

Book Reviews

Political Theory

Arts of the Political: New Openings for the Left by **Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift**. Hastings: Duke University Press, 2013. 239pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 0 8223 5401 7

Reconceptualising the notion of the political and what it stands for in today's world is what Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift endeavour to do in this book. By opening up this much contested concept to other disciplines and fields of social life, they demonstrate its wider implications, overlaps and crossovers into the world of arts and the affective. The challenge that presents itself in their project, however, is how to tread the line between the same old politics of organised rationality and the normatively 'undetermined' spaces and practices of imaginative creativity without sounding too dogmatic or giving the impression of the 'anything goes' mentality.

Harnessing the political arts of invention, organisation and shared structures of feeling, they contend, opens the way to 'world making' and imagining new possible ways of social and human being. The book is primarily targeted at those who include themselves within the political grouping of 'the Left', the leftists nostalgic for the old social democratic order, traditional Marxists and radical activists alike. The authors urge the Left to come to terms with the post-industrial capitalist reality and devise strategies that will mobilise desires to promote action against widespread inequalities and oppression, even if in a reformist fashion from within the system. With references ranging from Bruno Latour, Jane Bennett, Peter Sloterdijk, Slavoj Žižek, Alain Badiou, Paolo Virno, Max Weber, Michel Foucault and the authors themselves, the book compiles and staples together a diverse array of concepts and theories that can be at times contradictory when considered within the wider view of their authors' *oeuvre*. But Amin and Thrift advise us not to worry about it, at least not for now when the Left seems to have lost its traditional appeal.

The logic of combining the imaginative creativity of arts and the organisational drive of politics is demonstrated through the example of the European Union. The authors believe that its evolving structures and procedures have enabled the Union to sustain itself and adopt some important progressive EU-wide policies through the strategies of diplomacy and innovation. They purposefully avoid making any judgements on the organisation's effectiveness and democratic deficit, however.

Amin and Thrift are clear from the very beginning that the book is not a theoretical work, and in terms of theory it really does not offer anything more than building on already discussed concepts. It serves more as a compilation of the already existing debates on the Left with a call for more experimentation and open-ended creativity balanced with political pragmatism and organisational drive.

Alen Toplišek
(Queen Mary University of London)

Reading Walzer by **Yitzhak Benbaji and Naomi Sussmann (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2014. 341pp., £26.99, ISBN 9780415780315

This *Festschrift* to Michael Walzer is, to the best of my knowledge, the first critical collection dedicated to his work. This may be surprising – as Naomi Sussmann's helpful introduction demonstrates, and *pace* Walzer's self-effacing claim that he has 'generally been marginal to academic debates' (p. 167), his contribution to these debates in the last 50 years has been remarkable. Given this lacuna, a collection of new articles from leading scholars revisiting Walzer's writings is more than welcome.

Each of the book's four sections deals with a broad theme, followed by an extensive response from Walzer himself. In the first section, which is both the most consistent in quality and most coherent in theme,

Walzer's classic 'The Moral Standing of States' is the target of articles by David Miller, Ruth Gavison, Charles Beitz and Michael Doyle. In the second section, Jacob Levy and Will Kymlicka critique Walzer's version of multiculturalism, while Bonnie Honig's interesting contribution discusses his turn to the Jewish scriptures in *Exodus and Revolution*. In the third section, Michael Sandel and Tim Scanlon offer opposing views of his account of justice, while George Kateb's scathing critique challenges Walzer's work as a whole. Finally, the fourth section is dedicated to Walzer's groundbreaking version of just war theory, with contributions from Jeff McMahan, Yitzhak Benbaji, David Luban and Nancy Sherman.

While some of the arguments presented in this book will seem familiar to those who followed Walzer and his critics over the years, most offer an original and fresh perspective. In addition, Walzer's responses often highlight interesting connections between different contributions – such as Miller's and Levy's separate arguments that Walzer's multiculturalism undercuts his other theoretical commitments – namely, shared understandings of distributive justice and state sovereignty, respectively.

The book is not without flaws. The contributions vary in quality, and at times the attempt to group different articles in a section under a unifying theme seems forced, and Honig's and Kateb's contributions seem to me especially out of place. It would also have been interesting to read some reference to Walzer's contribution to realist political theory – e.g. his theory of the problem of dirty hands in politics, which is all too often eclipsed by his contributions to international relations theory. These relatively minor points do not detract from the value of this book, which will be useful to those familiar with Walzer's thought as much as to those new to it.

Lior Erez
(University College London)

Violence: Thinking without Banisters by **Richard J. Bernstein**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013. 228pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 7064 5

This book discusses the key ideas about violence put forward by five major political thinkers: Carl Schmitt, Walter Benjamin, Hannah Arendt, Frantz Fanon and Jan Assmann. 'Thinking without banisters' – a phrase of

Arendt's – is used as the subtitle of this book and expresses the trailblazing ideas about violence propounded by these thinkers, showing the great variety of their thinking on this topic. The first five chapters take each writer in turn, each outlining their historical contexts, their respective influences on the other thinkers, and the author's reflection on the strengths and weaknesses of their views for understanding violence in the world today. Richard Bernstein emphasises Schmitt's concept of violence as a 'normative-moral' issue, Benjamin's 'divine violence' as an alternative way of acting violently that comes up with a responsibility for the consequences of such an action, Arendt's 'revolutionary spirit' and Fanon's anti-colonial system as an exception for justifying violence, as well as Assmann's 'revolutionary monotheism' as potential religious violence which is different from political violence. The last chapter compares these concepts of violence in terms of three issues: the endurance and protean quality of violence, the limits of violence, and the justifications of violence (and non-violence) in politics.

Although this book deals with complicated philosophical thought, it is nonetheless easy to read and provides an excellent contribution towards our understanding of the concepts of violence in five key thinkers. It is interesting that, of these five thinkers, four have a common personal experience in Germany during the First World War to the rise of Hitler and the Nazis, which seems to become significant in Bernstein's selection. Bernstein also engages in a dialogue with other commentators on the writers under discussion – e.g. Gabriella Slomp, Judith Butler, Jacques Derrida and Simon Critchley – that develops a powerful argument in his writing.

This book succeeds in its goal of outlining frameworks to understand violent conflict in our time – e.g. the American intervention in Iraq to depose Saddam Hussein. It also provokes its readers to ponder afresh common justifications of violence that are sometimes abused. It is a pity that Bernstein does not devote more space to comparative analysis of the thinkers. All the same, the individual studies cohere fairly well and anyone wishing to gain some familiarity with the thinking of any of these philosophers on violence would do well to consult them.

Yared Akarapattananukul
(University of Nottingham)

Explaining Norms by **Geoffrey Brennan, Lina Eriksson, Robert E. Goodwin and Nicholas Southwood**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 290pp., £35.00, ISBN 9780199654680

Brennan *et al.* have sought to explain norms. They are not concerned with the question of whether particular norms are ‘objectively valid’; rather, they investigate norms through their socio-normative and socio-empirical elements – i.e. looking to the proscribing nature of empirically existing norms. The norms that are the subject of this book are thus in an important, anthropological sense ‘real’. Therefore, those in search of moral philosophy should look elsewhere. As a mixed group of philosophers and social scientists, the authors are serving up a fusion recipe. All four have interests in political theory, something made apparent in the many examples and in their account of norms as securing accountability. The book is only superficially about ‘philosophy of social science’: here you will find careful, analytic consideration of a social phenomenon – not epistemic navel-gazing.

The book is presented in three sections. Part I is the authors’ attempt at *defining* norms. This is the most opinionated section of the book. The authors situate their account along two theoretical axes: between accounts that reduce the acceptance of norms to purely non-normative elements and those which do not; and between accounts that claim that norm-acceptance means acceptance by a group of individuals and more holistic accounts. The authors note that views tend to be either ‘holistic and non-reductive’ or ‘individualistic and reductive’, and they attempt an individualistic and non-reductive account. Parts II and III are more interpretive. Part II looks at how norms develop, persist and change. Brennan *et al.* identify rational choice and ‘social meanings’ as two broadly contrasting types of explanation. Although that chapter does not really satisfy in terms of grappling with where norms come from, the rest of the stages of development are carefully systematised. The empirically minded among us ought not to expect too much by way of data, though. Part III explores how norms are manifested in the way people behave. The authors recognise that norms not only shape compliance, but also rebellion. Furthermore, norms affect (and partly constitute) how we *think* about the world.

Brennan *et al.* state that they want *Explaining Norms* to function as a ‘source book’ and thus maintain an

‘insistently modular’ approach rather than forcing their opinions ‘down anyone’s throat’ (p. 10). In fact, most of Part I and parts of the rest of the book follow a familiarly polemical style. That being said, the typologies created in characterising opposing views are clean and useful. In any case, there is nothing wrong with being disputatious.

Tom Theuns
(Institut d’études politiques de Paris)

Dispossession: The Performative in the Political by **Judith Butler and Athena Athanasiou**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013. 211pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 5381 5

Dispossession: The Performative in the Political provides a timely reflection on some of the enduring socio-cultural and psychological effects engendered by global neoliberal politics, and the mass political activism that has arisen over the past few years (ostensibly in response). Guiding this reflection is the eponymous concept ‘dispossession’, which Judith Butler and Athena Athanasiou attempt to unpack in a way that eludes the phallogocentric confines of possessive individualism and possessive nationalism.

As the authors see it, ‘dispossession’ can be understood in two ways: first, as ‘a term that marks the limits of self-sufficiency and that establishes us as relational and interdependent beings’; and, second, ‘as what happens when populations lose their land, their citizenship, their means of livelihood, and become subject to [epistemic,] military and legal violence’ (pp. 3 and 26). Dispossession in the first sense expresses a familiar idea of Butler’s – i.e. that we are (at least in part) socially and historically constituted and exist in a condition of relationality, ‘partially given and partially crafted’ (p. 53). The second form denotes the subjugation, privation, violent interpellation and instrumentalisation of bodies, and the spatial-material seizure characteristic of neoliberal governmentality. It is this second form, however, that also sets the scene for political responsiveness. Scattered throughout the work are examples meant to demonstrate how dispossession operates along this ‘double valence’ – including the Israel/Palestine conflict, the film *Strella*, the resistance of Rosa Parks and the Occupy movement. Unfortunately, these relevant and potentially compelling examples are rarely given the depth of consideration they warrant.

This cursory treatment may have something to do with *Dispossession's* general format, which is comprised of several 'conversations', topically demarcated by chapters that unfold in something of an epistolary style. This is effective when Butler and Athanasiou push one another for clarification and further explication. At times, however, Athanasiou can read like an exaggerated rendition of her co-author – heavily relying on Butler's conceptual lexicon and methodological approach, and even adopting her distinctive prose style. This leads to the uncanny feeling of reading a conversation taking place within Butler's own mind. This problem is perhaps exacerbated by the fact that Butler does not tread much new ground herself – readers familiar with her treatment of 'performativity' and 'precarity' will find these concepts doing significant work in the present volume. The philosophical and stylistic congruence of the co-authors results in a conversation that lacks much (if any) sustained critical exchange or dissent, leaving the reader to wonder what is gained from reading the two together.

Ross A. Mittiga
(University of Virginia)

On Resistance: A Philosophy of Defiance by **Howard Caygill**. London: Bloomsbury, 2013. 251pp., £20.00, ISBN 9781472522580

Howard Caygill signs his text 'Athens, July 2013'. An appropriate signature, for the anti-capitalist left in Greece, in protesting against austerity measures and demonstrating against the far-right Golden Dawn, has of late exemplified the form of politics Caygill hopes to examine. Between 'Occupy!', the Arab Spring and the vast disclosure of classified material by Wikileaks and Edward Snowden, recent years have been coloured by such a politics of resistance, and yet until now few systematic studies have tackled the subject in adequate detail.

On Resistance opens with a highly original reading of Clausewitz, whose 'renown as a strategist and theorist of war', Caygill argues, 'has obscured [his] debt to critical philosophy' (p. 17). Instead, *On War* should be understood as a Kantian reflection upon resistance against Napoleonic warfare. This insight acts as a *motif* throughout the text, searching to

answer the question of 'whether resistance can ever be noble, or if it is always reactive and tainted by *ressentiment*' (p. 37). The five chapters are thematically grouped into two sections: Chapters 1 to 3 each engage with a dimension of the politics of resistance – consciousness, violence and subjectivity – while Chapters 4 and 5 bring resistance into context, at which point the text opens out. Chapter 4 discusses resistance to the Nazi occupation and the forms of biopolitical governance that have grown from it, while Chapter 5 closes with a discussion of contemporary practices of resistance (of particular interest is Caygill's discussion of the internet as a virtual network, as a crucial site of resistance).

The breadth of the study is striking, and the manner in which the author weaves together an array of philosophers, film makers and activists into a coherent narrative is compelling. Nevertheless, the extent of the literature drawn upon in a book a little over 200 pages long leaves a few areas sold short. Caygill's discussion of Arendt in Chapter 4, for example, is overly dismissive, for 'her account of total domination excludes resistance by definition' (p. 152). While Arendt does argue that totalitarianism is the closure of the space to act, elsewhere she has proven to be one of the twentieth century's greatest theorists of political action. Indeed, her thoughts on the fragility and unpredictability of action are reflected in Caygill's own sensitivity to the dangers of co-optation as violence elides into brutality. Despite this, the text remains a fascinating and timely contribution that escapes the dangers of philosophy, remaining constantly aware of the *practice* of resistance.

Adam Lindsay
(University of Nottingham)

The Lessons of Rancière by **Samuel A. Chambers**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 223pp., £22.50, ISBN 978 0 19 992721 0

Samuel Chambers' book on the French philosopher Jacques Rancière not only expands on Rancière's ideas on subjects that have not been dealt with sufficiently by Rancière himself, but also engages in a serious debate with the existing secondary literature on Rancière. In an attempt to stress the difference between liberal politics and democratic politics in

Rancière's thought, Chambers elaborates on the epistemological and (non-)ontological arguments of Rancière and provides an extensive clarification of notions of 'police', 'politics', 'equality' and 'literarity'.

The polemical style of the book, which according to Chambers is borrowed from Rancière, helps the argumentative purposes not only against other understandings of Rancière's notions of 'police', 'politics' or 'equality' found in the secondary literature, but also helps Chambers in his application of a *torsional force* to Rancière's work (p. 89). On the one hand, Chambers deals extensively with issues such as the dichotomy between the police and politics, 'pure politics' and the difference between Hannah Arendt and Rancière, and the importance of a non-ontological understanding of Rancière's thought. All this is done in the first two chapters so as to clarify Rancière's political arguments. On the other hand, in Chapters 3 and 4, Chambers gives Rancière's work his own twist by first arguing for the centrality of the notion of 'literarity' in Rancière's thought, and second by reflecting on the meaning of Rancière's work for the tradition of critical theory. In the Afterword, Chambers points towards the resemblances between Rancière's democratic politics and queer politics.

Chamber's presentation of a non-ontologically grounded democratic politics offers us some noteworthy insights towards liberal politics. This timely reflection radically redefines our understanding of *politics* – in strict relation to *police* – and democracy, by linking these two notions to those of *equality* and *literarity*. However, the discussion regarding Rancière's political arguments not being ontologically grounded stays rather underdeveloped. Instead of engaging thoroughly with the characteristics of a non-ontological account of political thinking, Chambers leaves it as only a claim, even when his discussion of 'literarity' and 'excess of words' comes very close to an ontological base for his own explanation of the condition of possibility for politics to appear.

All in all, *The Lessons of Rancière* is a skilfully written book which offers both an introductory reading to Rancière's political arguments and a source of well-reasoned arguments on the democratic politics he inspired.

Onur Yildiz
(University of Essex)

Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics by **Kanchan Chandra (ed.)**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 500pp., £27.50, ISBN 978 0 19 989317 1

Kanchan Chandra, in her edited book, takes the reader through a world of fluid, multiple and endogenous identity shifts among individuals by incorporating constructivism into the study of politics. The book is organised around twelve substantive chapters divided into two parts – one dealing with concepts and the other dealing with models that address the dynamic connections between different concepts related to ethnic identity change. Given the multiple dimensions of ethnic identities in the modern world, Chandra implores us to think beyond the identities that are actually activated in order to study the entire set of potential identities that might have been activated. Eventually the chapters become very meaningful by going beyond the spatial representation of issue dimensions of elections to emphasise electoral politics based on identities. Some aspects have already been studied by Chandra in an earlier work on India, where she claims that voters are motivated to achieve the highest payoff possible if they vote strategically to this end by relying on their ethnic identity. Thus, ethnic categories are intrinsically important because they provide a resource for politicians to rely upon in order to target voters for inclusion in the winning electoral outcomes, and electoral mobilisation is therefore a mode of negotiation used by marginal groups.

This volume is an ambitious work around the dynamics and complexities of ethnic groups worldwide, which have become a major focus of scholarly work since the end of the Cold War. It is difficult to analyse what is broadly called ethnic violence when questions of migration, refugees and state disintegration are politically charged. This book therefore represents an outstanding collective effort that combines careful analysis of unique data with conceptualisation and imaginative interpretations. These accounts argue that individuals possess multiple ethnic identities whose salience varies with the context within which they find themselves. Its corollary – that societies contain multiple ethnic demographics – has important lessons in politics, for it explains that ethnic groups are subject to expansion and contraction.

Yet any assessment of a society's ethnic diversity must be open to the challenge of how we can

understand the ways in which the self-understandings of groups crystallise if identities are so fluid in the first place. Identity is a key term for analysing many forms of affiliation, but to view all experiences through the idiom of identity can only give rise to further ambiguity in social and political analysis. Notwithstanding these small criticisms, *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics* is a valuable and well-researched work. It is important in many respects, not least for the editor's efforts to recast our analytical perceptions of the effect of ethnic diversity on democratic stability and on party and electoral systems, among other processes.

Vidhu Verma
(Jawaharlal Nehru University)

A Mind and Its Time: The Development of Isaiah Berlin's Political Thought by Joshua L. Cherniss. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 264pp, £64.00, ISBN: 9780199673261

A Mind and its Time is a timely book amid debates over the scope of political theory in the twenty-first century. Joshua Cherniss fabulously addresses some very pressing questions of political theory by journeying through the spectacular intellectual life of Isaiah Berlin, ranging from philosophical sensitivities to political awareness. Berlin was particularly concerned with concepts and categories, ethics *vis-à-vis* cultural and philosophical diversity, romanticism, anti-metaphysics, anti-idealism, the sense of reality, anti-communism, anti-perfectionism, anti-realism, anti-utopianism, anti-scientism-determinism and anti-managerialism. Being anti-metaphysical, he respected ordinary moral experience (moral individualism) and common-sense empiricism, with further priority given to the historicity of human experience. Further, Berlin focused on rejecting a 'monistic' approach of any kind, thus inclining with humanism and value-pluralism.

Berlin also makes two major contributions to political theory. The first is that not only is value-pluralism important, but it also should not slip into 'radical relativism'. The second is that his work *Two Concepts of Liberty* profoundly tackles the causal dependence and possible foundational difference between negative and positive conceptions of liberty. Berlin does not negate

negative liberty, but routes his individualism through positive liberty. His idea is reflective of a critical response to all those ideas that possess in them tendencies of totalitarianism.

This book perfectly engages researchers who are specifically interested in political theory and the history of ideas with different shades of not only Berlin's thought, but also of historical times. The author finely traverses through influences and contemporaries of Berlin. The advantage of reading this book is that it refreshes our knowledge of the history of ideas, as well as critically looking at those captivating ideas. The author fully succeeds in assimilating numerous ideas and their interplay in one place. Though representative of a certain historical context, these questions of morality, knowledge, society, culture, politics and, most importantly, human freedom are all the more pertinent to our times.

The book certainly opens up new debates – e.g. the manner in which we ought to understand how positive liberty achieves human freedom and moral individualism when we are all subsumed into various collective wholes. Yet Berlin's anti-communist stance need not be treated as sacrosanct; and it raises various questions amid the widespread feeling of the 'triumph of democratic capitalism'. Nonetheless, the style adopted in the book is very lucid and enjoyable, even though it is fully loaded with ideas. One can get a real good glance at this predominant aspect of Western political thought.

C. Upendra
(Indian Institute of Technology Indore)

Mill and Paternalism by Gregory Claeys. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. 262pp., £60.00, ISBN 978-0521761086

This book offers a fresh reading of J. S. Mill's moral, social and political philosophy, and invites us to reflect on a 'largely neglected and/or misunderstood' strand of his theorisation of liberty – the strand towards paternalism (p. 14). Gregory Claeys sheds new light on Mill's understanding of liberty, equality, self-regarding and non-self-regarding acts, and the scope of state intervention as he takes into account the dimensions of the common good and of the attainment of virtuous

life in Mill's philosophical discourse. Claeys also warns against unhistorical and stereotypical analyses of Mill's work, and shows that contextualising Mill and revisiting the corpus of his writings would reveal a more comprehensive picture of his philosophy. Mill combined a commitment to liberty with a profound concern for social justice, and for individual and collective well-being. The realisation of these ethico-social goals requires a type of 'paternalism' and some restraint on freedom that would generate a finer balance of liberty, equality and happiness in the long term.

Crucial to Mill's theory of freedom is his encounter with socialism, Malthusianism and feminism. In addition, education is the tool for achieving a variety of noble targets: a more equal and just society, a reasonable family size and gender equality. With respect to socialism, Mill's approach is rather complex. He supported land reform, worker-managed cooperative industry and restrictions on inheritance, yet he considered 'the dangers and limitations of certain strands of existing socialist thought' (p. 128). For Claeys, the important aspects of Mill's brand of socialism are the ideals of egalitarianism and of radical meritocracy. Concerning the problem of overpopulation, Mill viewed irresponsible breeding as an obstacle to individual well-being and to the greatest happiness, and he 'firmly believed that no unlimited right of procreation existed' (p. 219). Female enfranchisement was paramount for tackling overpopulation, for it would empower women by giving them control over their destinies as well as a voice in the public domain. Mill's discourse on feminism deserves serious attention because it encompasses liberty, equality, individuality and the common good, and reflects the ideals of cooperation, mutual respect and equal association – the ingredients of a good life.

Mill scholars, intellectual historians and anyone interested in social and political philosophy would enjoy reading this book. Claeys prompts us to rethink received interpretations of Mill's theory of liberty, and shows that the history of political thought is not only an inexhaustible, but also a fascinating field of study that can enrich our political understanding and make us wiser citizens.

Stamatoula Panagakou
(University of Cyprus)

The Fragility of Things: Self-Organizing Processes, Neoliberal Fantasies and Democratic Activism by **William E. Connolly**. Crowhurst: Duke University Press, 2013. 240pp., £14.99, ISBN 978-0822355847

For many years, William E. Connolly has been a central voice within Anglo-American political theory. *The Fragility of Things: Self-Organizing Processes, Neoliberal Fantasies and Democratic Activism* continues the development of his distinctive perspective, furthering the core themes (e.g. complexity/becoming, neoliberal-evangelical hegemony and pluralistic micro-politics) of Connolly's most recent work. Despite its problems, the result is an original contribution relevant to both avid followers of his work and those concerned with the nature of contemporary politics and political theory.

In Connolly's words, this work is 'an assemblage of elements that lean upon and infuse each other, but they neither fuse together into a tight system nor express a dialectical dynamic' (p. 12). While multiple in its intentions, the basic project is to attend to the fragility of things; to 'render us more sensitive to a variety of nonhuman forcefields that impinge upon politico-economic life as it too impinges upon the forcefields. It seeks to *extend* our political and cosmic sensibilities' (p. 9). Through four chapters and four interludes, Connolly seeks to sensitise us to the contemporary conditions of politics, which he broadly construes as fragile and creative, to intervene in the dominant forms of culture and politics that exclude recognition of these conditions, and to outline the preliminary form of a democratic activism to oppose these dynamics through weaving fragility into the heart of its existential ethos.

In reality, though, there are two concurrent projects running alongside each other in this work whose connection to each other is never totally clarified. First, Connolly offers a situated analysis of neoliberal public ideology, its effects on contemporary politics and possible avenues of resistance. This is Connolly at his strongest. The reading of Hayek he offers in Chapter 2 picks at the tensions within the latter's thought, exposing its assumptions of market rationality and its dependence on a neoliberal public ideology. Second, alongside this there is a continuing and deeper articulation of Connolly's cosmology of fragility and

becoming. However, while there are intuitive connections between the two throughout, there is no developed connection between his cosmology of fragility and his critique of neoliberal politics. Many of the details of self-organising processes and process thought seem to have little analytic value for the critique of neoliberalism. They seem rather to present a continuing exploration of Connolly's own 'ontocosmology' (p. 9). The result of this tension is that while this text is an innovative and enjoyable contribution to the recent speculative and materialist turns in political theory, its advances over Connolly's previous books seem limited.

Clayton Chin
(Queen Mary University of London)

New Spirits of Capitalism? Crises, Justifications and Dynamics by **Paul du Gay and Glenn Morgan (eds)**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. xi+328pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 19 959534 1

This edited book's title refers to Luc Boltanski and Ève Chiapello's now classic book, *Le Nouvel esprit du capitalisme* (Gallimard, 1999). Originally, these two French sociologists explained how capitalism found new moral justifications that were neither economic nor financial in order to make individuals willingly adopt its logics and values. They also showed how capitalist agents cleverly assimilated criticism into (apparently) new formulas that included responses to opposing claims of injustice, thereby providing justifications and seemingly new forms (or new formulations) that in fact did not change capitalism's fundamental content or goals.

Appearing fourteen years after the original publication of that work, *New Spirits of Capitalism? Crises, Justifications and Dynamics* includes thirteen recently commissioned essays about the new justifications of neoliberalism in the twenty-first century, analysing a variety of topics from financial markets to public management. Boltanski and Chiapello's groundbreaking book is discussed, adapted, prolonged, transposed and sometimes criticised because of their 'conceiving of capitalism as a disembedded system populated by reified firms and markets' (see Chapter 5, p. 120). Chapters 5 and 6 with their critiques are, however, much less rewarding than reading essays that propose newer directions and applications. Boltanski himself contrib-

utes a chapter, which situates the specificity of French sociology within the works of Émile Durkheim, post-Marxist sociologists and Pierre Bourdieu (p. 43 and *passim*).

Among various examples, the ecological critique targets polluters and even attacks some apostles of sustainable development, which too often seeks profits and promotes 'accumulation and consumption' instead of aiming for 'quality of life' and addressing poverty (p. 117). Elsewhere, reflecting on 'academic capitalism', Kathia Serrano-Velarde gives an efficient formula that synthesises the dynamics of capitalism: 'By responding to a given critique, capitalist agents internalize the moral repertoire of their opponents, thereby contributing to the evolution and consolidation of the power base of capitalism' (p. 254). Other chapters avoid the theoretical discussion to provide some ethnographical case studies in the workplace, focusing on the most vulnerable workers who seem to be successful according to 'external parameters like career, status, and opportunities' (see Chapter 13, p. 311).

While it is not an absolute prerequisite to have read the original *New Spirit of Capitalism* (Chapters 1 and 11 provide good abstracts), scholars and graduate students will find in the current work some rigorous theoretical and conceptual tools for a critique of twenty-first-century capitalism, neoliberalism and their logics. Both books are important for sociologists, economists and political scientists who want a counter-attack to these dominant ideologies.

