political actors attempting to circumvent them. In their concluding chapter, the editors find support for their hypothesis on the increasing importance of patronage as an organisational resource. Examinations of the extent of patronage, the role of political parties and the extent to which these share appointments show more diversity between countries.

Aside from the volume's own contribution, then, analysis of the emerging patterns and their consequences leaves an interesting research agenda going forward. Why does the extent of patronage diverge across or within countries? How does political competition matter for the sharing of appointments between government and opposition? What are the consequences of ministers, rather than parties, choosing

appointees? Altogether, by combining case-based knowledge with detailed and cross-nationally comparable data, the authors and editors have done those of us interested in particularistic politics a great service.

Kim Sass Mikkelsen
(Aarhus University)

Elites and Identities in Post-Soviet Space by **David Lane (ed.).** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 214pp., £85.00, ISBN 978 0 415 50022 7

The construction of new identities in the post-Soviet space has been one of the most significant societal processes occurring in the region following the dismantling of the Soviet Union. Drawing on Anderson's work, David Lane has edited a collection of essays with the aim of examining the role played by external and internal elites in the construction of local, national, regional or international identities.

The first part of the book looks into the external and internal dimensions of identity construction. Karolewski studies the transfer of European identity, while Sakwa and Zeniewski look at the role of the external dimension in shaping Russian identity and the transformation of Polish Solidarity from a trade union into a wider neo-liberal movement, respectively. The second section looks at the process of elite formation and its interaction with the population. Best conducts a cross-cultural investigation of the elite-population gap, while Bluhm, Martens and Trappmann look into the role of business elites. Lengyel's contribution focuses on the supranational attachment of European elites and citizens. In the third part there are several case studies that analyse how elites construct a new identity under the pressure of external forces. Thus Melnykovkia with colleagues and Solska look at the case of Ukraine and the Baltic states, respectively, while Russell and Sharan examine the situation in Chechnya and Afghanistan. Such a diverse set of cases makes the volume interesting for social constructivist theorists, regional experts, students and researchers in democratisation and nation-building, and transitologists.

Overall, the book achieves its main goals in demonstrating the role of elites and other factors in shaping identities in the post-Soviet space. Most of the case studies use different methodologies and resonate with the main Andersonian framework of the book. At the same time, the thematic breadth and methodological variety of the case studies do not facilitate exploring in-depth the role and interplay of different conceptual factors presented in the case studies. For example, some of them attribute the agency of identity formation to the elite (Zeniewski, p. 53), whereas others focus on the population (Best, p. 72). The book could have taken this question further to demonstrate how these two dimensions interact.

Another interesting aspect of the book is the analysis of nation-building in the examples of Chechnya and Afghanistan. However, if Anderson's idea of 'nation' as being an imagined community and a product of modernity explains some of the processes taking place in these largely pre-modern societies, the study might have gone further and asked whether these processes are identical or if they have been modified by local structural conditions and contingencies. Such lingering questions are perhaps an unavoidable feature of any collective research exercise, but they are valuable nevertheless in providing food for thought for further empirical inquiry and theoretical reflections on identity formation.

Vsevolod Samokhvalov
(University of Cambridge)

Party Strategies in Western Europe: Party Competition and Electoral Outcomes by **Gemma Loomes.** Abingdon: Routledge, 2011. 272pp., £80.00, ISBN 9780415601603

Gemma Loomes' book analyses the impact of different strategies on the fate of established parties in Western Europe between 1950 and 2009. Chapter 1 defines political parties as independent actors able to influence the process of party system change. Chapters 2 and 3 define the different strategies that established parties may adopt in order to maintain or enhance their systemic positions. Parties may pursue electorate-oriented strategies, thus acting as vote utility maximisers, or they may engage in institutional-oriented strategies in line with the 'cartel thesis' of Richard Katz and Peter Mair. Chapter 4 deals with the operationalisation of the research questions and Western European countries are ranked according to the extent to which electorate-oriented and institutional strategies are adopted by established parties in order to achieve or maintain positions of systemic centrality. Chapter 5 analyses to what

extent the use of electoral-oriented strategies impacts on the fate of established parties. In Germany and Portugal parties engage in responsive 'Downsian' strategies, while in Luxembourg and Switzerland they adopt cartel strategies. The high use of electoral-oriented strategies produces a high level of systemic centrality for the established parties, although German parties appear to be far more successful than their Portuguese counterparts, whereas the high use of cartel strategies in Luxembourg and Switzerland has resulted in a complete dominance of the governmental arena (p. 145). Chapter 6 tests the cartel thesis by analysing whether institutional settings that leave little room for new parties by restricting competition enhance the systemic position of established parties. The use of institutional strategies reaches its highest level in the French and Greek cases, while the lowest is registered in Ireland and Denmark. The systems of Greece and France strongly resemble cartel party systems, although in the latter established parties have achieved only a moderate level of systemic centrality (p. 182).

The author convincingly shows that party strategies do matter as different strategies result in different levels of centrality for established parties. However, as Loomes underlines in her concluding chapter, 'the hypotheses do not hold for all 17 countries, perhaps because of perverse effects' (pp. 188–9), but also because intervening regime and systemic factors can shape party strategies and mitigate their impact (pp. 189–90). The volume is a welcome addition to the field of comparative politics and should prove invaluable to students and scholars with an interest in party politics in Western Europe.

Mattia Zulianello
(Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane, Florence)

Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy? by **Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (eds).** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 270pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1107023857

This edited volume on the much-debated relation between populism and democracy comprises ten essays. The editors of the volume, Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, lay out in their opening chapter the theoretical and analytical framework that guides the various contributions, as well as providing a useful literature review. Inspired by Giovanni Sartori, they propose a 'minimal definition' of populism as a suitable vehicle to overcome the empirical impasses they identify in the relevant research. In their view, populism can be seen 'as a thin-centred ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogenous and antagonistic groups, "the pure people" and "the corrupt elite" and which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the people' (p. 8). Although the use of adjectives ('pure', 'corrupt') is debatable, their point that populism can be understood as both a 'corrective' and a 'threat' to democracy – something that is further investigated in the case studies of each chapter – constitutes a significant scientific contribution against the hegemonic, and largely Eurocentric, view that tends to equate populism with some sort of disease of democracy – mostly identified with the far right – which thus limits our research scope and adds a counterproductive moralistic bias to the study of populism.

The mainly theoretical/methodological chapter of the editors is followed by eight case studies that focus on specific country contexts, drawing on the common framework. In their case studies, the contributors focus on diverse national contexts, from Belgium to Mexico and from Canada to Peru and Slovakia, offering a colourful cross-regional comparative perspective that is indeed lacking among contemporary works on the subject. Each contributor offers a detailed analysis of her or his case and assesses the populism/democracy dialectic in each national context. The editors return at the end of the volume with a closing chapter that sums up the volume's findings and proposes future paths for the study of populism.

Perhaps the major limitation of this volume is also one of its major merits – namely the use by all the contributors of one and the same theoretical and analytical framework, provided by the editors. While this choice deprives the volume of the possible advantages of an interdisciplinary take, nevertheless it provides the context for a rigorous comparative analysis to fully flourish. Overall, this is a highly original and well-written volume with strongly supported arguments. It is a book that can function as a useful introduction to populism for undergraduate students, but also as a necessary read for advanced researchers.

Giorgos Katsambekis
(Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

When Small States Make Big Leaps: Institutional Innovation and High-Tech Competition in Western Europe by **Darius Ornston.** Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012. 248pp., £24.95, ISBN 978 0801450921

In this dissertation turned book, Darius Ornston tries to solve the puzzle of how Denmark, Finland and Ireland, despite their small state status, have been able to compete in rapidly evolving high-technology markets. Distinguishing among the three neo-corporatist sub-types, conservative (Germany), competitive (Ireland) and creative (Denmark and Finland), Ornston seeks to identify the specific constellations of stakeholder power and interests that shape each sub-type, in turn generating distinctive economic trajectories. Contrary to what one could expect, the neo-corporatist institutions that structured these small state economies until the 1980s did not inhibit the redistribution of resources to new activities. According to the author, this is best explained by the turn to new forms of corporatism in the three cases during the last three decades. In the Irish context policy makers, trade unions and firms used a competitive corporatist approach to adapt to competence-destroying economic challenges – i.e. they implemented tax reductions, labour market deregulation and fiscal austerity to promote market competition. In the Finnish and Danish cases economic and political elites used 'creative corporatism' – i.e. they invested in disruptive new inputs such as risk capital, human capital, and research and development explicitly designed to promote the establishment of new enterprises, the acquisition of new skills and the creation of new industries. In Ornston's framework, creative corporatism facilitated restructuring by relying on collective investment, in contrast to the market-based deals that characterise competitive corporatism.

Two criticisms may be levelled at the book. First, it has a hard time living up to its ambitious scope: a new analytical category – 'creative corporatism' – is developed and compared to three other forms of approaches to reform; in-depth analysis of developments in financial markets, labour markets and industrial policy in three cases is conducted (Chapters 2–4); the arguments are extended to other West European states (Chapter 5); and the consequences of the financial crisis in light of differences in governance structures are evaluated – all over the course of only 204 pages. The book would have benefitted from a clearer focus on only a couple of these subjects. Second, the main theoretical contribution of the book – the analytical category of 'creative corporatism' – suffers from an unclear connection to the existing literature on institutional change, especially historical and discursive institutionalism as well as policy learning more generally. For example, this reviewer missed a more thorough discussion of where the solutions and ideas fostered inside the national frameworks of creative corporatism originate.

Martin B. Carstensen
(Copenhagen Business School)

The Ashgate Research Companion to Secession by **Aleksander Pavkovic and Peter Radan (eds).** Farnham: Ashgate, 2011. 568pp., £90.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7702 4

Secession has been studied in a number of different disciplines. This edited volume undertakes the challenging task of bringing together approaches from the most important of these disciplines – namely international relations, political science, (international) law and ethics/political theory. The book is organised into six parts. The first serves as an introduction for the subsequent parts and its four chapters explore the main themes of the volume. Each of the five chapters in Part II analyses selected cases of secession (including the American Civil War, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union) and highlights particularities and broader features. The first three chapters of Part III focus on explanations of secession; they examine economic interpretations, causal accounts of secessionist violence and ethnic conflict, and the relation between ethnicity and secession. The ensuing three chapters deal with the international relations of secession (including causes and norms of external involvement). Part IV shifts the focus onto legal perspectives; these chapters examine themes such as the right to secession in international law and state constitutions, (the borders of) new states and the principle of *uti possidetis*. Part V explores the conditions for the normative foundation of the right to secede, particularly in relation to 'remedial' and 'choice' theories of secession. Part VI consists of brief analyses (2–3 pages each) of more than twenty secessionist movements around the world.

As a whole, this volume is lucidly written, efficiently organised (although Parts II and VI could have been

merged) and the contributors manifest expertise in their subject matter; the volume succeeds in the summarisation and critical evaluation of the available knowledge, but also offers some innovative accounts. Whereas almost all major aspects are examined, one could indicate the comparatively brief coverage of the politics and internal dynamics of secessionism. Pertinently, the inclusion of a full typology of etiological theories of secession (including related approaches of nationalism and ethnic mobilisation) as well as of a list of secessionist movements would have been useful. More problematic is the excessively broad definition of 'secession', which even includes decolonisation, that the editors seem to adopt (pp. 3–4); relatedly, the explicit distinction of secession from concepts such as 'separatism', 'partition' and 'state dissolution' is missing. Despite these weaknesses, this volume is, to the knowledge of this reviewer, the first to bring together various disciplinary perspectives of secession in such a systematic and content-rich way – because of which, it will constitute an essential resource for the study of secession.

Thomas Goumenos
(Independent scholar)

Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament by **Shirin M. Rai (ed.).** London: Routledge, 2011. 129pp., £90.00, ISBN 9780415550987

Shirin Rai has assembled an insightful collection of chapters on a much neglected aspect of political research: ceremony and ritual. *Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament* seeks to examine the symbolic side of legislative studies since mainstream political science has looked at parliaments mainly for the policy-making, executive relationship and electoral dimensions. Instead, this slim volume has the ambitious intention of exploring parliaments by looking at the 'links between structures of formal and informal power, symbolic communication, and rituals and ceremony' (p. ix). This volume rightly contests that parliaments are also 'symbolic institutions' (p. 2) that have critical theatrical roles in the identity of the nation by those selected or elected to govern it. Drawing on previous anthropological approaches (not uncritically), the authors show how ceremony and ritual play an important part not only in national legislatures, but for the state's representatives within them. Parliament thus takes on a more nuanced part beyond the usual functional policy role. As Pulwar argues in the case of Britain, Westminster can be viewed credibly during its existence as a 'museum, mausoleum, political pantomime, palace, cathedral ... law court, church, debating chamber and club'. Parliament is constantly evoking these 'several lives', which interact and instruct (pp. 15–16). Rather than focus purely on Westminster, this volume examines cases from India, South Africa and Chile as well as investigating other theoretical and thematic angles.

The authors impress upon the reader dimensions of daily politics that have escaped academic attention, such as the ceremonies around the Speaker of the House of Commons and their impact on parliamentary procedure; the level of disruption in the Indian Lok Sabha (128 hours lost in 2007 alone, p. 55); the failure of rational choice theory to explain why the British establishment attend and contribute to the unelected and marginalised House of Lords; or committee practice and problems in post-1994 South Africa. An interesting finding is that Members of Parliament (MPs) seem to enjoy, or at least respect, parliamentary ceremonies, but 'ritualistic' weak attempts to hold the executive to account like Prime Minister's Question Time earn 'their most withering criticism' (p. 50). Although the authors are rightly disparaging about political science's inability to answer or even address their subject, other than anthropology, a greater use of literature from history and architecture would have been beneficial to them and the reader since there has been considerable work done on this subject in those disciplines. Rai evokes Anderson's 'imagined communities' by saying 'ceremony and ritual provide the points of recognition of that imaginary' (p. 8). Even though this volume has an understandably limited coverage, it is hoped that it stimulates more imagination from the community of political scientists to do further research and analysis on this fascinating, but disregarded subject.

Harshan Kumarasingham
(Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London)

General

The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics by **Clifford Bob.** New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 225pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 521 14544 2

In this book, Clifford Bob examines the complexities of global policy making that result from clashes between transnational advocacy networks. His central argument is that global civil society is comprised of competing networks of activists operating at national and transnational levels in a complementary manner. To examine the interaction of these networks on specific issues, Bob constructs a model of policy activism that draws out stages of development, dynamics and outcome. Within these stages, networks do battle by adopting strategies to advance their interests, such as problem construction and agenda-setting, while simultaneously trying to un-build or weaken opposing networks.

The model is developed around a detailed examination of global conflict over gay rights and gun control. The book draws on interviews with activists on each side, as well as responsible United Nations officials. The focus of the analysis is on how issues move between national and transnational levels, with groups within respective networks targeting their interventions to maximise impact at both levels. The UN and its agencies feature as a central battleground, with opposing networks cultivating allies and attempting to exclude and decertify their opponents. The influence of transnational networks on domestic gay rights (Sweden and Romania) and gun control (Brazil) policies demonstrate the interconnected nature of the conflict. Central to the analysis is the recognition by activists that perceptions are important, with victories and defeats being used to support the wider battle and rally supporters.

While policy is ultimately determined by states and international organisations, activist networks play a significant role in shaping outcomes. One way in which this can be observed is in the compromises and 'zombie' policies, that are 'so devoid of content that ... they are in reality dead' (p. 32), which emerge over important global issues. This leads back to the central argument that by incorporating the battles and 'by taking a panoramic view, analysts will gain a more realistic understanding of policy making/unmaking' (p. 184). As argued throughout the book, this means paying attention to the form and operation of conservative networks.

The level of detail on the cases examined is comprehensive and engaging, although in places it can obscure the application of the model. Overall, this book presents a powerful case for a more balanced examination of claims and actors on both sides of important global and domestic conflicts. It will be relevant to readers interested in the operation of social movements, policy networks and international organisations.

Thomas O'Brien
(Cranfield University)

Accountability and Democracy: The Pitfalls and Promise of Popular Control by **Craig T. Borowiak.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. 272pp., £74.00, ISBN 9780199778256

'Accountability' is one of the most common terms in the wide field of social sciences. Both theoretical and empirical political scientists make use of this concept – especially when they have to deal with the quality of democracy. Nonetheless, together with 'responsiveness', accountability seems to be employed by many scholars without a clear or indisputable definition. Craig Borowiak's book takes part in this debate in purely theoretical terms, proposing a very broad conception of accountability.

After providing an in-depth analysis of the concept's origins, the Introduction explains why accountability should not be exclusively interpreted as a mechanism of control going from the electors (principals) to the elected (agents). Indeed, according to Borowiak, in focusing only on that aspect scholars fail to grasp the real meaning of accountability. In fact, it should also include ideas such as 'mutuality', 'community' and 'participation'.

The book is divided into three parts, each of these presenting a particular representation of accountability. Starting from the lively debate between Federalist and Anti-Federalist positions, Part I deals with the well-known view of accountability as control and punishability. Analysing archaic forms of accountability, such as those of Ancient Athens, and the role of deliberative democracy, Part II offers a quite new standpoint. Here

accountability could be an instrument able to re-invigorate the delegitimised contemporary democracies, inducing people to be accountable to each other and becoming 'a source of communal solidarity and mutual understanding' (p. 22). Part III adopts a transnational perspective. In this context, the concept of 'popular sovereignty' is criticised, especially for its roots based on the idea of citizenship due to the fact that globalisation has increased exponentially the number of non-citizens living in a country. This situation, according to the author, calls for the construction of new instruments through which the non-citizens, the marginalised and the excluded may take part in the accountability process.

In conclusion, Borowiak's book has the merit of enlarging the perspective on accountability. Although it gives a critical account of the principal-agent model, this volume does not seem to exclude accountability as a mechanism of control. Rather, it invites scholars to integrate it with the other aspects of accountability. For this reason, empirical researchers should take into account this innovative understanding, and those who are engaged in institution-building (and thinking) might consider it a useful read.

Stefano Rombi
(University of Pavia)

Hiring and Firing Public Officials: Rethinking the Purpose of Elections by **Justin Buchler.** New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. 260pp., £24.99, ISBN 978 0 19 975997 2

Every two years, American voters 'hire' 435 individuals for positions in the House of Representatives, and over the course of every six years, they hire 100 individuals for positions in the United States Senate. These jobs come with two-year and six-year contracts, respectively. At the end of each contract, incumbents may ask the voters in their districts or states to renew their contracts for another two- or six-year period, at which point voters can choose to hire a replacement instead. When incumbents ask for their contract to be renewed, voters oblige more than 90 per cent of the time, and they do so by large margins.

Strangely, most scholars, journalists, activists and observers seem to think that this is a bad thing, running counter to the conventional wisdom which tells us that the country would be a paragon of democratic virtue if we were to give each legislator a 50 per cent chance of re-election, and hence randomly fire half of them every two years. Yet why would we want the electoral process to look like the hypothetical employment practices described by Magnus W. Alexander, who points out that unnecessary dismissal of an employee is a definite economic waste – to the employer, to the employee and to the society. Indeed, it is almost an article of faith in American political thought that democracy requires frequent competitive elections and this popular analytic framework is the central organising principle of modern electoral theory, which takes an election to be a system analogous to a consumer product market with voters as consumers and opposing candidates as competing firms who exchange votes for policy. Following this logic, just as competitive markets lead to a healthy economy, so also competitive elections are critical to the health of a democracy.

However, the argument of this book is that an election is quite different from the market. Instead, the literal function of an election is a single employment decision where public officials are hired and fired. Hence, thinking about an election through the lens of employment forces us to re-evaluate the role of competitive elections in a democracy and also to rethink how an electoral system should work.

The book is aimed at people interested in and/or interacting with politics, political scientists, students, researchers and scholars. Although the author succeeds in his goals, confining the whole scene to American politics makes him look either too myopic or too self-centred and blind to all other systems that could either have supported his views or contradicted them, hence giving more meat to him and food for thought for all.

Moses Kibe Kihiko
(Independent scholar)

People Power and Political Change: Key Issues and Concepts by **April Carter.** London: Routledge, 2012. 207pp., £23.99, ISBN 978 0 415 58049 6

People have supposedly been taken into account whenever claims of political change, especially of the democratic kind, have been made. But when it comes to analysing rigorously the exact role of people in various 'popular' protests and upsurges, somehow or other the analyses tend to invoke 'power of the

people', but with little effort to deconstruct the phrase. However, the concept of 'people power', having emerged due to a series of people-led unarmed upsurges around the world in the post-globalisation era, induces social and political analysts to embark on such deconstruction. The volume under review reflects this trend.

The book is divided into three sections: 'Resistance and Political Change'; 'Central Concepts and Debates'; and 'Implications of Globalization for [the] Success of People Power'. In problematising 'people power' the author takes up the challenging question: Who are the people? Obviously her exploration reveals that 'people' are neither an amorphous category nor a static concept, especially when embedded in power relations in volatile situations triggered by popular protest, resistance, upsurge, movement, war and revolution. The outcome: various layers and levels of the origin, generation, sustenance and even neutralisation of power equations, in varying contexts of space and time, have come up in the analysis. Thus, delicate issues like non-violence (with repeated reference to Gandhi) and electoral politics, the conceptual and empirical divergences and convergences of people power and people's war, and, more fundamentally, the status of people as the body politic, class or nation have been discussed.