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

New Agendas in Statebuilding: Hybridity, Contingency and History by **Robert Egnell and Peter Haldén (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 284pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0 41566 071 6

Robert Egnell and Peter Haldén rightly claim that the theoretical and practical understanding of statebuilding remains insufficient. Despite the wide agreement on the difficult and complex nature of statebuilding, practitioners retreat into simplified and technocratic approaches, while the academic field has been ailing from limited historical and theoretical input. The editors intend to address this gap by inviting a hetero-

geneous group of scholars to 'broaden and deepen the field' of statebuilding in eleven chapters, divided into theoretical, historical and strategic sections.

One of the underlying notions of this book is the confusion of the socio-political process of state formation with the Weberian ideal. The latter has to be understood as a product of a unique Western European process contingent on a variety of factors. The book references historical experiences and contemporary cases of state formation to highlight necessary conditions and the improbability of similar developments. It also draws on theory to better understand how states function, particularly in conjunction with wider society. In Chapter 3, Peter Haldén builds on the figurational sociology of Norbert Elias to stress the point that states are dependent on the wider region and that statebuilding should, consequently, engage in building systems of functioning states. In Chapter 5, Lee Jones derives an alternative perspective on statebuilding from Gramscian state theory, which sees the state as 'not the result of a rational design, but the outcome of compromises struck between social forces' (p. 71). But it is Roger MacGinty who introduces the most prevalent concept of the book. Arguing against the existence of pure forms of the state and separate issue areas, he stresses 'the dynamic nature of interplay' through the proposed lens of 'Hybridity' (p. 13). Because there are 'no blank slates or fresh starts', MacGinty urges that more attention should be paid to existing contextual realities (p. 25). Empirical chapters on Somalia, sixteenth-century Sweden and Afghanistan subsequently substantiate the concept of 'Hybridity'.

The editors succeed in identifying shortcomings of contemporary statebuilding and in stimulating further debate. However, while they commend the integration of theoretical and empirical elements in all chapters, this approach sometimes reduces the focus, particularly in Chapters 2 and 3. More fundamentally, the book remains within the premise that intervention is necessary and the authors content themselves with asking how this should be done. Considering the critical perspective and the recognition of the deep flaws of the current statebuilding framework, the reader would expect more structural analysis and a discussion of the inherent implications for current practice.

Janosch Kullenberg
(University of Bremen/Jacobs University)

Bourdieu and Historical Analysis by Philip S. Gorski (ed.). Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013. 422pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 8223 5273 0

Twelve years after his death, Pierre Bourdieu is still one of the most renowned and pioneering sociologists in the public imagination. However, although widely cited, within Anglophone academia at least, he is often regarded, mistakenly, as a theorist mainly concerned with the reproduction of practices and social order, overlooking his abundant work on the historical processes of his day. According to Philip Gorski this is because of a skewed reading of Bourdieu's *oeuvre*, centred chiefly on *La Distinction*. In contrast, in the French-speaking world, Gorski argues, there is greater awareness of the Bourdieusian preoccupation with social change. *Bourdieu and Historical Analysis* attempts to correct this imbalance and to understand his sociology once again, in Bourdieu's own words, as a 'social history of the present'.

The book collects pieces from several key commentators on Bourdieu, including figures of the standing of David Swartz, Craig Calhoun, Charles Camic, Robert Nye, Gil Eyal, Gisèle Sapiro and Gorski himself, to mention but a few. Its pages are divided into three sections. The first revisits Bourdieu's intellectual career and theoretical framework, discussing extensively the diachronic dimension of his concepts of 'field', 'capital' and 'habitus'. A subsequent section elaborates on Bourdieu's theory (e.g. though Eyal's 'spaces within fields' and Camic's critique of Bourdieu's two sociologies of knowledge) and links it to other traditions, such as rational choice, democratic theory and psychoanalysis. A final section concerns the application of Bourdieu's thought to concrete circumstances, including the welfare state, nationalism, gender relations, literature and sport.

In this sense, this is an effort to bring Bourdieu closer to history in two ways: by displaying how his sociology of practice also contains an awareness of instability – mostly by highlighting Bourdieu's sensitivity to the contingent character of fields, habituses and capitals, marred with tensions from within and without – and by employing this sociology as an effective set of historical methods, with varying results. To accomplish this, Gorski *et al.* not only need to explore attentively Bourdieu's most well-

known concepts, but also – given that we talk of changes in the perceptions and practices of situated actors – engage with his sociology of knowledge. Thus, apart from a thorough, albeit sometimes loosely connected, introduction to Bourdieu's thought with an emphasis on history, this volume is an enriching read for historians and sociologists preoccupied with understanding intellectual change *vis-à-vis* rapid social transformations and crises. It is hard to imagine anything more pertinent.

Marcos Gonzalez Hernando
(University of Cambridge)

The Challenge of Rousseau by **Eve Grace and Christopher Kelly (eds)**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. 330pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 1,107 01828 0

Presented in celebration of both the 300th anniversary of Rousseau's birth and the 250th anniversary of the publication of his *Émile* and *Social Contract*, this edited volume constitutes a substantial intervention from respected Rousseau scholars from both sides of the Atlantic. Its editors' stated aim is to 'demonstrate Rousseau's status as a thinker by attending to his treatment of important philosophical issues and by exploring his engagement with the ideas of other major thinkers' (p. 2). Each of the chapters collected here contributes to the achievement of that goal with a combination of philosophical adroitness, historical erudition and stylistic lucidity. This volume is therefore of great value to scholars whose interests lie anywhere under the rubric of 'Rousseau studies' broadly conceived, and it will be of particular interest to those sympathetic to the image of Rousseau as a profound 'philosopher', for which it argues forcefully.

It is fitting that this book includes a re-publication of Leo Strauss' 'On the Intention of Rousseau' (Chapter 6), for there has been perhaps no greater exponent of Rousseau's penetrating insight and historical importance than Strauss. In many ways, Strauss' work provides this collection with its centre of gravity. In addition to Victor Gourevitch's excellent analysis (Chapter 7), themes from Strauss' Rousseau studies recur here: the *aporias* between biblical revelation and radical freedom (Chapter 8); the fundamental distinction between theology and philosophy (Chapter 9); Rousseau's esoteric

intentions (Chapter 10); his vision of liberal education (Chapter 12); and his attempt to present a new teleology of nature on the foundation of modern natural science (Chapter 13). Many years after the publication of *The Legacy of Rousseau* (1997, edited by Clifford Orwin and Nathan Tarcov) then, here we see that the legacy of Strauss' Rousseau is no less formidable.

Whether penned by scholars officially signed up to the Straussian project or not, several chapters stand out as helpfully elucidating areas of investigation that will reward further study. Bruno Bernardi's fascinating work on Rousseau's scientific writings is introduced to an Anglophone audience (Chapter 3); Ryan Hanley explores Rousseau's economic thought (Chapter 2); Terence Marshall presents Rousseau as a thinker seriously concerned with questions of epistemology (Chapter 5), and Pamela Jensen draws attention to the importance of the concept of 'public opinion' to Rousseau's political thought (Chapter 11).

Overall, this book indeed provides 'new occasions and inspires new motives to learn from Rousseau' (p. 15); it should be read carefully and charitably.

Jared Holley
(University of Chicago)

Richard Rorty: From Pragmatist Philosophy to Cultural Politics by **Alexander Gröschner, Colin Koopman and Mike Sandbothe (eds)**. London: Bloomsbury, 2013. 224pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 1441154262

There is a risk after the death of a philosopher that further engagement with their work will slip into sentimental legacy publications and re-articulations of well-worn positions. However, *Richard Rorty: From Pragmatist Philosophy to Cultural Politics* avoids this tendency in contemporary Rorty scholarship. Arguing that his thought can uniquely serve as a 'public terrain' (p. x) for contemporary thought, this critical volume edited by Alexander Gröschner, Colin Koopman and Mike Sandbothe brings together veterans of Rorty criticism (Jürgen Habermas, Robert Brandom, Bjørn Ramberg, Richard Shusterman), emerging Rorty scholars (Colin Koopman, Christopher Voparil) and interdisciplinary uses of Rorty's work (Susan Dieleman, Saskia Sassen, Esa Saarinen). The result is a deep examination of Rorty's thought and its future potential.

This volume confronts Rorty's work in light of his final book of philosophical papers, *Philosophy as Cultural Politics*, and its title concept – both of which have escaped significant critical attention. The outcome is a genuine enquiry into the central question of his work: the metaphilosophical concern with what philosophy is and should be. Thus, where Habermas', Brandom's, and Ramberg's established readings are developed by Rorty's strong emphasis on cultural and social categories in that volume, Koopman and Voparil powerfully argue for the centrality of this conception of cultural criticism throughout Rorty's work. Finally, the remaining entries illustrate the real potentialities of Rorty's cultural philosophy in areas ranging from feminism to post-national citizenship. The strength of the volume under review is this simultaneous unity and plurality. It offers both canonical and novel cohesive interpretations of Rorty's entire thought and reveals some of the diverse areas where it can be specifically employed. This represents a new wave of criticism that emphasises Rorty's positive role for philosophy over the end-of-philosophy polemic. In this way, this volume is both an introduction to and a furthering of Rorty's work.

The weakness here is a tendency to remain isolated within pragmatist debates. This volume does too little to engage Rorty's later philosophical project with contemporary debates in philosophy and political theory. Rorty tore down philosophical barriers. While this volume engages with and even theorises that project further, it refrains from connecting Rorty's thought with other answers to that metaphilosophical question (e.g. post-analytic thought, recent Continental philosophy, Critical Theory). Nonetheless, this remains an essential volume for engaging with Rorty's work; whether as an initial enquiry or a continuing conversation, it has much to offer on both Rorty's project and his relevance to social and political life.

Clayton Chin
(Queen Mary University of London)

Karl Marx: An Intellectual Biography (Trans. Bernard Heise) by **Rolf Hosfeld**. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013. 190pp., £18.00, ISBN 9 780857 457424

Rolf Hosfeld's book on Marx was published to acclaim in Germany in 2009, and has now been ably

translated for the English-reading market by Bernard Heise. In a compact span it presents an intellectual biography, dividing roughly into Marx's philosophical development from the Young Hegelian School, his engagement with the revolutions of 1848, his economic studies, and finally a coda on his influence on both German social democracy and Soviet communism.

Hosfeld argues that Marx's thought never entirely escaped its origins in the theological concerns of Young Hegelianism. He developed a kind of inverted theology. If individual free will could not be reconciled with society and nature through the Absolute of God, then it fell to politics to achieve this. Marx's socialism diverged from liberalism when he concluded that state and civil society could not be successfully mediated. Revolution was required to collapse both market and state into a harmonious association of producers cooperating by plan. Marx fixed upon the wage-earning proletariat because it had no hope of salvation through private property. For workers, the only alternative to alienating control of the integrated means of production to the capitalist was collective ownership. For Hosfeld, Marx's insistence on the self-emancipation of the workers was sincerely meant, but also the 'Achilles' heel' of his system. Lenin more clearly realised, in *What Is To Be Done* (1902), that workers were by nature non-revolutionary (Hosfeld does not take into account Lars T. Lih's 2008 demolition job on this interpretation of Lenin).

Hosfeld is generally unimpressed by Marx's abstract treatment of concrete political institutions. He rejects rather airily Marx's argument that the modern deficit-financed state is inexorably subordinated to capitalist interests – a curious dismissal given the impact of the sovereign debt crisis these last few years. Hosfeld also makes the dubious assertion that Marx had a developed theory of capitalist crisis, though he presents two candidates for this: credit malfunction leading to speculative busts in the financial markets, on the one hand, and the inability of workers to buy back their product, on the other. There are some misfires elsewhere. Marx certainly didn't believe that the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' meant 'a purely educational dictatorship' (p. 47). Overall, Hosfeld is disdainful of Marx's antinomies and high polemical style, which he disapprovingly likens to George Grosz's art. This important book

perhaps makes too much of the intellectual, too little of the revolutionary in Marx.

Marc Mulholland
(St Catherine's College, University of Oxford)

The Future and Its Enemies: In Defence of Political Hope by **Daniel Innerarity**. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012. 160pp., £19.95, ISBN 978-0804775571

This short book has grand ambitions. It sets out to provide a new theory of social time – of how society relates to its future. It starts from the plausible belief that contemporary democracies insufficiently conceive of and plan for the future and that much of their limited collective rationality stems from this cognitive failure (p. 1). A broadening of democracies' temporal horizons 'is one of our most basic moral and political imperatives' (p. 13). Daniel Innerarity argues that democratic decision making is too short-termist and refuses to assume responsibility for thinking about the future, let alone sensibly planning for it. A new type of politics is therefore needed, one that views politics as 'a space celebrating the provisional, the experimental, and recognized discord' (p. 104). In the author's view, a more progressive politics ought to involve a systemic attempt to cope with uncertainties related to future contingencies, e.g. through more bottom-up and inclusive forms of governance.

The author ably surveys a rich literature on the role of time in governance and planning in an erudite, pleasant-to-read style of grand social theorising not unlike that of recent books by Zygmunt Bauman. This includes successive chapters, each framed as developing 'a theory' of acceleration, future studies, decision, political contingency, responsibility, and so on. Highlights include an interesting social-theoretical discussion of the plural timescapes of contemporary democracy – the time of religion, of technology, or of law being very different from economic, political or ecological time. But the book's main problem lies in the at once highly normative and highly general, sometimes borderline common-sensical, nature of many of its claims. This is illustrated in the countless instances where the arguments are framed in 'we must', 'we need' or 'there should be' language.

The Future and Its Enemies sees politics as both the problem with and the solution to the tyranny of the present in governance. Yet it contains no sustained engagement with politics as it is (and varies). There is little discussion of the various distributive tradeoffs and logics involved in real-world politics, or of the competing and often myopic interests of different sets of political actors. The high degree of wishful thinking is framed at the end of the book as a 'reasonable hope' that 'we' might learn to treat 'our' future 'reasonably and beneficially' (pp. 123–4). Even while acknowledging the value of ideal-typical and normative arguments in setting benchmarks for democracy, these are flimsy foundations upon which to build a future-oriented theory of politics.

Pieter Vanhuyse
(European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research,
Vienna)

The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Social Science by **Harold Kincaid (ed.)**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 696pp., £90.00, ISBN 9780195392753

The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Social Science addresses important developments in philosophical and methodological issues over the last few decades. Rather than outlining changes, the contributors delineate the frameworks and issues that motivate the philosophy of social science. The volume is divided into five parts. Part I 'Mechanisms, Explanation and Causation' takes into account the current debates over the micro-foundation in research. Part II 'Evidence' addresses evidence from Duhemian principles and Bayesian statistics in social science. Part III 'Norms, Culture and the Social-Psychological' discusses the norms and culture in social philosophy; while Parts IV and V contribute to 'Sociology of Knowledge' and 'Normative Connections', respectively.

To take one chapter in detail, Chapter 4 by David Waldner on process tracing and causal mechanisms paints a consistent picture of the validity and utility of the process-tracing method. Here Waldner defines process tracing as a mode of causal inference based on concatenation, not covariation (p. 68). To identify the causal relationship requires a link between cause and effect. This can be done by using time-series

data, and by making repeated observations of two or more variables in one unit. It is remarkable that Waldner not only examines process tracing, but also makes a close affinity with causal mechanism-based explanations. In this view, mechanisms are types of causal laws including third variables and probabilistic laws (p. 72). He admits that process tracing works with heterogeneous extended causal chains to create a large quantity of causal inferences. It is evident that process tracing cannot extend causal chains and that it omits multiple causal inferences. Although Waldner outlines the main elements of process tracing, the analysis remains on a general level. Consequently, it is unclear how readers can use the method in practice. Utilising this method, its founder, Andrew Bennett, draws a detailed analysis regarding how to test different hypotheses to establish causations, and how each causal mechanism is examined by suggesting important intervening variables. Nevertheless, as a whole, the volume is comprehensive, and it is an interesting read for students, researchers and scholars of social sciences.

Fatemeh Shayan
(University of Tampere, Finland)

Human Rights as a Way of Life: On Bergson's Political Philosophy by **Alexandre Lefebvre**. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013. 181pp., £22.50, ISBN 978 0 8047 8579 2

By analysing Bergson's moral thinking from a contemporary viewpoint, the book advances a theory of human rights on the basis of self-care. For Bergson, human rights are not purely a political instrument to protect human beings, as currently suggested by Rawls, Nussbaum and Habermas. They are the instrumental consequence of the development of our inner nature (our biological makeup). They are primarily a medium to improve upon, relate to and care for ourselves.

In the first part of the book, Alexandre Lefebvre systematically analyses the main arguments set forward by Bergson in *Two Sources of Morality and Religion*. Bergson challenges the picture of morality in which moral obligation expands from smaller to bigger groups, all the way to morality. This picture is sustained by what he calls 'vener theory', which views morality as a cultural overlay hiding a selfish and brutal

nature. Human rights are then based on social obligations (sociological view of moral progress) or practical reason (rationalism) that extends beyond the closed community. However, war shows us that moral obligations have definite boundaries. These obligations (seen mainly as a compulsion) are limited. They perform an evolutionary function, to ensure social cohesion against internal (*the egoist*) and external (*the enemy*) threats. To oppose the destructive emotions of this closed society, which defines itself in relation to the possibility of war, it is fundamental to develop the essence of human rights: open love.

In the second part, Lefebvre argues that human rights, defined in relation to open love, should be a medium of personal transformation. Formally, human rights' foremost ambition is to produce national legislation in conformity with basic principles that would be adopted by individual subjects as a guide to everyday life. But in their essence, they embody notions of justice, attention and empathy that are not directed to a specific object. They are works of love that initiate us into open love, reminding us that life embodies creativity, simplicity and movement. Love has in these terms a twofold biological grounding: it expresses a vital (survival) function and an innermost tendency of life.

The book's great merit is to introduce a novel approach to human rights studies, one that can eventually account for the fluidity and inconsistencies of the subject. More controversially, but no less stimulating, is Lefebvre's aspiration to introduce 'mysticism' as a procedure for philosophical research on the basis of Bergson's concept of open love. This book will appeal to scholars working on Bergson's moral thinking as well as to those looking for creative alternatives to the mainstream literature on human rights.

Alessandra Sarquis
(Centre de Rationalités Contemporaines
University of Paris IV)

Democratic Statecraft: Political Realism and Popular Power by **J.S. Maloy**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. 236pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 521 14558 9

This book aims to focus on the democratic reason of the state and to rule out some extreme forms of

democratic idealism. In particular, J.S. Maloy investigates both political theories and practical historical and political episodes, and tries to show how the realistic tradition of statecraft has overlapped with democratic theory, and to point out the relevance that concepts like 'interest', 'utility', 'force' and 'power' have had over justice, virtue and idealism in Western democratic thought and practice. In other words, the point the author tries to make consists – in summary – of a criticism of democratic idealism and of the academic approach to this subject, which both fail to appreciate properly the nature and the history of Western democracies that actually have often faced issues more typically related to a realistic approach.

After a brief introduction (Chapter 1) centred on the massacre of the Huguenots in France, a wide range of philosophers and political theorists are taken into account in Chapters 2–4 (from the Sophists to Aristotle, from Machiavelli to Montaigne, from Thucydides to Cicero), plus some references to ancient Greek drama (e.g. Euripides' *Medea*) or even twentieth-century cinema (Roland Joffe's *The Mission*, 1986), in order to distinguish two forms of both political utopianism and pragmatism (moralistic and sceptical) and eventually to narrow the focus onto political realism and popular power in Machiavelli's thought. In Chapters 5 and 6 the author turns to historical case studies, such as Puritanism in New England in the seventeenth century and the Populist movement in the United States in the late nineteenth century.

It is a pity that the book relies excessively on American – or Anglo-American – empirical case studies since representative democracy is a global phenomenon. It would have been really interesting to see how democratic statecraft has worked in other Western countries like France since this would probably have given even stronger evidence to support the author's opinions. Nonetheless, Maloy provides a comprehensive account of Western theories on realism and definitely succeeds in plausibly expounding theoretical and empirical arguments that support the case for a more realistic interpretation of what democracy is and the way it takes place and works. Maloy's book is valuable and highly commendable. It is a useful, well-written and clear text suitable for scholars and researchers in the fields of democratic theory and political realism in particular,

and, more generally, of political philosophy and political science.

Corrado Morricone
(Durham University)

Adam Ferguson in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Roman Past and Europe's Future by Iain McDaniel. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013. 276pp., £29.95, ISBN 978 0 674 07296 1

Iain McDaniel's book on Adam Ferguson tackles the issue of the republican character in liberal political thought after Montesquieu. McDaniel argues that Ferguson is responding to the direction of liberal political thought following Montesquieu's peace and prosperity through commerce teaching. McDaniel highlights Ferguson's emphasis on the importance of military virtue and the need for conflict and contestation to counter and to balance the power of wealth and leisure that commerce leads to. As McDaniel notes, this emphasis on the need for martial virtues and the good of contestation and struggle is more similar to the teaching of Machiavelli and his praise of the spirit of conquest in Rome, than to Montesquieu and his criticism of it and of the ancient republics in general.

McDaniel makes the case that Ferguson fears that the forces of commerce, with its ability to generate such masses of wealth and its creation of a meritocratic status based on wealth generation rather than other virtues needed to maintain a free society, will give the liberal republic a despotic rather than a free character. His doubts about commerce lead him to look towards the teachings from the ancient republics on martial virtue and the means to regulate and constrain (although not eliminate) political strife and aggression. Thus he goes in a direction very much contrary to Montesquieu or other Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, such as Adam Smith and Bernard Mandeville.

McDaniel offers an interpretative challenge as to how one views Ferguson's republicanism. In his interpretation, Ferguson 'repudiated the emphasis on political participation' (p. 5) that exists in most contemporary takes on republicanism following the views of Hannah Arendt. Ferguson's view of republicanism differs from others in that he did not think the transformation of the monarchies into popular republics would have the happy endings most supporters of republics hoped for,

and thus he was no fan of what occurred in France and then spread throughout Europe. Ferguson thought that monarchical government was consistent with the republican political form, and he even thought that it would help offer a counterforce against the forces of commerce and commercial wealth. According to McDaniel's view, Ferguson feared the dark side of popular republicanism and the corrupting forces of commerce, which could lead to a republican despotism with an expansionistic and aggressive character that was destructive to the political liberty of its free neighbours. This picture of Ferguson that McDaniel gives here very much prefigures the warning of democratic despotism that one can find in that other French thinker, Alexis de Tocqueville.

Clifford Angell Bates, Jr
(University of Warsaw)

Multiculturalism by **Tariq Modood**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013. 243pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 6287 9

This second edition of Tariq Modood's *Multiculturalism* explains, in a highly accessible manner, what multiculturalism is, why it is an appropriate response to the cultural and religious 'post-immigration difference' (p. 148) exhibited by democratic states, and how rumours of its recent demise have been greatly exaggerated.

Two new chapters further the theoretical case for multicultural citizenship made in the first edition, and emphasise that multiculturalism is a form of integration (one of four such forms, Modood now asserts, as he adds a discussion of cosmopolitanism absent in the previous edition). In 'The Strange Non-death of Multiculturalism', Modood argues that while a 'rebalancing' (p. 164) of the multiculturalism of the early 1990s may be required to ensure that multicultural policies are not implemented at the expense of a strong national identity, more multiculturalism, not less, is needed to fully integrate minority communities. 'Multiculturalism and "The Crisis of Secularism"' (Chapter 4) fortifies Modood's contention in the first edition that moderate secularism offers the best way to integrate Western Europe's growing Muslim communities.

Modood's larger thesis that multicultural citizenship continues to be a necessary part of the successful

integration of ethnocultural and ethnoreligious minorities is compelling. However, he focuses too much on stressing that multiculturalist theory is not incompatible with, but rather presupposes, a strong sense of (civic) national identity, and too little on demonstrating empirically that multicultural policies have in fact continued apace and have not had the disintegrative effects many critics allege. (Modood's assertion that by consulting with minority group associations, states tacitly accept multiculturalism's sociology and thereby employ multicultural policies is particularly weak: ethnic cleansers, too, admit the social reality and political salience of groups, but they are not multiculturalists.) Another shortcoming is that Modood restricts his discussion to the accommodation of immigrant communities, thereby failing to address the multicultural rights of what Will Kymlicka calls 'national minority' groups, despite the book's major case study – the United Kingdom – comprising four such nations.

Overall, however, Modood's book is to be highly recommended. Its defence of multiculturalism against the charge of essentialism remains perhaps the best discussion of this topic on offer. The book's new chapter on secularism makes a persuasive case that the supposed crises of multiculturalism and secularism are best understood as debates about how to integrate Muslim immigrants. Easily understandable by a general readership and yet philosophically rich, the second edition of *Multiculturalism* is, on the whole, an excellent introduction to the subject.

Matt Watson
(University of Oxford)

On Psychoanalysis by **Paul Ricoeur**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012. 238pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 6124 7

On Psychoanalysis is the first volume in a series that seeks to bring together the essays and lectures of the esteemed French philosopher Paul Ricoeur. This first volume is declared in the introduction by Jean-Louis Schlegel to be the 'prickliest' (p. 3). It brings together Ricoeur's most elusive works, both published and unpublished, spanning several decades. Indeed, the texts presented in this volume are varied, yet collectively they focus on psychoanalysis in relation to *empiricism, culture and narrative*.

The first chapter, 'The Question of Proof in Freud's Analytic Writing', tackles an empirical problem: that 'the question of proof in psychoanalysis is as old as psychoanalysis itself' (p. 11). Psychoanalysis, according to Ricoeur, has failed to be recognised as a legitimate science because it has failed to ask 'preliminary questions' (p. 12) – namely, what counts as a fact in psychoanalysis and what 'types of relations' (p. 12) exist between analytic theory and experience, in its 'double sense' (p. 12) of being both a method of investigation *and* a therapeutic treatment. This argument is revisited throughout the book, particularly in the next chapter, 'Psychoanalysis and Hermeneutics': 'In the end, it is the relationship between theory and empirical fact that determines the status of being an empirical science, which to today only the natural sciences have fully satisfied' (p. 51).

Subsequent chapters discuss equally key, but relatively less empirical, issues related to psychoanalysis. In the chapter 'Psychiatry and Moral Values', Ricoeur argues that the object of psychoanalysis is always 'desires plus culture' (p. 121). The examination of morality here inevitably leads to Oedipus Rex and Ricoeur's recollection of Freud's 'brilliant and decisive' (p. 134) comparison of Oedipus to Shakespeare's Hamlet, where Hamlet's 'thus conscience doth make cowards of us all' is interpreted by Freud as 'his conscience is his unconscious feeling of guilt' (p. 134).

The quality of this book is high, with each chapter demonstrating Ricoeur's inspired observations. Although entitled *On Psychoanalysis*, this book is Freud-centric. Moreover, Ricoeur focuses predominantly on Freud's own works as opposed to subsequent commentaries. Yet this is a strength, showing Ricoeur at his most focused. However, if the reader has also read Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams*, this would make the book more accessible to them.

On Psychoanalysis is aimed squarely at readers educated in psychology who are interested in Ricoeur's thoughts on Freudian psychoanalysis. Its quality should encourage investment in the ensuing volume of Ricoeur's collected essays and lectures entitled *Hermeneutics*.

Mark Rice
(Independent Scholar)

The History of Democracy: A Marxist Interpretation by **Brian S. Roper**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013. 310pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 7453 3189 8

Brian Roper's book offers a Marxist critique of representative democracy combined with a detailed and expansive historical analysis of different forms of democratic rule. The overall aim of the author is to provide an account of the 'transcendence of representative democracy' with the aim of incorporating the best elements of representative democracy in a 'higher, more developed form' – in this case socialist participatory democracy' (p. 12).

All forms of democracy, Roper argues, rest upon specific social and economic infrastructures and can be understood only by an analysis of the underlying socio-economic context (p. 7). *The History of Democracy* provides an analysis of the relation between the ruler and the ruled in different historical periods by taking into consideration the specific form of class struggle and its effects on the form of democratic rule. The first three chapters focus on political rule in Ancient Greece, the Roman Empire and feudal Europe, respectively. An investigation of the socio-political context that underlies the English, American and French revolutions follows. After the analysis of the 1848–9 revolutions in Europe, Chapter 8 provides a detailed account of the rise of capitalism as a distinct socio-economic formation, and Chapter 9 offers a well-summarised account of the Marxist critique of capitalism. The last part of the book explores the emergence of socialist-participatory democracy in two forms: the embryonic form embodied by the Paris Commune, and a developed form embodied by the two Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917.

Roper's attempt to expand the discussion of democracy by including within its scope the relations of exploitation and repression as a platform for criticising the limited account of liberal representative democracy is a noteworthy and necessary discussion for our contemporary world. However, although it is a comprehensive and well-written analysis of historical forms of democratic rule, the book falls short of providing a satisfactory discussion of the theoretical premises of socialist participatory democracy. It focuses primarily on the formal structures of political and socio-economic rule and neglects the different forms of

repression and the structuration of power relations outside the formal political and socio-economic context. The schematic style of the book and the lack of in-depth discussion of the issue of democracy as a theoretical concept prevent the text from being an original discussion.

Notwithstanding the above critique, the book is written in an insightful and accessible way, which makes it suitable for readers within academia as much as general readers who are interested in historical accounts of Marxist political economy.

Onur Yildiz
(University of Essex)

Silence and Concealment in Political Discourse: Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture by **Melani Schröter**. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2013. 216pp., £76.00, ISBN 978 9027206398

Melani Schröter's book treats a paradoxical subject: meaningful and 'communicative' silence. Silence, it is argued, can be studied as a meaningful and communicative phenomenon when it is intentional and likely to give rise to expectations to speak, whose disappointment in turn gives rise to a critical discourse on silence. The book proceeds from assumptions of widespread, shared, cultural valuations of speech, linked to ideals of transparency and openness in Western liberal democracy. In light of these, 'silence and concealment in political discourse becomes a peculiar phenomenon' (p. 1). Schröter draws on Habermasian communicative theory and ethics as well as on critical discourse theory to develop an analytical approach to three case studies in German politics that problematise the 'meta-discourse' about silence. Intention, expectation and relevance delineate the context of research in Schröter's phenomenological approach to silence in politics: 'Metadiscourse reveals a struggle over assigning communicative purpose and intentions to acts of silence and concealment' (p. 8). This study of the construction of political discourse in relation to the media sphere addresses not so much the ways in which we can study questions about agenda-setting, discourse 'hegemony' or how the actuality is produced, but rather the ways in which silence becomes an object of socio-political controversy in contexts assumed to value openness and transparency.

The empirical part consists of two cases of political scandals, whereby attempts at concealment were widely interpreted as purposeful silence, and one case of silence as the conventional communicative strategy of a political actor (Chancellor Angela Merkel). The case studies exemplify the ambiguities and nuances in 'phenomenological silence' – silence spoken about – but they also constitute plausible interpretations of the democratic 'ritual' or 'language game' of holding politicians accountable for their silence. The concluding normative endorsement of ideals of openness and transparency, instrumental in serving as a 'counterfoil against which to check for deviations and to criticise them' (p. 155), seems to justify in retrospect the selection of *these* case studies, but simultaneously it creates some tension: Is this a study of the immanent possibilities for critique and struggle in our democracies, given the regulative role of these ideals and their mismatch with political reality, or, rather, an uncritical celebration of a voluntarist conception of the subject of the 'freedom and will to be critical' (p. 155) which is taken for granted? Schröter's study raises a number of theoretical, methodological and ethico-political issues with which any study of silence would be unavoidably confronted.

Christos Pallas
(University of Essex)

Liberal Realism: A Realist Theory of Liberal Politics by **Matt Sleat**. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013. 184pp., £70.00, ISBN 9780719088902

In Matt Sleat's first monograph he claims that realism is not just 'the latest in a long line of critiques of liberalism', rather it is a 'distinct and compelling form of political theorising in its own right' (p. 71). This book serves to substantiate this claim by providing perhaps the most significant contribution to realist thought since Bernard Williams' posthumously published *In the Beginning was the Deed*.

The majority of the book is dedicated to an interpretation of realist concerns, intertwined with an overview of a wide range of realist-inclined thinkers. The hitherto vague relationship between realism in international relations and realism in political theory is made clear through the incorporation of the ideas of

Hans Morgenthau, E.H. Carr and Reinhold Niebuhr into the canon of political realism.

Sleat takes the core realist belief to be that disagreement, not only about morality, but also about politics and legitimacy, is both endemic and permanent. Once liberalism has discarded its vision of consensus politics and the resultant theory of legitimacy, its 'central normative commitment to being a non-oppressive form of political association has to be abandoned also' (p. 81). What Sleat offers is a realist account of liberal legitimacy that is free from the illusions of consensus, but which does not succumb to the fallacy that 'might is synonymous with right' (p. 152).

Liberal realism avoids these two extremes through a legitimisation story of 'moderate hegemony' in which liberal rulers act as 'restrained masters' whose power is self-constrained by their endorsement of political (rather than legal) constitutionalism. By being open about its partisan foundations and restrained in the means it uses to secure its liberal ends, liberal realism respects the moral equality of its non-liberal internal enemies. Radically, this entails a conception of rights as political rather than moral, and accepts the use of political power to promote liberal convergence through the formation of citizens' beliefs. In this way, politics can try to 'create harmony if no natural harmony exists' (p. 62).

For those hoping for a more iconoclastic brand of realism the moderation of *Liberal Realism* may disappoint, but this is an avowedly liberal project that aims to radically ameliorate rather than undermine liberal politics. Although his account of liberal realism might have been more fully elaborated, Sleat nevertheless provides a coherent and original contribution to a school of political thought that has often been stimulating, but has seldom been systematic in its approach.

Nat Rutherford
(Royal Holloway, University of London)

Rethorising Statelessness: A Background Theory of Membership in World Politics by **Kelly Staples**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012. 191pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 7486 4277 9

Rethorising Statelessness challenges the idea that within the modern order of sovereign states, individuals who are stripped of their national status – and thus also of

their legal status – are thereby deprived of political agency. Kelly Staples argues that theorists such as Hannah Arendt and Giorgio Agamben 'conflate legal status and subjectivity' (p. 5), and in doing so pay too little attention to the role of personal relationships which she suggests (following Rainer Forst) may foster 'a political identity of struggle and opposition' (p. 5). Her book claims to offer a novel theorisation of statelessness that recognises the significance of national belonging, but which also highlights forms of inclusion and individual political agency that do not depend solely upon state membership. Staples' approach to the issue of statelessness is informed by Mervyn Frost's constitutive theory, which assumes that 'we are constituted as actors within a range of social practices' (p. 29). In Staples' account, careful attention to these practices, which include sovereignty and human rights norms, allows us to explain and critique the vulnerability associated with statelessness without recourse to inappropriately universalising 'foundational' ethical commitments.

Staples develops her argument by analysing, in consecutive chapters, the approach to membership and cosmopolitan obligations taken by Michael Walzer, Richard Rorty and Onora O'Neill. She then articulates what she calls her 'background theory of membership', which develops the ideas discussed above, before considering two case studies of statelessness: in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, and Burma's Rohingya people. The final chapter canvasses again features of the international system touched on earlier in the book, which impact on individuals' standing within the system.

The case studies, combined with Staples' attention to the specific institutions and practices that create the predicament of statelessness, are the strengths of this book. The case studies illuminate the significance of national status, and draw attention to states' use of denationalisation as a weapon against minorities. There is also discussion of the mechanisms that can assist stateless people, including customary sources of recognition within states that may counter exclusion at the national level, and forms of recognition accorded and mediated (although not always successfully) by organisations such as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. While ultimately the book provides only very limited evidence in support of its claim that stateless people can exercise political agency, its desire to

reorient a debate often mired in the contest between universal individualism and states' sovereign control over membership is a timely provocation.

Emma Larking
(Australian National University)

Natural Right and Political Philosophy: Essays in Honor of Catherine Zuckert and Michael Zuckert by **Ann Ward and Lee Ward (eds)**. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013. 469pp., £42.76, ISBN 9780268044275

This volume is a *Festschrift* celebrating the careers of Catherine and Michael Zuckert, currently both professors at the University of Notre Dame. The essays that make up this volume are from the Zuckerts' former classmates at the University of Chicago (where they both earned their doctorates), colleagues from the various institutions where they have taught, friends, and former students. The individual essays here each address a question or thinker within the range of themes and concerns that have defined their teaching and scholarly interests.

The volume has an introduction by the two editors, who were former students of the Zuckerts. The essays are divided into four sections: 'Classical Natural Right', 'Modern Natural Right', 'American Political Thought and Practice' and 'Politics and Literature' – themes that have dominated the Zuckerts' teaching and scholarship over their long careers in the American political science profession. Following the essays, a selective bibliography of their work is presented.

Most of the essays here are either responses to or thoughts arising from the works of the Zuckerts and so they not only point to their work, but also to the importance it has had in shaping the understanding of many of the various topics covered in this volume. Most of the papers are summaries or brief presentations of issues and themes for which the given author is well-known. Thus we have Ann Ward on Plato's Socrates, Kevin Cherry on Aristotle's critique of Plato, Mary Keyson on Augustine, David Schaefer on Montaigne, Vickie Sullivan on Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*, Jeffery Church on Hegel's transformation of Locke, Peter Lawler on Locke and the Puritans, Jean Yarbough on Jefferson, David Alvis on the Presidency in the Constitutional Convention, Diana

Schaub on Booker T. Washington, and Arlene Saxonhouse on Euripides' critique of democratic Athens. Other authors here go in a different direction, taking their cue from the writings of the Zuckerts and contributing on a topic somewhat different from the one for which they are generally known. Thus, there is Thomas Pangle on Cervantes, Michael Davison on Tom Stoppard, Walter Nicgorski on the teachings of John Paul II, and Lee Ward on Spinoza.

Overall, the essays collected here are both thought-provoking and address import questions (not to mention being pieces of scholarship that are enjoyable to read). Therefore, this volume will be useful to scholars and graduate students working on such authors and topics or themes. Consequently, and given the volume's potential life span, it will point future scholars to the Zuckerts and their scholarship, thus keeping both their memories and scholarship alive for future generations.

Clifford Angell Bates, Jr
(University of Warsaw)

International Relations

The Thistle and the Drone: How America's War on Terror Became a Global War on Tribal Islam by **Akbar Ahmed**. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2013. 424pp., £22.99, ISBN 978 0 8157 23783

In this eminently readable contribution to the anthropology of contemporary tribal societies and the critical literature on the American-led 'War on Terror', Akbar Ahmed argues that the Obama administration's attempt to use drone strikes to subdue al-Qa'eda and the Islamic tribes that inhabit northwest Pakistan is doomed to failure. Ahmed defines these tribes by their 'common ancestors and clans, a martial tradition, and a highly developed code of honor and revenge', (p. 5) – characteristics that drive them to resist attempts by the governments of the United States and Pakistan to establish greater control over the peripheral territories that make up Pakistan's federally administered tribal areas.

Ahmed, who expresses considerable sympathy for tribal societies throughout the book, calls for an end to the drone strikes and suggests that Pakistani leaders

forgo US-sponsored attempts to control the tribes. As an alternative, he recommends practising indirect rule by making minimal demands on the tribes and respecting their honour-based system of justice and traditional customs – even those that condemn women to perpetual subservience. This book should be of particular interest to political anthropologists and scholars with expertise in South Asia, statebuilding and counterterrorism.

The book's most valuable contribution is its exhaustive explanation of how poorly the US understands the structure and belief system of the tribal societies with which it is at war. It does, however, contain analytical flaws. Ahmed fails to mount a convincing case that the US should abandon its strikes against Pakistani tribes, especially since this strategy appears to have been highly effective against al-Qa'eda and other militant groups at minimal cost in American lives. Ahmed's emotional attachment to contemporary tribal societies also leads him to employ hyperbole. For example, the final section of the book draws comparisons between drone strikes and the Holocaust. None of the publically available datasets of casualties inflicted by American drone strikes support the notion that the Obama administration is intentionally attempting to exterminate tribal groups. On the contrary, they indicate that most of the victims of American drone strikes in Pakistan have been militants and that civilian casualties have been fairly low. This book should, consequently, be best enjoyed by readers who are already critical of drone strikes, but it is unlikely to attract many converts.

Scott Fitzsimmons
(University of Limerick)

The United States and Great Power Responsibility in International Society: Drones, Rendition and Invasion by **Wali Aslam**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 174pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0 41564 468 6

The United States and Great Power Responsibility in International Society is a ground-breaking work, and makes three contributions to the literature on international relations and American foreign policy. First, it is innovative in conducting normative research on the 'great power responsibility' of the United States, and it adopts the pluralist wing of the international society

perspective of the English School, which highlights 'the great powers' responsibilities to protect international order' (p. 11). Second, from the perspective of the pluralist wing of the English School, this book examines the most controversial foreign policy actions of the United States (Operation Iraqi Freedom, the drone strikes in Pakistan and the practice of extraordinary rendition). Third, it establishes a normative framework that utilises three yardsticks (legality, legitimacy and prudence) to measure a great power's behaviour, and to evaluate whether a great power's policy could be described as a responsible one.

This well-researched book features seven chapters. As the introduction of the book, Chapter 1 outlines the framework and fundamental arguments within. In Chapters 2 and 3, the author establishes the normative framework for evaluating whether a great power's actions are responsible. In Chapters 4–6, he conducts normative examinations of Operation Iraqi Freedom, the drone strikes in Pakistan and the practice of extraordinary rendition. It is noteworthy that the legitimacy of the cases is divorced from their legality to some extent, and that 'what may be prudent for one particular state may not be legitimate according to certain norms' (p. 126). The final chapter provides a conclusion of the arguments in the book.

This volume raises several essential questions for following studies of 'great power responsibility'. For example, would the three yardsticks still be applicable to other great powers in different cultural contexts (e.g. China and Russia)? Under which conditions would the legitimacy of a great power's actions separate from their legality? In summary, this book is valuable reading for scholars, students and policy analysts who are concerned with American foreign policy and great power responsibility.

Kai Chen
(Zhejiang University, China)

Foreigners, Refugees or Minorities? Rethinking People in the Context of Border Controls and Visas by **Didier Bigo, Sergio Carrera and Elspeth Guild (eds)**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. 258pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 5253 9

Based on a series of case studies, *Foreigners, Refugees or Minorities?* examines the tensions between immigrants,

state protection and international relations in the context of the EU's visa and border policies, and explores how these tensions affect the EU's foreign relations. In addition to the introductory section (Chapters 1 and 2), this well-researched, edited volume is divided into three thematic sections. Part I (Chapters 3 to 5) analyses the case of Roma immigrants in the EU and examines how the tensions between them and state protection would destabilise the EU's foreign relations with other countries (e.g. Canada). Part II (Chapters 6 to 8) focuses on the 'EU-Canada Visa and Roma Affair of 2009', and explains why Canada required visas from Roma immigrants with Czech citizenship to stop them seeking asylum in Canada. The final section (Chapters 9 to 13) addresses the tensions between the EU and other countries (e.g. the US) in the context of the EU's visa and border policies.

From a critical perspective, this volume discovers three essential rationales behind the complex tensions. First, the presumption that marginalised people (e.g. Roma) are treated equally has failed within the EU. For example, as a minority in Europe, Roma are still unable to seek asylum in the EU. Second, the EU could hardly promote its extra territorialisation while maintaining its fundamental principles of human rights. In the case of the EU's visa liberalisation processes towards third countries (especially the Western Balkans and Eastern Europe), the EU's visa and border policies are still 'an inter-state instrument' (p. 169), which leads to concerns for risk reduction. Third, there is an asymmetric reciprocity between member countries of the EU and third countries. For instance, the Visa Waiver Program advanced by the US has caused potential tensions among EU Member States because 23 out of 27 EU countries have joined this programme and the exclusion of four of them (i.e. Poland, Romania, Cyprus and Bulgaria) will ultimately challenge the EU's principles of reciprocity.

In summary, this timely volume deserves a broad readership of academics, researchers, policy makers and students who are interested in the interconnections between immigrants, border controls, visa policies and international relations in the EU.

Kai Chen
(Zhejiang University, China)

The World Health Organization between North and South by **Nitsan Chorev**. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012. 273pp., £27.95, ISBN 978 0 8014 5065 5

Nitsan Chorev repeatedly frames this book in terms of a focus on the World Health Organization (WHO) as an agent, not a site (p. 10) – in other words, as a corrective to excessive state-centrism in international relations. The real value of the book, though, is not as a corrective to crude theory, but as a very neatly executed framework for understanding four decades of global health governance.

Chorev relies on two simple lines of argumentation. The first characterises the WHO's situation in terms of key dependencies. One of these is procedural dependence – notably the one country/one vote World Health Assembly, which like most UN assemblies gives an advantage to the world's numerous poorer countries. The other is resource dependence, which gives advantages to richer countries and wealthy non-governmental actors. Broadly, the dominant source of leverage over the WHO in the 1970s was procedural, which meant that it had to respond to a coalition of poorer countries' governments. From roughly the election of Ronald Reagan onwards, the richer states led by the United States increased the power of resource dependency over procedural dependency by starving the WHO of core funding and making it dependent on specific grants. This meant that the WHO had to adapt to 'neoliberalism' and wealthy countries' preferences.

How did the WHO deal with these pressures? Chorev's second line of argumentation focuses on the strategic response, a neat four-cell diagram that distinguishes passive and strategic resistance and compliance in organisations. The WHO, she argues, opted for strategic resistance under Halfdan T. Mahler and Gro Harlem Brundtland, which meant redefining demands into policies that WHO leaders wanted. Thus, a demand for interstate equality and economic development in the 1970s became a WHO focus on intrastate health inequalities and social development. In the 1990s, responses meant ostentatiously putting economists and lawyers in charge of making WHO arguments, and framing priorities such as tobacco control in their language.

These two lines of argument structure a well-executed and illuminating history of the WHO and

key global health issues such as tobacco control, primary care, health systems strengthening and access to essential medicines. It should be especially widely read in global health governance, which needs more work like this.

Scott L. Greer
(University of Michigan)

Intelligent Compassion: Feminist Critical Methodology in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom by **Catia Cecilia Confortini**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 203pp., £40.00, ISBN 978 0 19 984523 1

Confortini's *Intelligent Compassion* is both an attempt to 'reformulate the relationship between feminism, international relations and peace studies' (p. 5) and a history of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), now approaching its centenary. Confortini contends that feminist IR theorists have been scared away from peace studies due to their discomfort with the problematic contention that women are more peaceful than men. At the same time, mainstream IR has also 'sidelined its original preoccupation with peace as both an empirical goal and a theoretical idea' (p. 5).

The book's central concern is methodological in that it aims to propose a feminist methodology for 'emancipatory social change' to be used not only by activists, but within the discipline of IR. Furthermore, Confortini aims to speak to mainstream IR theory by addressing certain questions within the constructivist school of IR.

Confortini uses feminist IR theorist Brooke Ackerly's model of Third Wave Feminist Social Criticism, and the three main tools that it employs: guiding criteria, deliberative inquiry and sceptical scrutiny. Using this as a framework, she then goes on to analyse three umbrellas under which the WILPF has been working since its inception: disarmament, decolonisation and the Middle East (specifically the Israel-Palestine conflict.)

The way in which the WILPF has pursued peace through the model Confortini outlines initially matters, she argues, because 'how one pursues peace is important to the kinds of peace that might result'

(p. 110). The feminist critical methodology adopted by the group, she reasons 'helped the organization to identify and remedy potential and actual forms of oppression and exclusion in society and in its practice' (p. 110). She concludes that the practice of this can also contribute to the discipline of IR 'a theory of emancipatory social change' (p. 110). She ends with a discussion of 'intelligent compassion', taken from the outgoing chairperson of WILPF's speech in 1968. This, she argues, can be an emancipatory, inclusive theoretical concern that can exist outside the borders of feminism or IR. Her definition of this point seems perhaps too all-encompassing, but her belief that her methodological outline here should help 'organizations reach better, more informed, more inclusive, more critical, and consciously provisional political decisions' (p. 118) is equally applicable to the field of gender studies and IR.

Confortini's text will be of great use to students and scholars of feminist methodology, feminist IR theory and the history of women's global movements.

Jennifer Thomson
(Queen Mary University of London)

The Handbook of Modern Diplomacy by **Andrew E. Cooper, Jorge Heine and Ramesh Thakur (eds)**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. xxxv+953pp., £95.00, ISBN 978 0 19 958886 2

Is twenty-first-century diplomacy different from previous centuries? Cooper, Heine and Thakur argue so, and give four reasons: because 'of globalization, from the shifting conceptions of national sovereignty, from the realization that emerging transnational challenges in many areas can only be dealt with through collective action, and from the growing interpenetration and interdependence of national societies' (p. 22).

This big handbook is organised into six parts as follows: the recent evolution of diplomacy; its 'main actors', which are more numerous than ever (including civil society and countless non-governmental organisations); the various modes of practice (negotiation, mediation, humanitarian diplomacy, defence); the instruments of diplomacy; some of the main issues (arms control, trade diplomacy); and a series of ten famous moments or

recent case studies that have occurred since the Cuban Missile Crisis – e.g. the permanent extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, in 1995 (Chapter 45).

In these 49 chapters, a variety of ‘obvious’ topics are discussed, from multilateral diplomacy and cultural diplomacy to human rights, nation-building and peace-keeping. A few unexpected topics appear, such as sport and diplomacy within and outside the Olympic movement. Elsewhere, some transversal chapters propose inspiring discussions centred on concepts rather than facts, case studies or experiences – e.g. the excellent Chapter 29 on soft power, which is defined ‘as the ability to get what you want by attraction and co-optation as opposed to coercion’ (p. 544). Su Changhe then mentions the influences of Foucault and Edward Saïd, who ‘aims to show how one’s identity is more or less determined by one’s relationship with the Other’ (p. 547).

Undoubtedly, this *Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy* gathers an impressive amount of information for graduate students, borrowing from history, the social sciences, IR and even environmental studies (see Chapter 47 on climate diplomacy). My main quibble about this monumental handbook is the absence of a chapter about the Organisation internationale de la Francophonie, which is barely mentioned here although it incorporates 77 states and countries, promoting a different way to make North-South diplomacy (p. 18). Even France, which is still part of the G7, is scarcely mentioned. Finally, one last question has to be addressed: Should diplomats and ambassadors read this handbook? They really should and would probably learn from it, although this volume is not meant to serve as a handbook on ‘how to become a diplomat in 49 lessons’.

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

International Security: The Contemporary Agenda by **Roland Dannreuther**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013. 336pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 5377 8

Within the pages of this book, Roland Dannreuther explains the reasons how and why the once narrow

agenda of security studies opened up to become a wider and dynamic academic discipline. Because the conditions for understanding international security have changed greatly since the end of the Cold War, there are three post-Cold War outcomes that give shape to current studies of international security. First, the chance of war between the great powers has reduced. Second, the global focus on rivalry between East and West has changed its axis to a North-South perspective. And third, the Cold War bipolarity has vanished, giving way to the problem of how to manage a single hegemonic country alongside the emergence of new powers. By taking these three empirical contentions as the modern basis for the study of global security, the intellectual strength offered in this book lies in presenting a new understanding for international security in the post-Cold War era.

In the first part of the book, Dannreuther uses a concise but encompassing theoretical framework. As one of the most significant changes in conceptualising post-Cold War studies, he highlights the shift from rationalist to constructivist explanations of how to approach international security. In the remaining three parts of the book, he links these complex theoretical realities to a selection of empirical topics and intellectual arguments challenging current understandings of international security. Different chapters focus on how to address the core issues of war, the so-called ‘new wars’, humanitarian interventions, and the role of alliances and security communities.

Because the contemporary security agenda is marked by a broader intellectual approach, Dannreuther brings non-traditional issues such as migration, resource scarcity and environmental security to the study. In this vein, the book also covers other topics such as international terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and cyber-warfare. As an overall argument, post-Cold War developments have very much led to a deterioration of the international security environment. The ‘early post-Cold War optimism’ has led instead to an ‘increasing number of seemingly intractable problems’ (p. 276).

As the author suggests, this book is meant in particular for those interested in acquiring an updated understanding of key issues affecting international security. It delivers a comprehensive review of the new security agenda by assuming overarching

normative contexts and drawing on broader perspectives of traditional and non-traditional security issues. Although there are other books similar in approach, *International Security* is a valuable and timely contribution, which is highly recommended to international affairs analysts working in both the policy-making field and the academic world.

Carlos Solar
(University of York)

International Politics and Performance: Critical Aesthetics and Creative Practice by **Jenny Edkins and Adrian Kear (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 296pp., £26.99, ISBN 9780415706230

Arising from the intersection between the performative turn in IR and the return to the political in performance studies, *International Politics and Performance* is a much-needed contribution to the area of aesthetics and politics.

The book compiles contributions from 14 authors who each address the politics and materiality of performance practices. Divided into five thematic sections, Part I consists of two chapters by the editors addressing the logics of staging in the work of Chilean artist Alfredo Jaar (Adrian Kear) and the 2011 English riots (Jenny Edkins). Part II consists of four chapters examining aesthetic thought and the politics of practice in novels by Laszlo Kraznahorkai (Michael J. Shapiro) and John Cowper Powys (Alexander Garcia Duttman), theatre (Joe Kelleher) and contemporary protest movements (Diane Taylor). The three chapters that comprise Part III are concerned with ontological and ethnographic co-performance in photographs from Papua New Guinea (Paul Dwyer), objectified bodies from Africa (Sam Okoth Opondo) and the teaching body in the classroom (Naem Inayatullah). Part IV consists of two chapters focused on the performing and political bodies in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* (Patrick Primavesi and Stuart Elden). The three concluding chapters in Part V focus on dramaturgies of scenario and security in conflict zones (Christine Sylvester), human terrain technology (Maja Zehfuss) and border security practices (Louise Amoore).

The editors offer two novel arguments that frame the book and endeavour to bring together the diverse

contributions. First, they contend that when thought of as practices of 'dissensus' and 'agentic creation', politics and performance reveal fundamental interconnections and separations between the politics of aesthetics and the aesthetics of politics. Second, they employ, as well as advocate for, 'pre-disciplinary cross-talk' – a methodological approach aimed at understanding shared questions and appreciating different idioms without wanting to create a new interdisciplinary language.

The resulting book is an interesting cross-section of relevant contemporary, as well as historically focused, aesthetic-political engagements provided by scholars working predominantly in the United Kingdom and the United States. 'Cross-talk' emerges as a productive, if purposely unsettled, way to mobilise new ways of thinking between politics and performance, and extends ideas raised earlier in the 'Interventions' series by Michael J. Shapiro in *Studies in Trans-Disciplinary Method*. Targeted at scholars and students of performance studies, IR and cultural studies more generally, the book may also be of interest to those looking to develop or negotiate novel methodological approaches in a post-disciplinary environment.