The author could (hopefully) have avoided typographical errors, some as glaring as 'Subbha Chandra Bhose' (p. 19; correct version: Subhas Chandra Bose). In more substantive terms, gender remains a blind spot in the analysis. The role of women and, more specifically, the relationship of men and women and the intersection of class and gender in the (de)construction of people power would have made the analysis more comprehensive and compelling. Also, while conceptually engaging people power with non-violence and particularly in empirically exploring the related shifts, it has to be kept in mind that even in an apparently non-violent protest, violence can creep in through the use of words and slogans. In other words, beyond its physicality an upsurge can also be discursively violent. Simply put, the analysis of political change cannot undermine the discursive dimension of it all.

The positive attribute of the volume is that in seeking some answers, it ends up raising a number of questions, thereby inducing the reader to further explore the explosive, ever-dynamic and somewhat elusive concept of 'people power'.

Dipankar Sinha
(University of Calcutta)

Evidence-Based Policy: A Practical Guide to Doing It Better by **Nancy Cartwright and Jeremy Hardie.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 196pp., £11.99, ISBN 978 0 19 984162 2

The release of the *Modernising Government* White Paper in 1999 has led to the production of a substantial volume of scholarship dedicated to exploring the concept and practice of 'evidence-based policy' (EBP) and to that corpus can now be added *Evidence-Based Policy: A Practical Guide to Doing It Better.*

Cartwright and Hardie's study focuses on providing advice that will help to ensure that policy makers use evidence *appropriately* and, consequently, to the greatest benefit – that is, with the greatest *effectiveness*. Cartwright and Hardie's fundamental argument is that the mere existence of evidence that a particular approach worked somewhere does not mean that it will have the same effect elsewhere. So, despite popular belief and exhortation to the contrary, evidence provided by previously completed randomised controlled trials (RCTs) conducted in location 'A' – or even in locations 'A', 'B' and 'C' – is insufficient by itself to ensure the success of the same policy intervention in location 'D'. To justifiably make the leap from 'it worked there' to 'it will work here' requires much more information. Before one dare hazard to assume or suggest that a particular approach or intervention that successfully addressed a policy dilemma 'there' should be adopted 'here', it is necessary to determine whether the 'supporting factors' and other environmental conditions in both locations are sufficiently alike to provide good reason to believe that the results (the 'cause-effect' relationship) will be similar in both cases. Though that may seem an obvious suggestion, it is, as Cartwright and Hardie reveal, a requirement that policy makers all too often fail to consider.

The book offers a number of practical recommendations to help enable policy makers to develop a 'rough estimate of how confident ... [they] are entitled to be that a proposed policy will achieve the targeted outcome' (p. 5). Though enviably straightforward in character, the recommendations are based upon a

sophisticated analysis of both empirical *and* theoretical considerations. Indeed, one of the most interesting features of this book is its effective use of philosophical theory to engage the very practical concern of EBP. The result is both an immensely interesting and extremely useful contribution to the existing discourse surrounding the idea and practice of EBP.

Shaun Young
(University of Toronto)

Reclaiming Public Ownership: Making Space for Economic Democracy by **Andrew Cumbers.** London: Zed Books, 2012. 254pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 1 8032 006 9

The propagation of the doctrines of private ownership has resulted in the neglect of public ownership as a beneficial institutional form for economic management. This book is not a call to salvage the improperly conceived public ownership model of old. It advances a reconstituted public ownership of diverse types as a basis for securing economic democracy. It argues that class justice and democratic participation are important factors for achieving this end and that public ownership has an important role to play.

The author addresses the market-liberal criticism of state monopolies and planning, and recognises the advantages and limits of privatisation and markets. A mainly public-ownership economy is proposed that is decentralised, pluralistic and innovation-friendly. Private ownership and markets would be accommodated in the appropriate domains or contexts. While supportive of deliberative, localised decision making, the author considers as impractical the inclination of the 'commons'-based or autonomous movements to reject the state. Instead, a renewed public-ownership agenda would contest control by elites and vested interests and democratise 'national-level state-owned structures' or economic sectors deemed 'too important to be left in private hands' (banking, energy, etc.). Engaging with the state is also necessary for catalysing support for smaller-scale public initiatives and causes. Higher-scale organisations can help coordinate actions for dealing with processes having extra-local implications, such as environmental problems and growing economic disparities.

The case studies critically review Latin American nationalisations, Denmark's decentred wind power movement and Norway's democratic management of its petroleum resource centred around the national oil company, Statoil.

The book opens up avenues for further research. Work could be done to compare Statoil with Malaysia's PETRONAS – a state-owned oil company from the developing world, which was created with similar aspirations but is not as accountable to an elected assembly or wider society. On decentralisation, the implications of the 'tyranny of small decisions' could be explored, given the possible emergence of multiple instances of centralisations or elite capture. The trade-off between collective decision making and being decisive is another area for thought. Following the contemporary contention that the scale of the human economy is breaching environmental limits, it is also worth studying how publicly owned enterprises would differ from capitalist-owned corporations in terms of the profit motive and growth.

The book covers extensive ground for a slim volume and cites widely (Otto Neurath, Friedrich Hayek, Geoffrey Hodgson, John O'Neill). Eschewing ideological, one-size-fits-all prescriptions, it is one of the most balanced cases made for public ownership in the literature. This book would interest academics across the social sciences, government policy makers at the various administrative levels and engaged citizens.

Hemanath Swarna Nantha
(University of Queensland)

The Politics of Exile by **Elizabeth Dauphinee.** Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 214pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 0 415 64084 8

How rare is that (academic) book where you cannot wait to find out how the story ends? Elizabeth Dauphinee's *Politics of Exile*, ostensibly about the Bosnian War and its aftermath but really about the precarious position of the researcher studying war, is such a book. Written like a novel, with auto-ethnographic moments, it defies conventional academic review and straightforward critical engagement. Not that there are not plenty of themes with which to engage – the book addresses important ethical and methodological questions that any researcher, especially those studying war, should explore. It is just that these questions are addressed through the story of a young scholar who is confronted with impossible choices.

In one of the first encounters with Stojan Sokolovic (the character who prompts the ethical quandaries the young scholar faces), he has just read her manuscript – as she has described it, 'an ethical meditation on the aftermath of the Bosnian war' (p. 9). His job was to correct translations from Serbo-Croatian, but instead he involves the young scholar in a conversation about researching this war, his war. He says, 'I did not agree with it' (p. 25) and asks, 'Do you think what you wrote is really possible?'(p. 27), referring to the criteria established in the book for judging war crimes. As the young scholar replies with standard academic responses that would satisfy any dissertation committee or reviewer, he poses the challenge that guides the remainder of the book: 'You did not include the fact that there are some situations in which there is no good decision to be made' (p. 27).

While the book clearly does not follow political science conventions and challenges established disciplinary boundaries, it is very much concerned with politics. As the book traverses genres, it disturbs our understanding of what politics is, where it can be found and whom it concerns. As such, some might want to relegate it to the realm of novels (which can be intensely political, but not in the political science way) and thereby dismiss it. However, its placement in an academic series signals to us the impossibility of ignoring its important contribution by way of relegating it to another realm. Instead, we should all assign it to our students who might be able to grapple with some of the important ethico-political quandaries this book raises precisely because of the manner in which it is written. I certainly will.

Annick T. R. Wibben
(University of San Francisco)

Islam in the West: Key Issues in Multiculturalism by **Max Farrar**, **Simon Robinson**, **Yasmin Valli and Paul Wetherly (eds).** Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. 272pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 0 230 23874 9

This book aims to bring together a range of sociological, philosophical, theological and ethical topics that can help us understand the relationship between Islam and Western societies, with particular reference to Europe and the United Kingdom. Its main focus lies in the exploration of various aspects of Islamic belief, principles and doctrine, Muslim daily experiences and Western culture and institutions. This is done in order to unearth the ways in which European societies have responded to and, in certain instances, accommodated Islam and Muslim communities within their own social, cultural and political structures. More broadly, this collection of essays aims to set itself as a carrier of academic and social dialogue that can pave the way for more constructive engagement between Islam and Western societies.

In order to do so, the authors draw from a very wide range of topics that deal with intra-national relations between Muslims and European (mostly British) host countries, ranging from freedom of expression, secularism and religion, through issues on gender, Islam and society, to broad discourses around ethnicity, race and terrorism. The reader is taken through a series of loosely interconnected topics that look at how various aspects of Islamic beliefs, principles and practices and Muslim social, cultural and political experiences have been set against the landscape of multicultural theories and practices of Britain and other European societies.

The book makes for interesting, informed and rather engaging reading. The reader makes a journey through the key issues in the accommodation of Islam within practices of multiculturalism and will surely feel academically enriched by the 15 essays. However, the book proves to be inconsistent at times and it is difficult to locate a main theoretical thread running through the various chapters and holding them together. While all the chapters, when taken individually, make for very good reading, it is not always obvious what is the editors' underlying argument. A more explicit theoretical and argumentative stance and a further refinement in some chapters' structure and editing would have raised the standards of this book dramatically.

Despite the fact that some chapters might require the reader to possess some foundational understandings of sociological, philosophical and theological concepts, the book's appeal seems to extend beyond the 'ivory tower' of the academic world. Instead, the breadth of its scope and the implications of some chapters for policy and practice make this book a useful resource for a wider range of users who deal with the integration of diversity within Western socio-political structures.

Stefano Bonino
(Durham University)

Immigration and Public Opinion in Liberal Democracies by **Gary P. Freeman**, **Randall Hansen and David L. Leal (eds).** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 382pp., £85.00, ISBN 978 0 415 51908 3

This book is a collective effort from distinguished scholars to investigate the nature of public opinion in liberal democracies. The editors commence by giving a short outline of the existing literature on attitudes towards immigration, as well as explaining the structure and the aims of the book. In order to promote a better understanding of public opinion, the book is divided in four parts, which bring together the work of experts from three different continents.

Recognising the complexity of the way attitudes towards immigration are shaped and the mixed evidence we have of its elements, the editors have attempted to organise the readings in the following categories: socio-economic and contextual determinants, the economy and its effects, framing and institutional effects, and the attitudes of the immigrant groups themselves. Each of the book's parts investigates a set of determinants that influence and form public opinion. Following this line of thought, the book focuses on the public opinion of the liberal democracies of the whole of the European Union, Canada, the United States and Australia.

The outcomes of the research conducted for the purposes of this book provide the reader with an up-to-date insight into the reasons behind the attitudes of public opinion towards immigration. Furthermore, the reader can benefit from the excellent literature reviews and the variety of methods used, covering examples of qualitative, quantitative and experimental methods. Although the book is not a comparative research among liberal democracies, it offers valuable examples of such research (e.g. McLaren, pp. 51–77). Employing different methods makes the book an invaluable guide for most scholars in the area.

The authors make a series of plausible arguments, related to the country contexts they focus upon, managing to support them with the necessary evidence while providing some ground-breaking results (e.g. Hainmueller and Hiscox, pp. 158–204). The way the authors supplement or conflict current theories and explanations helps us understand the diversity and complexity of immigration as an issue and the way opinion is formed in people's minds. One of the clear and undeniable conclusions the book provides is that education and perceptions play a major role in shaping attitudes toward immigration (p. 13).

All of the chapters are very well written and exceptionally articulated, making the book appropriate reading for audiences beyond the immigration specialist. The findings of this book shed further light on the formation of public opinion on immigration, while also providing grounds for future analysis.

Valasia Savvidou
(University of Leicester)

Talking to Terrorists: Concessions and the Renunciation of Violence by **Carolin Goerzig.** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 192pp., £24.95, ISBN 978 0 415 53255 6

In this short book Carolin Goerzig strives to challenge what she calls the 'no-concessions doctrine'. This 'doctrine' is based on the argument that states must avoid negotiating and making concessions to terrorist groups because *other* terrorist groups multiply when they realise that terrorism succeeds in achieving political goals. Proponents of this 'imperative' have argued that there is a pattern in terrorist contagion ('copycat behaviour') that results from giving in to demands: conceding to terrorists serves to radicalise other terrorists. In some sections of the book (the Preface and Conclusions) the author also maintains that the 'no-concessions doctrine' encourages the study of terrorism 'from a distance' and produces distorting effects in research, but the question of the ethical and political problems in terrorism studies is not developed in the text.

The book aims to present and explain the variation in terrorist reactions. Goerzig proposes an analytical framework based on three main distinctions. The first analytical distinction is between 'selective' concessions that apply only to members of the terrorist organisation and 'collective' concessions with regard to the entire population. As for the relation between groups directly receiving concessions and reacting groups, the author presents a dichotomy between groups with 'similar' motivations, sharing a common enemy, on the one hand, and groups with 'competitive' motivations who are enemies of each other, on the other. Finally, the transformation of terrorist groups is qualified as a change in means or a change in ends.

The book attempts to analyse the impact of 'selective'/'collective' concessions on other terrorist groups with 'similar'/'competitive' motivations (in the same geographic area). Goerzig makes use of a qualitative comparative method, based on field interviews with members of terrorist organisations in four countries: Egypt, Israeli-Palestinian conflict area, Colombia and Turkey. In brief, the study questions the 'no-concessions doctrine' or, at least, it intends to offer a more complex picture: 'concessions do not always lead to copycat phenomena and, if they do, it is not always terrorism that is copied' (p. 9 and *passim*) – terrorist groups may imitate the act of renouncing violence and engaging in dialogue. In particular, the empirical evidence suggests that 'selective' concessions lead other terrorist groups to 'innovate' in means and ends, while 'collective' concessions lead other terrorist groups to copy means and ends.

Overall, *Talking to Terrorists* has both stimulating and highly contestable aspects. The book examines an important topic by means of appreciable fieldwork. Unfortunately, it relies upon a problematic analytical and theoretical framework and is undermined by a quite convoluted and repetitive style.

Francesco Marone
(University of Pavia)

The Impossible State: Islam, Politics and Modernity's Moral Predicament by **Wael B. Hallaq.** New York: Columbia University Press, 2013. 256pp., £26.00, ISBN 978 0 231 16256 2

This book sets out to deconstruct the concept of the Islamic state through a critique of modernity (pp. 1–18). It is structured around a theoretical exploration of what is meant by 'state' (pp. 20–5), 'political authority' and 'Islamic governance' (pp. 48–60). Wael Hallaq skilfully navigates through the dominant philosophical and sociological arguments, including many examples of paradigmatic premises that have shaped the relationship between the people and their governing structures. He unpacks the tradition of Islamic governance, juxtaposing it with the development of the modern state, demonstrating that the two, historically contingent, notions rest on two primarily different principles. The modern state, developed as a uniquely Western socio-political construct, has effectively replaced all other forms of human domination establishing 'modern versions of metaphysics' (pp. 21 and 107).

Sovereignty developed subsequently as a construction of the nation, which was a prerequisite for the modern state. Hallaq argues through a sophisticated set of claims that historically produced sovereignty will expressed a need for law that was ultimately embodied by the state and its institutions (p. 37). This structural evolution transiently prompted the need for unity where the state becomes its highest purpose (pp. 39–41).

Islamic governance, on the other hand, is thoroughly rooted in *Sharī'ah* – an all-inclusive, but institutionally defunct law, wherein 'the legal is the instrument of the moral' (p. 10). It is on this moral platform that the contemporary Muslim (group) identity is ultimately based and where humans are merely guardians of the earth and not its owners (pp. 49–51 and 166). Throughout the analysis, Hallaq points out that *Sharī'ah* has historically been above and beyond the state, deeply concerned with morals facilitating the 'rule of law' and the 'well-ordered society' (p. 72). Through this argument we understand *Sharī'ah* to be 'about society and far less about politics' (p. 91).

This is where the contradiction between the state and Islamic governance lies. Ultimately, the modern state has produced *homo modernus* as opposed to *homo moralis* (pp. 137–8), creating, according to Hallaq, an unresolvable tension that needs our undivided attention. His critique of the modern state is a simultaneous critique of the Islamist project, since in his view both are caused by modernity, which has produced a multitude of social effects. In order to transcend this moral impasse that most world societies are experiencing, Hallaq proposes that we need to reconstruct our moral critique and combine all intellectual efforts in order to overcome the spiritual crisis. For this to be successful we need to be inclusive and transcend all forms of ethnocentricity (pp. 167–70). The book is a must read for anyone even remotely dealing with conceptualisations of modernity, the state and Islamic governance.

Emin Poljarevic
(University of Edinburgh)

Politics and the Art of Commemoration: Memorials to Struggle in Latin America and Spain by **Katherine Hite.** Abingdon: Routledge, 2011. 160pp., £80.00, ISBN 9780415780711

Part of the Routledge 'Interventions' series, *Politics and the Art of Commemoration: Memorials to Struggle in Latin*

America and Spain explores the topic of memorials. Well-suited for a series that addresses a variety of topics within international relations though a critical lens, this contribution intertwines Katherine Hite's personal journey though Spain, Peru, Chile and Argentina with the analysis of particular memorials in each location. The first study, dedicated to the Valley of the Fallen in Madrid, acts almost as a counterpoint because of its controversial history. Partly built by political prisoners under Franco to commemorate those fallen in the Spanish Civil War, it harbours the remains of the dictator himself and the fascist leader Primo de Rivera.

The remaining three studies address the memorialisation of the victims of three of the most recent South American authoritarian regimes through private, grassroots initiatives. Hite makes a number of references to commemoration in the United States, distinguishing between monuments built by states to celebrate the end of conflicts and the beginning of myths about national heroes, and memorials whose source is not always the state and that are dedicated to jointly commemorating victims. In this, it is obvious that the publication engages mainly with an American audience where the future of the 9/11 Museum was at stake at the time of publication.

The strong point of the volume is perhaps its weak point, as seen by others. The emphasis on the personal relationship that victims and societies as a whole establish with memorial sites carries the author into seemingly atheoretical territory. Although the interest in victims' stories and experiences introduces a much-needed perspective into the transitional justice paradigm, the near lack of explicit theoretical framing means basic aspects, like case selection strategy, can easily be called into question. It is clear that Hite searched for ways to expose a variety of levels of memorialisation and the fashion in which memorials are both impacted by and impact upon politics over time. However, the fragmentary manner in which the analytical arguments are introduced is reminiscent of the process of comprehension experienced by the scholar *prior* to the linear and pristine re-statement seen by the reader. Presenting compelling cases of memorial sites and memory construction throughout, the volume is an excellent read, but it is likely to leave those scholars looking for a broader theory of memorialisation somewhat dissatisfied.

Adriana Rudling
(University of Sheffield)

Understanding Development by **Paul Hopper.** Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012. 332pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 3895 9

Development is a subject with continuously expanding frontiers. This book intends to aid the understanding of development in the context of global interconnectedness, as well as the historical, philosophical, cultural and political orientations of development discourse. While locating the context of development – both conceptually and geographically, Hopper examines in detail the pros and cons of the 'Third World' concept. From that premise, he prefers to adopt the 'North-South divide' as the conceptual framework. However, he also mentions the loopholes in this approach. Accordingly, countries falling in the southern hemisphere (with the exception of Australia and New Zealand) are considered focal areas of development discourse and projects.

After delineating the theoretical and conceptual framework, the book deals with some of the major issues of development: health, education, gender, trade, financial aid, participation, environment and globalisation. In addition, Hopper also sheds useful light on some rather neglected but highly relevant issues like population and security, which require the serious attention of both development scholars and practitioners. Whereas advanced undergraduate students of social sciences, particularly development studies, would find the book useful, it would also serve the needs of researchers and policy makers, and its lucid, straightforward style would also appeal to general readers interested in understanding development.

The book identifies the 'diverse and multiple forms of development taking place'; hence it seeks to understand development in 'pluralistic' terms (p. 3). Although there is no deviation from the understanding that the goals and visions of development are mainly Western-dominated concepts, the author also records, wherever appropriate, the instances of Northern countries learning from Southern experiences, such as the Grameen Bank and Microfinance model of Bangladesh. The construction of chapters is quite reader-friendly and customised: they begin with a few brief, one-line notes of the main thrust of the chapter and end with a summary and suggested reading lists (including web resources). In addition, relevant issues are presented in separate boxes in each

chapter in a way that does not disturb the flow of the main argument yet still allows the interested reader to grasp their meaning. For instance, while discussing the historical perspective on gender and development, a box is presented that summarises development policies on gender since 1950. In each chapter, the author explains the various sub-issues of that topic with their pros and cons, such as the concepts of 'social capital' and 'civil society' in the chapter on participation. The author takes his own position, but only after a thorough evaluation of the issue concerned.

A single book cannot encompass the full length, breadth and scope of development, and nor does this book. Despite that, it clearly indicates the depth of the author's knowledge on the issues discussed, as attested by the long list of references.

Sujay Ghosh
(Uluberia College, West Bengal)

Facebook Democracy: The Architecture of Disclosure and the Threat to Public Life by **José Marichal.** Farnham: Ashgate, 2012. 193pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 4430 5

In an era when the protection of privacy and disclosure is so valued, relatively few books have been published about the real impact of our ever-growing network society, and especially Facebook, on democracy and on public life in general. Divided into ten chapters, José Marichal's rigorous study of Facebook use (and not the company itself) aims to 'illustrate Facebook's impact on political identity by providing examples of political Facebook groups' (p. 13). The author reminds the reader that: 'For Facebook to succeed, it must appear as a public good, not a private company' (p. 46). Marichal understands Facebook as a forum, but also as a manufacturer of stories and commentary that can be related to politics and social identities (p. 96).