Eliza Garnsey
(University of Cambridge)

An International History of Terrorism: Western and Non-Western Experiences by **Jussi M. Hanhimäki and Bernhard Blumenau (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 336pp., £27.99, ISBN 978-0-415-63541-7

The promise of this collection is premised on three particular contributions to terrorism studies. The first is to provide a historical narrative tracing the evolution of modern terrorism and counter-terrorism from the anarchist movements of the late nineteenth century through particular international and domestic conflicts represented by the collection's fifteen case studies, to contemporary concerns with American counter-terrorism and al-Qa'eda. Thus the preoccupation here is not with causation or theorisation, but historicisation of terrorism, and in this endeavour this collection largely succeeds. Each chapter provides detailed and unbiased narratives that provide the

political motivations and social context of particular state-terrorist conflicts or international counter-terrorism efforts.

The second contribution of this collection complements the first with an internationally focused history. To this end, particular chapters – including analyses of international terrorism at the beginning of the twentieth century and counter-terrorism in the League of Nations and the United Nations – seek directly to provide such a focus through a concern with international organisations and negotiations. The other country- or conflict-specific chapters, which include analyses of leftist violence, Bengal terrorism and Italian counter-terrorism, do not always directly explicate the contextual or effective importance their cases have for an international perspective. However, Rapoport's concluding essay nicely provides the means to link many of these otherwise singular cases together through an account of modern terrorism as four distinct waves that vary in their political aims and degree of international connectivity.

The final promise of this collection is to present both Western and non-Western experiences with terrorism. The first and second chapters in the non-Western section – accounts of terrorism in Bengal and southwest Africa – focus their analyses in such a way that non-Western actors are the primary agents in their accounts. However, in subsequent chapters the 'non-Western' label is less appropriate: Powell splits his focus between both the Chadian and French regimes in his discussion of the 'Claustre Affair', and Toaldo is entirely concerned with American policy towards Libya during the Reagan administration. Outside of this section, the balance is similarly tilted towards Western experiences: historical cases are primarily concerned with European anarchist movements and contemporary cases focus on the American/al-Qa'eda conflict.

Despite the primacy of Western experiences, this collection offers historical detail valuable to any scholar of security, terrorism, state formation, history or otherwise, as well as a clear overarching vision of how terrorism has evolved over the past century and a half.

Michael Newell
(Syracuse University)

Motivations for Humanitarian Intervention: Theoretical and Empirical Considerations by **Andreas Krieg**. Heidelberg: Springer, 2013. 136pp., £44.99, ISBN 978-9400753730

This multiple-case study aims 'to shed light on the question of what motivates Western democracies to intervene or abstain from intervention' when confronted with the humanitarian crises that have occurred since the early 1990s (p. x). It 'attempts to provide an answer to the question of what different factors motivated humanitarian intervention in the past and to what extent these factors express the degree of altruism [humanitarian concerns-oriented liberal, cosmopolitan view] or national/self-interest [state-centric realist view] involved in the decision to intervene' (p. x). Andreas Krieg examines ten cases of intervention (Iraqi Kurdistan in 1991; Somalia in 1992; Haiti in 1994; Rwanda in 1994; Bosnia in 1995; Kosovo in 1999; East Timor in 1999; Sierra Leone in 2000; Afghanistan in 2001; and Iraq in 2003) as well as two cases of non-intervention (Rwanda in 1994; and Darfur in 2003).

The conclusions of the empirical analysis are that humanitarian-military interventions were motivated by a combination of altruistic and interest-related factors. Generally, however, 'national/self-interests have been the most powerful driving force behind the humanitarian interventions of the post-Cold War era' (p. 135). Nevertheless, altruistic factors do 'impact the decision making process surrounding humanitarian intervention [e.g. through media coverage and public awareness] and can ultimately stimulate both individual decision makers and governments to invest both financial assets and military personnel into saving strangers' (p. 135).

Krieg endeavours to trace the historical roots and philosophical nature of altruistic reasoning within the framework of two opposing theoretical perspectives: cosmopolitanism and realism. This enables him to observe how different political actors (i.e. state governments and individual decision makers) relate both their own actoral interests and national interests to the humanitarian crises and the military interventions that followed such crises. This, in turn, enables Krieg to identify the limitations and strategic nature of altruism as a motivation in the decision-making processes

and implementation phases of humanitarian-military interventions.

The study's excessive focus on the state-level policy dimension of the interventions prevents the author from systematically considering the widely acknowledged roles played by international organisations such as UN bodies in the non-intervention cases analysed in the book. However, the study's theoretically grounded normative perspective helps students of international politics to develop an understanding of humanitarian-military interventions outside the boundaries of IR theories and beyond traditional conceptualisations of normative factors in the analysis of foreign policy making.

Ismail Erdem
(Royal Holloway, University of London)

Recovering International Relations: The Promise of Sustainable Critique by **Daniel J. Levine**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 331pp., £22.50, ISBN 978 0 19 991608 5

In the midst of IR's ongoing (meta-)theoretical debates, *Recovering International Relations* provides a fresh and ambitious argument concerning how IR can finally recover its scholarly 'vocation ... to provide practical guidance' to steward the world (p. 115). Tired of IR theory's constant 'forgetting' that every thought, and hence every IR theory, is formed by 'reifying' mental and theoretical concepts as real-world referents, Daniel Levine skillfully channels the philosophy of Theodor Adorno to construct a how-to guide for IR theorists willing to adjudicate between the normative and practical reifications that constitute both their scholarly vocation and their sense of self.

Scholars must adopt an ethos of the *animus habitandi*, or a constant will to 'chasten reason', by checking the *a priori* reifications upon which IR theory is founded. The overarching goal that unites the book's six expansive chapters, covering everything from Adornian philosophy to critiques of IR's critical, realist, communitarian and individualist traditions in IR, is to cement within IR theory the practice of *sustainable critique*: a theoretical 'agonism without antagonism' that quells IR's tendency to reify theory by juxtaposing 'multiple and mutually incompatible ways of seeing' IR in a 'productive tension', or 'constellation'. In

doing so, a sustainably critical IR becomes a productive dialogue among different ways of seeing and understanding the world, rather than a clash of theoretical and paradigmatic reifications (p. 63).

Chapters 3–5 succeed in shedding new light on how Mitrany's functionalism, Deutsch's cybernetics and Haas's neofunctionalist theory each flirted with (yet failed to achieve) a truly sustainable critique for IR. However, such sustained accounts of these past theories may tax the interest of all but the most theoretically engaged scholars. Hence the book's latter half seems to preach more about theory to the *already* sustainably critical choir, than to work on convincing the unconverted of the value of chastening their reason through actual practice. For example, even Levine's own fascinating empirical demonstration of sustainable critique in action, which constructs a 'constellation' of accounts surrounding the contemporary Israeli-Palestinian debate, becomes nestled away in a short section in the conclusion.

These minor criticisms, however, pale in comparison to the philosophical creativity, the historical depth and the overarching hope for a sustainably critical IR that *Recovering International Relations* offers its readers. Thoroughly engaging, highly complex and yet applicable to laymen and experts alike, it will surely become a staple text for IR scholars, encouraging the discipline as a self-reflexive and practically oriented vocation.

Scott Hamilton
(London School of Economics and Political Science)

Routledge Handbook of Regionalism and Federalism by **John Loughlin, John Kincaid and Wilfried Swenden (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 624pp., £120.00, ISBN 978 0 415 56621 6

Ever since the end of the Cold War, a stream of new federal models has appeared. The oldest federal construction is, of course, that of the United States, which can be characterised as a territorial, mono-national federation. Afterwards and especially in the post-Cold War period, many more federal forms came into being which reflected in one way or another the different kinds of diversities. Federalism became an institutional instrument to deal with, among other things, multinational, multiethnic and multilingual entities. The concept of federalism also underwent several changes to stay in line

with new developments. Federalism became an attractive tool to think about and give substance to the accommodation of nations within larger political units, both at the level of the state (with multinational states like Belgium and Canada) and in the transnational sphere (with political communities such as the EU).

The *Routledge Handbook of Regionalism and Federalism* testifies to these many developments and can be considered as a true source book on the state of federalism in current political affairs. Apart from several useful introductory chapters that focus on various more theoretical issues (such as the relation between uniformity and hybridity, typologies of federalism, conceptual clarification, fiscal administration and other interesting topics), this handbook offers a very detailed and informative analysis of dozens of federal countries. The overview is structured on a regional basis with expositions on North America, Europe, Asia, Asia-Pacific, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East. In each of the chapters, experts discuss the characteristics and peculiarities of one particular federation, paying special attention to its historical roots and current functioning.

Alongside these sections on federal states, the editors have also included a few chapters on transnational forms of federalism. The obvious example is the EU, but there are also discussions of the North American Free Trade Agreement and the African Union. An interesting section is devoted to failed federations with a contribution on the Yugoslav experiment and the peaceful disintegration of Czechoslovakia. The result is, without doubt, an outstanding collection of analytical essays, which present clear introductions to federal states and transnational organisations from all over the world. This is nothing less than a kind of golden book that will be of use for scholars of various disciplines, including political science, comparative politics and international relations.

Erik De Bom
(University of Leuven)

Critical Approaches to Security: An Introduction to Theories and Methods by **Laura J. Shepherd (ed.)**. London: Routledge, 2013. 304pp., £27.99, ISBN 978-0415680165

Critical Approaches to Security: An Introduction to Theories and Methodology is an impeccable collection that

brings together a number of critical approaches to the study of security. Following in the footsteps of Mark Salter and Can Mutlu's *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies*, Laura Shepherd and the contributing authors of this volume provide a variety of approaches to critical security studies. Although divided into two parts – 'Theories' and 'Methods' – Shepherd states unequivocally that *Critical Approaches to Security* is a book about methodology. This is therefore reflected in every chapter, each of which is structured to enable its target audience (IR scholars) to grasp the concepts being discussed. This is coupled with questions, images and figures, which provide an interesting read and help fuel interesting debates as well as answers.

The first half of the book (Chapters 2–8) is theoretically informed. It explores alternative critical theories for the study of security. This useful overview of critical security theories is backed up with examples that highlight their significance. For example, in her chapter 'Feminist Security Studies' Laura Shepherd utilises rape in war as a case study to expound on the importance of gender in security (pp. 11–23). The first part also covers how the different theoretical approaches to security might affect or inform methodological choices.

The main contribution of the book is offered in the second half, where the different methods that might be used to collect and analyse data are discussed. The complementary nature of each chapter highlights the fact that a mixed methods approach is possible in critical security studies. Of particular interest is the chapter on 'Visual Analysis' by Cerwyn Moore and Chris Farrands (pp. 223–35). Moore and Farrands explore the visual politics of security and delve into the aesthetic turn in IR. This is an interesting chapter that encapsulates a newer method of considering what constitutes a security threat. Using the example of the war on terror, the authors highlight how visuals have always played a significant role in defining security and insecurity.

Two further chapters that employ quantitative data analyses also add to the uniqueness of the book. These chapters are highly welcomed as they highlight the possibility for critical scholars to draw on a wealth of qualitative data while maintaining a commitment to interpretative work.

As with other edited volumes on critical security, *Critical Approaches to Security* provides an in-depth

introduction to theories and methods. However the complexities with applying these methods are hardly covered. Nevertheless, it is a welcome addition to scholarly debates on critical security studies.

Esther Akanya
(University of Nottingham)

Statebuilding: Consolidating Peace after Civil War by **Timothy Sisk**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013. 215pp., £13.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 6159 9

Statebuilding processes have become the epicentre of a triangular narrative of security, development and peace, particularly in post-conflict scenarios. This is precisely the core of Timothy Sisk's latest book. In a well-written and timely contribution, Sisk seeks to 'introduce and explore prevailing concepts, discourse, debates, and dilemmas of statebuilding' (p. 11). In addition to an introduction, where its object of analysis and framework are delineated, the book is structured around seven chapters. In Chapter 1, after presenting some trends regarding armed conflicts, the author outlines some of the leading theoretical frameworks that explain the main drivers of internal violent conflicts. In Chapter 2, Sisk takes a step back and explores the discussions around the origins of the modern state and understands that a state is essentially underpinned by three main elements: authority, capacity and legitimacy. Chapter 3 is dedicated to the presentation of the main debates around contemporary statebuilding efforts and the dilemmas that emerge from this kind of engagement. In Chapters 4 to 6, Sisk discusses the main state elements previously identified: authority, which he connects to security and state authority; capacity, which he relates to state capacity for delivering basic services; and legitimacy, which he attaches to the construction of a democratic state. Finally, in Chapter 7, Sisk discusses the steps needed to improve international efforts for building democratic governance in fragile states.

Notwithstanding its relevance, the book has one significant shortcoming. It gives the reader the feeling that statebuilding should be regarded as *the* route to building/consolidating peace in post-conflict environments. The suggestion that statebuilding efforts should aim at the construction of a democratic and human-rights-based state, which is clearly Sisk's position, is uncontested, even though this is far from consensual in

the statebuilding literature. Perhaps the author could engage more with scholars who are critical about statebuilding processes and, consequently, delineate the discussions around not only the dilemmas of this process, but its very weaknesses and inadequacy in some places.

The fact that the book overlooks a relevant segment of the statebuilding literature is problematic. Nonetheless, and notwithstanding this important shortcoming, Timothy Sisk provides a pertinent contribution to the current statebuilding debate and his book is recommended to anyone interested in knowing more about this fundamental process directed at transforming violent conflicts around the globe.

Ramon Blanco
(Federal University of Latin-American Integration, Brazil)

Thinking International Relations Differently by **Arlene B. Tickner and David L. Blaney (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 358pp., £27.99, ISBN 978 0 415 78131 2

During the last decade there have been many attempts at charting what IR means and how it is researched in non-Western settings. Endeavours aimed at locating the 'Other' in researching IR or exploring the various modes in which IR is conceived in different locations have undoubtedly provided breadth to the broader literature. While the aim of such avenues of enquiry was to challenge Western dominance in the production of knowledge about world politics, most projects have highlighted that IR scholarship tends to be skewed towards a series of Western discourses that mainly originate from the US. Tickner and Blaney's volume builds on this assumption, arguing that various approaches to studying IR found throughout the world should not be judged against Western standards, but in the settings from which they stem. Their book seeks to broaden the boundaries of the field of IR by mapping how concepts are continuously rearticulated around the world based on specific national or regional contexts and narratives.

The volume contains fifteen chapters divided into five sections that run across various salient issues in IR. The first section focuses on the domain of security, with contributions highlighting the seemingly

irreconcilable differences between European and American approaches or between Turkish and Arab conceptions of security. It also highlights that the way security is researched in China is dominated by Confucianism and a focus on leadership, while in Latin America it is dominated by an aversion towards theorising. Issues related to the state, sovereignty and authority are surveyed in the second part, with an emphasis on the complex and nuanced nature of the way in which they are treated by scholars in South Asia, Africa or Latin America, as opposed to those in the West who focus mainly on failed states, underdevelopment and civil war. Contributions in parts three and five highlight the way scholars in different regions (Africa, Russia, Pakistan) account for the fluidisation or even disappearance of boundaries in world politics, while part four juxtaposes Western interpretations of secularism and religion with those developed in the South Asian context.

By presenting a multitude of views originating from a wide range of locations the volume ultimately emphasises that the production of knowledge is historically and socially constructed, making each tradition valuable in its own right. Consequently, the volume represents an important reading for students and scholars of IR who share an interest in the development of the field.

Cristian Nitoiu
(Loughborough University)

Culture and Foreign Policy: The Neglected Factor in International Relations by **Howard J. Wiarda**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. 153pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 5329 1

In this book Howard Wiarda puts forward what he regards as the often overlooked criterion in foreign policy – that of culture. He does this by assigning each continent a chapter and discussing its background, political culture and American foreign policy towards it and how it may or should change depending on the culture of that region. The argument is built on the foundations of the debate between Francis Fukuyama's *The End of History* and Samuel P. Huntington's *The Clash of Civilisations*. Wiarda argues that Fukuyama's thesis – that the end of the Cold War means the end of the battle of ideas and that free-market democracy has

emerged triumphant – will prove to be incorrect. Instead, he sides with Huntington's argument that capitalist liberalism is an outcome of a particular culture and therefore it does not necessarily correspond that its success can be replicated or will be as welcome elsewhere. The book is written purely through the lens of the United States' outlook and reflects on its place in the international system, rather than being a general study of how much culture plays a role in foreign policy generally.

Wiarda makes an interesting point about how culture – though it can and does change – alters far more slowly than the political institutions around it, and therefore foreign policy must reflect that. He also makes an astute observation as to why Russia has always been less willing to be pluralistic when it comes to religion. According to Wiarda, this is because the Eastern Orthodox Church was founded at the same time as the Russian state and so in the eyes of the nation's people, the two are inseparable. The author also provides an interesting but controversial take on why Russia prefers authoritarianism to liberal democracy; however, his argument is slightly hampered by assertions made regarding President Putin. To demonstrate how Russia prefers strong, illiberal leaders, Wiarda states that Putin's approval ratings often reach 70 to 80 per cent. Such absurd polling numbers are provided without any references whatsoever.

The book lets itself down through its disappointing standard of prose and its bizarre, often excessive use of brackets. Some chapters are also peppered with the author's tales of his experiences in these countries, which – interesting as they are – do not appear to advance any particular point. Nonetheless, the book is accessible to academics and non-academics alike, with only a general interest in international relations required.

Aminul Hassan
(Open University)

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 Politics

Legislatures of Small States: A Comparative Study by **Nicholas D.J. Baldwin (ed.)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 232pp., £80.00, ISBN 9780415538336

We are constantly told in political science about the decline of parliament's importance and the executive's overshadowing of the legislature. These fears and themes have been a critical factor in how democracies operate and function. As Nicholas Baldwin and his contributors argue, these issues are especially pertinent in the micro-polities of small states where the legislature occupies an inordinately intimate place, even if not power.

Legislatures of Small States: A Comparative Study is the latest volume of Routledge's excellent 'Library of Legislative Studies' edited by Philip Norton, and it covers 36 different small state legislatures. The analysis covers the Pacific, Europe, the Americas, Asia and Africa. Although focused on legislatures, the chapters themselves offer a broader value to the reader by introducing scholarly assessment of some polities that rarely generate anything better than a footnote in most comparative studies. Indeed, reflecting this gap in our political coverage and expertise of these states, no fewer than seven of the authors hold bureaucratic or legislative office in the state they are covering, where most of the source material is limited to government documents, local papers and first-hand experience. This makes their assessments heavily government-focused, but highly useful nonetheless.

Baldwin and Dag Anckar provide, first, expert introductions to the functions of democratic legislatures and issues facing them, and second, apply these considerations to legislatures in small polities. As Anckar argues, small states can exhibit the extremes of democracy, from having key deliberative and active participatory interactions for citizens, as in the case of St Vincent and the Grenadines, to being easily dominated by an over-mighty head of state, as in the case of Swaziland. Size matters in these cases, and it features in all the cases studied, most of which are islands, and where political factors not normally seen in 'normal'-sized legislatures intervene. Democratic dynamics, such as having constituencies for diaspora, designated reserved seats for sectors of society, an hereditary head of state

who has critical political and legislative powers, areas of legislative competence reserved for an external power, and even managing with no political parties at all (p. 16), all make for interesting reading.

The cases chosen include overwhelmingly those that have had or continue to support a British connection, such as the Commonwealth Caribbean, Pacific Islands, the Channel Islands, Gibraltar, Malta, Swaziland, Lesotho, Hong Kong, Nunavut (Canada) and even Scotland. Britain's constitutional and political legacy still resonates in all these states. Although the volume has marshalled a great deal of varied case studies, it would have been interesting to compare the British experience with some other (say, Dutch and French) (post-)colonial cases, and the medieval mountain states of San Marino, Andorra and Monaco. Perhaps the interest this book deserves to stimulate will procure a second volume to explore yet more of these absorbing and under-analysed micro-units of the democratic world.

Harshan Kumarasingham
(University of Cambridge)

Europe and the Eastern Other: Comparative Perspectives on Politics, Religion and Culture before the Enlightenment by **Hassan Bashir**. Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2013. 140pp., £37.95, ISBN 978 0 7391 3803 8

In the present monograph, Hassan Bashir seeks to make a contribution to Comparative Political Theory (CPT). Departing from what he characterises as the common practice in this sub-field of constructing dialogues between Western thinkers and 'cultural others', Bashir examines four historic cases of cross-cultural contact from the pre-Enlightenment period: William of Rubruck's reports of his journey to the Mongol lands (1253–5); the Jesuits' reflection on their Mission to Akbar's Court in India (1580–3); the Jesuit scientist Matteo Ricci's experiences while seeking to Christianise China (1582–1610); and the Dominican Barthomé de La Casas' (1484–1566) advocacy role for the indigenous peoples of the New World. With a focus on their political theory dimensions, these examples are employed to lend weight to Bashir's claims concerning some erroneous foundational assumptions common in CPT.

Bashir argues that these cases demonstrate that the current period of globalisation is not wholly unique; the idea that Western and non-Western theoretical knowledge are somehow self-contained systems prior to this period ignores the crucial role that cultural others play in self-definition. He posits that proximity to cultural others aids in this process of self-definition, and that even such close interaction between cultural others does not necessarily lead to a blending of intellectual horizons. Further, Bashir challenges the notion that CPT's normative methodology can produce an alternative non-Western canon when the terms of reference for discerning such a corpus of work emerge out of the hermeneutical circles of Western political theory.

The case studies in *Europe and the Eastern Other* are somewhat cursory, often take a roundabout route to their focal subject and depend a great deal on other contemporary academics' contributions rather than Bashir's own reporting and analysis of the primary sources. Nonetheless, his general thesis that a less historically and geographically myopic form of comparative political theorising will produce more robust results is sound. As Bashir unfolds this point, he situates his contribution in relation to the output of other academics working in the area of CPT. Further, he offers commentary concerning the contemporary relevance of his advocated approach to CPT, notably including its applicability to both avoiding misappropriation by neo-colonial interests and understanding groups like al-Qa'eda better. As a result of his weaving these strands together, after working their way through the pages of Bashir's monograph, reflective readers are left with several cogent points of consideration regarding comparative political theorising on interrelated methodological and contextual levels.

Christopher Hrynkow
(University of Saskatchewan)

The Origins of Active Social Policy: Labour Market and Childcare Policies in a Comparative Perspective by **Giuliano Bonoli**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 219pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 019 966976 9

This work offers an overview of the paradigmatic turn towards so-called 'active social policies' since the early

1990s in Western Europe in two policy fields: active labour market policies (ALMP) and child care. By examining the developments in seven countries, using existing case studies as well as OECD expenditure data, the book aims to trace the emergence of various policies emphasising labour market participation (rather than decommodification). The book asks why this turn occurred across welfare regimes and despite a climate characterised by 'permanent austerity', and why Southern European countries are still lagging behind in the adoption of the active paradigm.

Giuliano Bonoli finds that the (non-)emergence is mainly dependent on two factors: the level of post-industrialisation (fewer low-skilled jobs, women entering the labour market, etc.); and what the author terms 'affordable credit claiming'. Whereas the former is a necessary condition, the latter is a driver and refers to how active social policies are politically attractive to policy makers for obtaining 'maximum visibility with minimum spending'. One of the interesting findings explaining the lack of reforms in Southern Europe is timing. The late arrival of post-industrial conditions and the lack of a preceding period of retrenchment created a 'crowding out' effect where public support (baby boomers approaching retirement) impedes redistribution from pensions towards active social policies.

According to Bonoli, the ideological roots of this turn can be found in Anthony Giddens' Third Way ideas, the concept of 'flexicurity', and ideas of social investment and human capital. Common to these ideas of 'new social democracy' are, as Bonoli correctly states, a claim to be centrist and 'win-win' solutions to social problems. On a continuum (p. 20), active social policies are located between policies of social protection and neoliberal policies of workfare and welfare state retrenchment. This way of conceptualising the field is one of the great merits of the book since it allows Bonoli to map 'varieties of active social policies' – some of which are closer to 'old' social democratic ideas of protection and some of which lean towards neoliberal thinking.

While the book is recommended for its comprehensive mapping of the great diversity and complex emergence of the 'activation turn', it also exposes the risk of deflating the term – i.e. what is active and what is not. Most problematic is the differentiation with neoliberalism. While the book makes a theoretical distinction, it paradoxically documents that

one of the main ingredients in almost every activation reform since the early 1990s has been neoliberal workfare measures such as sanctioning and benefit reductions.

Magnus Paulsen Hansen
(Copenhagen Business School)

The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy by **William P. Cross and Richard S. Katz (eds)**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 209pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 19 966187 9

In this volume, the editors have collected contributions from scholars specialising in party politics, with the aim of problematising the concept of 'intra-party democracy' (IPD). This is a controversial topic that has been much debated because it concerns not only the distribution of power within parties, but also opposing definitions of party membership and different perceptions of democracy.

The editors have structured the book around a particular focus, in which they asked prospective contributors certain fundamental questions aimed at clarifying the most important features of a party's internal organisation and operation that relate to democracy: what aspects of a party's internal activity are subject to democratic determination; which democratic values are prioritised; who is empowered to make decisions; what are the perceived trade-offs between different IPD approaches; and how are these influenced by the context in which a party operates? (p. 6). In an effort to investigate these questions, the contributions examine and discuss nine exceptional case studies that involve different parameters that define or influence IPD: model of organisation, legal provisions, societal factors, the role of membership, women's participation, party leadership selection methods, policy development, candidate selection and party finance.

The editors themselves acknowledge (pp. 175–6) that they do not aspire to provide the reader with definitive or normative answers. Rather, they aim to ask questions and highlight the complexities, ambiguities and challenges involved in attempting to define and evaluate IPD. They also seek to set a research agenda for scholars working in this field.

On the negative side, the editors only indirectly address the issue of ideology and the way different party

families perceive IPD – a highly important variable that can contribute much to our understanding of IPD. Nevertheless, the volume succeeds in giving its readers important, constructive knowledge and new information related to the internal life of political parties – a vital feature of party and democratic politics.

The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy is a well-written, empirically rich and theoretically informed volume that is articulated along solid research questions. The book will be of interest and use to those scholars interested in studying in-depth this important field that concerns democratic norms, values and practices not only within parties, but in society at large. The volume is a welcome addition to the field of IPD specifically, and comparative party politics more generally, and should prove invaluable to students and scholars.

Yiannos Katsourides
(Visiting Fellow Institute of Commonwealth Studies,
University of London and University of Cyprus)

Political Corruption in Comparative Perspective: Sources, Status and Prospects by **Charles Funderburk (ed.)**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012. 209pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 4250 9

Corruption is a complex phenomenon that affects all countries to different degrees. This volume edited by Charles Funderburk takes up the challenge and examines the factors that contribute to the level, scope and types of political corruption in a variety of countries and institutions (p. 12). The book also discusses the consequences of the political corruption for the cases under scrutiny.

The volume is efficiently structured into ten chapters with the first and last acting as introduction and conclusion. While the introduction deals with conceptual clarification and points out the main aim of the book, in the ensuing eight chapters the empirical data is presented. Throughout the chapters, the reader is provided with empirically rich and detailed discussion on the scope and consequences of political corruption in different settings. Finally, the concluding chapter takes the discussions further and assesses the impact of corruption on development, democracy and market transition in line with the findings of the chapters (p. 16).

The book has a comparative perspective. All chapters address the context and sources of political corruption and the current situation, and speculate about the likely developments and possible reforms that may impact on political corruption. With its important grassroots case studies, the book enriches and deepens our knowledge of political corruption. Perhaps the most salient feature is its empirical approach as it takes into consideration the scope and consequences of the corruption at the political level in different national and international settings.

However, the book poorly conducts controlled or neat comparisons among different empirical cases. While the first four empirical chapters deal with single case studies (US, Brazil, Russia, China), the next two (Chapters 6 and 7) compare two countries (Pakistan and India, and the Palestinian Authority and Israel, respectively) and Chapter 8 analyses political corruption in an international organisation (the UN). Last but not least, in Chapter 9, the author specifically addresses the role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in combating corruption in Tajikistan, South Africa and Argentina, which has not been done in the other chapters.

Although the book successfully achieves its goal by providing an understanding and explanation of political corruption in different settings, it fails to fuse the global range of engaging contemporary empirical examples with theoretical concepts. Given the lack of a theoretical framework, the comparative analysis of the cases, which is the major strength of the book, remains weak. That said, however, the volume's breadth and depth make it a valuable, informative and advanced introduction to the complex issue of political corruption

Digdem Soyaltin
(Freie Universität Berlin)

Religion, Identity and Politics: Germany and Turkey in Interaction by **Haldun Gülalp and Günter Seufert (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 216pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0415521383

Although relations between Germany and Turkey have gained multiple dimensions since the immigration of Turkish workers to Germany during the 1960s and 1970s, the fact has usually been investigated unidimensionally within a rigid understanding

based on Germany's impact on Turkey. The general reading of Turco-German relations has depended on an understanding whereby Europe is accepted as secular and enlightened and the Islamic world is fundamentalist. Therefore, relations have been determined by the fact that the former has had an impact on the latter. Gülalp and Seufert's co-edited book brings in the multiple dimensions to the phenomenon as mutually formative processes within an historical context. The main purpose of the book is to re-examine religious identities, institutions and perceptions through an understanding shaped by mutual interactions between Germany and Turkey. Within this interaction, European self-identification appears to be more Christian than secular *vis-à-vis* its counterpart Islam, *contra* the general assumption (p. 2).

The book is historically articulated and hyphenates the phenomenon into two periods. The first covers the eighteenth to early twentieth centuries, while the second spans the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. In the first section, Gibson starts by investigating German-speaking writers on Islam in the period 1789–1815 through to the rise of German national identity. Scheffler then examines Kaiser Wilhelm II's encounter with Ottoman Islam. For an account of the First World War, Aksakal explores the origins of the 1914 *jihad* in the Ottoman Empire within the context of the German alliance. Fuhrmann studies German religion-based and secular missionary activities in the late Ottoman era, reproduced through churches and schools.

In the second period, Köremezli analyses Turkish immigrant workers' struggle for recognition in Germany. In this chapter she draws upon notions of 'integration' and 'immigration' and articulates them with religion and politics, whereby she demonstrates a shift from national to religious identity. Amir-Moazami researches gender issues within Islamic identities under liberal-secular governance; the German Islam Conference is selected as a case study in this chapter. Schönfeld examines the Muslim's space within German civil society. She utilises the Danish cartoon 'Prophet Muhammad' as a case study. Lewicki reviews churches in Germany from a legal perspective, whereby she considers them as 'corporations under public law'. Bottini compares the legal treatment in Germany and Turkey of religious

minorities in both countries, whereas Özyürek compares them in terms of national identity. Seufert studies Alevism in both Turkey and Germany. Güllap concludes by analysing secularity, Christianity and European identity.

All in all, this book is a helpful guide for investigating religious and national identities in Europe based on a comparison where there is also mutual interaction.

Gorkem Altınors
(University of Nottingham)

Divided Nations and Transitional Justice: What Germany, Japan and South Korea Can Teach the World by Sang-Jin Han (ed.). Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2012. 262pp., \$36.95, ISBN 9781594519017

Did Germany, Korea and Japan experience similar reactions to war memories and national trauma? How have Korea and Germany come to terms with their territorial divisions? This timely book shows how two great presidential former leaders, Kim Dae-Jung (1925–2009) of Korea and Richard von Weizsäcker (1920–) of Germany coped with the historic legacies of their countries on the basis of firm personal moral principles and despite being subject to institutional constraints and pressures from both inside and outside.

Dae-Jung was the eighth President of Korea from 1998 to 2003, and the 2000 Nobel Peace Prize recipient. He came to be called the ‘Nelson Mandela of Asia’ for his longstanding opposition to authoritarian rule and his ‘Sunshine Policy’ towards North Korea. Between 1984 and 1994, von Weizsäcker was President of Germany. He has been widely acclaimed and recognised for his liberal views and has had a major impact on public opinion for his appeals to reconciliation with the former neighbouring war enemies. In 1985 he gave a famous speech in the Bundestag about the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War on 8 May 1945. He called it a day of both defeat and liberation for the German people. This statement was supposed to honour the memory of all victims of war and tyranny, and at the same time it also emphasised the singularity of the destruction of European Jews by Hitler’s Germany.

This anthology is a collection of major speeches by Dae-Jung and von Weizsäcker, including the famous 8

May speech. The topics addressed in all the speeches revolve around war responsibility awareness, atonement and the ultimate need for reconciliation. The speeches tell us that South Korea cannot follow the same path towards unification as Germany did for financial reasons and that this can only be achieved through cautious rapprochement, not absorption; that North Korea must at the same time be willing to ‘pursue a direct dialogue with the US’ (p. 78); that Japan should follow the German example of sincere apology and honest reconciliation; and that the future of East Asia will depend on Japan’s willingness unequivocally to admit her past guilt as aggressor because ‘anyone who closes his eyes to the past is blind to the present’ (p. 38), as eloquently formulated by von Weizsäcker.

The sub-title of the book, referring to ‘what Japan can teach the world’ is a bit misleading as the last 100 pages (Part IV) present critical voices of the younger Asian generation concerned with the failure of the Japanese political class to face the past sincerely and learn from the German war reconciliation experience.

Patrick Hein
(Meiji University, Japan)

Shattered, Cracked or Firmly Intact? Women and the Executive Glass Ceiling Worldwide by Farida Jalalzai. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 305pp., £40.00, ISBN 978 0 19 994353 1

Farida Jalalzai’s work constitutes a critical intervention into the ‘glass ceiling’ debate, just over half a century since Sirimavo Bandaranaike’s appointment as the world’s first female Prime Minister in Sri Lanka in 1960. This thorough analysis questions assumptions of vast progress in representation that are attributed to the amplified presence of idiosyncratic female leaders in popular discourse. The study is also timely since a gender lens has been put on the composition of elite institutions following the financial crash. Jalalzai works within a definition of the glass ceiling based on female advancement to executive positions. She explores the mechanisms that have stymied women’s advancement into the strongest and most visible executive positions, despite there being an overwhelming pool of qualified female candidates.

The book includes a systematic literature review of women in executives (Chapter 2), a discussion of selec-

tion procedures in different political systems (Chapter 3), the positions and pathways of female executive members and specific pathways through families and activism (Chapters 4 and 6) and the general backgrounds of women leaders (Chapter 5). The book also includes an overview of female presidential candidacies (Chapter 8) and a comparative case study of two unsuccessful candidates in politically visible countries: Hillary Clinton in America and Ségolène Royal in France (Chapter 9). A descriptive appendix of the biographies of women leaders, 1960–2010, is provided.

Jalalzai's methodology is innovative. She thoughtfully utilises a 'women in politics' approach and a 'gender in politics' approach and illustrates that they are 'mutually supportive' (pp. 7–9). The book examines women's leadership responsibilities within the power hierarchy rather than just studying women numerically. Using a large-N comparative study, Jalalzai provides intriguing insights. Women can hold office in places where executives have dispersed powers and parliamentary collaboration. Jalalzai attributes barriers to political office to traditional female stereotypes associated with female subordination to masculine qualities and their confinement to the private sphere. For example, Clinton and Royal were both subjected to a domesticating 'wife/partner of' tag (p. 168).

While being a critical study, the author has been conscientious in her concern not to conflate political sensibilities with analytical interests. The data have been clearly and reliably reported, especially in Chapter 7 where a statistical analysis of women's rule is presented. Jalalzai demonstrates reflexivity by including data that do not support her hypotheses (pp. 132–3). To strengthen such a long-awaited and vital study, it would have been fruitful to see alternative conceptions of the glass ceiling discussed.

Cherry M. Miller
(University of Birmingham)

9/11 and the Design of Counterterrorism Institutions by Michael Karlsson. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012. 195pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 3456 6

Why do relatively similar countries adopt different institutional designs for their counterterrorism institutions? Michael Karlsson sees the designs as a set of rules and practices, prescribing appropriate behaviour to

governmental actors engaged in combating terrorism (p. 7). This study exploits the unique opportunity of the external pressure of Security Council Resolution 1373 of 2001, which obliged all UN member states to implement comprehensive counterterrorism measures and report them to the Counter-Terrorism Committee by the end of the year. Adopting a most similar case design and drawing on the development of counterterrorism institutions in six Northern European states (Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Sweden) during this period, Karlsson first maps the development of counterterrorism institutions in his cases before proceeding to analyse the decisive factors for institutional design. He finds that while counterterrorism was increasingly established as a separate domain in the aftermath of 9/11, the responsibility for it remained with existing actors. If new actors were created, these were embedded into existing structures (p. 148). Rather unsurprisingly, a country's security orientation and the age of its security state were highly relevant for the development of counterterrorism institutions, while neither the perception of the threat of international terrorism nor a country's domestic political context were able to explain the variations in institutional design convincingly (pp. 154–7).

The findings presented are convincing, yet due to the inherent limitations of the adopted research design, they are not fully generalisable to a wider community of states. While this ensures comparability and lends credibility, it can be doubted whether some of the findings, such as the low relevance of threat perception, would hold true in more affected countries. Nevertheless, the study is a valuable contribution to the scholarship on the design of counterterrorism institutions as it develops a guiding theory for an area where it has been notably absent (p. 4) and supports it with a rich base of empirical data. It is necessary to remember, however, that the general aim of the study is to explain institutional design – not to further the scholarship on international terrorism. Readers hoping for a deeper analysis of the effectiveness of those institutions or their appropriateness for the new kind of terrorism Karlsson mentions at the beginning (p. 1) will be disappointed. Given the short timeframe of the analysis such questions are outside the study's scope, and rightly so.

Dominik Steinmeir
(University of Nottingham)

The Education of Nations: How the Political Organization of the Poor, Not Democracy, Led Governments to Invest in Mass Education by **Stephen Kosack**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 364pp., £22.50, ISBN 978 0 19 984167 7

It is a well-known fact that developing nations have long neglected education when distributing their resources. Some nations have systematically invested in public education and achieved high production levels, whereas both developing and under-developed nations have produced mixed results. In this book, Stephen Kosack tackles an important question in the field, which he first started questioning during his graduate studies: When does a government invest in mass education? He seeks to answer it by examining 'three very different developing countries': Taiwan, Ghana and Brazil.

Kosack argues that governments, regardless of their structure, history, culture or geography, should shape their education system around a nine-celled typology of constituencies, where each cell represents a different ideal education system for specific groups in society. His theory is based on the collective action frame, in which two key players – families and employers – demand education from the central government. At this point, Kosack raises another important question: Whose demands – those of families or employers – will the government try to meet and what are the necessary conditions for constituencies to have their demands satisfied? In response, he introduces the term 'vital constituency'. The author also presents the particular conditions that are essential for these constituencies. Both employers and families need education and having their demands fulfilled depends on their place in the vital constituency. That is to say that the government decides to invest in mass education only if the group it serves guarantees its incumbency for another term. Therefore, it is less likely for a government to serve the families outside the vital constituency. 'The vast majority of political leaders depend on support from employers, for the structural reason that citizens' income depends on the jobs they provide' (p. 42) and this was the case in Taiwan, Ghana and Brazil most of the time. Having examined these three cases, the author comes to the conclusion that vital constituencies play a crucial role in determining how governments

use their 'education toolkit', where the process is shaped by two factors: political entrepreneurship for the poor and labour market conditions for the employers.

One may question Kosack's case selection and the generalisability of his findings regarding states' investment in mass education. Could this process have also occurred in other countries? Is the causal mechanism likely to occur in other cases? Nonetheless, it is apparent that *The Education of Nations* makes a great effort in framing and building the theory, while also serving as a good starting point for further research in the field.

Tevfik Murat Yildirim
(University of Missouri)

Transnational Politics and the State: The External Voting Rights of Diasporas by **Jean-Michel Lafleur**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 190pp., £80.00, ISBN 9780415584500

Stories abounded in the British media in 2012 about how expatriate French citizens could vote both for a presidential candidate and then shortly afterwards for a candidate to represent them in the French National Assembly elections. This highlighted what is a growing phenomenon – the extension of voting rights to countries' expatriots in their domestic elections. Little is known about this in political science. Jean-Michel Lafleur's monograph links research into transnationalism with that on electoral studies and voting rights to begin to provide a systematic analysis of the ways in which countries have extended these rights to their populations abroad.

Although 119 countries have such legislation, Lafleur uses two in-depth case studies of Italy and Mexico (and a lesser case study of Bolivia) to examine the issues involved. Questions abound. Who should the vote be extended to? How can an accurate electoral register be compiled from citizens abroad? Should votes go towards electing members for a special overseas constituency, or be allocated to their home domestic constituency? How might the vote be organised – by post, or in overseas polling stations? How do parties campaign for such votes? What motivates voting behaviour under such circumstances? Do the votes of expats make any difference to the results?

Lafleur shows there are many different answers to these questions. Italy, for example, has extraterritorial constituencies, and organises elections by post, while parties can and do organise campaigns among expats. Mexico, however, limits voting rights to those with a valid voting identity card, thereby potentially restricting their impact on home elections. This in-depth analysis also shows how external voting is pushed by some domestic political actors and resisted by others, with the resulting legislation an unavoidable compromise. Inevitably, there are international consequences (interestingly, Canada has attempted to ban other countries from running election campaigns on its territory).

This is a complex area, involving multiple actors, interests, countries, types of legislation and motivations. It is not always evident that the states empowering their expats know themselves to whom they are extending such rights. Lafleur is to be congratulated for this welcome research. It has extended knowledge considerably in this field. If there is one complaint, it is that this work has been published in a series on transnationalism. While it fits very well there, it deserves a much wider political science readership because these issues – voting rights, political loyalties, citizenship and electoral design – go to the heart of the discipline.

Alistair Clark
(University of Newcastle)

Parliaments and Citizens by **Cristina Leston-Bandeira (ed.)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 272pp., £85.00, ISBN 978-0-415-58969-7

This edited volume tries to explore in a deep and original way the relationship between citizens and parliaments. This is a topic with which political science is not yet fully engaged but one that involves a crucial dimension useful for understanding the actual role of legislatures in modern democracies and the way in which citizens are connected – through parliaments – with the whole political system. The book analyses a rich number of cases, providing not only an overview of the most important Western democracies, but also some interesting studies of geographical areas such as sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America (plus an analysis of Bangladesh as being representative of Asia).

The main hypothesis linking all the chapters is the idea that in the last few years there has been growing

attention around how to improve the relationship between citizens and parliament, particularly because legislatures need this to enforce their legitimacy and to strengthen their position within political systems. In studying this link, the authors underline the role of three key actors: members of parliament (MPs), political parties and the legislature as a whole. The authors assess which actions are undertaken by these actors in order to improve their relationship with citizens; and whether these actions are effective.

This book represents an interesting outlook on a topic that is becoming more and more important due to increasing political disengagement and problems concerning the functioning and legitimacy of our contemporary democracy. The way in which it is possible to enforce a stronger linkage with citizens has gained ever more attention over recent years, especially with regard to enforcing the role of the media and in order to combat the growing trend towards political apathy among the masses. As stated by the authors, it is not simply a problem of making politics accountable through the legislature, but rather it is mainly a question of how citizens can influence political decisions and bring forward new issues that need a response from the political system.

The plurality of cases presented in this book (different continents and different political systems) is fundamental because it enables an understanding of how different cultural and institutional contexts can influence this relationship. One of the main benefits of this work is the precision with which all the authors outline how the different systems try to enforce linkage with citizens (e.g. by promoting petitions or ensuring transparency of actions) and how these instruments are effective in achieving the proposed goals.

Eugenio Salvati
(University of Pavia)

Crisis and Control: Institutional Change in Financial Regulation by **Renate Mayntz (ed.)**. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2012. 293pp., £35.00, ISBN 978 3,593 39671 2

‘Never let a good crisis go to waste.’

Winston Churchill

This book tackles two related questions: What has changed in financial regulation since the start of the global crisis, and why has it been so limited? An

introductory chapter lays out this problem of 'selectivity and intensity' (p. 18), and is followed by ten empirical essays conducting either geographic or thematic analyses (on the US, UK, France, Germany, Switzerland and the EU; then on hedge fund regulation, accounting standards, capital rules and the Financial Stability Board). A final chapter – neatly subtitled 'plus ça change' – wraps up the argument with an examination of the global financial regulatory architecture. Common explanations highlight the strength of sectoral interests in dominating regulatory debates and demonstrate the entrenchment of the prevailing ideational paradigm of regulatory liberalism.

The collection is the output of a research network assembled at the Max Planck Institute in 2009. In the spirit of such loose networks there is no single overarching analytical framework applied by the empirical case studies; instead, each author deploys an analytical narrative covering his or her own domain. They follow a fairly consistent pattern, describing the *status quo ante*, analysing the reform process and accounting for gaps between expectations and outcomes. Several of the chapters offer important updates to, or syntheses of, prior works (see especially Kerwer on capital standards, or Quaglia on EU financial sector policy).

This is an important and timely work. Much of the scholarship on the crisis to date has dwelt either on the causes or proposed solutions (drawing on economic, political or legal theory), but this book offers an invaluable contribution in exposing the interests, roles and capabilities of key actors in shaping the *regulatory* responses and applying a range of analytical tools to make sense of significant debates. By presenting such detail across a range of contexts it allows the reader to grasp crucial variations in institutional change in different settings or domains. Its timing is a slight area of weakness, however: several of the empirical chapters are necessarily inconclusive as the processes are yet to be fully played out.

Reading this book one cannot help but think of the current efforts at reform conducted in the wake of the Eurozone sovereign debt crisis. Here the book's real strength emerges: its analysis of the dynamics of regulatory reforms in the period 2009–11 enables a sharper understanding of contemporary debates, and casts a gloomy picture of their prospects.

John-Paul Salter
(University College London)

If Money Talks, What Does It Say? Corruption and Business Financing of Political Parties by **Iain McMenamin**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 177pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 19 966570 9

It is common knowledge that business groups contribute sizeable amounts of money to political parties in many countries. This money boosts the electoral performance of the parties by covering a part of their electoral campaign expenditure. One interesting finding of this book is that the interaction process is more akin to reciprocal exchange than discrete exchange. Business does not provide one-time funds in huge amounts. Funding is spread into the long term, including smaller and more frequent payments that are less visible to the public. Business tries to increase the likelihood of favourable policies to be enacted at some point in time.

Another noteworthy finding of the book is that the motivation behind funding is not always the same. The author argues that funding can be divided into pragmatic and ideological. Pragmatic donors fund political parties irrespective of their ideological stance, expecting to build relationships with big parties that can provide them with a competitive market advantage. Ideologically motivated donors, however, do not hedge their funds between the political parties across the ideological spectrum. Business usually funds the pro-business parties, paying less attention to how big the party is.

Money talks a different language in different countries. In liberal market economies, the competitive and short-term focus of firms encourages the use of pragmatic funding. Since the contributions are a part of the profit-seeking strategy, they are quite high. Ideologically motivated funding in liberal market economies occurs only when there is political polarisation. In that case, business is expected to fund pro-business parties. The picture is different in co-ordinated market economies. Public goods play a much more important role in these countries. Therefore, pragmatic funding is lower. Ideological funding is also lower than in liberal market economies because consensual decision making and constraints on the power of political parties reduce the risk of major policy change.

McMenamin's work has an impressive empirical edge that uses in-depth qualitative and quantitative data

from Australia, Canada and Germany. The author also tries to rule out alternative explanations for the variance in the amount and motivations behind party financing in different countries by bringing in data from Denmark, New Zealand, Norway, the UK and the US. The only shortcoming of the study is that a multivariate analysis cannot be used to test the author's main hypothesis while controlling for alternative explanations. This book is timely and innovative, and it involves a sophisticated effort in theoretical thinking and data-gathering.

Direnç Kanol
(University of Siena)

The Mainstreaming of the Extreme Right in France and Australia: A Populist Hegemony? by **Aurélien Mondon**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. 233pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 5260 7

Separated by geography, language, history and recent economic experience, France and Australia would seem to share little in common with regard to their domestic politics. The presidential, centralised, assimilationist European cornerstone and the Westminster-style, federal, multicultural island continent of Oceania seem to be as comparable as chalk and cheese. Yet Aurélien Mondon finds clear parallels between the contemporary experiences of both democracies with their respective extreme right-wing parties. *The Mainstreaming of the Extreme Right in France and Australia* chronicles not only the rise of the Front National in France and One Nation in Australia, but also their influence on the media and the broader political discourse in both states. In particular, Mondon points to the influence that the extreme right has had on the centre-right parties, the UMP and Liberal Party, in relation to immigration, welfare politics and cultural policy. Delivered in three tightly composed parts, the book begins by defining the notion of the extreme right and then explains the role of the extreme right first as a catalyst for political change and second as a driver of a new and disturbing trend in increasingly extreme populist politics. Mondon concludes with the question of whether the people, European or Antipodean, under the influence of the extreme right represent a threat to their own democracy.

Mondon succeeds in tracing the rise of the extreme right in both France and Australia and identifies the deep roots in the former and the relatively shallower,

though no less influential, roots in the latter. The connections he makes between the policies of the extreme right and the subsequent policies of the centre-right parties in both countries is largely convincing, though one does wonder if the influence on the Liberal government in Australia is quite as strong as Mondon presents it to be. The comparison of two historically and economically diverse cases is well made and the reader is left with the strong impression that the socio-political-cultural hegemony of the extreme and radical right, if not yet achieved, remains an eventuality to be feared by those who support democracy. Interesting and original, the book will appeal to students of contemporary comparative politics and to those who seek to understand how and why the discourse in the West has, slowly but ever surely, taken a sharp turn *à droite*.

Dylan Kissane
(CEFAM – Centre d'Études Franco-Américain de Management)

Policy without Politicians: Bureaucratic Influence in Comparative Perspective by **Edward C. Page**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 192pp., £45.00, ISBN 978 0 19 964513 8

This book starts with a bang, pointing out that the assumption of bureaucratic shirking, sabotage and general bad behaviour has very weak evidence – and yet is the 'founding myth' of a huge public choice and principal-agent literature (p. vii). What follows is a *tour de force*. Edward Page compares the administrative machine for producing policy in France, the UK, Germany, Sweden, the US and the EU. In each country/region, he studies 6–12 decrees on topics from silkworms to poker to drunken ships' captains, using interviews to work out why and how the decrees happened, what discretion officials really had and what they did with it. Much of what he finds relates to maintenance and small improvements. Officials' standing to do this varies but is always compatible with democratic accountability, whether it is Whitehall officials anticipating ministerial preferences or French officials constantly consulting lobbies. We learn that neat notions of fire alarms and police patrols seem to have little to do with actual accountability mechanisms and processes. We also learn that the goals of bureaucrats and bureaucracies (and

politicians) are not the ones specified *a priori* in most principal-agent analyses. As Page writes, bureaucrats are in an occupation of service and are promoted for good management (p. 165). Why should we expect shirking? The implication is that an enormous edifice of political science has been built on the idea that principal-agent interactions explain much of the design of political institutions and public policies. What if that premise is empirically unfounded, or at least seems to lack convincing mechanisms? Or is it that principals have just been very effective in these six systems?

It should not be possible to claim expertise in public administration, public policy or governance without reading and reflecting on this book. It would also be nice if more social scientists were to write anywhere near as well.

Scott L. Greer
(University of Michigan)

Understanding Ethnopolitical Conflict: Karabakh, South Ossetia and Abkhazia Wars Reconsidered by **Emil Souleimanov**. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. 246pp., £57.50, ISBN 978 1137280220

This book provides a comparative theoretically informed account of conflict onset, radicalisation and civil war dynamics in the South Caucasus, concentrating on the cases of South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh. The volume sets out to integrate the burgeoning qualitatively-oriented theoretical literature on ethnic conflicts and civil wars with detailed empirical material on these particularly pressing, unresolved conflicts. The author persuasively argues that a synthetic, theoretically multifaceted approach captures the complexity of the situation on the ground better than those interpretations centred entirely on the role of ethnicity, security environment, structural or cultural factors. Emil Suleimanov also convincingly criticises the increasingly popular large-N, quantitative accounts of ethnic conflict and civil war for being ‘incapable of explaining civil wars in their full complexity’ (p. 26).

The originality of the theoretical framework put forward in the book, while being broadly consistent with dominant instrumentalist interpretations of ethnic

conflict, resides in the clear periodisation of conflict development and the distinction between what Suleimanov terms ‘onset-based’ and ‘process-based’ factors (pp. 34–5). By conceptualising conflicts as dynamic processes rather than unique events, this interpretation is able to capture how social interaction between different groups of actors and dimensions of conflicts contribute to their radicalisation. The comparative approach is systematically maintained throughout, both theoretically and empirically. The author consistently compares and contrasts the key contributions of the main theories in the field of ethnic conflict and civil war to our understanding of the South Caucasus.

The empirical part contains an account of the instrumentalisation of history by political elites and traces the dynamic progression of the conflicts through different stages, within the theoretical framework developed earlier. The book is well-written and certainly succeeds in providing a succinct, yet reasonably comprehensive and theoretically innovative account of conflict evolution. Given the fact that, as the author rightly notes, the South Caucasus remains very poorly integrated in the broader comparative conflict research field, such theory-driven interpretations are strongly needed. Overall, this volume will, undoubtedly, be of great value to anyone interested in the comparative politics of deeply divided societies, peace and conflict studies, conflict regulation, political violence, civil wars and the South Caucasus. It is a very worthwhile addition to ethnic conflict theorising, as well as to the literature on a highly strategically important, yet vastly under-researched region.

Anastasia Voronkova
(Independent Scholar)

Democracy Promotion and the ‘Colour Revolutions’ by **Susan Stewart (ed.)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. £85.00, 208pp., ISBN 9780415689687

Democracy Promotion and the ‘Colour Revolutions’ is a special issue of *Democratization*, converted into an interesting book, completed by a diverse team of scholars who conducted their studies in Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Russia, Serbia and Ukraine. The overarching theme of this edited volume is ‘colour

revolutions'. The authors attempt to go beyond case studies and present a well-balanced analysis of both external influences and domestic forces that bring colour revolutions to life. The authors discover foreign-domestic linkages and their interplay in countries where such revolutions have occurred (Georgia, Serbia, Ukraine) and those where they have some potential (Azerbaijan, Belarus, Russia).