Since Facebook is 'a network of intimates' (p. 116), the potential uses for 'identity-based mobilisation' in terms of political action seems to be high – for example, within Turkey's nationalistic groups (p. 116). Many other examples from various countries are provided too. Beginning with Erving Goffman's concept of the 'Presentation of Self', the theoretical dimensions brought to bear here are among the most interesting dimensions of this book – notably with the inclusion of networks theoretician Manuel Castells' conceptualisation of three types of identity: legitimating, resistance or project identity (p. 118).

Elsewhere, reflections related to governments being on Facebook raises an odd question about any possible 'friendship' between individuals and institutions such as political parties or democratic states. Borrowing from Martin Jay, Marichal explains that there is 'a baseline assumption that the public sphere is a place where we negotiate difference and as such cannot have the same level of intimacy and authenticity that the private sphere exhibits' (p. 145). Marichal concludes that 'unlike an autobiography, Facebook does not present us as a coherent narrative', but rather as 'a stream of decontextualized fragments' since 'we are multiple identities' (p. 148).

Facebook Democracy is very strong, innovative, timely, intelligently argued and clearly written, and is undoubtedly the most insightful book on network society since Manuel Castells' groundbreaking *Network Society* in 2000.[1] Students and scholars in social sciences and media studies will appreciate this solidly grounded piece of research.

Note

1 Castells, M. (2000) *Network Society*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

Yves Laberge
(Groupe de recherche ÉA ACE 1796, University of Rennes 2)

The Oxford Handbook of Urban Politics by **Karen Mossberger, Susan E. Clarke and Peter John (eds).** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 684pp., £95.00, ISBN 978 0 19 536786 7

Urban politics literature has focused increasingly on country or regional specific characteristics and on tentative approaches to identify communalities. *The Oxford Handbook of Urban Politics* presents a cross-national outlook on urban politics issues, suggesting diverse approaches and identifying emerging agendas.

This *Handbook* – one of the more systematic attempts at establishing the link between urban research and contemporary political challenges – covers the major themes of the field and advocates the importance of a comparative perspective. The

editors claim that studying urban politics is particularly useful for understanding political phenomena more generally. Mossberger, Clarke and John have avoided the easier path of presenting the state-of-the-art in this sub-field and instead place an emphasis on providing agenda-setting chapters by authors from different countries, from diverse backgrounds and with distinct approaches.

The *Handbook* is organised into five parts: 'Power and Participation in Urban Politics'; 'Institutions and Democratic Practice'; 'Politics and Changing Social Organization of Cities'; 'Urban Policy: Challenges for the Twenty-first Century'; and 'Emerging Research Agendas'. With a few exceptions, the chapters are an ideal length for teaching purposes and can constitute separate pieces of scholarship that stand out for their quality. All of these significant contributions, from key authors like Richard Feiock, Bryan D. Jones, Dennis R. Judd, Paul Kantor, Clarence Stone, James H. Svara and Hellmut Wollmann, among others, emphasise the skill of the editors in producing a coherent and articulate book.

Although the impacts on theories and methods are only specifically addressed in the last four pages, there is an almost unanimous call for more innovative approaches. The main claim that variations in institutional frameworks are relevant and that alternative lenses for comparative research are needed makes an argument for rethinking some of the typologies in use. New challenges in urban governance and the growing interest in comparative research raise stimulating questions and demand 'a more nuanced understanding of contingent causality and a broader focus on configurations associated with multiple pathways to choices and outcomes' (pp. 658–9).

This authoritative and intellectually rich *Handbook* aspires to contribute to the sub-field of urban politics, advancing several of its main challenges and a future research agenda. While alerting readers to the difficulties of explaining its relevance to the broader political arena, the editors successfully demonstrate 'the many ways in which the policy-oriented and contextually grounded research ... strengthens and extends our understanding of contemporary political and social dynamics' (p. 7). This book is, therefore, a valuable addition to the literature.

Filipe Teles
(University of Aveiro, Portugal)

The Oxford Handbook on The World Trade Organization by **Amrita Narlikar, Martin Daunton and Robert M. Stern.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 849pp., £95.00, ISBN 978 0 19 958610 3

The *Oxford Handbook on the World Trade Organization* offers a synthetic analysis of the history, institutional setup, decision-making processes (including adjudication and dispute settlement) and substantive norms of the World Trade Organization (WTO) (and its forerunner, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, GATT). The description of the present system is combined with the elucidation of both the challenges that the WTO faces at present (the structural changes in the world economy reflected in the 'rise' of India, China and Brazil as phenomenal economic powers, the enlargement of the breadth and scope of the remit of the goods and services subject to one form or other of liberalisation, and the structural economic crisis of Western capitalism) and of the main policy proposals aimed at overcoming such challenges.

The book is not only ambitious in its breadth and scope, but also in its disciplinary approach. The contributors come from at least five different disciplines and, more importantly, they tend to be sensitive to the relevant discourses in different disciplines. The result is a reference text that offers students and non-specialists an entry point to each of the topics of the individual chapters and that doubles as an advanced textbook, given the high degree of coherence of each of the sections of the book (and even across sections – compare Chapters 2 and 34), and of the volume as a whole.

Even this happy plurality has some limits. There is an almost generalised lack of interest in the centre/periphery dimension intrinsic to trade and especially to trade 'liberalisation' (even in Chapter 13, which is devoted to the treatment of the 'least-developed countries'; but see p. 650) despite the fact that development economics, following in the steps of continental economic historians, has added new arguments to a rather old debate. Similarly, the excessive focus on trade issues renders the unwillingness of the European Union to extend the internally embraced principle of mutual recognition to the global level as a matter of inconsistency when it could more charitably (and accurately) be said to result from the very different political

nature of the EU and the WTO projects. However, these reservations should not cloud the overall conclusion that this *Handbook* should be regarded as a feat of great editorship, which is especially remarkable given the pluralistic array of contributors – both in disciplinary and geographic terms.

Agustín José Menéndez
(University of León and University of Oslo)

Election Promises, Party Behaviour and Voter Perceptions by **Elin Naurin.** Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. 193pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 230 29085 3

An increasing number of contemporary studies aim to reveal whether political parties or politicians tend to keep their electoral promises. In general, the scholarly evidence regarding pledge fulfilment is characterised by important cross-national or longitudinal variations and a focus on political parties' behaviours relative to their pre-election statements. At the same time, less attention has been dedicated to citizens' opinions on the matter. In this context, Elin Naurin's book brings two important contributions. First, building on the usefulness of electoral pledges for representative democracies, it elaborates on the link between discourse (promises), behaviours (pledge fulfilment) and attitudes (perceptions). Second, the volume seeks to map empirically the citizens' assessment of promise-breaking politicians and to explain how the fulfilment of electoral promises is perceived among citizens.

Whereas the use of a single case study may raise a wave of criticism among particular audiences, the author takes full advantage of its benefits. Taking Sweden as a most likely case for a study of citizens' views on representatives, Naurin skilfully combines in-depth knowledge of the political system with analyses conducted at two layers (parties and individuals). The party-level analysis has a comparative approach with parallels between several countries and shows how the Swedish Social Democrats take their promises seriously. At the individual level, the surveys used – SNES, SOM and ISSP – allow for both country-specific and comparative perspectives (e.g. perception of legislators' pledge fulfilment). To substantiate the results, 17 in-depth interviews were conducted with respondents selected on the basis of their levels of trust in politicians, interest in politics, education and personal contacts with politicians.

The empirical findings open the door to fresh perspectives regarding the relationship between representatives and those represented. One relevant observation is that only a limited share of the population (around one-fifth in the examined countries) considers that political representatives try to fulfil their election promises. In the Swedish case, there is a clear distinction between general views on politicians (trust) and particular behaviours (promise-breaking). In general, citizens usually look at outcomes to assess the pledge fulfilment and they perceive no difference between the political parties and politicians when making promises. Such promises are regarded more as broad intentions of the representatives to pursue the general interest rather than specific statements at a certain moment. Overall, the excellent literature review, compelling arguments and wealth of evidence make this book enjoyable and useful to scholars of party politics and legislative or voting behaviour.

Sergiu Gherghina
(University of Frankfurt)

Timelines: Political History of the Modern World by **John Rees.** London: Routledge, 2012. 212pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 0 415 69103 1

In an attempt to grasp the history of the twentieth century and deliver it in a nutshell, this book is divided into three thematic – and partially chronological – parts. The first part – entitled 'The Rise and Fall of Great Powers' – begins with international relations and the political structure of the world at the beginning of the century. It then reviews the two world wars, the Cold War, and the role of the United States and China as great powers. Additionally, this part summarises the rise of fascism, on the one hand, and communism, on the other. As expected in leftist historiographies, a few pages are dedicated to the Spanish Civil War.

The second part – entitled 'Empire and After' – presents some of the major debacles of these great powers during de-colonisation processes in Iran, Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq, Vietnam and Ireland. Added to this, in the context of post-Second World War decolonisation, is a chapter about immigration to Britain.

The third part is entitled 'The Rulers and the Ruled', in a clear connotation to the Marxist dichotomic view of society. Its chapters include a history of free markets, the story of the civil rights movement in the United States (the most interesting

and well written part of the book, in my opinion), a history of apartheid in South Africa, the story of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela and – in contrast – Margaret Thatcher in Britain, as well as some thoughts about the social and political events of 1968 and 1989.

While in the 'modern' world John Rees actually refers to the twentieth century only, it does not prevent him from occasionally establishing his historical narrative on previous events such as the 1066 landing of William the Conqueror, when writing the history of immigration to Britain (p. 134). Indeed, the book has a very strong focus on Britain, which is not a problem but should be noticed by readers.

The main strength of the book is its style. Throughout, Rees' writing is fluent, very easy and occasionally even fun to read. Its main weakness, however, is the clumsy editing and hasty proofreading, resulting in numerous nagging faults in dates (such as the dating of the American bombardments in Poland to 1945 instead of 1944, on p. 52), the mis-translation of foreign words ('Perestroika' means 'restructuring' – not 'openness', as mentioned wrongly on p. 62 and corrected later), and the sloppy graphs and figures (as on pp. 141–3, where the American economy is clumsily depicted). A good proofread would have helped this book considerably.

Altogether, with a clearly labour-oriented tone throughout, this book might be found useful by readers looking for a socialist-minded introduction to twentieth-century history.

Dan Tamir
(Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

All the Missing Souls: A Personal History of the War Crimes Tribunal by **David Scheffer.** Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012. 533pp., £24.95, ISBN 978 0 691 14015 5

All the Missing Souls is the story of a man, his life and his contribution to the establishment and work of five war crimes tribunals: the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda; the Special Court for Sierra Leone; the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia; and the International Criminal Court. The book covers the events for a period of eight years from 1993 to 2001 during the Clinton administration. At that time, the author, David Scheffer, served his country first as Senior Advisor to the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright, and later as the first United States Ambassador for War Crimes. On the basis of his personal notebooks, the author adopts a twofold approach to describing the events he witnessed. He tries to reconcile his experience as ambassador to 'Hell' (Chapter 1) with his understanding of the facts as a scholar.

The use of the first person, the frequent questions, the clear explanation of some legal concepts and the presence of several pictures and maps make for an accessible read for students and people who are interested, but not experienced in the subject area. The book also constitutes a valuable tool for the expert in the field because it provides interesting details on the topic. Thanks to his privileged and unique role, Scheffer takes the reader on an imaginary journey from the rooms of the White House to the places where the atrocities were committed. He describes the offstage events behind the adoption of the Rome Statute, the reasons for the failure to protect civilians during the Srebrenica massacre and the Rwandan genocide, and the interplay between the protagonists of the relevant events.

The merit of Scheffer's book lies in his deep insight into American diplomatic and political concerns about the creation and development of the five war crimes tribunals and around the entire system of international criminal justice.

The author asserts that the book is intended to cover the history of all five war crimes tribunals. It is therefore a shame that it devotes only one chapter each to the Special Court for Sierra Leone (Chapter 11) and the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (Chapter 12) while dwelling upon the other three war crimes tribunals for four-fifths of the book. Nevertheless, this clearly written book remains a comprehensive historical, political and diplomatic overview of the international criminal law system.

Rossella Pulvirenti
(University of Nottingham)

The Behavioral Foundations of Public Policy by **Eldar Shafir (ed.).** Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012. 352pp., £37.95, ISBN 978 0691137568

Does plate size encourage over-indulgence at mealtimes? Can asking how I will vote increase my chances

of turning out? Why doesn't knowing I live on a flood plain ensure I protect my home adequately? What needs to accompany anti-discrimination laws to fight racism and sexism? These diverse questions have more in common than at first glance. The answers revolve around the biases that humans act upon in daily life. Invisible forces often determine personal choices, such as anchoring, availability, overconfidence, confirmation and hindsight biases, stereotyping, loss aversion and myopia, and thwart predictions modelled around rational agents.

Eldar Shafir and 53 contributing authors (including the godfathers of 'nudge', Richard Thaler and Cass Sunstein) argue that policy makers should acknowledge and address these biases directly, either by harnessing their potential for good or mitigating their negative effects on social outcomes. To ignore them may lead to inefficiency and injustice. To incorporate them, the book provides a rich discussion of specific instruments such as opt-in defaults, visual cues, commitment devices and smarter regulation.

This tome-length collection never appears meandering despite using a broad set of case studies, including conflict, voting, criminal justice, employment, investment and savings, food, schooling and the environment. Empirical evidence is drawn largely from laboratory and field experiments in a bid to show that behavioural public policy has been exposed to robust scientific testing to uncover causal inference. There could perhaps have been more discussion of the limitations of this evidence, and more use of qualitative methods – particularly in light of Shafir's early point that our interpretation of the physical and social world can be a significant source of bias influencing behavioural choices.

Overall this is a commanding summary of scholarly work testing some of the most influential theories of how and why people behave as they do, and will be a valuable resource for students, researchers and policy makers looking for a balanced and comprehensive discussion of what can work and what is not known. The volume gives due attention to normative implications of behavioural public policy, weaving in familiar, important concerns around paternalism, manipulation and the need to understand the biases by which choice architects may themselves be influenced. In doing so, the book takes readers beyond 'nudge': decision makers must accept that behavioural public policy *can* change social outcomes. The question now is how, case-by-case, to tap the power of this knowledge both optimally and ethically.

Manu Savani
(University College London)

Resistance in the Age of Austerity: Nationalism, the Failure of the Left and the Return of God by **Owen Worth.** London: Zed Books, 2013. 170pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 1 78032 335 0

In this interesting and very timely volume, Owen Worth tackles some of the most salient questions of contemporary global politics: Why did the global financial crisis – attributed by many to the failings of a neoliberal ideology – not lead to a widespread transformation of capitalism? Have any coherent and plausible counter-hegemonic projects emerged that can offer resistance to neoliberal globalisation? Grounded firmly within Gramscian political economy, *Resistance in the Age of Austerity* sensibly avoids stating its own 'new popular Prince capable of replacing [neoliberal] economic common sense with a set of alternative assumptions' (p. 5). Instead, Worth analyses and evaluates others' projects, drawing out lessons for the left in the process.

While the first two chapters set the context and provide the foundations of Worth's Gramscian framework, the majority of the book explores three different types of resistance to neoliberal globalisation: 'progressive internationalism', 'national-populism' and 'religious fundamentalism'. Perhaps surprisingly, Worth is of the view – well justified – that the latter two forms are as credible alternatives to neoliberal globalisation as the former. He convincingly argues that both nationalism (associated with the British National Party and the Tea Party) and radical Islam should be analysed in this context. Fittingly for a book on resisting globalisation, Worth pleasingly takes a global perspective where possible, drawing upon examples from Russia, Latin America and others in building his argument that religious and nationalist movements have offered more tangible resistance than the left to neoliberal globalisation.

One issue with a book like this is timing. It would have been interesting to see Worth's take on, for instance, whether the rise of Beppe Grillo and the Five-Star Movement in Italy can be considered effective

resistance to neoliberal globalisation. Even more contemporaneously, Russell Brand's *New Statesman* and *Newsnight* interviews raise similar questions about this strange form of radical-populism in a British context. Nevertheless, *Resistance in the Age of Austerity* is a strong contribution to both academic and political debates about alternative visions to neoliberal globalisation.

Liam Stanley
(University of Birmingham)

Britain and Ireland

Coalition Britain: The UK Election of 2010 by **Gianfranco Baldini and Jonathan Hopkin (eds).** Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012. 194pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 0 7190 8370 9

This book was written in the early days of the Coalition, and therefore must be placed in its appropriate analytical context. It provides an insightful examination of the various events leading up to the formation of the Conservative and Liberal Democrat government. As an edited volume it draws from a wide range of expertise in the field of British political interrogation, with contributions from Eric Shaw, Richard Hayton and Patrick Dunleavy, among others.

Shaw looks at the impact of New Labour, its attempts to reform public services, the relationship with business, and its political and economic philosophy. He argues that its record in these areas positioned Labour on the wrong side of electoral victory because of the lack of a convincing model by which equality of opportunity could be achieved. It is 'very hard to achieve when the gap in the resources individuals commanded was so wide'. Such a model was based on the assumption that the neoliberal markets could provide for social justice – a theory significantly challenged by the financial crisis and discrediting its chief architect and then Prime Minister, Gordon Brown.

Hayton examines the circumstances faced by the Conservatives leading up to the 2010 general election. He focuses on David Cameron's attempts to rebrand the Tories as 'modernised liberals', arguing 'since becoming Conservative leader, Cameron has demonstrated a desire to be seen as a modern, compassionate and liberal Conservative' (p. 74), which the Coalition presents as an opportunity to continue without significant hindrance from the right. Hayton rightly argues, however, that the essentially neoliberal economic framework remains ideologically in place, carrying with it a suspicion of Europe, strong law and order, and a more traditional form of Tory statecraft.

Dunleavy looks at the general election campaign itself and the formation of the Coalition. He argues: '[W]hen the Coalition was first formed, many media commentators waxed lyrical about the disruptive potential of an awkward squad of MPs on the Conservative right. But in ideological terms, the Tory right are highly unlikely to vote with the opposition Labour party on many issues' (p. 35). The desire to stay in power explains one of the reasons for the longevity of the Coalition marriage.

This is an excellent book and will be of significant value to academics and students of British party politics. It provides a thoughtful and interesting evaluation of the Coalition, its influences and the circumstances that led up to its formation.

Andrew Scott Crines
(University of Leeds)

The Conservatives since 1945: The Drivers of Party Change by **Tim Bale.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 372pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 19 923437 0

A rich tradition of Conservative Party historiography means that the story of the twentieth century's dominant political force has already been well told. Tim Bale's latest book nonetheless both complements and significantly augments this existing *oeuvre*. While his reliance on exhaustive archival research and a single case study approach are familiar features of much of the literature in this field, Bale's innovation is to apply a methodological framework derived from political science to his subject matter. In short, three key drivers of party change are identified (electoral defeat, the party leader and the presence of a dominant faction), while the extent of change is assessed in terms of the party's public face, organisation and policies. Quantifying party change in practice (as Bale readily acknowledges) is of course a rather complex business. Nonetheless, relative judgements can be made, which the author offers in terms of whether the extent of change was low, medium or high against both the indicators of change and its drivers.

The book has six empirical chapters, covering the three periods of opposition and the three periods in office that the Conservatives experienced between 1945 and 1997. This systematic analysis facilitates comparisons across the six phases, leading Bale to conclude that before 1979 the Conservatives changed rather more in opposition than in government, and that 'policy changed more than organisation, and organisation changed more than did the Party's public face' (p. 302). Electoral defeat 'tended to have a big effect when it occurred' (p. 313), although, interestingly, the scale of the resulting transformation did not equate to the magnitude of the loss. Unsurprisingly, the party leader was often (but not always) a key driver of change, particularly in terms of policy. Perhaps more unexpectedly, the third key driver identified in the literature on party change – a dominant faction – had rather less impact. Bale is also happy to acknowledge that other factors – not least the enduring fear of electoral defeat – played a significant role in impelling Conservatives to modify their policies and, to a lesser extent, their personnel.

One criticism that could be levelled at the analytical framework Bale adopts is that it perhaps underplays the role of ideology, which is interwoven with the debate in any party about how, how much and how fast it should (or indeed can) re-orientate itself. Overall, though, this is an erudite and highly enjoyable book, which, like Bale's previous work in the field, sets a new standard against which other scholars of Conservative politics will be judged.

Richard Hayton
(University of Leeds)

Public Management in the United Kingdom: A New Introduction by **June Burnham and Sylvia Horton.** Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. 306pp., £26.99, ISBN 978 0 230 57629 2

This book starts with the argument that in the United Kingdom there is no single system of public management, considering the four-nation division. Nevertheless, Burnham and Horton underline that there is a common inheritance based on individualism.

One of the main arguments of the book is that there is a 'permanent reorganization but strong continuity' (p. 74) in Britain, especially after the 1980s in terms of public management style comprising at least four models: traditional public administration, new public management, community governance and big society. After all, public management models favoured business-style management in the public sector, and they have not only led to convergence between private- and public-sector management, but also increased institutional complexity and fragmentation.

According to the authors, understanding public management in the United Kingdom is intertwined with four crucial components: strategic, financial, performance and human resource management (HRM). Strategic management is at the core because it manages the change. Under this complex and fragmented structure, clear goals and objectives have become crucial. Performance management is considered instrumental, together with financial management, for increasing accountability and transparency as well as efficiency, effectiveness and economy. In this context the authors also analyse the 'audit explosion' and 'regulatory state'. Finally, they evaluate the evolution of personnel management from traditional public administration to HRM.