The book starts from the case study of Serbia – the only non-Soviet country in this volume. It then moves on to examine the role of external forces in promoting democracy in the two most famous colour revolutions: the Rose Revolution of 2003 in Georgia (presented in Chapter 3) and the Orange Revolution of 2004 in Ukraine (presented in Chapter 4), with a special focus on the role of the EU. The cases of countries that went through colour revolutions are followed by the former Soviet republics that so far have managed to avoid this socio-political phenomenon, which is so unpleasant for authoritarian regimes. Chapters 5 and 6 present the role of international organisations in democratising and Europeanising Russia, and the failure of democratisation in Belarus, respectively. Finally, the case of Azerbaijan follows, with no transformative change in terms of democratisation and no public recognition of non-governmental organisations. Susan Stewart concludes the volume with a chapter on local (semi-)authoritarian contexts and the extent of external influence in strengthening civil society. She draws lessons from Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus, placing the emphasis on 'grey zones' and 'hybrid regimes'.

In its content, the book is largely descriptive and chronological, but less so analytical. Even though the authors establish a set of critically important questions, the level of sophistication in analysing the material could be higher. Given the limited space allocated to each country, some of the worthy issues, such as corruption, are only mentioned a few times, despite their significance. The book will be of interest to those who want to learn more about colour revolutions in different contexts, and equally so to those looking for the means to stay in power and prevent the occurrence of colour revolutions in their authoritarian domains.

Ararat L. Osipian
(Vanderbilt University)

Oil and Governance: State-Owned Enterprises and the World Energy Supply by **David G. Victor, David R. Hults and Mark Thurber (eds)**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 1014pp., £95.00, ISBN 978 1,107 00442 9

This edited volume can be considered an international handbook on the National Oil Companies (NOCs) – entities which currently dominate 'the world's oil and gas industry' and, therefore, the world energy supply (p. 1). This book has two main strengths. First, the editors gather some of the leading experts in the field to present fifteen national case studies (Saudi Aramco, the Iranian Oil Company, Mexico's Pemex, Kuwait Petroleum Corporation, China National Petroleum Corporation, Petróleos de Venezuela, Abu Dhabi National Oil Company, Brazil's Petrobras, Algerian Sonatrach, Norway's Statoil, Russian Gazprom, plus the examples of Nigeria, India, Malaysia and Angola). Second, this book develops a solid systematic comparison of the main NOCs' performance around the world. The added value of the case studies is that, when seeking to explain the factors behind the differential performance and strategy across NOCs worldwide, they present a vast amount of original empirical material. The explanation given through the case studies is backed up by three cross-cutting chapters explaining the main features linked to the study of the NOCs (the political economy, the governance and risk management of NOCs).

Against this background, the only shortfall of this book is that, in spite of bearing the term 'governance' in its title, the analysis is mainly concerned with the economic performance of NOCs and their relationship with the host governments, without taking into account broader social or environmental concerns. To be clear, the book confines the explanation of the NOCs' performance to the following independent variables: the state's goals, the quality of state institutions and the nature of the resources.

With all these elements in mind, the book arrives at the following conclusions: (1) the main explanatory factors behind the existence of NOCs is 'the desire by governments to control through direct ownership' the revenues from natural resources (p. 889); (2) the NOCs appear to perform, given the selected ground

of analysis, worse than International Oil Companies (IOCs) (p. 889); (3) 'the most important element of government-NOC interactions is consistency' (p. 890); and (4) 'the future NOCs will probably not look like the past' (p. 890). This last conclusion is particularly relevant in light of the changes in the world energy market caused by the fever for unconventional sources of oil and gas. Therefore, in order to be prepared to discuss the challenges of the present and future energy scenario, this book is an indispensable reference with regard to the potential role that NOCs can play.

Israel Solorio Sandoval
(Freie Universität Berlin)

General Politics

Us and Them? The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control by **Bridget Anderson**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 209pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 19 969159 3

Transnational migration is increasing in a globalised world. As a consequence, governments are imposing ever more restrictive barriers to curtail the movement of the global poor. Bridget Anderson's book offers a well-argued critique of contemporary UK immigration policy and explores the relationship between migration and citizenship. Adopting a multidisciplinary approach that draws on law, human rights, history and politics, Anderson argues that the current UK immigration regulations are designed to narrow the criteria for those allowed to enter in an attempt to reduce numbers, but also to limit the freedom of mobility for those admitted, with the result that migrants are consigned to precarious, low-skilled, temporary employment. As 'non-citizens', all but the most wealthy migrants are pitted against (but bracketed with) 'failed' citizens, the welfare-dependent and undeserving idle, the 'them' of the title, in juxtaposition to the 'us', the self-reliant, hard-working, law-abiding 'Good Citizen'. She introduces the concept of the 'Community of Value', a normative ideal of society that places the 'Good Citizens' in a shared relationship of values, beliefs and social behaviour from which non-citizens and failed citizens are marginalised. By drawing upon historical examples

from fourteenth-century vagrancy laws onwards, Anderson argues that the state's control of the mobility of the poor in order to maintain social cohesion has not always exclusively targeted non-citizens but failed citizens as well.

In an extensive and detailed analysis that encompasses UK immigration, naturalisation, employment and deportation policies, human trafficking and gendered domestic work, Anderson seeks to expose how increasingly stringent government policies not only restrict the numbers allowed to enter, but also aim to exclude those who do not fit the ideal criteria of 'the Community of Value'. Moreover, she contends that 'Good Citizens', the 'Us', are progressively expected to be complicit in this strategy by increasingly being required to perform the surveillance activities that underpin it, such as checking the documentation of those employed.

Anderson offers a well-argued, informative yet concise treatise, which should appeal to a broad audience with an interest in politics, law, human rights and migration studies, and, more generally, those concerned by the marginalised in society. However, while critical of UK government immigration policies and their arguably divisive consequences, Anderson, although adopting a normative approach, offers little in the way of alternatives, which may be considered a weakness in her argument.

Caryl Thompson
(University of Nottingham)

Austerity: The History of a Dangerous Idea by **Mark Blyth**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 224pp., £14.99, ISBN 978-0199828302

Politics in the Age of Austerity by **Armin Schäfer and Wolfgang Streeck**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013. 240pp., £18.99, ISBN 978-0745661698

In the aftermath of the global financial crisis many states have found their finances under severe pressure. Europe is now seemingly entering the age of austerity, with fiscal consolidation the new primary aim of many states. As with any important political development, there is an inevitable lag between the daily reporting of events and the later and loftier scholarly contributions. Thankfully, on the evidence of these two excellent and timely – but

very different – volumes, the wait has been well worth it.

Mark Blyth's *Austerity* is an angry and impassioned rallying call to discredit the idea of 'growth-friendly fiscal consolidation'. This is an aim he supremely achieves for he utterly demolishes the idea with an aplomb rarely witnessed in political science. Throughout the book, the idea of austerity is carefully traced and in the process we learn that growth-friendly fiscal consolidation severely misdiagnoses the current crisis, has no substantive intellectual underpinning and has never worked in conditions akin to the current global economy. *Austerity* is essentially split into two halves, with the first part offering an account of the subprime and Eurozone sovereign debt crises, respectively, and the second part outlining an intellectual and 'natural' history of austerity.

The second half consists of the actual history of austerity in partly intellectual and partly practical terms. We learn that the fear of a big state and budget deficits can be traced back to key Enlightenment and Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, later being reproduced in the Austrian school of economics and neoliberalism. Special attention is saved for Alberto Alesina and his intellectual supporters, who appear somewhat to exaggerate pro-austerity claims when publicising their work among policy makers (pp. 167–76).

The first half, on the other hand, explains the turn to austerity itself. Blyth traces the current sovereign debt problems back to the sub-prime crisis, essentially arguing that the crisis 'has almost nothing to do with states and everything to do with markets' (p. 53) but that the buck was unfairly passed on to taxpayers. Next he argues (conveniently ignoring the UK and other countries outside the Eurozone) that 'the real reason we all have to be austere' (p. 87) is because of a lack of monetary autonomy (due to the design of monetary union). The only way the troubled Eurozone nations can deal with their massively over-leveraged banks is to deflate their economies through cuts in spending.

Meanwhile, *Politics in the Age of Austerity*, edited by Armin Schäfer and Wolfgang Streeck, provides an excellent and insightful examination of democracy – broadly conceived – in fiscally hard times. Highlights include the editors' introduction, Streeck and Daniel Mertens on the decline of state capacity, Fritz Scharpf on the Eurozone crisis, Claus Offe on participatory

inequality, Schäfer on democracy in hard times and Streeck's final closing chapter 'The Crisis in Context'. Picking out central theses from edited collections can be tricky (and sometimes even frustrating) but, happily, two central arguments can be identified at the core of this volume: one about democracy and another about fiscal crisis.

First, 'citizens must be able to influence the course of government through elections ... if a change in government cannot translate into different policies, democracy is incapacitated' (p. 1). This matters, not just out of democratic principle, but because fiscal consolidation also brings into question the capacity of states to provide for 'collective goods crucial to future prosperity' and 'social cohesion declines as well' (p. 30). The implications for democracy seem pretty dire. Limited state capacity and lack of discretionary spending power (Chapter 2) will impact upon the ability to make choices, while the potential convergence of ideologies (Chapter 7) and increased inequality (Chapter 8) will erode political participation.

Second, most contributors take the long (fiscal) view and argue that Western democratic states in general have something akin to a long-burning budgetary crisis, sometimes making the case that decreasing revenue is just as problematic as increasing expenditure. As Schäfer and Streeck explain (p.3), while 'the fiscal crisis of today's rich democracies became apparent only after 2008, it has long been in the making'. For the past four decades or so, the majority of OECD states have 'had to borrow money to cover a chronic gap between public expenditure and public revenue, resulting in a steady increase in public debt' (p.4). This argument is most fully outlined in the first and last chapters, within which a convincing analytical narrative about the sources of fiscal crisis is expertly woven.

Having read both books back-to-back the obvious question is: 'Well, which crisis is it?' Is it (as Blyth argues) a *market crisis* that began with the sub-prime debacle before dragging the state in; or is it (as Streeck *et al.* argue) the most recent manifestation of an otherwise stalled *state crisis* inherent in capitalist democracies? It might seem that these explanations are contradictory, but perhaps a wiser conclusion would be to accept that the different levels of analysis on offer, whose approaches are influenced by different ontological and normative commitments, will always provide very

different analyses. One definite truth remains at least: both these books are excellent and timely contributions and are equally illuminating. Consequently, they both deserve to be read widely.

Liam Stanley
(University of Birmingham)

After the US Shale Gas Revolution by **Thierry Bros**. Paris: Editions Technip, 2012. 165pp., £25.74, ISBN 978-2710810162

Shale Gas in Europe: A Multidisciplinary Analysis with a Focus on European Specificities by **Cécile Musialski, Werner Zittel and Stefan Lechtenbohrer (eds)**. Deventer: Claeys & Casteels, 2013. 576pp., €95.00, ISBN 978-9491673023

The marriage of two technologies – horizontal drilling and hydraulic fracturing – has given birth to the greatest geopolitical changes since the oil crisis of the 1970s. The new technologies allow the commercial exploitation of shale formations of natural gas and oil. In the US and Canada, a boom in the production of fossil fuels led to an 80 per cent drop in the price of natural gas and the prospect of American energy independence by the end of the decade. This revolution spreads now globally.

Published research in the social sciences has hardly caught up with these recent changes. The scholarly and analytical vacuum is filled in by practising financial analysts and lawyers with strong academic backgrounds and perhaps foregrounds. Thierry Bros, an analyst with Société Générale in Paris, has published the first and only textbook about the geopolitical effects of the shale gas revolution. Since France is the only country in Europe to criminalise hydraulic fracturing, Bros' book resembles a guide to French wines authored by a Saudi. It is an excellent introduction to unconventional energy and how it is reshaping the geopolitical map of the world. It can be a useful primary textbook for courses about energy geopolitics for social science students.

Since we are at the beginning of the shale gas revolution, most of the book outlines the global pre-revolutionary geopolitics of natural gas production, distribution via pipelines and liquefied natural gas, trade and consumption, as well as the policy trade-offs between cheap, secure and clean energy. Only the last third of the

book outlines how all this is changing and attempts to prognosticate. The book will be most valuable to political scientists who wish to enter the field of energy geopolitics. It explains the necessary technical and economic energy terminology and concepts, so the reader can proceed then to read the specialised literature.

Shale Gas in Europe is an ambitious title, considering there are only a few exploratory wells in some European countries. The authors of this edited volume conclude that an energy revolution in Europe will take longer and be more expensive than in the US. As in the US, there is no central, federal, European policy or regulations about unconventional energy. Ernest Wyciszkievicz explains why and how this is. The political debate over shale gas and oil extraction took place within the European Parliament. The European Council remained largely neutral. Supporters of the technology from countries like Poland and free market parties succeeded in blocking an EU-wide moratorium. Since there are no specific EU regulations for hydraulic fracturing, Cécile Musialski interprets the meaning of the existing regulations for the oil and gas industry for the new technologies.

National case studies explore the political debates, actions and regulations in Poland and France – the countries with the largest unconventional resources in Europe. Edyta Materka conducted a fascinating ethnographic study of Polish villages in Pomerania, concluding that resistance to drilling is continuous with the older, communist-era, struggle over private property rights between owners of family farms and the state. Now, the interests of Kashubian farmers, whose livelihood from tourism and recreation are threatened, clash with the geopolitical interests of the Polish urban majority. Tomasi and Nicolet examined the 2011 French Prohibition Act that criminalised hydraulic fracturing. The Act does allow scientific experimentation, and since it does not define the technology, it leaves open the possibility of using related technologies. Other articles are devoted to the legal frameworks for unconventional exploration in Poland, Germany and the UK. Several articles examine the contentious regulatory frameworks that have been proposed by the European Parliament (but rejected), the regulations of various US states, the US federal government (for federal land), the International Energy Agency, the British Academy and the UK Onshore Operators Group. A particularly interesting report by

Ewen and Hammerbacher recounts Exxon's experiment in holding deliberative democratic fora in Germany – one for stakeholders and one for experts.

Articles in the second part of the anthology debate the prospects for energy revolution in Europe. Boston Consulting and Nigel Smith of the British Geological Survey compute that shale production will be more expensive in Europe than in the US due to adverse geological formations, scarcity of geological knowledge, rigs, infrastructure, higher costs of services and water, greater population density in some areas and a more risk-averse culture. The cost of production in Europe may be twice that in the US. Still, the current price of natural gas in Europe is five times its American Henry Hub price. Laura Parmigiani emphasises in her contribution the effects that local production would have on Europe's balance of trade and energy security.

Books about the unconventional energy revolution are bound to have a limited shelf life. The most recent developments in the UK and Ukraine are not covered in either book, nor are the older debates about the technologies in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic and Romania. Bros' textbook *After the US Shale Gas Revolution* will need to be updated periodically in new editions. It is high time for social scientists to begin paying attention to this geopolitical energy revolution.

Aviezer Tucker
(University of Texas at Austin)

Analysing Political Speeches: Rhetoric, Discourse and Metaphor by **Jonathan Charteris-Black**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. 274pp., £24.99, ISBN 9780230274396

In *Analysing Political Speeches: Rhetoric, Discourse and Metaphor*, Jonathan Charteris-Black provides a textbook offering a practical guide to the analysis and interpretation of a particular genre of political discourse: the political speech. The aim of the book is to provide readers with the knowledge and skills to assess the style, structure and persuasive linguistic elements of this important category of contemporary political communication. In doing so, Charteris-Black draws upon both traditional discourse analysis, including classical

studies of rhetoric, to more recent approaches of critical discourse analysis. Through detailed and systematic analysis, examples of political speeches – including inaugural Presidential speeches by John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama, David Cameron's EU speech of 2013 and Tony Blair's Iraq War speech of 2003 – he illustrates how discourse analysis reveals how language is constructed in successful political speeches to persuade and influence the audience within a specific social and cultural context.

The first part of the book focuses on traditional approaches to discourse analysis, particularly style and structure, while the second part examines and explains more critical approaches that focus on the significance of language to relationships of power, conveyed through features such as agency, modality and fallacy. As a practitioner of critical metaphor analysis, Charteris-Black pays particular attention to the use of metaphor as a persuasive strategic device. The book not only includes extensive illustrative examples, but also exercises and helpful guidance for those wishing to undertake their own discourse analysis research.

The book should be of interest to linguists, students of political and media studies, discourse analysts and speech writers. While it does not seek to provide a practical guide to speech writing, the work adds to a growing literature on the analysis of political discourse. Drawing upon a range of methodological approaches, Charteris-Black demonstrates how different techniques can be applied to empirical analysis to reveal the persuasive elements of political speeches. However, while the examples he provides represent a range of political perspectives, they are drawn exclusively from male British and American political leaders (with the exception of Lt. Col. Tim Collins' 'Eve of Battle' speech, which could be considered tenuously political, and a brief reference to former Malaysian Prime Minister, Dr. Mohammed Mahathir), which gives the work a rather patriarchal, Western-centric perspective. However, as an insightful introduction to the role and influence of political speeches in contemporary political dialogue, Charteris-Black has made a significant and instructive contribution to the literature.

Caryl Thompson
(University of Nottingham)

The Persistence of Nationalism: From Imagined Communities to Urban Encounters by **Angharad Closs Stephens**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 176pp., £80.00, ISBN 978-0415623452

Nationalism is one of the most important political ideologies to have impacted the trajectory of the twentieth century. Despite numerous critiques over this period seeking to transcend nationalism as a basis for political thought, nationalism 'continues to dominate different ways of expressing who we are and ... our relationship to others' (p. 2). It is this tension that Angharad Closs Stephens confronts in *The Persistence of Nationalism*.

The first part of the book critiques several historical texts on nations and nationalism, including ones by Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Max Weber and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and shows that the set of binary options that dominate debate in this field often reproduce aspects of nationalist thought, thereby undermining attempts to move beyond nationalism and to reconstitute political imagination. It concludes in showing that there may be other ways of understanding what it means to live with others and think politically, by engaging notions of urbanism and cosmopolitanism.

The second part of the book focuses on studies of urbanism, and suggests that how people interact with urban life may provide an avenue for rethinking community in a way that challenges nationalist precepts. In this sense, it is clear that Closs Stephens shares a post-modern disposition towards questioning nationalism as a useful construct. However, the book is not a polemic. It covers various modernist interpretations of nationalism, and does so well. However, the reader gets the sense that this has been at the expense of a discussion of the primordial explanations for, and other post-modern critiques of, nationalism. In this sense, the book is not an introductory one and is perhaps best suited to readers with some knowledge of the history of thought on nationalism.

In parts, the book's drafting could be improved. Closs Stephens' vernacular is sometimes verbose and overly stylised. Combined with an occasionally confusing structure and several grammatical errors, the book can, at times, read more like a manuscript than a refined final edition. Further, even for versed readers, Closs Stephens' cross-disciplinary choice of

subject matter is, at times, strikingly esoteric. This approach no doubt broadens the book's appeal beyond scholars of nationalism to those of cosmopolitanism, urbanism and perhaps even modernist historiography. However, this style requires a more systematic process for introducing and synthesising ideas. But these are minor criticisms. Overall, *The Persistence of Nationalism* serves as an original and thought-provoking contribution to the literature on nationalism from an urban perspective.

Nicholas J. McMeniman
(Australian Commonwealth Government)

[Please note that this review does not represent the views of, and nor is it associated with, the Australian government.]

The Prosperity of Vice: A Worried View of Economics by **Daniel Cohen (trans. Susan Emanuel)**. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012. 216pp., £19.95, ISBN 978 0 262 01730 5

Daniel Cohen, in *The Prosperity of Vice*, asks an important question: Is the developing world destined to repeat the barbarities that accompanied Western development – including the horrors of world war? 'Of course they will!' a cynic may say; wars and depressions have been a feature of human history. But, replies Cohen, the Industrial Revolution represented a radical change. Prior to it, mankind toiled under the sway of Malthus' Law of Population. This was the reign of the 'prosperity of vice': all those vices that kept the population in check made a society prosperous. But then Europe discovered the secret of perpetual growth, the 'philosopher's stone', and broke through Malthus' barriers. Yet the reign of virtue did not replace that of vice. What is more, the new vices are leading us towards an ecological crisis of unimaginable scale. At this point the reader may wonder how, if mankind is once again careering blindly towards the limits of his environment, Cohen can say that the Industrial Revolution overcame Malthus' Law?

From this shaky start, Cohen proceeds downhill. Too many words are consumed by an historical narrative that brings us no closer to understanding whether 'the Rest' are doomed to repeat the mistakes of 'the West'; instead, it deprives Cohen of the space to explore, in any great depth, the theories that could

provide an answer. He ends up rehearsing the usual complaints against the free market – consumerism, atomism, instability – all of which have been made more eloquently elsewhere. Consequently, this main section of the work feels unfocused, as Cohen jumps from one historical event and one interpretive theory to the next, often with little more than a paragraph or two at the beginning and end of the chapters to link them together.

Cohen ends with his great hope for the future: the ‘cyberworld’. This poorly defined concept is hoped to function as a means for a creating global solidarity, through which we can decide how to change Western consumption so that it may be universalised without ecological disaster. Thus this unoriginal work reveals itself to be yet another iteration of the Saint-Simonian cry that we have solved the problem of production and must now concern ourselves with its distribution. This is why Cohen must believe Malthus is dead: with his law in play, production was hard; with the ‘philosopher’s stone’ it is easy. Once again, the words of Ortega y Gasset go unheeded: ‘If you want to make use of the advantages of civilization, but are not prepared to concern yourself with the upholding of civilization – you are done. In a trice you find yourself left without civilization’ (José Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses*, 1932), p. 97).

Adam Clark
(Newcastle University)

Connecting Democracy: Online Consultation and the Flow of Political Communication by **Stephen Coleman and Peter M. Shane (eds)**. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012. 423pp., £18.95, ISBN 978 0262 516464

Is the internet enhancing democracy? This is the core question addressed in Coleman and Shane’s edited collection, *Connecting Democracy*. The book is divided into three sections examining the links between online communication and democracy, the meaning of online engagement for participants and an exploration of the ‘legal architecture’ that underpins e-democracy. At the outset, Shane (Chapter 1) offers a utopian vision of an e-democracy – Agora – with a highly engaged citizenry matched by a responsive state. The rest of the chapter details why this vision remains an ‘ambiguous reality’ (p. 2).

This theme underscores the book – the ongoing tension between the promise of e-democracy, and the often limited cases, to date. The first section, which contains some of the book’s strongest chapters, links theory to practice. Coleman and Price (Chapter 2) and Chadwick (Chapter 3) articulate the context for e-democracy, with the link and gap between the political elite and public explored, and the distinctiveness of Web 2.0. The book offers shrewd insights for practitioners and academics alike about the challenge of institutional design for online consultation (Chapter 4; Chapter 6, pp. 142–4). The ambivalence of the promise of e-democracy is also apparent in the second section, and it is striking how the third sector uses online technologies for ‘defensive purposes’ (Chapter 10, p. 209). The third section is perhaps the most sanguine, mapping out the legal brakes in both the US and EU on deepening e-democracy.

Ultimately, this is an important and valuable collection for scholars and practitioners of e-democracy, with numerous readings for relevant topics. As might be expected, the book only offers a partial account of these issues, and a dedicated section on the links between technology and democratic theory would have been useful. Many of the authors draw upon democratic theory, but not consistently. In part because this is a burgeoning field of research, a number of chapters only draw upon a small number of cases, and how far they are generalisable is open to question. The scope of the book provides short accessible chapters. Yet at times – e.g. Wright’s innovative attempt to map the different ‘journeys’ of e-participants that takes us beyond the rather sterile ‘digital divide’ debate – there is only limited space to expand upon the arguments. This book, however, is a key marker in an evolving field of research, and inches us closer to Agora.

Rob Manwaring
(Flinders University)

Living with HIV and Dying with AIDS: Diversity, Inequality and Human Rights in the Global Pandemic by **Lesley Doyal with Len Doyal**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. 249pp., £25.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 3111 4

In this wonderfully comprehensive book covering a wide range of issues related to the HIV/AIDS

pandemic, Lesley and Len Doyal document the diversity of experiences of different groups suffering from the pandemic, or its related effects, and offer constructive solutions concerning useful directions for combating the pandemic.

The book includes many useful features, such as the authors' extensive mapping of the pandemic and its complex contours, and their insightful account of the conceptual and practical tools that can help make progress in combatting it. They document different ways in which the disease is experienced by diverse agents along various lines including sex, gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, sexual identity, levels of disadvantage, regional location, age, drug use, access to health care and socio-economic status, to name but a few important dimensions on which people might experience the disease and its effects differently, and vary in their capacities to mitigate its effects.

Along with this careful diagnosis of the problems, the authors identify challenges that will need to be confronted in order to tackle the pandemic adequately. They examine the power of a human rights approach – both conceptually and practically – as a possible guiding tool in solving the complex issues that will need treatment. They propose a number of interconnected strategies that include more collaboration between biomedical researchers and social scientists to broaden the necessary evidence base, and developing fairer mechanisms for allocating resources both within HIV/AIDS care and among other areas of health care. The authors argue that more acknowledgment of the human rights that go unsecured when people suffer from HIV/AIDS or its effects would assist considerably, as would more accountability at national and international levels. We should place health needs at the centre of the post-2015 development goals, along with a matching commitment to resource adequate health care; this could be through global tax initiatives and reforms which could easily make the necessary funds available.

This book will be an invaluable tool for anyone researching or teaching topics related to this pandemic. The research on what it is like to live with HIV or AIDS – with many quotes directly from interviews – is quite fascinating and makes for powerful reading, as we learn about the different physical, psychological and social journeys that those infected with the disease (or others close to them) experience. The conceptual

framework outlining the links among HIV/AIDS, inequality and a variety of human needs provides a powerful tool for diagnosing core issues.

Gillian Brock
(University of Auckland)

Organisational Anthropology: Doing Ethnography In and Among Complex Organisations by **Christina Garsten and Anette Nyqvist (eds)**. London: Pluto Press, 2013. 259pp., £60.00, ISBN 978-0745332475

The study of organisations is arguably at the heart of social anthropology. The discipline has a long and relatively well-established record of exploring organisations as sites where systems of meaning are produced and circulated. This book highlights the contributions that anthropology can make to studying complex organisations and presents the inherent challenges for the discipline. Rather than outlining one approach to organisational research, the editors invite various contributors to describe their own fieldwork experiences as well as the methodological and theoretical lessons drawn from it. As a result, the reader has the opportunity to appreciate, learn from and be inspired by thirteen accounts of ethnographic fieldwork that vary from the lifestyle company Bang & Olufsen to policy meetings in the EU to the Freemasons in Italy.

The work provides three main contributions. First, the thick descriptions make this book a rich and engaging read for those interested in ethnography. Second, the anthropological gaze sheds light on informal and everyday processes, and reveals important aspects of power and knowledge construction that are sometimes still neglected in organisational research. Finally, the presented experiences of fieldwork are helpful for adapting ethnographic instruments to the new challenges of complex organisational settings. Several chapters highlight, for instance, that the traditional 'field', as a single-site location, is no longer a realistic expectation and that, as a consequence, ethnographers have to be flexible enough to repeatedly negotiate 'punctuated' entries. Likewise, the 'tribe' of organisational employees is often very similar to the researcher herself, offering the opportunity for quicker and deeper engagement. However, contributors also point out that similar background and language can make it difficult to understand

the way in which meaning is made and thus require heightened reflexivity to recognise the shared understandings and agreements as sources of potential bias.

Although the book's breadth of different fieldwork experiences provides an overview of organisational anthropology, the chapters are largely unrelated, describing the individual experience of each researcher in a specific context. While it is a good introduction to the issues in conducting this type of research, aspiring researchers are likely to want a deeper and more focused engagement. Also, while the descriptive character of many chapters is appropriate for reflecting anthropological fieldwork and making them interesting to read, the authors sometimes remain primarily descriptive. Perhaps the relatively short length of the chapters (thirteen pages, on average) did not give the authors enough space to substantiate their theoretical and methodological arguments.

Janosch N. Kullenberg
(University of Oxford)

Intelligence in an Insecure World by **Peter Gill and Mark Phythian**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012. 264pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 5279 5

The book summarises the key aspects of the intelligence world in a comprehensive manner, making up-to-date references on its evolution. Gill and Phythian do this by bringing together the past and present, providing the tools for understanding the technicalities and mysteries of the intelligence world. The volume brings a light to the different types of intelligence and how they work together to turn information into intelligence. Attention is given to the outcome of the intelligence process and how failure or non-democratic tendencies can be dealt with. The added value of the volume lies in the thorough analyses of the large quantity of information, excellently presented in a professional and clear manner.

The volume commences with basic aspects of the origins and understanding of intelligence, how it is done and how it should be understood, turning in the last chapters to issues such as intelligence failure and democratic control. Concluding, the volume raises the question of the use of intelligence for a more secure world as a key dimension for the future. Recently, we have witnessed vivid arguments regarding the legality

of the means and methods employed by intelligence agencies at home and abroad. Despite never aiming to be an all-inclusive presentation, the book successfully manages to show the reader the most important aspects of the contemporary debates in intelligence as the field grows in the spotlight of public universities across North America and Western Europe.

The contributions in Chapters 3–6 and Chapter 9 dealing with the creation of the intelligence make the most interesting part of the volume for students and untrained readers. This second edition of the volume comes as an update, including world-changing events such as 9/11 and the terrorist attacks on London and Madrid. These events defined the world of intelligence at the beginning of the twenty-first century as a foundation of government, used for strategic planning. To sum up, the volume offers provocative reading for students of intelligence and should be read by anybody interested in the topic.

Andrei Alexandru Babadac
(Independent Scholar)

The Combat Soldier: Infantry Tactics and Cohesion in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries by **Anthony King**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 538pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 19 965884 8

The Combat Soldier is a fascinating glimpse into the behaviour of men and women in warfare. Each chapter explores a central combat-related theme such as cohesion, modern tactics, battle drills, training, professionalism and female soldiers. Anthony King follows the combat soldier from the horrors of trench warfare in the First World War to the intense fighting of the Korean and Vietnam wars and beyond to the recent war in Afghanistan. King is sensitive to the dangers and deprivations of soldiers, but does not shirk from challenging the popular representation that 'war is hell' (p. 7.). War may be an asocial or antisocial phenomenon, he argues, but combat can also be viewed as a 'social activity' (p. 8). King's detailed analysis of how sections, platoons, companies and battalions (the units into which armies are organised) function in war is aimed at contributing to the literature on the sociology of the armed forces (p. 22). As he argues, 'political motivation was manifestly important to citizen soldiers in the Twentieth Century as citizens of a state' (p. 86), a

covenant that sees citizens called upon to make the ultimate sacrifice. This proposition will not be lost on those who are familiar with the seminal work of Samuel P. Huntington.

King draws some surprising conclusions. The poor performance of frontline infantry troops is attributable to different explanations, ranging from poor leadership to the unfamiliarity of best practice (or 'doctrine' in military parlance [p. 163]), which can be fatal. Thus we find British soldiers landing in Normandy on 6 June 1944 reluctant to kill – with the exception, notes King, of a certain Sergeant Major Hollis who singlehandedly charged enemy positions and won himself a Victoria Cross – and the lacklustre performance of 7th Armoured Division in Normandy, reinforcing the point that arrogance (p. 84), as much as jingoism and patriotism, can quickly open the door to failure. But it is King's presentation of the rise of professionalism, which refers 'above all to a complex of competence and a distinctive corporate identity which binds the members of the military together, committing them mutually to their duties', where this book adds real value (p. 443). King's indebtedness to the work of Durkheim's theories on the 'sociology of knowledge' is obvious here.

This book will appeal to students of military history, sociology and politics. It is a fine example of what serious empirical research and theoretical reflection can produce when applied to a misunderstood activity.

Aaron Edwards
(Royal Military Academy Sandhurst)

The Protection of Victims and Witnesses at International and Internationalized Criminal Courts: The Example of the ECCC by **Christiane Kunst**. Oisterwijk: Wolf Legal, 2013, 320pp., £24.00, ISBN 9789058508225

Christiane Kunst's book discusses the protective measures for victims and witnesses at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC). The main aim of Kunst's contribution is to study the interplay between the protection of victims and witnesses and the right to a fair trial for the accused. Although she presents her work as a case study on the ECCC, this book provides an overview of the protective measures in the other international and internationalised criminal courts (hereinafter, international courts).

Despite this, the author clarifies from the outset that studying the protective measures from the perspective of all the other international courts is out of the scope of her research: the examples from the other international courts are only used as comparative illustrations for the specific issues discussed in the book. The author succeeds in comparing the experience of the ECCC to the practice of the other international courts, but the lack of rigour in the choice of the international courts in each section of the book does not make it easy for the reader to follow her argument.

An absolute merit of this work is that it constitutes the first comprehensive study on protective measures in international criminal justice. It represents a valuable contribution to a topic that has not been explored enough by the scholarship. In fact, no monographs exist on protective measures in the ECCC and little is known about their functioning even in the other, more studied, international courts. The weakness in the approach of Kunst's book is that protective measures are studied from different perspectives. This causes some imbalance in the general structure of the book: on one side, the issues of anonymity of witnesses and admissibility are deeply analysed; on the other side, the use of protective measures during the investigative phase, pre-trial phase and post-trial is left out of the book's coverage. Despite this, the book remains a valuable tool for specialised readers and for those international criminal scholars who want to have a general insight on the topic. Given the procedural nature of the topic this book is not suitable for students who do not have a sound prior knowledge of procedural rules.

Rossella Pulvirenti
(University of Nottingham)

Global Institutions of Religion: Ancient Movers, Modern Shakers by **Katherine Marshall**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 240pp., £17.99, ISBN 978-0-415-78045-2

Religion is a notoriously slippery phenomenon. For instance, it is effortlessly named as a cause and, with lesser frequency, as a solution to conflict. In the present volume, Katherine Marshall, long-serving World Bank employee (1972–2006) and now Senior Fellow at Georgetown University's Berkeley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs, explores faith-inspired

organisations through a broadly defined institutional framework. The breadth of this survey is remarkable, touching on groups ranging from the Earth Charter Initiative to the US-headquartered Catholic Relief Services. Also addressed are the reception of religious principles within other international organisations, such as UN agencies and secular NGOs. Further, Marshall includes an interesting re-telling, based partly on her insider perspective, of the launching of a series of dialogues as a joint effort by James Wolfensohn, then-president of the World Bank and George Carey, then-Archbishop of Canterbury in 1998 – a process later institutionalised in 2000 as the World Faiths Development Dialogue.

There is a noticeable number of ill-rendered dates and other typographical errors present in *Global Institutions of Religions*. However, the major tension with this work from an academic perspective is the rarity of analysis and a general lack of explicit methodology. As a result, the summative effect, compounded by the frequent use of text boxes and sub-headings, is of a number of encyclopedia entries strung together. Yet this feature may be in keeping with the mandate – to provide accessible introductions to their subject matter – of the stream of the series in which Marshall's monograph is published. Regardless, and notwithstanding her acknowledged debt to research assistants, it must be acknowledged that Marshall has crafted an impressive map of vital religious actors and their global reach. The reader is left questioning the underlying premises of 'the secularisation thesis'. In this regard, Marshall negates the foundations for the notion that religious actors are on a trajectory to fade away to a point of irrelevance on the international scene.

This survey will be most useful to those striving to increase their religious literacy in the realms of peace, governance and, in particular, development. Marshall's writing style, which serves to navigate complex debates with ease, may have particular appeal to policy makers, students and academics, who could employ her work as an entry point to conducting further research. In this sense, Marshall's contribution is valuable, providing a firm footing upon which to start a journey through the slippery terrain of *Global Institutions of Religion*.

Christopher Hrynkow
(University of Saskatchewan)

Accelerating Democracy: Transforming Governance through Technology by John O. McGinnis.
Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013.
213pp., £19.95, ISBN 978 0 691 15102 1

John McGinnis explores the ever growing connection between technology and socio-political life. Relating technological advancements to the advancements in democracy, the author discusses how technology and social knowledge may result in both positive and negative outcomes. He argues that technological change has altered politics, since the former's penetrating capabilities can, for instance, enhance the capacity of the few remaining rogue states.

The book is a valuable reference for any student of the gradually intertwining fields of democracy and technology since it is a well-written analysis arguing that democratic government is in need of evolution due to rapid technological changes. The author addresses the opportunities and challenges presented to democratic governance by technological changes in seven substantive chapters. Though not reflected in the table of contents, the author has divided the book into three logical parts (p. 6). Chapter 1 argues that the rate of technological change may pose serious problems to governance, urging improved political deliberation. Chapter 2 consequently claims that knowledgeable political reform is only possible if combining the expertise of information technologies and political theory. In the second part of the book, under the umbrella of information technologies, Chapters 3 to 6 analyse empiricism, prediction markets, dispersed media and artificial intelligence, respectively. The chapters argue that each technology has its own valuable function; however, their effectiveness can be enhanced only through the establishment of new information production rules by the government. Chapter 7 brings these technologies together by providing recommendations on their integration into a modern state. The third part of the book discusses the issue of bias and of adopting reforms based on technological change that can fight that bias.

Not overburdened by exclusive theoretical discussions, the book has the potential not only to be included in courses on the connection between technology and democracy but also to be of interest to a general yet inquisitive reader. Its engaging and enquiring style

provokes thought on the future of a number of domains, including technology and political regimes.

Nelli Babayan
(Freie Universität Berlin)

The Psychology of Dictatorship by **Fathali M. Moghaddam**. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2013. 254pp., £62.95, ISBN 978-1433812989

In this ambitious study the author tries to develop a general theory explaining the persistence of dictatorships across cultures and over long periods in history. Drawing on numerous examples from dictatorships around the world with a special focus on his home country of Iran, the author posits that dictatorship rather than democracy is the norm in human history (p. 27) and that it is possible for any stable democracy to regress to a dictatorship if certain conditions are met (p. 142). The author justifies his rather pessimistic view with historical lessons taught by Nazi Germany, Stalinist Russia and the modern dictatorships in Iran, Zimbabwe, China and North Korea.

What is common to all dictatorships is the 'normative system that enables the ideological cohesion of the power elite and its use of brute force to control the masses' (p. 36). Moghaddam rejects causal explanations and stresses the importance of agency: the dictator has the monopoly of power to shape the normative system and enforce the respect of those norms set from above (p. 51). At this stage he introduces his 'springboard model of dictatorship' to explain the ascendance of dictators in times of crisis. According to Moghaddam it is not the personal characteristics or traits of the dictator that are critical in the first place, but rather external factors such as perceived threats, uncertainty or the level of loyal support from elites and established institutions (p. 83). In other words, dictators are not born, but they are made and the source of dictatorship can be found in social relationships and the wider culture (p. 86). In order to ensure continuity and maximise social cohesion, dictators use various psychologically grounded tactics such as displacement, conformity, obedience, torture or cognitive dissonance.

In the last chapters of the book the author argues on a more positive note that it is possible to end dictatorship if the normative system crumbles. This happened, for example, in 2011 in Tunisia when President Ben

Ali was removed (p. 183). The successful termination of a dictatorship is linked to two conditions: the internal elite consensus and support for the dictator falls apart, and the majority of citizens regard the regime as illegitimate. Unfortunately, Tunisia has remained one of the few success stories. In most cases the collectively shared culture of authoritarianism makes it difficult to get rid of dictatorships (p. 194). On top of this, a culture of violent intimidation in many countries prevents regime change (p. 199). Although the present study does not really offer a new compelling scientific contribution to the existing literature or make a significant theoretical advance, it contains a strong personal appeal to safeguard our democracy.

Patrick Hein
(Meiji University, Japan)

Imperialism and Capitalism in the Twenty-First Century: A System in Crisis by **James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. 247pp., £55.00, ISBN 9781409467328

The main achievement of this text is its historical-materialist account of the recent economic and political history of Latin America. The authors discuss the abandonment of neoliberal discourses by numerous Latin American regimes since the early 2000s, arguing that the adoption of populist and socialist rhetoric has not been matched by economic change. Rather, post-neoliberal regimes have become detached from the social movements that brought them to power, and instead of fundamentally altering national economies, they have collaborated with international capital to extract rents from natural resources as a source of revenue for piecemeal, ameliorative social programmes. The authors argue that this regime type is highly dependent upon the ongoing boom in commodity exports. Chapter 3 contains an illuminating account of the history of direct action by the peasantry and indigenous communities in the form of land invasions. In Chapter 8, the authors hypothesise that the refocusing of direct action against exploitative extractive industries currently forms the boldest locus of anti-neoliberal efforts on the continent.

Petras and Veltmeyer also give an analysis of contemporary world capitalism, which is less satisfactory, and suffers from an attachment to the Leninist notion that 'capitalism is fundamentally tied to the nation state'

(p. 18). Since they oppose the common thought that globalisation has increasingly detached capital from the nation state, they resort to denying that globalisation is an objective economic process and rather postulate that a 'semi-secret cabal' (p. 215) of world leaders is deploying a myth of inevitable globalisation to force acceptance of neoliberal reforms. This view is somewhat conspiratorial, and at odds with the historical materialism that the authors profess. Comments on contemporary international relations wander from any recognisable methodology. The authors defend Vladimir Putin's democratic record against the slander of 'the imperialist mass media' (p. 110), yet describe the current government of Spain as a 'neo-Franco regime' (p. 103). Further, and unsurprisingly in light of the criticism which Petras has received from the Anti-Defamation League, we are alerted to 'US Zionists ... a prosperous elite [who have] driven an empire into a series of prolonged colonial wars ... in pursuit of a "Greater Israel"' (p. 107).

This book is mixed. The analysis of Latin America is written in a popularly intelligible manner, and manages to be synoptic yet rooted in a rich array of case studies. It makes cautious, plausible forecasts about the future, but the discussion of the wider world makes strong claims on the basis of unsound theory and little evidence.

Marcus William Hunt
(Queen's University Belfast)

Cyber War Will Not Take Place by **Thomas Rid**. London: C. Hurst, 2013. 256pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 1849042802

Cyber War Will Not Take Place aims to bring a fresh perspective to the cyber-security debate – a debate that has been characterised by a multitude of voices but a lack of rigour. The preface explains how the book was written to 'offer the reader a solid yet accessible contribution to this debate, an attempt to help consolidate the discussion, attenuate some of the hype, and adequately confront some of the most urgent security challenges' (p. ix). Along with these aims, Thomas Rid sets out a more specific argument: that cyber war hasn't occurred and is very unlikely to occur. Instead, Rid argues, what we are witnessing is 'a computer-enabled assault on violence itself' (p. xiv).

This book is aimed at 'students, analysts, and journalists' (p. ix) and will appeal particularly to those

looking for a detailed empirical case study analysis of the topic. Despite this methodological and analytical focus, time is still afforded (most notably in the opening chapters) to the more theoretical and conceptual aspects of the debate surrounding, for example, war and violence.

The author succeeds in achieving his goals in a well written and thoroughly researched book. With topics ranging from 'what is cyber war?' through to specific chapters on espionage, sabotage and subversion, Rid manages to consolidate and effectively analyse many aspects of the cyber-security debate without hyperbole. He achieves this by avoiding simplistic analysis and engaging with technical aspects throughout. Any risk of alienating readers with technical details is avoided due to the author's accessible writing style and use of case studies which provide the requisite knowledge and application to better understand the more technical aspects. However, this reliance on case studies, coupled with the book being divided into seven clear sections, can result in a slightly disjointed feel and disrupt the book's flow. This criticism is mitigated to a degree with the inclusion of an explicit introduction and concluding chapter.

Rid concludes that it is time for the cyber-security debate to 'leave the realm of myth and fairytale' (p. 174). Although this book is not the only contribution that sets out to challenge the assumptions and headlines that dominate this debate, *Cyber War Will Not Take Place* is unique in its scope and analytical quality. Rid's book serves as an informative overview of the discussion thus far, as well as a reminder of how much research potential there is in cyber-security for researchers, both across and within disciplines.

Andrew Whiting
(Swansea University)

Politics, Religion and Gender: Framing and Regulating the Veil by **Sieglinde Rosenberger and Birgit Sauer (eds)**. London: Routledge, 2012. 243pp., £86.64, ISBN 978-0415705134

Veil, burqua, hijab, chador, çarşaf ... These words have hit the headlines concerning the head and body coverings of Muslim women in the public sphere in Europe over the last decade. This book provides an extremely detailed and methodologically rich

discussion of Muslim women's veiling practices in eight European countries and the EU. The articles collected in this volume originated from a project funded by the Sixth European Research Framework of the European Commission. The VEIL project (2006–9) explored the convergence and divergence of the policies regulating the headscarf in Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Turkey and the UK. Furthermore, the book includes a chapter on Bulgaria, which has the largest Muslim minority, in order to shed light on the situation in Eastern Europe.

Comparing policy and media debates in these countries the book aims, first, to map out the meanings attached to veiling with regard to frames, values and principles, and to analyse policy outcomes and modes of regulation in different national settings in a comparative perspective. Differently from previous work done on the headscarf issue that introduced prohibitive, selective and non-restrictive models of headscarf regulation across Europe, the book distinguishes between prohibition, accommodative regulation and non-regulation. Policies of non-regulation, however, might result in excluding veiled women and become a tool to maintain the *status quo* of a monocultural society in some situations (see Chapter 9).

The book is split into two parts. The first sets out the framing of policy debates and cross-nationally compares the frames with regard to the use, negotiation and construction of gender images (Chapter 1); the significance of secularism in arguments pro and contra veiling (Chapter 2); the construction of identity, rights and belonging (Chapter 3); and the discursive construction of European value-based identity (Chapter 4). The second part elaborates on the research results by analysing different outcomes of regulation and legislation of the headscarf issue. In these chapters, various authors examine the role of institutional settings (e.g. citizenship regimes, recognition of religious communities and anti-discrimination policies) behind variations in the regulation of the headscarf among different European countries.

By laying a theoretical and methodological framework for analysing the regulation of veiling in Europe, the book is an indispensable asset for scholars and researchers of religion and politics, citizenship, migra-

tion, gender studies and multiculturalism. Nonetheless, and despite its strengths, the book does not offer a continuous reading and the chapters are only loosely related to each other.

Digdem Soyaltin
(Freie Universität Berlin)

The Oxford Handbook of the Politics of International Migration by **Marc R. Rosenblum and Daniel J. Tichenor (eds)**. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. 660pp., £95.00, ISBN 978 0 19533722 8

The topic of international migration is very complex as well as highly politically salient. This handbook – (OHPIM) – responds very well to the research challenges that enquiries into international movements of huge numbers of people pose. It is a matter of understanding both immigration and emigration from political, economic and cultural standpoints and humanitarian concerns.

All the articles emphasise the ambiguity and opacity of international migration. Thus, they capture extremely well the very different groups of people who are in migration, often for entirely different reasons with varying intentions. International migration is reciprocal, resulting in effects upon both receiver and sender countries. It can be analysed from both the micro and the macro approaches.

Economically, there are winners and losers at both the micro and macro levels, as some countries benefit a great deal whereas others suffer considerable burdens. Migration is driven by powerful economic forces which complement processes related to freedom of trade and increases in foreign direct investment; thus there is a need for highly qualified as well as low-paid labour, a need of remittances and so on. Migration tends to promote Pareto improvements (i.e. a change in the allocation of resources which results in an improvement for at least one individual), but actual compensation for losers is missing.

Politically, immigration breaks up the stability of the party system, promoting electoral volatility with protest or populist parties. The OHPIM offers several interesting enquiries into how the policy positions of right- and left-wing parties have changed over time. Left-wing parties have a more positive evaluation of

immigration than right-wing parties, but some of the right-wing parties are sensitive to the demands of business. Organised interest organisations tend to be positive towards immigrants.

The OHPIM approaches the cultural dimension of migration processes from the perspective of ethnicity (i.e. language and historical legacy). The rise of large ethnic minority communities in some of the immigrant countries – bearing in mind that migration is very skewed globally – has made the assimilation approach outdated. The theory of multiculturalism suffers from a lack of borders: Is it possible for a modern state to contain not just ethnic diversity, but also several *nations* as well as multiple *diasporas*? The OHPIM speaks about races and racial differences. In relation to the US, this is understandable, given that the official population statistics employ a detailed classification of races. Yet the concept of a coherent ‘race’ is discarded in both the natural and social sciences. Why not speak of Latinos as an *ethnie*, and then enquire into their degree of *compactness*?

With regard to humanitarian aspects, the OHPIM devotes considerable attention to problems relating to refugees, involuntary migration and illegal migration, including human trafficking and the new terrorism.

This handbook is a great resource for this expanding research field, and excellent lists of references accompany each contribution. Nonetheless, the role of religion in the politics of migration could have been better illuminated, especially for Europe.

Jan-Erik Lane
(Independent Scholar)

Environmental Networks and Social Movement Theory by **Claire Saunders**. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013. 265pp., £55.00, ISBN 9781849660525

In *Environmental Networks and Social Movement Theory*, Claire Saunders develops the concept of ‘environmental networks’ and aims to examine how ideologically differing environmental organisations interact through the lens of Social Movement Theory (SMT). The book draws on substantive survey material, interviews and participant observation of numerous environmental organisations within London

in order to address the paucity of literature surrounding ‘networks’ within environmental movement research.

The ‘environmental networks’ that are proposed by Saunders refer to the links, connectivities and encounters that exist between environmental organisations in their multiple instantiations. In seeking to expand the remit of SMT, Saunders calls for an understanding of environmental networks as a dynamic process which builds upon historical interactions between environmental organisations, coupled with present-day interactions with individuals, policy and campaign targets. Saunders comprehensively considers how a series of social-movement-derived theories, including resource mobilisation theory, political opportunity structures and collective identity, can be integrated to help explain the interaction of environmental organisations within environmental networks. For example, Saunders notes that given the diversity in issue foci and campaign approaches it can be difficult for organisations to share a collective identity, and so the potential within an environmental network for competition between organisations arises (p. 176). Despite these potential ideological differences, Saunders finds that organisations network effectively, especially when focused on a common campaign goal – notably aviation expansion.

In terms of the structure of the book, Saunders presents in turn the SMTs as delineated above and critically grounds these within an empirically driven discussion of their effectiveness in understanding interactions within environmental networks. The subsequent ‘synthetic analytical framework for understanding the complexities of interaction between environmental groups’ (p. 179), proposed by Saunders, argues that an effective understanding of environmental networks should eclectically embrace these multiple segments of SMT, rather than viewing them as competing paradigms.

Although not within the scope of her book, Saunders ponders (p. 202) the potentiality of expanding her empirical frame to consider how environmental networks interact around regionally localised environmental issues, in addition to their connection to the London hub. This would provide an interesting understanding of the deeper nuances of environmental networks within SMT at a variety of different scales.

Overall, this book successfully provides a constructive framework for considering environmental networks through a 'dynamic process' combining a range of aspects of SMT which have previously been considered in isolation. It highlights the extensive, and often surprising, network links between environmental organisations of differing spatial and ideological standpoints. This book's depth and accessible writing style make it an excellent accompaniment to both new and established readers examining politics, environmentalism and social movements.

William Knight
(University of Nottingham)

News on the Internet: Information and Citizenship in the 21st Century by **David Tewksbury and Jason Rittenberg**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. £60.00, 208pp., ISBN 978-0195391961

The Oxford Handbook of Internet Studies by **William H. Dutton (ed.)**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 632pp., £105.00, ISBN 978-0199589074

We are now living in an era where the information flow never stops. There was a time when news stories were broadcast to us for 30–60 minutes, with most of the stories being run for a couple of minutes in a certain order. Those who wanted to know the details had to wait for the morning newspapers that provided relatively deep analysis of various stories as compared to television. Then came 24/7 news channels that kept streaming throughout the day. But this also followed a top-down approach, as there was limited scope for instant audience feedback. At the same time, objective reporting was the model within which news media operated (although whether it really existed is another issue).

In their book *News on the Internet* David Tewksbury and Jason Rittenberg, demonstrate how the mushrooming internet-based sources of news have ushered in a shift in the 'very meaning of news'. There is a shift from a 'top down news system' to one of 'horizontal interaction' that has also transformed the relationships between media and citizens. Traditionally, the one-way dissemination of news led to the dependence of the audience on news and media professionals, who selected the news and determined the flow of news to the audience within certain customised routines. The

change in the news environment has impacted upon the idea of citizenship as the coming of mobile and online technologies has changed the role of audiences.

Alongside the arrival of the internet there have also been changes in the accessibility of information, which has also transformed what Bruce Bimber (in *Information and American Democracy*, 2003) calls the 'information regime'. From being hierarchically organised, the media system has diversified because of the information revolution, which has significantly altered the relationship between the political system and citizens. The internet is creating citizen journalists, who were mostly the audience before the rise of the new media, and they are redefining the news online. Tewksbury and Rittenberg argue that consuming news online is helping people to think about politics in new ways. What is important to note is that instead of celebrating the rise of the internet, the authors provide a nuanced account of the changing information environment in the news media system. The internet also allows maximum control of news consumption, as people can filter and choose content according to their tastes and predispositions. The authors critically discuss the charges of fragmentation and polarisation that are often brought against the online news because of the rise in specialised news consumption. Overall, the book provides valuable insights to understand the shift in the news environment, particularly with regard to the nature and content of online news and how audiences interact with the news and influence its content.

The Oxford Handbook of Internet Studies edited by William Dutton is a collection of essays by leading scholars in the field of internet studies. This handbook brings together a vast range of essays that specifically address questions of the forces that are shaping the internet, the ways it has been used by different individuals and groups, and what are its implications for the wider society. In short, the book addresses internet technology, its use in society, and evolving law and policies governing the design and use of the internet around the world.

The book comprises 26 succinct chapters divided into five parts. The first part has five chapters that deal with 'perspectives on the internet' and provide the history of new media. The contributions in this section highlight the diversity of approaches to the study of

the internet and its changing role in society. Part II, entitled 'Living in a Network Society', comprises six chapters that deal with various aspects of the use of the internet in everyday life and how access to information is changing the social and political dynamics in society. The changing economic and business environment and what it means to be a member of a 'global network economy' is the focus of Part III. Comprising five chapters, this part shows the ways the internet and information communication technologies have influenced business and commerce, as well as academic research and education, across both the public and private sectors. Parts IV and V are the most interesting sections of the book. Part IV explores the ways the internet is transforming communication, media and politics worldwide. In chapter 18, for example, Boczkowski and Mitchelstein demonstrate the changing patterns of news production and consumption with the coming of the internet that has transformed the information and communication environment. The final part of the book deals with the policy and regulation issues related to the internet. Far from being ungovernable, as argued by earlier proponents of the internet, there are many laws and regulations that apply to the internet, and on a global level it has brought the issue of freedom of speech to the fore. The contributions in this handbook clearly demonstrate the global significance of the internet in various fields.

Overall both books are a welcome addition to the growing literature on internet studies, and would be useful to scholars of journalism, comparative media and policy studies, as well as to media professionals and policy makers.