Burnham and Horton also put the United Kingdom into the international context. They argue that European Union policies have an everyday impact on Britain's public management, especially in terms of HRM and regulation. However, the authors argue that the EU has been barely effective in hollowing out central government control in the United Kingdom. They also claim that there is no clash between the EU or the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Britain's public management policies, simply because of the market-friendly policies.

The authors are successful in supporting their arguments with reference to a wide range of policy issues such as health, education and decentralisation. The book also highlights one of the most influential public management models in the world especially after the 1980s. Recent developments including the economic crisis and the latest Coalition government policies are also included in the analysis. All in all, this book is a concise description and discussion of public management policies in the United Kingdom that makes a valuable contribution to the literature on public management.

Hasan Engin Sener
(Yildirim Beyazit University, Ankara)

Leadership in the British Civil Service: A Study of Sir Percival Waterfield and the Creation of the Civil Service Selection Board by **Richard A. Chapman.** Abingdon: Routledge, 2011. 218pp., £70.00, ISBN 9780415508162

This book emphasises Sir Percival Waterfield's leadership and explains the establishment and functioning of the Civil Service Selection Board (CSSB). According to the author, although Waterfield has an important place in the creation of the CSSB, there are other factors to be considered: personnel selection based on competition for the sake of non-partisanship and a career-oriented civil service were the key concerns in the post-war era. However, there were some defects in the personnel selection process despite the reconstruction provisions after the Second World War. Furthermore, scientific developments and academic studies of interviewing and testing were also highly influential, and generally there was a pressing need for personnel selection reform in the Foreign Service.

Waterfield proposed personality tests as well as intelligence tests. According to him, the latest techniques should be used and there should even be a psychologist on the committee. After recruitment, on-the-job training should be given through a rigorous system of probation. The basic rationale behind these propositions was to recover from the defects of the previous system. By doing so, standard education and intelligence would be taken into account and no one would be at a disadvantage. The existing system favoured 'Oxbridge' graduates and assessed only academic background. Therefore, according to Richard Chapman, Waterfield should be seen as a 'catalyst' (p. 30), although it seems that he saw himself as more than that in terms of the creation of the CSSB because, according to him, it was largely his own baby (p. 139).

Although the book does not mention the word 'benchmarking', it seems that Waterfield implemented a sort of benchmarking by analysing the War Office Selection Board and the latest developments in scientific selection methods. Indeed, Waterfield's methods became influential not only for the public sector, but also for the private/business sector.

Chapman is successful in explaining how the networks and relationships worked in the policy-making process in the context of the disagreements, contestations and argumentations between departments and/or individuals. It is a fact that this book is full of detail with many names, dates and events including personal conversations and correspondence. Although these details make the book hard to read and sometimes one may lose the focus of the narrative, they do explain the significant contribution that a senior official can make within the constraints and opportunities at work in the context of the United Kingdom's administrative culture and system.

Hasan Engin Sener
(Yildirim Beyazit University, Ankara)

Elections and Voters in Britain by **David Denver, Christopher Carman and Robert Johns.** Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, third edition, 2012. 273pp., £23.99, ISBN 978 0 230 24161 9

David Denver's latest guide to elections and voters in Britain – this time authored in conjunction with Christopher Carman and Robert Johns – begins with similar observations to the first two editions of the book: that this text is written primarily with students and non-specialists of electoral behaviour in mind. This may be true, and the book will certainly be most helpful and engaging for them. However, as before, this edition is a welcome handbook for Denver *et al.*'s electoral colleagues, referencing much of the technical literature required to study the subject in a clear and concise fashion. For the interested observer, the authors start the book as Denver did in editions one and two, asking the simple but intriguing question 'Why study elections?', and suitably answering 'Because they are key to the democratic process, often set the scene for key political events, and – perhaps most importantly – are fun to study'.

The book builds upon many of the points raised in previous editions. However, this latest version still stands alone as a unique publication. While in the past Denver spent much more time on the relationship between social class and voting, this is now reduced to allow more space for issues raised in the last decade in British electoral politics – most notably the concept of 'Performance Politics' by Harold Clarke and colleagues administering the most recent British Election Studies. One chapter is devoted specifically to this concept, analysing the effects of valence politics upon voting, before another chapter focuses on image and party leaders. This is referred to as both a general trend and

one specifically exaggerated by the introduction of the leaders' debates in the 2010 general election campaign. A brief quantitative analysis of the 2010 result is also included in this book, alongside valuable explanations that serve as a helpful introduction to such methods.

The current volume of *Elections and Voters in Britain* carries on from the previous two. It maintains the handy knack of explaining difficult concepts in a clear and concise form, accessible both to the professor and the armchair observer alike. The authors state that the next edition will feature Carman and Johns more prominently as Denver takes a step back. Judging from this edition, we can safely assume that the series is in safe hands. This is a necessary book for undergraduate and postgraduate students of British electoral studies, and is recommended without a hint of reservation.

Craig Johnson
(Newcastle University)

George Osborne: The Austerity Chancellor by **Janan Ganesh.** London: Biteback, 2012. 313pp., £20.00, ISBN 978 1849 542142

In many ways this is a predictable book. The author is known as a sympathetic Conservative commentator and so it would come as no surprise to find that this book fails to provide an objective analysis of George Osborne. This is not an impartial book, and so would be of limited appeal to those seeking a more neutral discussion. Once that realisation is accepted by the reader, however, the book can be taken as a somewhat superficial, yet intellectually informed evaluation of the protagonist. Put simply, it is an interesting account of Osborne, but by no means should it be taken as definitive.

The author provides an astute assessment of Osborne's background and political ideals, and how they inform his austerity drive. At the time of writing the cuts to public services have failed to produce the economic recovery the Chancellor forecast when the Coalition was initially formed. As a result, this book provides something of a justification for austerity by interrogating the rationale of the ideology underpinning it. To do that, it focuses on Osborne prior to becoming Chancellor by exploring his education, his evolution as a Conservative and his breaking into the political elite to become Chief of Staff to William Hague. From there, his ascendency to becoming Chancellor resulted from his role in Cameron's 'modernising' shadow cabinet where, up until the financial crash, he broadly accepted New Labour's economic framework. Subsequently, an overt reversion to Thatcherism ensued. Stylistically, the book is somewhat shallow, conspiring to prevent it from providing an insightful evaluation of Osborne or Conservative policy more broadly.

Because the book is too often captivated by Osborne's skills as a Conservative politician it may have limited interest for more neutral readers. The bulk of the book will delight those with sympathies for the Chancellor, while frustrating those expecting a more objective discussion. However, I would argue that within that context this book has some value. Certainly its value as a great work of political science is debatable, but its interest comes from its very bias, because this allows the reader to see how Conservative sympathisers see Tory elites in government. Within that context, this book will be of some interest to scholars of British politics, while the more astute academic will know to take this book with a large pinch of salt.

Andrew Scott Crines
(University of Leeds)

The Personalisation of Politics in the UK: Mediated Leadership from Attlee to Cameron by **Ana Inés Langer.** Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011. 206pp., £70.00, ISBN 978 0 7190 8146 0

Like many concepts bandied about in the academic literature, 'personalisation' seems, on first impression, to describe general trends that most people take for granted, but which, on closer inspection, unhelpfully conflates analytically distinct phenomena. Ana Inés Langer's book, *The Personalisation of Politics in the UK: Mediated Leadership from Attlee to Cameron*, opens a useful window onto the concept by unpacking some of its features and by exploring the empirical reality. Langer's main focus throughout is on 'personality politics' – the tendency to place a stronger emphasis on leaders' personality traits in contemporary public discourse – which she rightly distinguishes from the trend towards 'presidentialisation' and changes in the distribution of power resources surrounding prime ministers. Langer is particularly interested in what she terms the 'politicisation of private persona' – the growing

emphasis on leaders' personal lives and the leader as 'human being' (p. 8) as opposed to their professional skills. Over the course of six substantive chapters, Langer sets out her theoretical framework, charts long-term changes in newspaper coverage of prime ministers' private lives, provides a rich historical discussion of different prime ministers' communication strategies, undertakes a detailed case study of Tony Blair's publicised private persona and explores how media coverage and public expectations shaped Gordon Brown's and David Cameron's media strategies and coverage.

In addition to imposing conceptual clarity on the subject, Langer's book makes a convincing case, for anyone who doubted it, of a gradual blurring in British public discourse of prime ministers' leadership qualities and their ability to do the job, on the one hand, and their personal lives and 'human qualities', on the other. It also reaffirms Blair's distinctiveness as a manipulator and object of media coverage. At the same time, Langer avoids over-stating her case: she makes clear that the rise of personality politics and the emphasis on leaders' private lives is not as pervasive as is often assumed, and that it has complemented, and not supplanted, traditional 'substantive' concerns with government policy, party politics and leaders' professional competence. Langer might have been clearer on whether her focus is on party leaders and British political leadership in general or on prime ministers *qua* prime minister – a distinction that is sometimes lost – but the book overall is thorough, clearly organised and aware of its limitations. *The Personalisation of Politics in the UK* will be of interest to all students of British political leadership and should inform a great deal of future research.

Nicholas Allen
(Royal Holloway, University of London)

Everyday Life After the Irish Conflict: The Impact of Devolution and Cross-border Co-operation by **Cillian McGrattan and Elizabeth Meehan (eds).** Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012. 209pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 7190 8728 8

This comprehensive set of essays brings a new and much-needed angle to the social and political literature on Northern Ireland. The vast majority of work on the province in recent years has focused on the history of the conflict or the development of institutions and party politics since the Good Friday Agreement. This book takes a fresh approach, looking at politics and society from the 'ground up', and from the perspective of everyday lived experience. The editors present here an attempt to explain 'relationships between "elite" policy-making and individuals' experience of political change.' (p. 4) With Northern Ireland often being upheld in academic and policy literature as a prime example of peacemaking and conflict resolution, this collection raises the important questions: What does that peace really mean for people on the ground? And, more importantly, if the effects of peace are not being felt in citizens' everyday lives, can it be called that at all?

Duncan Morrow's chapter provides an important historical overview, giving a backdrop against which the rest of the essays can be read. The collection then works around two key areas – one focusing on life within the province ('Space, Place and Human Relations in Northern Ireland') and one focusing on cross-border aspects ('Cross Border Dimensions of Everyday Economic and Social Life'). The section exploring Northern Irish life specifically considers key themes that have received much attention in the broader literature on Northern Ireland – peace walls and segregated housing/communities, integrated versus faith-based schooling, religion and religious institutions. It is also encouraging to see two chapters that take their primary focus as gender – a dimension of the conflict and wider society that has been too rarely considered in the context of Northern Ireland. The section on cross-border dimensions considers themes that have also been given much consideration in the academic literature: commerce, rights protection and health service provision.

Elizabeth Meehan and Fiona Mackay's concluding essay provides devolutional context to Northern Ireland's present situation. This is particularly important, given how rarely the province is considered this way. Too often seen as 'a place apart', this reminds us of the broader process of devolved power within the United Kingdom in which it must be considered.

This book will provide valuable insight for scholars and students of Northern Irish politics and society, everyday politics and devolution.

Jennifer Thomson
(Queen Mary, University of London)

Conservative Party Politicians at the Turn of the 20th/21st Centuries: Their Attitudes, Behaviour and Background by **Nigel Gervas Meek.** London: Civic Education and Research Trust, 2012. 376pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4717 0080 4

Conservative studies are a well-served field of academic scrutiny and this book makes a thoroughly researched and interesting contribution to that field. The book does not hide its attempt to present a defensive research agenda with regard to the Conservative Party and conservatism more broadly. The author highlights his former membership of the Conservative Party and how this informed his political perspective and the arguments made in the book. As a result, it is not an entirely objective account of Conservative politicians, which may lead some to discard it for pursuing a partisan agenda. That would be a mistake because this is an interesting piece of conservative scholarship that draws its conclusions from an extensive dataset on conservative attitudes. Put simply, although it is clearly partisan in its analysis, there is still significant value in the data gathered as it helps shine a light on the Conservative Party during the period under review.

The book wrestles with a wide range of issues such as re-defining conservatism by critiquing the traditional left/right ideological typology, while also scrutinising the backgrounds of local councillors, outsider attitudes to the Conservative Party and the internal views of the growing number of smaller right-wing parties in British politics. The book also presents some interesting findings on the role of religion and conservatism by attempting to draw in theological issues in explaining contemporary difficulties. The diversity of the book gives it a richness of topics that keeps the reader absorbed and enlightened by the author's style of analysis.

As this book is a reprint of a doctoral thesis it follows a style more appropriate for a PhD than a conventional monograph. This may be off-putting to some. However, I would suggest that it gives the reader an opportunity to engage with the level of scholarship being produced by conservative scholars and the depth of research being conducted. The author does not shy away from using some unorthodox sources, such as lecturers' university profile pages. I would have preferred the arguments to draw more from existing conservative scholarship, which is often given the courtesy of a brief mention but is by no means sufficient. Indeed, the author uses Tim Bale as a source just twice, which is surprising given the scale of work Bale has produced. As a result, the book feels as if it stands slightly to one side of the existing academic study of conservatism. Despite this, the book would be of most interest to scholars of British conservatism and Conservative Party politics.

Andrew Scott Crines
(University of Leeds)

Inside the IRA: Dissident Republicans and the War for Legitimacy by **Andrew Sanders.** Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011. 280pp., £65.00, ISBN 9780748641123

Andrew Sanders' *Inside the IRA* is a history of division and splits within Irish republicanism. What is most interesting about Sanders's approach is that he sees divisions over ideology and tactics as inherent to violent republicanism. He draws attention to how the Irish Volunteers (the forerunner of the Irish Republican Army, IRA) itself emerged from a split in the early twentieth century and, almost immediately and ever since, violent republicanism has been characterised by the same recurrent divisions over tactics and principles. In an impressively coherent narrative, Sanders traces the multiple splits that occurred within republican groups whenever any form of movement towards increased political participation or limiting armed resistance was undertaken. Explanations for the divisions are attributed to a distinction between pragmatists, who were willing to change behaviour in return for power, and those who believed that republican principles, such as abstentionism and the right to use physical force, should be inviolable.

After a brief contextualising chapter, the heart of this book examines the emergence of the Provisionals and the Irish National Liberation Army from 'Official' republicanism in the 1970s, and the subsequent emergence from the Provisionals of the Continuity IRA and Republican Sinn Féin in 1986 and the Real IRA in 1998. The ideological and tactical motivations of these groups and their subsequent trajectory are well-developed and convincingly supported. The most interesting and original contributions of this book are Chapter 2, examining the events that led to the

formation of Provisional republicanism, and those chapters looking at the role of Irish-America in sustaining and later reining in violent republicans (while also experiencing its own divisions).

The greatest strength of this book is the narrative that Sanders weaves, bringing together many under-explored aspects. The book is carefully researched with extensive use of archival material, newspapers and interviews with dissenting republicans. Discussions of the role of Irish-America are particularly welcome, but they are not always well integrated into the narrative, while discussions of splits within loyalist paramilitary groups appear under-developed and superfluous, especially given the book's stated focus. One area that could have been explored further is the distinction Sanders makes between pragmatic actors and those motivated by principles. This distinction is not always satisfactory, especially given that many 'pragmatic' Provisional republicans still claim today to be wholly motivated by the same principles as always – albeit they changed their means to achieve these principles. This is important because it relates to what the war for legitimacy is actually about from the different perspectives of republican groups – namely, policy or tactics. However, this certainly does not detract from an excellent narrative, and the core idea that violent republicanism's history is also a history of dissent and division is a very valuable one.

Matthew Whiting
(London School of Economics and Political Science)

The Second Labour Government: A Reappraisal by **John Shepherd**, **Jonathan Davis and Chris Wrigley (eds).** Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011. 232pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 7190 8614 4

The controversial legacy of the 1929–31 second Labour government is one that has preoccupied the minds and influenced the actions of a succession of Labour Members of Parliament, whether back-benchers, ministers or indeed prime ministers. That government collapsed against the background of an economic crisis following the Wall Street Crash of October 1929. In August 1931, with unemployment reaching unprecedented proportions, the Labour cabinet rejected a proposal to reduce unemployment insurance by 10 per cent. Ramsay MacDonald then formed a national government with a coalition of opponents, calling a general election a few weeks later that resulted in Labour's greatest defeat to date.

In the view of those who have documented Labour history, in memoirs and academic accounts, the judgement has been that MacDonald's actions were a betrayal of Labour's roots and a reversal of the progress made until then by the party. However, the editors of this volume demonstrate that in recent years something of a rehabilitation of that government has taken place – not only in scholarly books and journals, but also in biographies of MacDonald. The editors of this volume contribute to this reappraisal by providing their own favourable analysis across a range of policy areas.

Thus the contributors here offer a fresh and refreshing analysis of Labour's second government, particularly in the important field of economics, where MacDonald's policies – founded on the notion that socialism could only succeed if capitalism itself was successful – are studied in great detail. The authors argue that the criticisms of that government's economic policy from figures such as Sir Oswald Mosley, Ernest Bevin and J. M. Keynes enabled Labour to move in a different intellectual direction on the economy from that provided by the 1929–31 period, helping to form Labour's views as the party moved through the 1930s as the official opposition and through the immediate post-war period as the party of state planning and nationalisation.

The book also focuses on Arthur Henderson's foreign policy – particularly in the government's pragmatic approach to trade with the Soviet Union – and points to the successes of the Labour government in the under-researched areas of the protection of consumers and farming. As well as containing an excellent and extensive literature review of Labour's history around the period 1929–31, the book offers a stimulating and energetic re-examination of a period in Labour's history that has been well-documented and no doubt will continue to be so.

William Stallard
(Independent scholar)

The British State and the Northern Ireland Crisis, 1969–1973: From Violence to Power Sharing by **William Beattie Smith.** Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2011. 437pp., £16.50, ISBN 9781601270672

Governing Ireland: From Cabinet Government to Delegated Governance by **Eoin O'Malley and Muiris MacCarthaigh (eds).** Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 2012. 298pp., €25.00, ISBN 978 1 904541 97 4

The recent history of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland has provided an extremely fertile ground for academics to focus their studies upon almost every aspect of the working of the modern nation state. On the North, Smith concentrates on the outcomes of British government policy responses to violent conflict during the late 1960s and early 1970s, while the volume by O'Malley and MacCarthaigh seeks to provide a fresh analysis of the way in which all aspects of national government are organised in the South – particularly in view of the recent collapse of the Irish economy.

Smith focuses on four distinct case studies of policy development in Northern Ireland: the decision in August 1969 to reform the police service; the introduction of internment in 1971 as part of a new coercive approach by the recently elected Conservative government in response to an increase in violent rioting and protest; the suspension of Northern Ireland's devolved administration in March 1972 and its replacement with direct rule; and the emergence during 1972–3 of a comprehensive strategy to sustain political accommodation of power sharing with an Irish dimension.

The basic argument as proposed by Smith is that the tools of policy analysis can be a useful guide for steering interested parties through the complexities of political decision making. He argues that four broad traditions of policy analysis – the rational model, the cognitive process model, the political model and the organisational model (all of which he applies rigorously to his case studies) – will add to our understanding of the British government's policy choices in relation to the 'Troubles' throughout this period.

Interest in Smith's book lies within the detail he has managed to unearth from archive sources in London, Dublin and Belfast. He concludes that although there appears to have been a mixed record of achievement for British policy towards Northern Ireland overall, his analysis shows that while until 1972 that policy was based upon the aim of minimising British intervention, since 1973 a contrasting aim of continuity and participation has been achieved. Importantly, Smith is interested in what has worked and what has not worked – and why – in Northern Ireland and he argues for the application of this particular kind of policy illumination to what he calls 'sustained internal disorder' in other parts of the world.

O'Malley and MacCarthaigh provide us with a different kind of study within an entirely different historical context, with chapters from a range of Irish scholars. They argue that, as in the case of most Western democracies, the Republic has moved inexorably from 'cabinet government' to 'delegated governance'. During this process, the nature of Irish government and policy making has been transformed from what was seen as a stable democracy and an exemplar of centralised government into one facing economic catastrophe and, consequently, the raising of numerous questions about the effectiveness of Irish political institutions. The book considers a number of themes, including the way in which cabinet government operates, the relationship between ministers and their departments, the impact of social partnership and the interaction between the Irish government and the European Union, as well as examining the courts and the media.

In two key chapters the Treasury and the concept of 'government monitoring' are closely scrutinised. John Considine and Theresa Reidy argue that the lens through which the Treasury is viewed now needs to be focused on policies and procedures rather than the people who had traditionally led the department in their ministerial or administrative roles. They argue that the historical narrative upon which the development of the department was based needs to change into a more probing examination of institutional culture and budgetary practices and an acceptance that systemic failure was the reason for the economic crisis, as evidenced by the official reports on the Irish banking crisis.

Shane Martin recognises the conventional wisdom that formal ongoing monitoring of the Irish government by the legislature is weak, but argues that the move from single-party government to a norm of

coalition government has at least increased the level of intra-governmental monitoring. He maintains that the most effective monitors of Irish governments have in fact been those outside the formal political system, or 'extra-political monitoring'. Martin argues that the Irish government must be prepared to allow a focus on its decision-making processes as a means of learning lessons from crises such as that created by the failure of the banks.

Both of these studies of the nature of government effectiveness and the impact of policy development, within an environment of drawn-out and violent internal disorder, on the one hand, and a sudden and serious economic collapse, on the other, provide us with the opportunity to reflect upon the extent to which governments can and do carry out their executive responsibilities on behalf of the citizens who elect them.

William Stallard
(Independent scholar)

Europe

European Union Budget Reform: Institutions, Policy and Economic Crisis by **Giacomo Benedetto and Simona Milio (eds).** Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. 213pp., £57.50, ISBN 978 1 137 00497 0

At the time of writing, the outcome of the European Union budget negotiations and the Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) for the years 2014–20 is still being decided. *European Union Budget Reform: Institutions, Policy and Economic Crisis* discusses three potential outcomes: reform, continuity or deadlock. Alongside the regular issues facing the budget negotiations, this time there are two extra matters of concern. First, the Treaty of Lisbon has introduced changes to the rules and regulations concerning budget reform, balancing the powers of the Council and the European Parliament. However, the continuation of the principle of unanimity for member states in agreeing the MFF makes stalemate more likely than reform. Second, the financial crisis has established a new dualism between normal politics and crisis politics which may have increased the differences between member states, making it harder to reach an agreement.

This edited book, based on two workshops on EU budget reform, brings together the contributions of prominent scholars and offers insights into the political and institutional processes of budget change in a time of economic crisis. It includes a focus on the three main areas of EU spending: the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), the Cohesion Policy and the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). In doing so, it explores how the Lisbon Treaty and the financial crisis are likely to affect the budget negotiations in the future as well as the possible options for reform. The negotiations are dominated by two seemingly irreconcilable camps: net-contributors and net-receivers. The authors see this as a fundamental challenge to the negotiations and suggest re-focusing the budget on public goods instead of on re-distributive policies. They foresee, nevertheless, that the future of the EU will be more member-state-driven than it is today as the economic crisis strengthens the intergovernmental dimension. This would not automatically mean a 'simple' re-nationalisation of European policies. 'On the contrary, the member states' governments will have to intensify the search for European policy solutions, but they will not necessarily accept a leading role of the European Commission' (p. 75).

This book offers a good analysis at a crucial point in time for the 'EU project'. Although the timing of publication precludes robust conclusions on the negotiations, the reader is given some very interesting insights and food for future thought.

Dorine Boumans
(University of Strathclyde)

European Integration: From Nation-States to Member States by **Christopher J. Bickerton.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 240pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0199606252

In this stimulating work, Chris Bickerton offers a new way to think about the European Union – not as an autonomous entity supplanting Europe's states, nor as the mere device by which they consolidate themselves, but as one of the outward forms of their transformation. European integration is the process by which nation states give way to 'member states' – the latter as a distinctive political form, and not just a legal category. Whereas nation states displayed the close inter-

weaving of state and society, member states are marked by their separation, with Europe's political elites tying their actions and legitimacy claims more to one another than to their own populations. Consensual problem solving and the externalisation of power gradually displace the principles and practices of majoritarian democracy. This emerging world is unwelcome, suggests Bickerton, as much as it is politically fragile.

Beyond its qualities as a 'big book' – broad in disciplinary range, ambitious in its efforts to synthesise – the work demands attention for its contemporary insight. The concept of member-statehood invites us to connect today's Eurozone crisis to the trends preceding it: the estrangement of decision making from societal interest and popular mandate can be traced, in Bickerton's account, to the weakening of Europe's Keynesian order and the contradictions of its 'national corporatist state'. European integration as we know it began as an effort by political elites in the 1970s to free themselves from domestic constraints and tie themselves to policies promising economic renewal. If European politics today seems geared to the survival of the euro at all costs, and blends technocratic decision with populist censure, Bickerton's book shows this to be part of the gradual marginalisation of social democracy over a period of three to four decades. While some readers will no doubt recoil from treating the EU as a mainly derivative phenomenon, the account is an excellent corrective to those who cast it as *sui generis* in its virtues and vices.

Whether a world of member states can be reformed – and that they are a global phenomenon is indeed the intriguing suggestion – is a question the author leaves open. However precarious he regards the status quo, that state-society relations might be re-articulated at a transnational level is something he evidently doubts. Though generally willing to invoke the logic of unintended consequences, his account of the EU's origins seems to preclude certain futures. Perhaps, as Bickerton implies, state-society relations may be reclaimed at the national level. Much would seem to depend on how one sees the possibilities for equalising member states' power, as well as how one theorises society and its own transformations.

Jonathan White
(London School of Economics and Political Science)

EU Conditionality in the Western Balkans by **Florian Bieber (ed.).** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 176pp., £85.00, ISBN 978 0 415 62327 8

The Western Balkans, together with Turkey, might be fairly accounted as the litmus test of the health of the European Union and its view of current and future scenarios. Though the involvement of the EU in the region is recent, it is nonetheless marked by several challenges. *EU Conditionality in the Western Balkans* by Florian Bieber questions this by assessing the main mechanism whereby the EU has approached these candidates and potential candidates since 1995.

The collection compellingly succeeds in pointing out both the Balkan countries' specific factors that confuse relations with Europe and the weaknesses of the strategy adopted by Brussels. On the one hand, the enduring debate on the national identities and the related internal structure of the Western Balkans, combined with the overarching legacies of the peace agreements, make them qualitatively different recipients of the European normative approach, as summarised by Pickering. On the other hand, the relatively recent experience of the EU in state-building operations compared to the successful enlargement architecture has resulted in a weary adaptation of conventional conditionality to the region.

Although the authors agree on the limited impact of EU conditionality until now, they point out that whenever the EU hones in on policy sectors that are consistent within its own borders, the chances to trigger state capacities increase. The case of environmental regulation in Bosnia and Herzegovina analysed by Fagan illustrates this transformative potential. On the contrary, when it comes to symbols and state structures, empirical evidence shows both a lack of coherent overall strategy towards 'minimal states or states in the making' and insufficient commitment from both sides. Hence Dzihic and Wieser, Spoerri and Konitzer finally share scepticism after assessing the results in democracy promotion, justice reform and public attitudes and party rhetoric, respectively.

The focus on conditionality follows and contributes to the academic debate on Europeanisation beyond Europe launched by Schimmelfennig. Furthermore, the nearly micro-approach to the case studies and the recurring comparison with North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) performances, while they

slightly slow down the reading for non-experts, nonetheless provide very good insights on the geopolitical, historical and social constraints of the region and represent the real added value of Bieber's work. The authors succeed in giving prominence to the internal dimension and in making it connect with the outside inputs. Finally, a critique of EU agency is glimpsed and may foster empirical analysis from a rather overlooked perspective.

Federica Zardo
(University of Turin)

Capitalist Diversity on Europe's Periphery by **Dorothee Bohle and Béla Greskovits.** Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012. 287pp., £29.00, ISBN 978 0 8014 7815 4

How did the Baltic states, the Visegrad countries and other East Central European (ECE) countries transition from post-socialism and how did they fare with the recent financial crisis? If analysed from a framework such as 'variety of capitalism' (VoC), the distinction between the kinds of capitalism would be reduced to a binary of 'coordinated' or 'liberal'. However, Bohle and Greskovits go beyond existing frameworks and propose a creative lens through which to analyse the transformation of ECE countries in terms of capitalist diversity ranging from 'neo-corporatism' (Slovenia) to 'embedded liberalism' (Visegrad countries) and 'neoliberal', such as the case in the Baltic. The logic behind their framework rests on Karl Polanyi's main concept of the 'Double Movement' whereby forces of expanding self-regulating markets are met with counter-movements soliciting the state for social protectionism.

Consequently, Bohle and Greskovits appropriate Polanyi's model of 'Great Transformations' by sharply interweaving domestic politics, local protests and international organisation pressures, and offer a multidimensional analysis incorporating economic factors but also social, political and cultural aspects and historical legacies. Chief among their main findings is the significant difference in the way states are instrumental in balancing between protecting social distribution and marketisation. This finding goes against the existing assumption that all ECE countries were uniform under socialism and would transition to post-socialist stages in the same way. In fact the authors point out that the collapse of the socialist bloc was not expected and was followed by a great deal of uncertainty on how to handle transformation. This is evidence that 'structures do not come with instruction sheets'; rather, ideas were actually of essence in this case. Particularly, the authors argue that leaders' perceptions about their state's capacity have a great role in influencing the outcome of the transformation, and they suggest that 'actors' interpretations of legacies and the way these perceptions inform choices, and thus political opportunities and risks, must be factored in' (p. 261).

Bohle and Greskovits finish by assessing the context of the latest financial crisis with regard to the prevailing reform fatigue in the ECE region. They conclude on an ambivalent note, foreseeing a 'specter of ungovernability' haunting the region and more challenges to neoliberalism coming from mass protest and forces of social protectionism, spreading xenophobia as well as the rise of right-wing populist parties. At this point, given the fast transformations in the region, the reader is left curious about what to expect in terms of the crisis' impact on integration and the European Union.

Lina Benabdallah
(University of Florida, Gainesville)

The Agency Phenomenon in the European Union: Emergence, Institutionalisation and Everyday Decision-making by **Madalina Busuioc, Martin Groenleer and Jarle Trondal (eds).** Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012. 201pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 7190 8554 3

Executive governance in the European Union is in transition, and the creation of a multitude of agencies at the EU level is one aspect of change. With the ambition to provide new empirical data on the actual behaviour of agencies, this edited volume sets out to explore the agency phenomenon in the EU with a particular focus on two core themes: 'agency creation and institutionalisation' and 'the everyday decision-making processes within EU agencies' (p. 6).

The volume consists of ten chapters, organised into four sections. The introductory chapter conceptualises EU agencies as important components of the new emerging European executive order. The eight empirical chapters of the book are split into two sections – each one devoted to one of the core themes

mentioned above. The first empirical section thus deals with the creation and institutionalisation of agencies. A chapter providing an overview of agency establishment is followed by chapters dealing with the birth of the European Chemicals Agency, the added value of the European Aviation Safety Agency, and Frontex as an example of agencification in Justice and Home Affairs. The second empirical section consists of chapters examining the impact of agency creation on regulatory outcomes, the behaviour of agency heads, parliamentary accountability of agencies and agencies as catalysts of compliance. The fourth section then concludes the volume by reflecting on the findings of the empirical chapters, arguing that the growing EU executive power – of which the agency phenomenon is part – is 'paradoxically both autonomous and dependent' (p. 203).

As this is an edited volume it is unsurprising that it is characterised by methodological and theoretical eclecticism. The contributors come from a variety of backgrounds including law, political science and public administration. They draw on different bodies of literature and use different analytical tools. Needless to say, all relevant complexities cannot be explored in depth and breadth within one volume. While readers already knowledgeable about EU agencies will find the book enjoyable, they may be left feeling that there is a lot more to explore within each theme. Yet each chapter is informative, well-written and offers convincing arguments. What is innovative and interesting is that this volume seeks to tie together different approaches, and thereby contribute to a broader and more nuanced understanding of the agency phenomenon. This is an important endeavour, and the book is likely to appeal to a wide range of readers interested in EU governance.

Helena Ekelund
(Lund University)

Citizens' Reactions to European Integration Compared: Overlooking Europe by **Sophie Duchesne**, **Elizabeth Frazer**, **Florence Haegel and Virginie Van Ingelgom (eds).** Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. 280pp., £57.50, ISBN 978 0230354340

The authors of this rich contribution to European Union scholarship present a study of citizen 'reactions'. The term captures the essence of the method and argument. Based on focus groups in Paris, Oxford and Brussels, the approach is to examine how and how far questions of European integration provoke a response from citizens when pressed. Exploiting the merits of qualitative research, the authors probe the variety of resources citizens use to grapple with Europe, and how views are produced, accepted and declined. Concretely, the suggestion is that the familiar vocabulary of 'attitude research' is misleading. Rather than being consistently viewed positively or negatively, the EU is often the subject of mixed feelings, and across large swathes of the citizenry prompts few feelings at all.

If the lead argument thus takes the form of a corrective, the detail and insight go considerably further. Themes largely overlooked in the existing scholarship are persuasively brought forward – notably, popular hesitancy towards the EU as a form of class alienation. Employers and activists, the authors suggest, are generally more ready to take opinions on Europe than workers and employees. It is not so much that the losers of European integration are counting their losses: an awareness of the stakes of the process, and the confidence to assess it, are among the things the disadvantaged may lose. Innovative analysis of this kind is paired with subtle additions to existing discussion of cross-national variation. The authors emphasise that their aim is to build on Eurobarometer research – not to embarrass it. The substantial methodological section reflects sensitively on the prospects for cohabitation between quantitative and qualitative approaches.

As the research was conducted in 2006, one wonders whether subsequent events have made the book obsolete. Arguably the EU has gained a more distinct profile in the intervening years, firmly establishing itself as an object of reproach. An emphasis on citizen indifference and ambivalence might seem out of step, in particular for the parts of Europe the study does not cover. Yet the book's findings should make one more cautious. Those who have borne the worst of the economic crisis may also be those least attentive to the political and media discourses that Europeanise it, and least receptive to the agents of polarised opinion. Moreover, to the extent we have all learnt how to 'blame the euro', what is it we have learnt how to blame? For many EU citizens it will be not the design flaws of the Eurozone, but a series of more

hazy phenomena: globalisation, migration and the ebbing of power to elites. It is the merit of this book to force us to think of such themes as entwined.

Jonathan White
(London School of Economics and Political Science)

Three Germanies: West Germany, East Germany and the Berlin Republic by **Michael Gehler.** London: Reaktion Books, 2011. 330pp., £16.95, ISBN 9781861897787

No visitor to Berlin can understand the past or future of the city without understanding its division into East and West or efforts since 1990 to reunite it; putting Berlin back as not only the German capital but as one of the great capitals of Europe and the world. So too is it impossible to understand modern Germany, its place in Europe and the world and its future without reference to its previous division. Yet all too often the history of Germany since 1945 is told as separate histories of East and West. With the Cold War fading into history and Germany an increasingly 'normal' state, this approach is clearly outdated.

Michael Gehler's account is therefore a welcome change. His chronological history begins with the emergence of East and West Germany and the role they played in the division of Germany and Europe. Through a comprehensive history he draws out their parallel development, highlighting commonalities as much as differences. Sections on the post-1990 Berlin Republic draw the history together. There is little new material; its unique contribution being a joined-up history. While the book provides some social, economic and cultural history, it is on the politics that it is strongest. Sadly the legacy of the Germanies from before 1933 is given cursory mention. The book will be of use to those interested in Cold War history and Germany's place in post-1945 international relations and European integration.

The writing, translation and editing of the book do not make it an easy read. The text conveys no sense of tension – crises pass by in a matter-of-fact way. Even the politics can be dry and difficult to follow; I was sometimes left confused about various political events. Most annoying of all is the delivery of the book's wide-ranging scope. Too often details of events, institutions and individuals come across as a clumsy muddle. Worryingly, I tired of noting small inaccuracies. Sometimes the balance can also frustrate. For example, the Baader-Meinhof Gang receives nearly five pages of discussion, while a mere two pages are spent focusing on the Stasi, despite the latter daily terrorising far more Germans for far longer with a deeper lasting psychological impact. Some prior knowledge of German history would therefore be helpful. As a joined-up history, *Three Germanies* is bold and welcome. Sadly, however, the details of the history are too often anything but joined-up.

Tim Oliver
(German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin)

Bureaucrats as Law-makers: Committee Decision-making in the EU Council of Ministers by **Frank Häge.** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 240pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0 415 68967 0

In *Bureaucrats as Law-makers*, Frank Häge zooms in on one of the blind spots in European policy making: the role and influence of Council committees. Populated by bureaucrats from the different member states, these committees are responsible for discussing and preparing European legislation. The book's main aim is to assess the importance of committee decision making and identify which factors explain whether a decision is taken at the committee or ministerial level.

After reviewing the existing literature, a series of hypotheses are formulated that are then tested empirically using both quantitative and qualitative methods. A comprehensive database was constructed through automatic extraction and codification of legislative decision-making cases. These new data reveal that previous estimates have overstated the importance of Council committees. However, as the author rightly indicates, an exclusive focus on the involvement of ministers only paints a partial picture. If the majority of conflicts are resolved in the committees, with only a final Gordian knot being cut by the ministers, this would still qualify as a ministerial decision. To address this caveat, six legislative decisions were selected for deeper qualitative analysis. For each case, the author identified different issues of controversy and, through process-tracing, he situated the level and timing at which the issue was resolved. The case studies provide further nuance to the quantitative findings.

There are many merits to this volume. Filling an important void in the existing literature, the book

really shines through its empirical qualities; the well-conceived research design, the lucid visualisation of the policy process in the case studies, and the creative and transparent way in which the author collected and analysed his data – all reflect good scholarship. The theoretical framework used to explain whether an issue is decided at the ministerial or committee level is solid. However, a deeper inquiry into the motivations of a member state to 'politicise' a specific issue might have been warranted. Apart from identifying the important role of the Council presidency, explanations largely focus on contextual factors and not on strategic considerations of the member states. The author also introduces an interesting distinction between different negotiation outcomes (proposal, amendment and compromise), but refrains from assessing or explaining differences across Council levels.

Inspiring and thought-provoking, future research can definitely build upon the strong foundations provided in this book. *Bureaucrats as Law-makers* will be of interest to students, scholars and practitioners interested in European Union policy making and public administration.

Johan Adriaensen
(University of Leuven)

After Yugoslavia: Identities and Politics within the Successor States by **Robert Hudson and Glenn Bowman (eds).** Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. 280pp., £57.50, ISBN 978 0230201316

This book is certainly a very interesting addition to the increasingly wide scholarship focusing on the post-Yugoslav transition. This interdisciplinary work examines recent developments and tendencies within seven Yugoslav successor states, including Kosovo, and is particularly valuable because it provides the analysis from a number of different vantage points. This is the book's greatest contribution to the scholarship at hand, since scholars from different fields, ranging from anthropology, via history and sociology, to law, to name just a few, have gathered to deliver their analysis of current issues in the region of the Western Balkans.

The fact that this book is interdisciplinary when it comes to its method is fundamental to its value simply because all of the contributors except one come from different Yugoslav successor states, and thus this volume's view of contemporary issues in the region is very insightful. In that respect, it is definitely remarkable to be able to explore the current problems in the region by reading analyses that benefit from both academic and more personal perspectives. This approach has allowed the contributors not only to provide stimulating accounts of a number of 'burning' regional matters, such as Serb-Albanian relations; minority issues in Macedonia; the nationalist dimension in Serbia; identity problems in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia and the region as a whole; and hyper-capitalism and its relation to past nationalist issues, but also to probe future developments and possible solutions to these contemporary issues.

To conclude, *After Yugoslavia* is definitely one of those volumes that need to be addressed if contemporary literature on the region is discussed. This is not only an up-to-date work for academics or simply those 'in the field', but, being very reader-friendly in terms of its language and style, for anyone whose interest in the post-Yugoslav scene is not limited to mass media coverage. Thus, if someone wants to 'plunge' into the post-Yugoslav space with all its issues and problems, this volume, potent and well-researched, is certainly a book to be read.

Vladimir Đorđević
(Masaryk University, Brno)

Democracy Promotion in the EU's Neighbourhood: From Leverage to Governance? by **Sandra Lavenex and Frank Schimmelfennig (eds).** Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 179pp., £85.00, ISBN 978 0 415 52311 0

This edited volume by Lavenex and Schimmelfennig originated from a special issue in the journal *Democratization*. As its title suggests, it is a review of European Union democracy promotion in the EU's neighbourhood. The book aims to go beyond the existing literature on EU democracy promotion conceptually, theoretically and empirically. To this end, it unpacks models of democracy promotion and assesses EU democracy promotion in the regions covered by the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and also Turkey.

The book is structured into seven chapters, and starts with a detailed introductory chapter by Lavenex and Schimmelfennig, which provides a conceptual and

theoretical framework through defining three models of EU democracy promotion in detail: linkage (i.e. bottom-up support to the democratic actors in third countries), leverage (i.e. top-down motivation of political elites for reforms through the exercise of political conditionality) and governance (i.e. democracy promotion through functional cooperation between administrations). The focus of the remaining collected pieces in the book is on the limits of the leverage model and the potential of the governance model of democracy promotion in the EU's neighbourhood. Arguing that the linkage model is unlikely to be an effective alternative to the leverage model, the book does not primarily focus on the linkage model.

The central contention of the book is that the linkage model has increasingly limited ability to produce tangible outcomes; the relevance of the leverage model has decreased due to the fact that the success of leverage in the previous enlargement rounds is unlikely to be repeated in the future; and there has been great potential for the governance model, which goes beyond the EU candidate countries. Most importantly, the empirical results of the chapters in the book demonstrate the interplay and mutual interdependence of the linkage, leverage and governance models.

Overall, this volume provides an insightful and comprehensive collection of essays on democracy promotion in the EU's neighbourhood and is highly recommended to readers who wish to acquire further knowledge and a better understanding of this subject.

Gözde Yilmaz
(Middle East Technical University, Ankara)

European Energy Policy: An Environmental Approach by **Francesc Morata and Israel Solorio Sandoval (eds).** Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2012. 234pp., £70.00, ISBN 978 0 85793 920 3

The theoretical minefield that stands between policy deliberations on energy and the environment has been a quandary for all political theorists in recent decades as the links between our energy use and environmental impacts have been elaborated to a point where correlations can be made in regard to air pollution policy, climate change policy, health policy and the energy that European countries have been using. Progress has been made in some aspects, especially in measures to deal with acid rain and ozone depletion. However, as this book by Solorio [Sandoval] and Morata suggests, we as Europeans have barely started when it comes to determining a future for how the European Union deals with the twin threats of energy security and climate change.

The scope of the book covers three main areas: the theoretical basis for a more integrated policy and the internal and external dimensions. The main premise of its argument is that while there are positive signs towards a fully integrated energy and environmental policy, there are obstacles to be overcome and many more steps to go before the two policy arenas are compatible with one another. The approach is broad in scope, using a variety of authors to outline where good practice exists and where there is room for improvement. By choosing to look at areas of the EU, especially in the East and Southeast, as well as Turkey, the Maghreb and countries to the east, the book has a distinctly speculative feel about it in its final section on external policies and diplomacy.

The goals of the book are clearly outlined in the introduction and the theme is mostly present throughout. A combination of case studies and perspective-driven pieces are employed to suggest a unified concept, but not a method to the chapters in the book. There is a coherent message in that energy and the environment need to become more integrated in order to achieve shared goals, but my one criticism is the lack of rigorous focus on the global complexities involving energy security and environmental governance, despite providing a comprehensive European perspective. While primarily aimed at academics and practitioners in both energy and environmental politics, this book provides an accessible introduction for any scholar looking to learn more about how Europe is facing up to the challenges of the future.

Peter Kirby-Harris
(Queen Mary, University of London)

The IMF and European Economies: Crisis and Conditionality by **Chris Rogers.** Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. 239pp., £57.50, ISBN 978 0 230 30065 1

This book aims to clarify the role that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) plays in the shaping of the policy of its member states, especially during episodes of 'fiscal crisis' (p. 12). The explicit endorsement of

Marxist theory (p. 2 and Chapter 2) leads to the assumptions that: (a) the state plays a key role in the functioning of an advanced capitalist economy; and (b) economic policy is largely the art of reconciling the favouring of 'accumulation' by capitalists and the production of 'legitimacy' so as to stabilise capitalism itself. From these two premises follow two fundamental methodological choices: first, national economic policy making is placed at the core of the research (not taking for granted that states are mere 'takers' of IMF policy); and second, policy documents internal to national policy making are regarded as fundamental sources.

Chapters 3–6 and 8 are devoted to three case studies: Britain (1974–6), Italy (1974–7) and Greece (2009–11). On the basis of these studies, Chris Rogers concludes that the IMF plays a key 'justificatory' role regarding policy formation and reform in Western states. Far from being externally imposed, conditionality is actually mobilised by the socio-economic elites to impose their preferences over reluctant parts of the establishment and onto the population at large. IMF conditionality can be mobilised *ex ante*, with austerity measures favouring reverse redistribution (from labour to capital) being justified as a lesser evil that helps to avoid more draconian measures; or *ex post*, as a means of avoiding the 'blame' for the social and economic costs of austerity.

The British case is considered in great detail and the archival material provides a solid case for Rogers' claims. The tension, if not duplicity, at the core of the statements and recollections of some British officials is brilliantly exposed, especially in Chapter 6. Having said that, the reader may suspect that the Italian case is used as mere ancillary confirmation of the general validity of what is said regarding the United Kingdom, given that it is treated in a very cursory manner and on the basis of a limited set of secondary sources in English. Moreover, the Greek crisis was in its early phase when the author wrote the book, and the eccentric constitutional design of the Eurozone may reveal some of the limits of the concepts and analytical tools used by the author (and in particular, the rather undefined character of what the 'state' is).

All things considered, however, *The IMF and European Economies* constitutes a much needed reminder of the historical and institutional context of international 'bailouts' and a very relevant counterpoint to the emerging literature on the role of the European Union in the provision of financial 'assistance' to its member states.

Agustín José Menéndez
(University of León and University of Oslo)

The Strain of Representation: How Parties Represent Diverse Voters in Western and Eastern Europe by **Robert Rohrschneider and Stephen Whitefield.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 208pp., £45.00, ISBN 978 0 19 965278 5

In representational models of politics, political parties are the key intermediary that transforms citizens' preferences into policy. In order to win elections, however, parties must win votes from two distinct groups: their partisan base, and independent voters. The 'strain of representation', as formulated by Robert Rohrschneider and Stephen Whitefield, is the challenge parties face when trying to give equal representation to both groups. They set out to assess how well parties in Western and Eastern Europe are meeting this challenge, and what factors influence their success.

To do so, Rohrschneider and Whitefield conduct a comparative study of 171 parties in 24 European countries (14 Western and 10 Eastern), using an expert survey of party positions and organisation. The first half of the book is framed around three central questions about representation: Do parties provide choices on relevant issues? Do they provide coherent programmes? Do they match the preferences of voters? The authors find that despite increasing numbers of independent voters, parties still represent voters reasonably well, though this is clearly under strain. To understand why this is the case the second half of the book turns to three explanatory factors: party organisation, the social base of party supporters, and national institutional contexts.

Rohrschneider and Whitefield ultimately conclude that although parties in Western and Eastern Europe represent their voters equally well, they are able to do so for different reasons. In Western Europe, parties meet the challenge of representation in a multidimensional political space by relying on mass party organisations. In Eastern Europe, parties are faced with a lesser task – politics is largely one-dimensional – and so are able to represent their voters despite lacking established party organisations. The implication being that if politics becomes multidimensional, the strain of

representation may prove too much for Eastern European parties.

The Strain of Representation is a lucidly written book that lays out its argument and evidence precisely. Its strength lies in bringing the insights of the literatures on party competition and voter dealignment to bear on the literature on representation. Its primary weakness (which the authors acknowledge) is that it uses cross-sectional data and so cannot fully explore some of the more intriguing findings that contradict previous research, such as the continued importance of mass party organisation. This is an important book, which sets a clear agenda for future research and deserves to be widely read by scholars of political parties and European politics.

Christopher Prosser
(University of Oxford)

The Americas

The Unfinished Transition to Democracy in Latin America by **Juan Carlos Calleros-Alarcón.** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 226pp., £26.00, ISBN 978 0 415 54074 2

This work approaches an important subject in democratisation literature – namely the rule of law. It does so by examining what the judicial reforms in the area have accomplished in terms of judicial independence, improving the judiciary capacity to check the executive branches, limiting corruption and inefficiency, enhancing the ability of the judiciary to protect human rights, and (re-)building its power to hold the military accountable. Following a most similar system design, it focuses on the 1990s and spans observations on the majority of Latin American countries, with some Central American exceptions. The argument of the volume is that the deficiencies of the rule of law in each of these arenas are serious problems for the consolidation of democracy on the continent as unfit judiciaries are unable to restrict the arbitrary use of power by the other two branches of government, and their inaction with regard to human rights protection further entrenches socio-economic inequalities between citizens. The rule of law is the main instrument bridging the gap between electoral and liberal democracy.

Despite the overall credible account, the over-reliance of this volume on secondary data presents it with a pressing problem in terms of the quality of conclusions. The accuracy of the sources is indisputable, but the type and shape of data that are available affects both the longitudinal and the cross-national comparisons. Thus, depending on the availability of information, certain cases are dropped from the sample to be replaced by others. The way that the data were aggregated in the original material means that pre-reform estimations are occasionally mixed together with post-reform assessments that at times go beyond the decade the study focuses upon. Another data problem is that, granted the (naturally) fragmentary evidence on corruption and inefficiency, the majority of the statements put forward appear anecdotal. Nevertheless, Calleros-Alarcón offers a gripping insight into the development of the judicial branch following transition and the book is a genuinely good read. The most enticing aspect is, by far, the discussion regarding the judiciary's check of the military. While the other dimensions of the analysis are expected references in a study on judicial reform, there have been few rigorous enquiries into the relation between the military and the judiciary that move past transitional justice and delve into the privilege allowed this organisation in administering its independent justice system.

Adriana Rudling
(University of Sheffield)

Civil Society and the State in Left-led Latin America: Challenges and Limitations to Democratization by **Barry Cannon and Peadar Kirby (eds).** London: Zed Books, 2012. 241pp., £21.99, ISBN 9 781780 322049

This book by Barry Cannon and Peadar Kirby provides for an insightful examination of the role played by civil societies in left-led Latin American countries. It makes a comprehensive presentation going through the continent from north to south in well-documented case studies. *Civil Society and the State* is thus an important contribution to understanding the evolution of civil society in Latin America and its development under the pressure of globalisation. Regardless of Latin America's perpetual presence in North America's backyard, it maintained a preference for the left. The

volume is not targeted at the general public, but at academics and researchers aiming to catch a glimpse of Latin American society.

The core analysis of the volume is concentrated in the first part. Its six chapters give a thorough examination of the relationship between the state and civil society. Developed in a similar manner, these two receive comparable attention and space in the volume. Worthy of praise are the efforts put into the second and third parts that go beyond the usual analysis, trying – and succeeding in most cases – to establish a greater picture of the relationship between globalisation and its effects on social and political movements. These chapters examine the so-called 'new left' movements of the 1990s and early 2000s in Bolivia, Chile and Peru. This approach gives us a better image of the 'unique' leftist movements after the dissolution of the communist regimes in Europe.

The volume meets both the methodological and exploratory standards of an inclusive work, bringing the field closer to the reader and providing a clear picture of a few of the most important recent developments in Latin America's social policy. The contributions are well chosen and of high quality, benefiting from the expertise of scholars residing in Latin America, Europe and the United States. The editors' effort to round out the volume through their own contribution in the introduction and conclusion gives a clear image to neophytes. Above all, the book highlights the complexity of the region and provides a good starting point in the pursuit of deeper research. To sum up, this book is important reading for those wishing to have a better understanding of the contemporary Latin American social, economic and political climate in the post-Cold War setting.

Teodora Maria Daghie
(University of Bucharest)

After Neoliberalism? The Left and Economic Reforms in Latin America by **Gustavo A. Flores-Macías.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 261pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 19 989167 2

In this book, Gustavo Flores-Macias analyses the transformations in economic policy made by the leftist governments in Latin America at the end of the last century and the beginning of the current one. The author notes that the key factor to explaining the drastic measures taken in the field of economic transformation by some governments is related to the degree of institutionalisation of the party system. Thus, Flores-Macias establishes as a main thesis that countries with an institutionalised party system (e.g. where there is a history of respect for the rules of the game, a structured and predictable political process and a high sense of legitimacy in the population) are more likely to maintain a pro-market economic policy and carry out moderate economic reforms. On the other hand, countries with a disarticulated party system (e.g. with low party discipline and where party identity in the population is weak) tend to get out of the status quo and carry out drastic and unpredictable reforms.

Analysing the text we can emphasise two major ideas. On the one hand is the novelty of the proposal, in the sense of establishing as a point of reference the economic policies of the leftist governments, the party system, and particularly its degree of institutionalisation, considering that most studies focus attention on the discursive and ideological level or the programmatic proposals, rather than policies that are actually carried out. On the other hand, the author's approaches are very well-documented, with the necessary data to support his claims. This data work can be very beneficial for other researchers who want to analyse the issues raised by Flores-Macias more deeply.

While the author does a great job both procedurally and methodologically, one of the main criticisms that can be made is that his text appears to lack an adequate conceptual debate of what the left wing is today. By using just one page out of the 200 or so that this book contains to define what the 'left wing' means, seems insufficient. The desire to seek a general categorisation of what being part of the left wing is privileges the discursive over the factual as the author seeks to define which governments are or are not leftist.

In summary, this book is a good way to enter the discussion regarding economic policy issues performed by the leftist governments in Latin America today, and it lays out serious challenges to social scientists to address these issues from new perspectives – both theoretical and methodological.

Jorge Valderas Villarroel
(University of Sheffield)

The Rule of Law in Central America: Citizens' Reactions to Crime and Punishment by **Mary Fran T. Malone.** London: Continuum, 2012. 209pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 1 4411 0411 3

In *Rule of Law in Central America*, Mary Malone analyses how citizens' perceptions of crime and justice affect the rule of law in six Central American countries. This analysis arises from the idea that weakness of the rule of law and a low quality of government can only be transformed if officials and citizens alike internalise the democratic rules. However, the internalisation and application of these rules is challenged in Central America through the crime crisis, as 'crime itself is the antithesis of the rule of law' (p. 15). The twin challenges of the region's epidemic crime rates and low levels of rule of law create a self-reinforcing cycle that results in a security trap, where high levels of crime overburden institutions and where this inability to deal with these problems generates more opportunities for disrespecting the rule of law, which in consequence weakens its legitimacy (pp. 16ff). Using public opinion data from the Latin America Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) survey, Malone investigates the way citizens perceive and respond to the security trap and how these perceptions may undermine or support the rule of law and future development relating to the quality of democratic government in the region.

Through embedding the statistical analysis of the LAPOP data in the specific context of each country and taking into account a variety of factors – such as histories of violence and democratic heritage, geographic location, nature of the justice reform, types of crime and policy responses to it – Malone interprets the statistical results in a plausible and coherent way. Contextualising the results in the particular setting of each country delivers a nuanced picture, but makes it difficult to draw more general conclusions from the mixed findings. Yet this well-written and well-structured book provides a comprehensive insight into the relations between crime, justice, rule of law and how citizens' perceptions connect to these realities on the ground, but also how these interact with the rhetoric of politics and the media. However, a further elaboration of the final conclusions would have been desirable. Malone argues that holistic and preventative models of public security could be a solution to the security trap as this would address perceptions on crime as well as the actual occurrence of crime (pp. 184ff). This assumption is grounded in the analysis of the cases, but does not draw further from the statistical analysis that is the centrepiece of this work.

Vera Riffler
(University of York)

Seguridad: Crime, Police Power and Democracy in Argentina by **Guillermina Seri.** London: Continuum, 2012. 228pp., £70.00, ISBN 978 1 4411 4578 9

This book ought to be on the reading list of everyone interested in Argentina's contemporary politics and political theory in general. The volume is based on a series of interviews with police officers on the issue of *seguridad* (security). The author claims that the police represent a key power in defining how a government operates with the people. Benefiting from almost 90 interviews, ethnographic accounts and notes, *Crime, Police Power and Democracy in Argentina* responds to the unique challenges that arise when examining a society that recently embarked upon the road to democratisation.

The six substantive chapters are dedicated to examining the issues of physical security and public safety in terms of policing security, constructing the governmental apparatus of security, and the relationship between the regime and the police as the instrument of repression. Guillermina Seri's first-rate writing is acute throughout the volume, making it one of the best on the topic. She scrutinises the balance between human rights and public security during a time of uncertainty and transition.

The book's most important message is its broad investigation into what the author calls 'democratic policing'. Seri challenges the assumption that in democratic regimes the police strictly observe the law and she suggests an incompatibility between their work and the respect for law. The book benefits from a clear structure and layout and accessible language. Even though the author aims to debate contemporary issues, we should also praise the strong background research behind the study and the balanced approach to the topic. At the same time, the analysis does not shy away from challenging conceptual, methodological and policy issues, thus taking into account the complexities of the study and the practice of democratisation theory. Although the book is clearly aimed at trained

readers with previous knowledge in the field, it is at the same time useful for those who would like to broaden their understanding of the complexities of democratic theory and of Argentine society. *Crime, Police Power and Democracy in Argentina* will certainly help its readers understand the rising fear that led to the emergence of the concept of '*seguridad*', which combines individual safety with national security.

In short, this is an important volume for those wanting to understand both the conceptual framework of national security and also, particularly, the nature of the Argentinean national security system.

Teodora Maria Daghie
(University of Bucharest)

Making Sense of Public Opinion: American Discourses about Immigration and Social Programs by **Claudia Strauss.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. 439pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 1107019928

Thanks to public opinion research, we are used to imagining people as possessing some form of relatively stable ideology or set of values that we can extract and extrapolate to the population. It is relatively easy to critique public opinion research for making such unrealistic assumptions; it is far harder to forward some sort of alternative method that has even half of the epistemological foundation of that approach. By addressing head-on how, exactly, people make sense of politics, this is exactly what Claudia Strauss succeeds in doing in her new book. This book is thus a must-read for researchers interested in how political opinion is formed. Indeed, it will be of particular interest to researchers – especially those employing qualitative methods – interested in public opinion and non-elite sense-making, and political scientists interested in substantive debates about attitudes to immigration and/or welfare.

Strauss's main theoretical contribution is the notion of 'conventional discourses'. Almost like rules of thumb, these discourses are bite-sized and shared 'schemas' that people pick up from their opinion communities (i.e. networks and media) to make sense of certain issues. They tend to be formulaic and frequently deployed. Crucially, when people share these conventional discourses, it does not, according to Strauss, necessarily tell us anything about their beliefs – all it tells us is the existence and use of a particular discourse.

Strauss draws on in-depth interviews with 27 ordinary people from North Carolina in the United States and draws out 59 conventional discourses in the process. The nuance of the different discourses is enlightening. Three people may argue that the state is too big, but may draw on discourses about government inefficiency, anti-tax or fiscal responsibility in doing so.

Strauss' rigorous cataloguing of these discourses is evidence of a tight methodology and is one of the most impressive aspects of the book, but it also has some downsides. It gives the empirical parts of the book a catalogue-like feel, with little attempt to embed the discussion within wider analytical narratives. In other words, other than providing resources to people, what do these conventional discourses do? What stories do they play a part in? And how do these stories come to legitimise certain politics, for instance? But this would be beyond the ambitions of the book, which otherwise provides worthwhile theoretical and empirical contributions to understanding how members of the American public negotiate the important political issues of welfare and immigration.

Liam Stanley
(University of Birmingham)

Asia and the Pacific

The Politics of Nuclear Weapons in South Asia by **Bhumitra Chakma (ed.).** Farnham: Ashgate, 2011. 263pp., £60.00, ISBN 9781409426257

As global attention flits between Tehran and Pyongyang it is useful to remember that the second nuclear age began in 1998 at Pokhran in the Indian dessert and in the Balochistan province of Pakistan. In just three weeks, the two long-term enemies transformed the political and strategic landscape of South Asia and ushered in a new period of global concern. In fact, and despite demonstrating their nuclear capabilities, India and Pakistan would find themselves at war only a few months later in Kargil, and on the brink of another conflict over Jammu and Kashmir in late 2001. The arrival of overt nuclear forces in the region has done little to calm tensions, and it is difficult to see this changing anytime soon. It is because of this that Bhumitra Chakma's book serves as a timely reminder that the Asian subcontinent remains the most unstable nuclear balance around the globe.

The wide ranging nature of the chapters and the quality of the insights are testimony to the importance of this book for our understanding of the nuclear politics of the subcontinent. The book is split into four sections; the first looks at how and why Pakistan and India decided to go nuclear, and why both decided to conduct a number of nuclear tests in May 1998; the second considers recent doctrinal developments since these tests, and questions the stability and wisdom of current nuclear thinking; the third considers the importance of other actors in the India-Pakistan relationship – most notably the United States and China – and examines the influence these forces have had on nuclear developments; and finally, the fourth section begins to outline some potential areas for moving forward, and specifically how trust and confidence can be built and how future arms control challenges can be addressed. The book is not sanguine about prospects in the region, but a scholarly and objective analysis such as this is undoubtedly a step in the right direction.

South Asia arguably remains the world's most dangerous nuclear hotspot – a dynamic not aided by the growth in terrorist violence in the region and a growing divide between India and China. Managing this complex balance is a fundamental challenge for the international community, and cannot and should not be overlooked as the world's attention is continually drawn elsewhere. The threat of nuclear use on the subcontinent remains uncomfortably high, which is why a better understanding of factors and dynamics at play – provided by this book – is fundamental to addressing the nuclear challenges of tomorrow.

Andrew Futter
(University of Leicester)

Anxieties of Democracy: Tocquevillean Reflections on India and the United States by **Partha Chatterjee and Ira Katznelson (eds).** New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012. 311pp., £30, ISBN 978 0198077473

Citizenship and Its Discontents: An Indian History by **Niraja Gopal Jayal.** Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013. 366pp., £33.95, ISBN 978 0674066847

What are the preconditions for the development and sustenance of democracy in a country? While modernisation theorists argue that the modernisation of agriculture and development of an urban bourgeois class are essential for democracy, Marxists argue that the bourgeoisie resists democratisation when it seems to threaten their interest – it is the working class which usually pushes for democracy. India has neither gone through a modernisation process nor had a break from the traditional past. It has neither had a vigorous dominant indigenous bourgeoisie nor a strong working class. What it has had is a strong feudal system, a large and mostly disorganised peasantry, a rigid, hierarchical social structure, widespread poverty and illiteracy, and a very small and weak middle class – not a congenial setting for democracy. Despite all this, democracy has not only survived, but has become sturdier over time. The question is: How has democracy survived in India despite inhospitable conditions and broken promises? Addressing this, Chatterjee and Katznelson's *Anxieties of Democracy* and Jayal's *Citizenship and Its Discontents* urge readers to understand the complex and contingent relationship between state and society and between democracy and citizenship in the modern world.

Anxieties of Democracy grew out of collaborative intellectual engagements between American and Indian political scientists. It has an introduction by Chatterjee and Katznelson and nine essays by eminent political scientists, which provide comparative theoretical analysis of the Indian and American experiences of democracy. The introduction by Chatterjee and Katznelson sets the tone of the book where they examine the relevance of Tocquevillean insights to understanding the functioning of present-day democracy. The book examines the 'entrenched structures of inequality' (p. 10) such as race relations in the United States and the caste system in India that have constrained democratic citizenship; and it identifies ways through which these societies have managed to include the excluded populations in the political process. The authors view democracy as a process that aims to create the 'social condition of equality' (p. 9) for all. However, despite all efforts, structures of inequality have continued to prevail on the basis of caste, race, ethnicity and gender. To address this, Kaviraj urges strengthening the relationship between democratic *government* and democratic *society*, which can be achieved through the institutions of civil and political society. It is, however, seen that modern capitalist states have restricted the role of civil society; instead, they have strengthened

the role of market forces, which have proven unfavourable to the interests of the poor and marginalised populations.

The questions then are: How can we extend democratic citizenship to the marginalised populations and make them equal partners in the democratic process? What are the ways through which the poor can overcome structural inequalities such as caste, race and gender and live a life of dignity and mutual respect? It is in this context that Niraja Jayal's *Citizenship and Its Discontents* makes a significant contribution. Her book provides a biography of the Indian idea of citizenship in the twentieth century that has tried to address caste-based discrimination, marginality and inequality. Although Jayal admits that there is 'no easy resolution of the contention between principles of universal and group-differentiated citizenship' (p. 3), she argues that '[a] recognition of [such] disadvantage requires us to provide for group-differentiated citizenship through instruments such as affirmative action policies' (p. 3). In this regard, the Indian state and democracy have made provisions not only of affirmative action, but also of a range of welfare programmes to improve the status of people from low caste and minority groups. Indian civil society has also played a significant role in making sure that the interests and rights of the marginalised do not get trampled or ignored.

Following a historical perspective, Jayal discusses three aspects of citizenship: (1) as legal status, (2) as rights and entitlements, and (3) as a form of identity and belonging. These three aspects of citizenship are explored in great detail in three parts of the book. Part I argues that citizenship, which was based on race and class in the colonial period, has been broadly based on the principle of *jus soli* since independence, although recently *jus sanguinis* is also adopted by the state. Part II discusses the move from civil and political to social and economic rights, which is an attempt to transform procedural democracy to a substantive one. In Part III, Jayal discusses how the Indian state has implemented the group-differentiated and community-mediated citizenship as an undertaking to address 'backwardness' and discrimination. Jayal concludes that it is not just 'the legal status of membership but also the principles of social citizenship and group-differentiated citizenship that facilitate the fullest realisation of a unique civic community in a diverse society [like India] marked by multiple and deep inequalities' (p. 24).

Although Chatterjee and Katznelson's book provides a strong comparative perspective, some chapters have imposed Tocqueville into the analysis, which does not fit very well. In contrast, Jayal's book provides a strong historical-sociological perspective, which I enjoyed the most; it is empirically sound and theoretically sophisticated. Both the books are lucid and well-argued and should be recommended to students of sociology, comparative politics and India Studies.

Sarbeswar Sahoo
(Indian Institute of Technology Delhi and University of Erfurt, Germany)

Understanding Chinese Politics: An Introduction to Government in the People's Republic of China by **Neil Collins and Andrew Cottey.** Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012. 202pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 0 7190 8428 7

China is a topic that one can hardly miss nowadays. The country is the second biggest economy in today's world, and its influence has also become increasingly obvious in the international arena. Simultaneously, but perhaps not coincidentally, China is often placed directly under the spotlight of many controversial issues, from environmental problems to cyberspace security to human rights. The key to understanding the apparent puzzles and paradoxes related to China is, as Collins and Cottey have insightfully picked up for the title of their new volume, 'understanding Chinese politics'.

This is an ideal textbook for students of China Studies and comparative politics. Apart from a brief introduction and a concise conclusion, the book consists of six chapters, each of which focuses on a particular aspect of politics in the People's Republic of China. The first chapter reviews the historical background from which the current Chinese regime emerges; it also gives general introductions to the several important eras in modern Chinese history, whose legacy have shaped and still influence current Chinese politics. The second chapter focuses on the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) – the single ruling political power that is 'at the heart of Chinese politics' (p. 39); it also highlights how the CCP skilfully controls many aspects of socio-political life in the country. The third chapter introduces major state institutions, including the legislative, executive and judiciary

apparatuses, as well as the centre-local relations. The fourth chapter invites the readers to think about the extent and actual meaning of some recent political changes in China, such as the development of civil society and the promotion of democracy; it then suggests that China is nowhere near a Western-style democracy and is unlikely to head in that direction in the foreseeable future. The fifth chapter is devoted to the Chinese government's policies towards ethnic minority groups, with particular emphasis on ethnic politics in Tibet and Xinjiang. The last chapter discusses China's foreign policy in the historical context; it also reviews China's relation with its major stakeholders on the international arena, including the United States, Russia, Japan and India.

This volume is brief, yet comprehensive. Moreover, the authors skilfully place their discussions on contemporary Chinese politics within the historical context, especially the brutal wars and thoughtful revolutions that gave birth to the current regime. Such a historical perspective is a necessity to anyone who wants to understand the many apparent puzzles and paradoxes related to Chinese politics.

Yu Tao
(University of Oxford)

India Today: Economy, Politics and Society by **Stuart Corbridge**, **John Harriss and Craig Jeffrey.** Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013. 384pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 6112 4

India, in recent years, has drawn global attention for not only being the world's largest democracy, but for emerging as the third largest economy after the United States and China. Corbridge, Harriss and Jeffrey have tried to explain the profound transformation in the Indian economy and politics that has unfolded over the last decade. The book is organised into three parts – economy, politics and society – consisting of 15 chapters that try to answer 13 specific questions, including: When and why did India take off? Has India's democracy been a success? Does caste still matter in India? The book mostly concentrates on development since 2000, although it provides background material for readers who are new to the study of India. What is fascinating is the engagement with new scholarship by social scientists on India. The authors have tried to critique various theories, which are largely derived from the experience of the West, based on the evidence emerging from India. They have questioned path-dependency theory on the basis of India's adoption of economic reforms in the 1980s, which according to them, was a major shift from the past.

While seeking to answer 'when and why did India take off?', Corbridge *et al.* critique the idea of a uniform take-off by showing the importance and contribution of each decade in India's economic growth that subsequently facilitated major economic reforms in the 1980s or 1990s. The creation of vibrant institutions in the early decades of the 1950s and 1960s played a vital role in sustaining the subsequent economic reforms. The authors argue that while institutions are important, it is ultimately politics that plays a determining role in national development.

Despite some remarkable policy innovations to ensure economic and social rights, 'social justice remains a field of contestation' (p. 117). Although the incidence of 'extreme poverty' has declined in India since the 1970s, there are still sizable numbers of Indians who are living on less than two dollars a day. The failure of the Indian state to provide free and compulsory education to all children until the age of 14 is 'perhaps the most damning of all its failures in the post-independence period' (p. 105). Notwithstanding many difficulties, formal democracy has been a success in India, and there is also evidence of a move towards substantive democracy as people are actively participating in non-electoral politics.

This book makes a valuable contribution to the existing literature on the subject by providing a critical and balanced understanding of India's economic, political and social transformation in recent years. It would be useful to the scholars of Indian politics, comparative politics and political economy as well as to policy makers.

Taberez Ahmed Neyazi
(Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi)

History and Politics in Post-colonial India by **Michael Gottlob.** New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011. 300pp., £30.00, ISBN 9780198072485

Michael Gottlob's *History and Politics in Post-colonial India* is a collection of his previous writings on historiography in contemporary India that seeks to address an increasing 'awareness of the important role of his-

torical views and arguments in Indian politics' (p. ix). In this regard, it is a welcome contribution to a broader trend in the field that addresses the politicisation of Indian history. In order to accomplish this, Gottlob first examines the writing and re-writing of Indian history since independence, particularly during the period when the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party-led coalition government held power in the late 1990s.

The book then moves to a discussion of the current debates within historical methodology, asking the pertinent question of whether methods and concepts that have emerged to deal with Western history are suitable for dealing with Indian experiences. Gottlob's third chapter engages with the hugely controversial debate over the writing of Indian textbooks, and his final chapter delves into questions about the Indian self and its dealing with Otherness. In this work, Gottlob addresses a varied array of case studies and develops a sophisticated critique of not only historical methodologies, but also subaltern studies and 'élite-historiography' that is a highlight of the text. Also of particular note is Gottlob's brief but robust examination of the intersection between Adivasi peoples and Hindu nationalism.

While undoubtedly a valuable and scholarly contribution to the fields of Indian history and politics, Gottlob's work would benefit greatly from more conscientious editing in terms of structure and flow. It is the eclectic nature of the book that presents a challenge, yet this ought not to prevent readers from tackling it. This publication really works best when thought of as a compendium of an accomplished historian's writings, rather than something that ought to be read from start to finish. It is most useful as something to dip into and out of as required. Nonetheless, Gottlob's study demonstrates extensive research and contains a remarkable collection of valuable resources – perhaps thanks to his earlier edited work *Historical Thinking in South Asia: A Handbook of Sources from Colonial Times to Present*.[1] As such, it could prove an indispensable reference for young academics. Overall, Gottlob's work is a worthy addition to an important field in Indian politics. It will be of use to a genuine diversity of scholars: those of Indian history and politics, as well as those interested in post-colonial, indigenous and subaltern studies.

Note

1 Gottolob, M. (2003) *Historical Thinking in South Asia: A Handbook of Sources from Colonial Times to Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kimberley Layton
(University of New South Wales)

The Politics of China: Sixty Years of the People's Republic of China by **Roderick MacFarquhar (ed.).** New York: Cambridge University Press, third edition, 2011. 675pp., £35.00, ISBN 978 0 521 14531 2

To the surprise of many of China's observers who had anticipated the fall of this communist state like that of the Soviet Union, the year 1999 marked the sixtieth anniversary of the People's Republic of China. Roderick MacFarquhar, in this third edition of *The Politics of China: Sixty Years of the People's Republic of China,* has sought to decipher the *raison d'être* of survival from 'class struggle' to 'harmonious society'. MacFarquhar does not attempt to predict the future of China, but to sketch the success of China, on the basis of chronicles. He lists five factors to explain China's success. First, the longevity of the revolutionary leadership provided the required strength to sustain the communist regime despite enormous problems during 1949–65 (p. 1). Second, control over the military by the revolutionary leader smoothed the way to enforcing the party's will: Mao headed the Party's Military Affairs Commission until he died. Deng Xiaoping served as the People's Liberation Army's chief of staff – the only civilian ever to to do so (p. 2). Third, unlike the Soviet leaders, Chinese communists have had years of experience in governance, which has helped them to sustain power. Fourth, the length and impact of revolutionary measures in China were short in duration and fragmented in nature. And finally, nationalism has helped China to retain and restore its great power image.

Kenneth Lieberthal in the second chapter 'The Great Leap Forward and Split in the Yan'an Leadership, 1958–1965', notes that the Great Leap Forward (GLF) was launched as an alternative developmental model to the Soviets' five-year plan and to strengthen Mao's role in the system (p. 96). Nonetheless, the GLF eroded unity and discipline in the party, which paved the way for the Yan'an split. Harry Harding in his chapter 'The Chinese State in Crisis, 1966–1969'

articulates that the Cultural Revolution was like any other political crisis accustomed 'to economic transformation, intellectual ferment, political mobilisation and social change' (p. 148), although it was also *sui generis* in the sense that it was 'deliberately induced by the leaders of the regime itself' (p. 148). Alice Miller focuses upon the dilemmas of globalisation and governance. She believes that the foremost focus of politics since the mid-1990s has been the problem of improving the communist regime's ability to adapt to new challenges of governing a rapidly changing economy and society (p. 532). The emergence of public opinion in China and membership of the World Trade Organization has fundamentally transformed the Chinese system. Hu Jintao's 'scientific development concept' and 'harmonious society' has strengthened the 'people-centred' policies and ensured greater transparency.

The book eloquently interprets and analyses sixty years of Chinese politics. Therefore, China watchers, students of International Relations (especially Chinese Studies), policy makers and strategists must study the book to understand the nuances of Chinese politics.

Rajiv Ranjan
(Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Cooperation over Conflict: The Women's Movement and the State in Postwar Japan by **Miriam Murase.** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 148pp., £26.99, ISBN 978 0 415 80493 6

Gender inequality is still a major problem in Japan. Miriam Murase's book looks at political explanations for the persistence of gender inequality (p. 2) and regards 'state intervention in the women's movement' (p. 22) as a key obstacle towards the achievement of gender equality. Things are complicated by the fact that Japanese women do not seem to aim for Western-style equality and the question of whether they want equality with men is 'difficult to answer' (p. 31). Under these circumstances, it may not surprise anyone that women's organisations are less radical and confrontational than in the West. Murase argues that large and established women's organisations have privileged access to state funds and facilities, but that this access comes at the price of autonomy (p. 21) and a vibrant civil society (p. 42).

By looking at the activities of the 800 state-funded women's centres (buildings that house the office space and meeting rooms used by women's groups) Murase demonstrates that those centres that focus more on homemaking and cultural activities than on social or feminist issues reflect an agenda which is set by the state (p. 70). She then explores the institutional frameworks, or what she also calls strategic 'points of access' (p. 20), that govern gender politics. Her findings suggest that only 'select women's organizations enjoy access to the highest levels of government' (p. 101). Murase shows how the state has mobilised women's organisations for traffic safety, food nutrition, public morality, neighbourhood beautification and pollution control campaigns (p. 95), and argues that these programmes encouraging women to 'fulfill their duties as wives and mothers' (p. 102) have largely served to reinforce existing gender stereotypes.

Murase's model of institutional collaboration between the state and selected women's organisations is not free of contradictions. For example, she argues that 'equality is not the dominant goal of Japanese women' (p. 34), but on the other hand she maintains that 'women's attitudes are steadily shifting in support of equality' (p. 43). In other words, women enjoy equality without wanting it. Maybe the real problem behind this contradiction is that equality is not the dominant goal of Japanese men. Recent legal reforms such as the law against domestic violence or measures to prevent sexual harassment and stalking seem to support Murase's point that Japanese women embrace gender equality and want legal protection. Women's centres nationwide offer secret shelters to battered women and women are encouraged to openly resist and take action against sexual harassment and stalking. However, in the long run it will take more time and educational efforts to change the attitudes and behaviour of male offenders.

Patrick Hein
(Meiji University)

Singapore Malays: Being Ethnic Minority and Muslim in a Global City-State by **Hussin Mutalib.** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 224pp, £85.00, ISBN 978 0415509633

This book shows Hussin Mutalib's proficiency in writing about Islam, politics and Southeast Asia. The subtitle *Being Ethnic Minority and Muslim in a Global City-State* presents the main message of this study in which Mutalib analyses the real story of the plight of

Malays in Singapore. This book asks readers to consider the position in Singapore impartially and justifies the choice of topic by asking why the situation of Malays should continue to be given attention, answering that this is because their socio-economic status and progress is lower and slower than that of Singapore's Indian population, which is a smaller ethnic minority (p. 4). Such central concerns, as well as the book's theoretical framework, help readers to follow the main body of the argument.

Although there is much racial discrimination throughout the world, this is a fresh voice from someone who critiques the policies of Singapore and claims that Malays still face obstacles in the employment sector. Mutalib professionally draws the reader's attention to the status of Muslims in the global city-state and how they find their identity as Malay-Singaporeans; he also highlights Muslim religious activities and the government's concerns about Muslim assertiveness. One of the initial intentions of the chapter entitled 'The Question of Islamic Identity' is summarised in the observation that tourists are impressed by many modern mosques in Singapore, but the mosques are built through the help and monthly salary contributions of Muslim employees (p. 63). Mutalib provides an informative argument and depicts the 'secondary sources' like minority syndrome, historical legacies and the impact of globalisation as the main reasons for the predicament of Malays in Singapore. The book ends with two chapters in which the author provides some guidelines and conclusions for the future of Malays and asks: 'What is to be done?'

By providing graphs, tables and reliable references, Hussin Mutalib's work will meet the expectations of thinkers who wish to be informed about the current interactions between minorities and states in Southeast Asia. Some people have optimistically assumed that Singapore is a modern utopia in which there is no discrimination; this book says something different and it will guide people to be more realistic in their appraisal of the situation.

I hope this inspiring book will pave the way for scholars to develop their writings about the plight of minorities throughout the world, such as Sunnis and non-Muslims in Iran, Shia citizens of Saudi Arabia and so on.

Majid Daneshgar
(University of Malaya)

China's Environmental Challenges by **Judith Shapiro.** Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012. 205pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 6091 2

The ancient saying '[the] frog does not drink up the pond in which it lives' compels us to rethink the way we are exploiting the earth. This unrestricted exploitation of resources is leading us to resource scarcity, violent conflict and environmental degradation. An environmentalist, Judith Shapiro argues that China's environmental challenges are tied to domestic political structures, rapid economic growth and an intense phase of globalisation in which the entire planet is involved (p. 10). Therefore, handling the environmental crisis has become of critical importance to the country's stability and the legitimacy of the Chinese government.

The book applies five core analytical concepts to explore the complexity of this problem. First, *globalisation* acts as both driver and cure for China's environmental challenges. On the one hand, population increase, the rise of the middle class and concomitant changes in their consumption patterns, globalisation of trade and manufacturing and urbanisation represent both effects and drivers of environmental change (p. 34). But on the other hand, globalisation is also a source of hope and a stimulus for innovation that helps mitigate the environmental challenges (p. 169). Second, *governance*, although it is solely responsible for China's degrading environment, has also tried to 'integrate environmental concerns into its plans, laws and policies' (p. 58). Third, *national identity* inspired Mao's 'War against Nature' to reclaim the Middle Kingdom status (p. 94). Sustainable development thus requires 'a national dialogue and effort to promote a 'green' national identity' (p. 101). Fourth, the book discusses in detail the emergence of *civil society* and the possibilities of public participation in environmental governance. Finally, Shapiro digs deep into China's environmental challenges to investigate the problem of *environmental justice* and equity. She claims that China is successfully displacing environmental harm from 'core' to 'peripheral' areas within the country and in the world.

The book negates the 'realist' notion of states as unitary, power-seeking actors (p. 6), which fails to uncover the complexity of China's political and social landscape. Shapiro instead recognises the multiplicity of actors who play a role in China's future.

This meticulously written book offers an engaging account of China's environmental challenges and provides new ideas like the displacement of 'environmental harms' as food for thought and to help us understand the complex nuances of these challenges. The book is therefore a 'must-read' for students of environmental politics, Chinese Studies and International Relations, and for that matter anybody concerned with China's environment, the earth and its people.

Rajiv Ranjan
(Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and the State: A Biography of Gujerat by **Nikita Sud.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 249pp., £27.50, ISBN 9780198 076933

This book is a very timely addition to the burgeoning literature on the issues of development and its socio-political fallout in developing countries during the age of economic liberalisation. It takes up for analysis the convergence in the trajectories of economic liberalisation and political illiberalism in Gujarat. Gujarat is a western Indian state that has come to boast of its high economic growth rates and whose robust infrastructure has been much talked about. It has also been at the centre of all discussions related to the issues of secularism and communalism in contemporary India. The paradoxes entailed in such developments in post-independence Gujarat are aptly chosen by the author as the subject of the book.

On expected lines it succinctly argues that the development of Gujarat is 'very much rooted in its politics' (p. 8). Nikita Sud claims to have presented a macro biography of the state adopting a 'wide angled, exploratory approach' (p. 3). The argument presented in the book is that *Hindutva* has flourished in a specific economic and political context and the six main chapters of the book are an appreciable attempt at a careful delineation of those complexities. The first section of the book discusses the change in the stance of the state from an emphasis on developmentalism to that of liberalisation. The second section is a similar discussion on the transition from secularism to Hindu nationalism. The author takes these two major shifts in the socio-economic-political environment of the state to be instances of economic liberalism and political illiberalism. The two sections succeed in producing detailed explanations of the liberalism-illiberalism convergence through in-depth case studies.

While the argument presented by the author sounds plausible, the reader is often struck by a relative lack of attention on the author's part to a few fascinating aspects of the history and sociology that she details. For instance, the manner in which Hindutva as an ideology has come to acquire a Gujarati character, if at all, remains to be understood. A question of such nature seems pertinent in the light of the author's own emphasis on the regionalised and a vernacularised understanding of social and political life in India. Also, there seems to have been little attention paid to the role played by non-Hindutva (Islamic, Christian and Dalit – to name a few) movements and organisations in the 'success story' of Gujarat. Nonetheless, the author is to be congratulated for bringing into focus the question that political scientists, sociologists and psephologists – not to mention the layman – have continually come to ask about the curious developments in Gujarat.

Amit Chaturvedi
(University of Delhi)

The Accidental Capitalist: A People's Story of the New China by **Behzad Yaghmaian.** London: Pluto Press, 2012. 173pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 7453 3230 7

Prosper or Perish: Credit and Fiscal Systems in Rural China by **Lynette H. Ong.** Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012. 212pp., £24.95, ISBN 978 0 8014 5062 4

In China more than 10 million rural-to-urban migrants leave the countryside and work in cities every year. In *The Accidental Capitalist*, Behzad Yaghmaian examines the socio-economic conditions of rural-to-urban migrants in Shenzhen – a 'Special Economic Zone' and a major absorber of migrants in southern China. Between 2007 and 2009, he lived among migrants and paid daily visits to a local urban village to collect migrants' life stories, which laid the foundations of the rich and personal narratives contained in the book. His study has an ingenious balance of journalistic-style writing and academic insights, making a contribution to the literature in a special way. As well as the intro-

duction and conclusion, the book consists of four major parts (Books I, II, III and IV).

Book I introduces an old rural migrant who lived through some crucial historical events including the Civil War, the foundation of socialist China, the Great Famine, the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution and the Opening-up Reforms to set the stage for later interviews that reflect the radical changes in contemporary China. Book II tells stories of middle-aged and younger female workers working in factories and finds that the older generation focuses more on making a living in the cities, while the younger generation focuses on escapism, indicating that migrants have different aspirations and dreams. Book III provides a narration of an 'accidental capitalist' who put an enormous effort into his manufacturing company to succeed in the city, and Book IV is a portrait of a wealthy businessman who is one of those in the centre of capitalist transition in China.

Overall the book successfully examines how the low-wage export-processing model has stimulated a strict labour control system, through which migrant workers contribute to the rapid development of China. Meanwhile, the author argues that the state gained the consent of the emerging middle class though the delivery of promised economic benefits based on low-wage capitalism. The author also suggests that the social stigmatisation of migrants has been a tool for gaining support from the middle class. Nonetheless, it should also be noted from the author's observations that the Chinese government has allowed wage increases for migrant workers and improvements in their social rights and justice. This is one of the best books studying migrant workers in China.

Prosper or Perish by Lynette Ong focuses on rural China's credit and fiscal system – in particular rural credit cooperatives (RCCs) – in the context of a complicated and changing political economy. The author finds that while the RCCs were initially developed to provide support for household-level agricultural development, they gradually moved their business priority to larger enterprises, such as township and village enterprises (TVEs). She also finds that half of all RCC loans were in, or close to, default, requiring an injection of capital from the central bank. However, the existing literature reveals little about the significant role of the local government in China's credit system. Therefore, the main purpose of the book is to explore the causes and sources of the uneven development and to answer two critical questions: Why have RCC loans been allocated consistently to local government enterprises and projects? And what is the local variation in industrialisation outcome from savings mobilisations? To answer these questions, the author conducted more than 120 in-depth semi-structured interviews with staff of RCCs and local officials and surveyed approximately 280 rural households. One admirable feature of this book is that it covers coastal, northern and southern regions and provides a rich comparison across them. The book answers the questions posed in a rigorous and innovative manner. Through the lens of political economy, it provides significant insights into a longstanding debate in Chinese politics regarding the strength of central government versus local authorities. Researching the first question, the book successfully identifies three paths of rural industrialisation that have profound implications for understanding the mechanism of state credit system in the countryside. Based on these identifiable paths, the author argues that the central state's power is over-estimated.

Another significant contribution of the book is its examination of soft budget constraint in China's banking system, while prior studies have mainly focused on the stronger fiscal system. The author finds that, from the central government's point of view, the RCCs cannot fail because of its holding of more than 80 per cent of total rural savings. This nicely answers the second research question. The author suggests that China should further strengthen the corporate governance structure of its credit institutions and the evaluation system of local officials should be overhauled to suit local conditions and income levels as a means to boost health, economic and political development at the local level. The book is a good reference for readers researching the banking sector in China as well as those interested in comparing other banking sectors with China's in the context of transition economies.

Zhiming Cheng
(University of Wollongong)

Other Areas

Hezbollah: A History of the Party of God by **Dominique Avon and Anaïs-Trissa Khatchadourian.** Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012. 244pp., £18.95, ISBN 978 0 674 06651 9

Since its establishment during the Lebanese Civil War, Hezbollah has emerged as both an influential player within Lebanese domestic politics and an important regional actor. Hezbollah enjoys a longstanding and robust alliance with Iran, has a history of frequent conflict with Israel and is currently playing an important role in the Syrian civil war in support of the Assad government. Therefore, given Hezbollah's increasing importance on the regional stage, understanding the origins, history and ideology of the organisation are of critical importance and is the objective of this interesting text.

The first section of the book is devoted to detailing Hezbollah's inception and early history during the tumultuous period of the Lebanese Civil War. The text effectively discusses Hezbollah's complex rivalry with Amal (a fellow Lebanese Shiite organisation), its indifferent historical relationship with Syria, and its close political, military and religious alliance with Iran. The text demonstrates that 'resistance' to Israel is the founding and fundamental principle of Hezbollah's ideology and, consequently, has led to frequent clashes with Israel, including a major war in 2006.

At times due to the dizzying array of actors involved in the Lebanese Civil War, along with a structure that is sometimes difficult to follow, the text's overarching narrative or arguments are difficult to discern. This is likely to be especially so for a reader unfamiliar with the myriad different factions and actors involved in Lebanon during this period. Nonetheless, and despite this, overall the text is effective at introducing and explaining Hezbollah's ideology and policies during this period, and how they impacted on Lebanon's domestic politics and stability.

The book also contains a number of useful primary documents produced by Hezbollah throughout its history. This provides the reader with an insight into the organisation's ideological viewpoint and objectives, as well as demonstrating how it has harnessed such language to advance its own domestic political objectives. The book also contains a summary of the various actors and factions involved in Lebanese politics, with this likely to be of particular value to any reader new to this complex subject. As a result, although in places this book would have benefited from a clearer structure, it is nonetheless a worthwhile text for anyone interested in the birth and evolution of Hezbollah and its role within contemporary Lebanese politics and the wider Middle East region.

Stephen Ellis
(University of Leicester)

Routledge Handbook of African Politics by **Nic Cheeseman, David Anderson and Andrea Scheibler (eds).** Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 440pp., £120.00, ISBN 978 0 415 573788

Since the 1950s, as the decolonisation of Africa gathered pace, the political fluctuations and developments that have affected the continent have been enormous. Ranging from stable democracies, through to dictatorial rule, and with factors such as ethnic, regional and religious identity influencing its political trajectory, the African continent has experienced it all. For an up-to-date and comprehensive assessment concerning some of the issues affecting African politics, you should look no further than the *Routledge Handbook of African Politics*.

Trying to tackle effectively a subject as large and diverse as African politics is a task fraught with difficulties. However, the *Handbook*, comprised of 32 highly readable chapters written by a range of established and emerging Africanist scholars, ensures that many of the pitfalls associated with writing an all-encompassing text are avoided. By focusing on 32 different subject areas, which are divided between six core overarching themes (politics of the state; identity; conflict; democracy and elections; political economy and development; and international relations), the collection provides a valuable breadth of perspectives about the continent. A particular strength of this approach is that themes such as the role of civil servants (Chapter 6), emerging legislatures (Chapter 20) or public opinion (Chapter 22), which are so often neglected in larger texts on contemporary Africa, are given a voice.

As a *Handbook* the collection does not have an overarching argument, but each chapter effectively stands alone and, importantly, does not require too much prior knowledge. Indeed, the purpose of each

essay is to offer a condensed introduction to, and précis of, the main arguments, developments and theories on a specific subject matter. By offering a self-contained analysis on a specific area, it allows one to gain a deeper understanding on a breadth of topics, ranging from the politics of oil, the role of women in politics, the influence of Islam and the rise of China. The result is a collection into which the reader can dip in and out, or use to focus on an area of interest. For those wanting to gain a holistic insight into African politics, this is an important text to read.

The *Routledge Handbook of African Politics* is a valuable addition to the existing literature on African politics. The sheer scope and accessibility of the topics covered in this collection is impressive, which ensures that this handbook on Africa is the most complete book of its kind currently available.

Matthew Graham
(University of Dundee)

Power and Politics in the Persian Gulf Monarchies by **Christopher Davidson (ed.).** London: Hurst, 2011. 203pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 1 84904 121 8

This book provides a comprehensive overview of each member state of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). The text outlines each nation's complex history, political structure and demographic makeup. Moreover, there is a thorough evaluation of each nation's economic performance and main foreign policy objectives and challenges. Of particular value are the sections that focus on each state's future prospects, especially given the tumultuous events of the Arab Spring.

In terms of domestic politics, the study demonstrates that a wide array of different, and sometimes competing, actors are involved in the governance of each state. Further to this, it is shown that in each state the traditional elites are embracing elements of modernisation – particularly in the economic realm – while simultaneously resisting other aspects, especially with regard to social change. As a result, the study posits that in future the existing political structures in each state are likely to be challenged, with Bahrain considered the most vulnerable due to its disenfranchised Shia majority ruled by an oppressive Sunni elite.

Economically, the study details the varying extents to which the GCC members have sought to diversify their economies in preparation for their post-oil futures. A mixed picture is presented, with the United Arab Emirates – particularly Dubai – deemed the most willing to embrace economic diversification, while other GCC members, such as Saudi Arabia, are revealed to have been relatively slow in developing other industries.

With regard to foreign policy, the book demonstrates that the smaller GCC states have historically sought an external security guarantor – traditionally Britain, today the United States – against Iran and Iraq. In analysing the foreign policies of the GCC states, the study demonstrates significant nuance and understanding. Whereas the GCC is often portrayed as an anti-Iranian bloc, a much more complicated picture is presented. Saudi Arabia and Bahrain are shown to be the most suspicious of Iranian intentions, while it is argued that other GCC member states, particularly Oman, enjoy relatively positive relations with Tehran. In addition, the study demonstrates how Qatar is increasingly using its vast energy reserves to finance an active foreign policy that challenges Saudi Arabia's long-held dominance in GCC foreign policy making.

Overall, this is an important book for anyone wishing to understand the critical internal and external opportunities and challenges facing the states of the GCC. The book is thorough, balanced and well-written, and makes a worthwhile contribution to the existing literature.

Stephen Ellis
(University of Leicester)

External Mission: The ANC in Exile, 1960–1990 by **Stephen Ellis.** London: Hurst, 2012. 384pp., £20.00, ISBN 978 1 84904 262 8

In *External Mission: The ANC in Exile, 1960–1990* Stephen Ellis offers a devastating critique of the 'official' history of the African National Congress by deconstructing the myths surrounding the movement, and revealing the intriguing and fractious nature of its liberation struggle. In this powerful book, based on a wide range of new sources, including recently released files from the Chinese government and the East German security service the Stasi, Ellis provides a fresh insight and analysis into the complex and fascinating past of the ANC.

A key theme of the book is to illustrate how the South African Communist Party (SACP) managed to

exert enormous influence and control over almost all aspects of the ANC. For scholars of the ANC, the involvement of the SACP within the movement is widely acknowledged, yet Ellis effectively delves deeper into this relationship. For example, he demonstrates how its members gained positions of influence in the ANC and its ideologies led to an increasingly undemocratic organisation, ravaged by intense factional disputes. Furthermore, many of the more unsavoury aspects of the ANC's past are revealed, depicting numerous incidents of corruption by high-ranking officials, as well as shocking levels of violence and torture directed towards its own cadres. These unnerving disclosures demonstrate how an intricate mix of ideology, security concerns and criminal activity permeated the ANC in exile. Moreover, *External Mission* expertly weaves the complexity of the ANC's liberation struggle into the broader picture, assessing how it was intimately linked to and affected by major events within South Africa and further afield. A fascinating aspect of the book is the degree to which the apartheid state covertly combated the ANC's struggle, including the unaccountable covert operations, the funding of counter-revolutionary groups and the links to transnational criminal networks across Southern Africa.

A major strength is the way Ellis is able to link many of the developments within the ANC and the apartheid state to some of the more uncomfortable issues afflicting South Africa today. For example, the ANC's unwavering commitment to democratic centralism within government, a growing disregard for democratic principles and the social problems of the country (particularly violent crime) can all be clearly traced back to decisions made during the struggle against apartheid.

I highly recommend this timely and informative book, which sheds new light on the history of the ANC's liberation struggle – one that for too long has been privy to myths, distortions and misrepresentation.

Matthew Graham
(University of Dundee)

Turkey between Nationalism and Globalization by **Riva Kastoryano (ed.).** Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 240pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0 415 52923 5

Right after the general elections in 2011, a commission for a new constitution was established within the Turkish parliament. Discussions were focused, and also stuck, upon the new conceptualisation of citizenship. Since the AKP came into power, the 'old' understanding of 'Turkishness' and nationalism has been questioned and there is a general consensus among people that discussions about a new constitution would lead to a new definition of citizenship. This book analyses the point: How has the perception of nation and nationalism been transformed since the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, and how has it become an ambition for Turkey to become a global/regional power?

Riva Kastoryano edits this volume from the papers presented at an international colloquium held at the Centre d'Études et de Recherches Internationales in Paris in May 2012. The book is divided into four sections. In the first, the birth of the nation is explained. Zürcher looks for reasons why empires collapsed after the First World War and why the Ottoman case was different from the others. Rodrigue then highlights the *millet* system in the Ottoman Empire and how it influenced understanding about minorities in the Republic. Finally, Özdalga examines how religion and literature have contributed to the formation of national identity in Turkey.

Continuity and change in Turkish nationalism occupy the second section. Koçak begins with investigating the confusion surrounding national identity and constructions of 'Atatürk nationalism'. Özkırımlı then makes a contribution to the myth of a homogeneous nation. Özkırımlı asserts that there is more than one Turkish nationalism but only one goal: winning the struggle for hegemony. He uses the Gramscian notion of 'hegemony' in this chapter. Finally, Bora discusses the 'white Turks'. He gives us a very enthralling chapter with quotations from a popular internet site, *Ekşisözlük*.

In the third section, different fragments of the Turkish nation are studied. Türkmen points out the decline of Occidentalism and rise of non-Kemalist Islam with Göle's concept of 'multiple modernities'. Gülalp researches Alevis as a case of nation malfunctioning and Kadıoğlu analyses the Kurdish issue with Agamben's 'state of exception'.

Finally, in the fourth section Turkey's power is examined within globalisation. Atalay studies the role of Islamic non-governmental organisations towards Turkish foreign policy making. İnsel analyses discourses within the new political class on the transfor-

mation from Kemalism to the neo-nationalism of greatness. Finally, Gürsel questions, by historically considering its economic growth, whether being a regional power is possible for Turkey.

Ultimately, this book makes a contribution to the understanding of Turkish nationalism at a time when that understanding has been changing.

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West Africa and the US War on Terror by **George Klay Kieh and Kelechi Kalu (eds).** Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 192pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0 415 53942 5

This book, edited by George Kieh and Kelechi Kalu, examines the place of West Africa within the United States global war on terrorism by addressing and evaluating the main elements of American counter-terrorism initiatives in the region. The contributors also interrogate the relationships between instability and the crises of under-development in the West African sub-region. This study of the war on terrorism in West Africa fills a gap in the scholarship, given that most of the scholarly work on this topic has focused on North and East Africa. The authors contend that a human security deficit in West Africa makes the region vulnerable to the rise of terrorist groups. Moreover, terrorist organisations have the potential to disrupt the exploitation and distribution of the energy resources in the Gulf of Guinea.

For Kieh and Kalu, the way in which the global war on terrorism is framed fails to take into account the root causes of terrorism. They argue that: 'The United States is the major target of terrorism because over the years it has provided the leadership for the construction of an unjust international order that is based on the exploitation and marginalisation of the states and peoples of the Third World' (p. 5). Moreover, the Obama administration has continued the militarisation of American counter-terrorism strategies, which are comprised of two clusters: the United States military and security apparatus; and various organisations and states as 'foot soldiers', as the security relation between the United States and some countries such as Morocco, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria and Senegal can be described (p. 6). Under the Trans-Sahara Counter-terrorism Partnership (TSCP) and the Gulf of Guinea Guard Initiative, thousands of troops from West African countries have been trained for counter-terrorism (pp. 87–104).

The state fragility conundrum and the porous borders also make the region vulnerable to terrorist capture, especially in the ungoverned or ungovernable areas (p. 11). Pita Ogaba identifies the factors shaping American threat perception and terrorism: state failure, radical Islam, drug trafficking, mal-governance and under-governance, proliferation of small arms, and porous borders. Russell Howard argues that al-Qa'eda expands in the Sahel region by linking up with 'like-minded Salafist-jihadist groups' (pp. 75–6). Kieh calls for the democratisation of American foreign policy towards West Africa and the alignment of pro-democracy rhetoric with praxis (p. 140). However, the editors could have expanded more on the consequences of the current United States war on terrorism policy and strategies for West Africa.

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The Triumph of Israel's Radical Right by **Ami Pedahzur.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 277pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 19 974470 1

As would be expected, the results of the 2013 Israeli election re-opened debates over shifts in the political spectrum. Did the loss of seats from the right-wing bloc mean the electorate had drifted leftward? Or did the absence of the peace process as a dominant issue in the electoral campaign mean that the parties themselves had moved to the right? Both views were to some extent reinforced by the composition of party lists, particularly the ruling Likud-Beitenu, which included greater representation of the radical right who, as Ami Pedahzur writes, believe that 'the democratic principles of the state should be secondary to the ethno-Jewish ones' (p. 205). As the book concludes, maybe political networks are more important than parties for analysis (pp. 210–11).

The book traces the developments that led to such views increasing their prevalence in Israel. It is not a history of the settlements or of any specific right-wing movement or cause, but attempts instead to focus on the major events and personalities that helped advance this particularly hawkish agenda. As would be expected, Rabbi Meir Kahane receives significant cov-

erage, as does immigration from the former Soviet Union, oddly tacked onto the end of a chapter on Jerusalem (pp. 92–5). This encompasses a variety of writing styles, with Baruch Goldstein being covered descriptively (pp. 78–9), while the left-wing misunderstanding of the views of ultra-Orthodox leaders – Rabbis Shach and Ovadia Yosef – are covered more analytically. The book focuses on the strengthening of the radical right, and repeatedly covers the bureaucratic measures that have enabled the rightwing bloc to gain success in furthering its interests. But, with the exception of Ariel Sharon's unilateral disengagement (pp. 174–5), there is little focus on setbacks of the radical right. The absence of a single or specific group of organisations to analyse allows the incremental, unassociated gains of disparate actors to be woven into a cohesive pattern of rightward drift. This would not be recognised or sympathised with by all readers, who might note the lack of extraneous stimuli from the book. Nonetheless, the book is fascinating reading for anyone with an interest in the Israeli right wing.

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Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party: Inside an Authoritarian Regime by **Joseph Sassoon.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 314pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 521 14915 0

Politics and Society in Saudi Arabia: The Crucial Years of Development, 1960–1982 by **Sarah Yizraeli (ed.).** London: Hurst, 2012. 276pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1849041706

Events after September 2001 catapulted Saudi Arabia and Iraq into the forefront of international news reporting and policy making. Scholarly attention rapidly followed suit, and a surge in academic writing about these two countries steadily gathered momentum over the ensuing decade. Recent studies of Saudi Arabia have revolutionised our understanding of the kingdom's basic political, economic and social dynamics;[1] current work on Iraq, by contrast, consists primarily of cogent and well-grounded historical narratives. The remarkably high standard set by the existing literature poses a major challenge to anyone who sets out to extend our understanding of either case.

Sarah Yizraeli's previous monograph contributed greatly to revising the conventional wisdom concerning Saudi politics in the 1950s and 1960s.[2] This second book, however, consists almost entirely of re-statements of well-worn interpretations. Only Kiren Chaudhry's discovery that government policy in the 1960s and 1970s reshuffled the kingdom's network of commercial and industrial elites makes its way into the main body of the text (pp. 278–87). Robert Vitalis' wholesale re-assessment of the economic and social impact of the Arabian American Oil Company is duly cited on several occasions, but the contradiction between his primary arguments and the points advanced by Yizraeli somehow gets ignored (as, for instance, on p. 34). Steffen Hertog's re-interpretation of the trajectory of Saudi economic growth is listed in the bibliography, but receives no mention otherwise.

In only one small way does Yizraeli push the field forward. Building on a relatively obscure 2001 study by Sabri Sharaf, a promising start is made toward explicating the activities of members of the ruling family as a component of the 'private sector' of the kingdom's domestic economy (pp. 276–7). This was the first time that I have heard of Sharaf's book, but it now stands at the top of my list of titles to chase down and contemplate.

Joseph Sassoon's remarkable study mines the archives of the Ba'th Party for nuggets of inside information concerning the day-to-day operation of Iraq's authoritarian regime from the 1968 revolution to the 2003 overthrow of Saddam Hussein. The analysis emphasises the crucial, but usually overlooked, fact that although the authorities in Baghdad made widespread use of coercion and punishment, public benefits and rewards played a crucial role in sustaining the Ba'thist order. How mid-level party members responded to the range of incentives that accompanied periodic promotion makes for lively and provocative reading.

One hesitates to find fault with this path-breaking overview of the inner workings of Ba'th politics. Nevertheless, two shortcomings leap out. First, the rich archival material is presented in a largely anecdotal fashion, which implies that the mechanics of the party apparatus remained more or less constant during the three-and-a-half decades after 1968. This way of deploying the evidence results, to some extent, from the fragmentary nature of the surviving records; Sassoon observes at the outset that 'it is almost impos-

sible to chart the historical development of every topic, because the archives were not arranged chronologically, and many gaps exist' (p. 15). Nevertheless, greater care might have been devoted to indicating just how policy changed (or remained unchanged) over time. The advantages of doing so are clearly evident in the nuanced discussion of successive shifts in the party's economic programme (pp. 238–49) and its stance toward religion (pp. 259–68).

Second, the book tends to explain trends in Ba'thi Iraq by pointing out how other dictatorships operated – most notably the fascist regimes of Italy and Germany and the communist orders of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. This methodological pitfall grows out of the laudable effort to draw useful comparisons between various types of authoritarian system (p. 5). Yet instead of indicating specific ways in which the Ba'th Party-led polity in Iraq either resembled or diverged from earlier European forms of authoritarianism, the text too often simply asserts that developments in Iraq mirrored whatever transpired in Italy, Germany or Russia (pp. 12, 34, 42, 76, 128, 130, 177, 191, 193, 202, 226 and 250). Only rarely are the peculiarities of Ba'thi Iraq highlighted, as for instance when the author notes that Saddam Hussein routinely met with groups of 'ordinary citizens', whereas Hitler and Stalin did not (p. 178). Such intriguing variations in the practice of authoritarian rule deserve careful and sustained analysis.

Notes

1 Lawson, F. H. (2011) 'Keys to the Kingdom: Current Scholarship on Saudi Arabia', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 43 (4), 737–47.
2 Yizraeli, S. (1997) *The Remaking of Saudi Arabia*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press.

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