Taberez Ahmed Neyazi
(Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi)

An Intellectual History of Terror: War, Violence and the State by **Mikkel Thorup**. London: Routledge, 2012. 278pp., £28.00, ISBN 978 0 415 62219 6

Volumes on terrorism have proliferated wildly in recent years, but few have been as ambitious and thought-provoking as Mikkel Thorup's *An Intellectual History of Terror*, which not only surveys the evolving concept of 'terror' from ancient time to the present

day, but also places terrorism within a broader history of violence, noting at the beginning that 'state and terrorist share the same cultural, structural and legitimacy environment' and that terrorism exists in a dialectic relationship with the state (p. 2).

Thorup first surveys how violence has historically been justified – and defined – by states and their challengers before illustrating how the emergence of the Westphalian system makes the state not only a 'violently privileged' actor, but also one haunted by the spectre of the frontier, of the threat of disorder. In the second section of the book, Thorup offers an 'archive of terrors', tracking the evolution of 'terror' from biblical times onward, until, with the French Revolution, it becomes not 'a defense of the existing order' (terror as a proper attitude toward rightful authority), but rather 'a revolutionary concept of state or *order making*', forward-looking rather than backward-looking (p. 92). Only after 1945 does the term consolidate to describe violence for political purposes, though the author observes a recent shift of the concept 'back to terror as completely incomprehensible', moving into the metaphysical in present-day discourse (p. 134).

In part because the modern 'war on terror' has been compared with the Barbary Wars, Thorup offers three chapters examining the pirate as the quintessential terrorist (and the privateer as comparable to the 'independent contractor' of current conflicts). However, the book's last two chapters drive home the complexity inherent in the concept of terror. The first surveys securitist critiques of liberal democracy that fetishise 'unity as the condition for existence and action' drawing 'a dividing line between the legitimate and the illegitimate, friend and enemy' that mimics the state/terrorist dialectic (p. 201). The second illustrates how the language of post-sovereignty, cosmopolitanism and humanitarianism actually serves to facilitate increased violence by allowing Western powers to 're-describe imperial control as protection of human rights' (p. 216).

Thorup traces the evolution of 'terror' as a concept – and the broader implications of its evolving meaning – with fantastic logic and concision. This book is not simply a primer on the phenomenon of terrorism; it is also an eye-opening meditation upon the place of violence in state formation and maintenance.

Guy Lancaster
(Independent Scholar)

Free Market Fairness by **John Tomasi**. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012. 348pp., £24.95, ISBN 978 0 691 14446 7

Exploitation and Economic Justice in the Liberal Capitalist State by **Mark R. Reiff**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 348pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 19 966400 9

In *Free Market Fairness*, John Tomasi asks whether libertarians can care about social justice. He answers the question in the affirmative by developing a new concept of ‘market democracy’, which he locates between classical and high liberalism. This hybrid concept considers both economic liberties as emphasised by classical liberals like Hayek, and political justification as stressed by high liberals or left liberals like Rawls to be significant. The title of the book indicates the combination of ideas that had long seemed difficult to combine. In the first two chapters, the author discusses the essential concepts, values and principal scholars of classical and high liberalism. He then examines his central ideas on market democracy by comparing his position with, especially, Rawls’s and Hayek’s philosophical ideas.

In Tomasi’s concept of market democracy, ‘justice’ is important, as left liberals believe. The left liberals think that governments should control to distribute a wide range of social services such as education, health care, social security and others for citizens in society, irrespective of their social classes. Some may then raise a critical question: What is the difference argued by the author between social democracy that is supported by left liberals and market democracy? With regard to this question, the author advocates a thick conception of economic freedom as a fundamental requirement of market democracy, explaining the major differences between the two ideal theoretic standards (see Chapter 8). The author concludes that public institutions should be designed ‘to allow even the poorest citizens to accumulate and personally control the greatest possible bundle of wealth’ (p. 272).

Similarly, Mark R. Reiff’s central concern in *Exploitation and Economic Justice in the Liberal Capitalist State* is also the increase of economic inequality in many societies. He stresses that high levels of economic inequality are closely associated with not just ‘inequality in political power, a greater potential for corruption and polarisation of the political process’, but also social

unrest and a negative effect on economic growth (p. 11). Reiff’s aim in this book is to articulate a new liberal egalitarian approach to economic inequality, the ‘theory of exploitation’, which can be supported by both the left and the right. The author pays attention to two significant concepts – ‘just price’ and ‘intolerable unfairness’ – in order to explain the theory of exploitation.

In the first chapter, Reiff reviews understandings of the concept of ‘exploitation’ as discussed by Marx and other scholars such as Pigou, and then offers his own conception of exploitation as a broader term. He underlines it as reflecting ‘a concern for both distributive and commutative justice’ (p. 43). He then explains under what circumstances the price is made unjust, with various examples. He argues that ‘any society that has political liberalism will necessarily have some conception of equality of opportunity’ (p. 303), and addresses a libertarianism that can embrace the concern of economic equality through the redistribution of wealth and income. The notable common ground of both Reiff’s and Tomasi’s works is their insisting that economic inequality in society should be rectified only by a political approach that concerns economic justice. In addition, they promulgate the possibility of libertarianism curing the problem of economic inequality.

Both books are of crucial importance in terms of advancing the question of economic inequality with a novel perspective. However, the real value of these works will be added when the theories suggested by Tomasi and Reiff are adopted in practice and found effective for bringing economic justice to many societies. Both books will be greatly helpful to students of political philosophy and political economy, especially for those whose interests lie in economic inequality and economic justice.

Sojin Shin
(National University of Singapore)

Modernity: Understanding the Present by **Peter Wagner**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012. 190pp., £12.73, ISBN 9780745652917

Peter Wagner has been reflecting on modernity and its historical trajectories in modern societies for the past decade. As a scholar of social theory and political

philosophy, Wagner's research focuses on the comparative analysis of both social and political forms of modernity. In *Modernity: Understanding the Present*, Wagner presents an overview of the social theory that engages with the concept of modernity by analysing the changing definition of the term 'modernity' in its historical and contemporary contexts. The work creates a strong foundation for the interpretation of modernity in the 1960s and its post-1979 reassessment, when a sense of superiority of the West during the Cold War era divided the world into three domains: the liberal-democratic industrial capitalism of the First World, the Soviet-style socialism of the Second World and the Third World of so-called 'developing countries'.

Wagner divides the book into two parts. In the first part, he takes a revisionist approach to Western modernity by re-theorising its relation to the Enlightenment, the French and American revolutions, the Protestant Reformations and the worldview prevailing during the Cold War era. The second part analyses Western modernity's association with capitalism and democracy in contemporary expression. Although the use of extensive subtitles allows for a better understanding of the material and summaries of Wagner's findings, the book fails to clarify how post-modernity exposes itself in liberal democracies, and whether modernity refers to an abstract imagined space. It would have been helpful to address this question explicitly by inviting a conversation about theoretical and practical differences between modernity as an idea and modernisation as a process.

Overall, the book discusses interpretations of the term 'modernity' and its application to global societies in a historical sense e.g. the European and non-European trajectories of modernity and varieties of post-colonial situations. Wagner's interpretation, as influenced by the philosophical and sociological theories of Karl Marx, Max Weber and Immanuel Kant, helps us understand the historical roots of contemporary tension between democracy and democratisation. It is clear through Wagner's writing style and organisation that the book is intended for fellow scholars and advanced-level graduate students rather than undergraduate students or the general public, although the contents do provide a stimulating read for all.

Mehmet Karabela
(Ipek University, Ankara)

The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics by **Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola and S. Laurel Weldon (eds)**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 872pp., £95.00, ISBN 978 0 19 975145 7

Gender has been largely overlooked in much of traditional and contemporary political science. Nevertheless, politics as a real life practice and as an academic science is significantly gendered – the most obvious example being the continuing male domination in both politics and the political science academy. By contrast, this handbook makes gender the point of departure for thinking about political science. The roots of the core assumptions about what constitutes politics go back to the work of political theorists such as John Locke, who analytically separated the public and the private sphere, thereby constituting the private sphere 'as lying outside the political arena and therefore not form[ing] part of the legitimate subject matter of the discipline' (p. 7).

The notion of a separation of the public and the private persists today and significantly affects the way economies are structured and economic value is calculated, as well as what and who counts as political and as politics. It was feminist advocates and academics who first pushed for a definition of politics that encompassed 'the personal' and 'the private', including male violence against women, unpaid care work, sexuality, access to abortion and reproduction. However, this comprehensive handbook beautifully demonstrates that the discipline of gender and politics is not merely about sexuality, the body, work, motherhood and violence. Gender operates along institutionalised relations of power and violence and along several inter-related dimensions such as sex, class, sexuality and race; and it encompasses the organisation of citizenship, intimacy and labour.

The handbook captures this complexity and multi-dimensionality in 34 chapters written by established scholars in the field and is ordered into seven broad sections. The first section outlines the main concepts of gender and politics as well as its specific contribution to methods and methodology. The second section focuses on body politics, including chapters on reproductive rights, gendered violence, sexuality and heteronormativity. A third section discusses the genderedness of the political economy, looking at

issues connected to production and reproduction. Given the scholarship's close link to the practice of politics and feminism in particular it should not come as a surprise that an entire section is dedicated to civil society and feminist organising for change. The next two sections engage with classical political institutions, systems and structures: the chapters of the fifth section zoom in on participation and representation in political parties, electoral systems, judicial politics and courts; while the sixth section examines the gendered nature of the state, governance and policy making. The final section engages with the dilemmas of (gender) equality and the meaning of citizenship and 'the nation'. All in all, this handbook provides a nuanced state of the art of the rich field of gender and politics for both established and starting political scientists.

Petra Debusscher
(University of Antwerp)

Britain and Ireland

Portrait of a Party: The Conservative Party in Britain, 1918–1945 by **Stuart Ball**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 591pp., £85.00, ISBN 978 0 19 966798 7

The years between 1918 and 1945, as Stuart Ball notes in this book, was one of four periods in the age of modern political parties in which the Conservative Party dominated British politics. How they came to exercise and maintain this dominance is an important theme of this book, which offers a comprehensive examination of the party's organisation, operation and direction between the two world wars. In a series of topical chapters, Ball details the party's structure from the constituency associations to the Central Office, the composition of its parliamentary membership, and the leadership and how it managed the party within the context of governing the country.

What emerges is a picture of a party that was well positioned to exploit the beneficial circumstances before it. The opposition during the period was in flux, with the Liberal Party being supplanted by the Labour Party as the Conservatives' main challenger. The decline of Liberalism nationally, and the

geographically and socially constrained appeal of Labour, meant that the Conservative Party enjoyed a unique status as the only political party with a truly national appeal. This was reflected not only in their strength among the middle class and the rural regions, but in their success in courting working-class voters as well, which was indispensable to gaining the party's parliamentary majorities. Ball sees several factors playing a role in this success, including unity of belief, superior organisation and a moderate strategy in national politics. Together, they gave the Conservatives a focus and direction that ensured their dominance throughout the 1920s and 1930s – a dominance that Ball suggests would have continued well into the 1940s but for the disruptive effects of the Second World War.

Such a summary can only begin to do justice to this detailed and wide-ranging work, one that reflects the enormous amount of research and analysis undertaken in its writing. Comparisons with John Ramsden's earlier study of the Conservatives during this period, *The Age of Balfour and Baldwin* (published in 1978), are inevitable, and in nearly every respect Ball meets or exceeds the high bar set by that book. With his expansion on Ramsden's work on constituency associations and his inclusion of an examination of the shared principles which united Conservatives, Ball has written a work that will serve historians and political scientists alike as an invaluable resource for understanding the Conservative Party during the interwar era.

Mark Klobas
(Scottsdale Community College, Arizona)

The Cultural Politics of Austerity: Past and Present in Austere Times by **Rebecca Bramall**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. 192pp., £50.00, ISBN 9780230360471

The Cultural Politics of Austerity is a critical and novel contribution to a contemporary debate of crucial importance: how the meaning of 'austerity', as something that is related but different to government spending cuts, is negotiated in everyday life. Although the volume is explicitly framed primarily as a contribution to memory studies, Rebecca Bramall's arguments will clearly be of interest beyond that field as well. In particular, it will be of interest to those who believe

that the political science and economy literature on the 'age of austerity' – as brilliant and innovative as some of it clearly is – can be impaired by a limited and strict conception of 'politics' and who also believe, as a result, that there are additional issues at stake in the debate.

Theoretically, the book rests on how the past has a specific function in politics. Political science and historicity have an odd relationship. Many are happy to draw on historical case studies in theory building, or to use history as a variable in explaining policy change and continuity. Few, however, have analysed the essential historicity of political practice: how the past and historical analogies (whether valid or invalid) have a specific function in how many people make sense of and fight out contemporary debates and issues. Bramall teases this out brilliantly.

The focus of the book is on how 'austerity Britain' (1939–54) has been used as a comparative analogy in the discourse of austerity. Through this work, Bramall shows how the discourse of austerity must be understood beyond economic arguments about the appropriateness of fiscal consolidation. Austerity, more broadly conceived of as a lifestyle that harks back to an idealised past, can also be seen as an increasingly desirable virtue among the middle classes, eco-activists, some strands of feminism and so on. Austerity, then, is more than just government spending cuts; it is evident in increasingly faddish allotment gardens, 'keep calm and carry on' posters, 'cupcake feminism', 'austerity chic' and many other examples of imagery and symbols that we constantly negotiate and produce on a daily basis.

This is an important argument, but readers coming from a political science or political economy perspective might be left wanting more. How, for example, do these experiences impact upon how spending cuts are viewed or legitimated? Bramall stays strangely quiet on these sorts of questions, introducing a distinction between 'cuts' and 'austerity' early on. Nevertheless, this should not detract from what is an interesting, well-researched and important intervention into an otherwise overly economic debate about the nature and meaning of austerity.

Liam Stanley
(University of Birmingham)

Veteran MPs and Conservative Politics in the Aftermath of the Great War: The Memory of All That by **Richard Carr**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. 234pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 4103 8

According to Richard Carr's estimates, a total of 448 veterans of the First World War won election as Conservatives to the House of Commons during the interwar period. On the face of it, such a large number (which peaked at 221 in the election of 1931) should have made a significant impact on national politics. Yet as Carr demonstrates, they never enjoyed an influence commensurate with their numbers. To explain why this was so, Carr analyses their experience through the lens of interwar politics, showing how the lofty aspirations that they carried into office rarely translated into effective results.

Carr begins by describing the entry of these veterans into politics in the aftermath of the war. They often campaigned on the defining experience of their service, viewing it as an asset on the hustings. Such efforts helped to cement the Conservatives' claim as the 'party of patriotism', yet when it came to translating the sometimes radicalised wartime views of these men into policies, the veterans found themselves stymied by their party elders. Two figures loom large in Carr's analysis here. The first is Stanley Baldwin, who as the party leader throughout much of the period offered sympathetic words but little action on the issues concerning many of the veterans. The frustration which they felt with the existing political process was most dramatically represented by Oswald Mosley, whose party manoeuvres during this period reflected the desire for more decisive action. Those who sought to work from within the Conservative Party, however, found themselves overtaken by events, as the return of war in 1939 led to a younger generation leapfrogging them in party prominence, so that only a few ever held a position from which to influence policy.

Carr's book is an insightful examination of an often overlooked group of Conservative Party MPs in interwar Britain, one that students of the period will find beneficial. Yet it suffers from a lack of focus. Often Carr loses sight of his ostensible subject in favour of a wider-ranging analysis of Conservative political ideology centred on such prominent

personalities as Mosley and Harold Macmillan. Further analysis of voting patterns would have strengthened his arguments about the Conservative veterans as a distinct cohort. As it is, Carr's book is a useful springboard for further study of an interesting category of MPs that reflected many of the changes underway in British politics during the early twentieth century.

Mark Klobas
(Scottsdale Community College, Arizona)

Ireland in the World Order: A History of Uneven Development by **Maurice Coakley**. London: Pluto Press, 2012. 238pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 0 7453 3125 6

Of the corpus of texts written on the spectacular collapse of the Celtic Tiger, few are as ambitious as Maurice Coakley's study of the Irish political economy since the twelfth century, which contends that underdevelopment is 'the collateral damage of capitalist expansion' (p. 198), and that Ireland's modern ills are structural.

Restoring colonialism to explanations of Gaelic Ireland's under-development, Coakley argues that the conditions which facilitated the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Scotland, Wales and, to a lesser extent, Ulster were absent in the greater part of Ireland. The native Irish were denied legal and religious freedoms, the right to vote and own property, and the opportunity to benefit from educational advances connected with the Reformation. The spread of literacy, which accompanied a rise in individual land ownership and the emergence of a middle class elsewhere, did not take hold until the eighteenth century. This emphasis on the link between literacy and early capitalist development represents a highly instructive elaboration of Marxist analysis.

Because Gaelic cooperativism clashed with individualist English capitalism and could not be integrated into the modern order, it had to be 'extirpated' by brutal conquest and subordinated under the English state (p. 37). Consequently, early modern Ireland was characterised not by the emergence of agrarian and industrial capitalism, but by maximum surplus extraction from the peasantry.

Agrarian unrest, improvements in literacy and advances in mass communication all helped to foster a popular national consciousness. However, the Anglo-Irish elite had a stake in maintaining a positive relationship with England, which continued to underwrite its position of power, and in quelling the persistent threat of social revolution. The achievement of a socially fragmented national movement, therefore, was limited political independence.

Coakley avoids describing southern Ireland as a neo-colony, but argues convincingly that its structural weaknesses have led to its establishment as 'a bridge between the US and European economies' (p. 169). In dealing with the collapse of the Celtic Tiger and the politics of austerity, his focus on the influence of the EU, European Central Bank and International Monetary Fund 'Troika' is not unwarranted. One criticism of this approach is that it detracts from the role of the state as well as the social agency and class-consciousness of Ireland's modern elite, exemplified by the willingness of policy makers to go beyond the call of duty in implementing austerity measures. Greater attention might also have been paid to the country's 'intermediaries' and 'brokers', who Coakley describes as having become 'fabulously rich' by exploiting Ireland's position in the Atlantic economy (p. 203). These caveats notwithstanding, Coakley's erudite work of interdisciplinarity deserves to be read by all who are interested in Irish history and Marxist political economy.

Seán Byers
(Independent Scholar)

Northern Ireland: The Reluctant Peace by **Feargal Cochrane**. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013. 352pp., £25.00, ISBN 978 0 300 17870 8

Feargal Cochrane critically examines the background, evolution and solution efforts of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) during the Northern Ireland conflict. *Northern Ireland* is separated into ten chronological chapters. The author aims to explain the background of this tension in the first chapter, highlighting the conflict as not only a military struggle but also a multi-lateral conflict which has political, democratic and religious issues. He underlines the relationship between Catholic and Protestant communities in the society.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 characterise the relationship between violence and unsuccessful political endeavours. 'Informal Politics' is discussed through an exploration of unsuccessful political attempts. From Chapter 5 onwards, official problem-solving efforts are introduced.

Cochrane focuses on the 'sectarianism' of the conflict. He also concentrates on the disputes between unionist and nationalist communities, and clearly explains the arguments for ending violence and taking democratic decisions that create a dilemma between these communities.

One of the major arguments of this book is related to the attempts to find a solution. Cochrane states that when the political efforts are unsuccessful, armed struggle increases (pp. 96–7). This book successfully analyses the reasons for this situation, and how the IRA could survive as political efforts increase. This explanation allows for a comprehensive consideration of the existing violence not only against the British Army, but also against innocent civilians.

The book's other major focus is on the psychological dimensions of the IRA conflict. The author strongly emphasises the importance of political speeches and negotiation attempts for a sustainable peace. Likewise, hunger strikes are explored as psychological factors to influence public opinion. Cochrane clearly explains the breaking points of the Northern Ireland conflict through major issues, such as Bloody Sunday, the Downing Street Declaration and the Good Friday Agreement. These issues are assessed in detail by investigating conflicting parties, political disputes, armed struggles and British government policies.

Another crucial analysis is 'talking to the enemy' (p. 121). He underlines the role of diplomatic efforts to end terrorism. Similarly, the media's position towards the disarmament of the IRA is another significant point. Although international mediation and negotiation terms are addressed in this book, these terms are not discussed in detail. Overall, this book has a logical structure, and the issues are explained through a critical analysis by considering historical development.

I. Aytac Kadioglu
(University of Nottingham)

Mr Speaker: The Office and the Individuals since 1945 by **Matthew Laban**. London: Biteback, 2013. 323pp., £20.00, ISBN 978 1 8495 4222 7

William Lenthall in 1642 enshrined the role of the Speaker as being the servant of the House of Commons rather than that of the King in his famous rebuke to Charles I: 'I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place but as the House is pleased to direct me' (pp. viii–ix). Matthew Laban's examination of the evolution of modern Speakership begins in 1945 and examines the last nine occupants of the office: Douglas Clifton-Brown (1943–51), who often 'arrived looking dishevelled and obviously having been in bed' (p. 69); William Shepherd Morrison (1951–9); Sir Harry Hylton-Foster (1959–65), who often used his deputies as 'slaves' to avoid confrontation with Members of Parliament (p. 96); Dr Horace King (1965–71), who was 'under the misapprehension that sherry was a non-alcoholic drink' and once was so drunk that he could not climb into the Speaker's chair (pp. 106–7); and Selwyn Lloyd (1971–76). With the advent of radio came the instantly recognisable Welsh lilt of George Thomas (1976–83), who had an affection for Mrs Thatcher that went 'beyond the call of duty' (p. 142), and through television the soon-to-be household names of Bernard Weatherill (1983–92), Betty Boothroyd (1992–2000), who 'helped make Parliament sexy' (p. 192), and Michael Martin (2000–9), who many saw as the first counter-Lenthall to be in the Chair and whose reputation was tarnished fatally during the expenses scandal (pp. 214 and 224). Laban ends with the present incumbent, John Bercow, who has been no less controversial, not least when his wife appeared in the *London Evening Standard* in nothing but a bedsheet with Parliament pictured behind her (p. 252).

The *leitmotiv* throughout this study is backbenchers' determination to ensure the impartiality of the Speaker: it remains sacrosanct (p. 277). Speakers who seem to have forgotten their impartiality – whether with regard to who they call to speak in the chamber (their most important job [p. 8]), or taking Points of Order (p. 12) or in the granting of Urgent Questions to the Opposition (p. 14) – can quickly find themselves facing a motion of confidence. This is despite the fact that backbenchers' right to choose the Speaker was

only asserted over the choice of the Treasury benches with the election of Weatherill (p. 47).

This is an excellent study of the office of Speaker and is a must for anyone looking at the workings of Parliament and the role of the modern Speaker. It is both well-written and researched, and includes an interview with John Bercow, the 157th Speaker of the House.

Thomas McMeeking
(University of Leeds)

Memory, Politics and Identity: Haunted by History by **Cillian McGrattan**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. 211pp., £57.50, ISBN 978 0 230 29200 0

This is a valuable and insightful book that challenges existing historical scholarship and issues surrounding national identity. The author uses Northern Ireland to argue that the emergence of accepted academic narratives have themselves played a role in creating divisions that use constructed memories of the Troubles as a means of extending their respective influence.

The author also argues that this risks limiting scholarship to a particular understanding of Northern Irish identity, and neglecting the totality of the conflict and its impact. Indeed, 'as Ireland struggles to move beyond the reifying, stultifying grasp of the past and that of ideologically driven narratives, many political scientists, criminologists and cultural critics seem to have lost all sense of the tragedy of that past' (p. 174). This, the author argues, is because they use the past to advance their own ideological agenda in lieu of overt conflict.

To counter the 'arrogance' of such a response, the author argues that 'the past in Northern Ireland demand[s] an approach that goes beyond the formalisation of structuralist and transitional justice-oriented analyses' because they 'masquerade quite easily under the protective clothing of verbiage' (p. 173). This is because historical narratives on each side of the conflict are perpetuated by romantically 'recycling the truths' from both sides. This also creates 'a conservative sensibility' that leads to history being appropriated and repeated by Unionist and Republican intellectual elites. The book argues that continuing

these approaches risks the 'memories of the dead' being 'muted and silenced' in preference for ideological approaches to Northern Irish studies. Because of this approach, the book is certainly stimulating and often confrontational yet supported by new research. Its focus is firmly upon those who seemingly use the conflicts to engage in self-justification for their own research agenda.

This book will be of interest to anthropologists, political scientists and scholars of British politics who are looking to extend their appreciation of Northern Irish studies. Its value lies in its capacity to challenge ideas and methods while informing the reader of the issues faced in Northern Ireland. It is also balanced and uses data drawn from the Irish Republican Army, Unionist Groups, Sinn Féin, and the Democratic Unionist Party, among others. This gives it a greater sense of objectivity and detachment from existing scholarship. The central proposition of the book makes it valuable *vis-à-vis* reconceptualising attitudes of academics and others towards the Republicans and Unionists, but its flaw comes from sometimes appearing too generalised in its critique.

Andrew Scott Crines
(University of Leeds)

Bolshevism, Syndicalism and the General Strike: The Lost Internationalist World of A.A. Purcell by **Kevin Morgan**. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2013. 354pp., £25.00, ISBN 9781905007271

This is the final part of Kevin Morgan's trilogy on 'Bolshevism and the British Left' – a study that has broken new ground in each successive volume and made a larger contribution to labour historiography as a whole. Morgan's method is to focus on the lives of key individuals, but to use them as a frame through which a variety of British 'roads to Russia' can be examined. In his previous volume it was the Webbs who provided this overarching narrative. The central figure in this case is A.A. (Alf) Purcell, a syndicalist with a background in the furnishing trades who was President of the International Federation of Trade Unions and a Member of Parliament but, more important for this study, was a 'key actor' in the relationship between British labour and revolutionary

Russia. It was Purcell who moved the resolution that established a Communist Party of Great Britain; in 1920 and 1924 he was a member of the Labour and trade union delegations to Russia; he helped to establish a short-lived Anglo-Russian trade union committee; and he was chairman of the central organising committee of the General Strike in 1926, although he lost ground when it was called off while still unbroken.

Readers of this journal will welcome *Bolshevism, Syndicalism and the General Strike* for several reasons. One of them is its rich source base, including materials from the Moscow Comintern archives as well as from central and local UK repositories. Another is its detailed and insightful discussion of the important developments in which Purcell was a key participant. But perhaps its most important contribution is epistemological – in the demonstration it provides of the ways in which the development of a movement can be read through the life of a key individual, and of a ‘transnational communist history’ in which there was an interplay between Bolshevik ideas and political leaders who were attempting to apply them in their own country. These wider lessons are set out in some brief ‘concluding thoughts’; it would be good to see them deployed somewhere at greater length, and in a form that would reach a rather wider audience than other students of Bolshevism and the British Left. In the meantime, this is a splendid example of their application.

Stephen White
(University of Glasgow)

The British Constitution: Continuity and Change – A Festschrift for Vernon Bogdanor by **Matt Qvortrup (ed.)**. Oxford: Hart, 2013. 202pp., £40.00, ISBN 978 1849463713

Writing almost 25 years ago, the distinguished political scientist Vernon Bogdanor prophetically warned that ‘the constitutional lawyer must also be both historian and political scientist’. In other words, for Bogdanor this tripartite approach to constitutional analysis is absolutely essential for making holistic, well-informed and reliable arguments, descriptions and prescriptions about the British constitution. It is in the spirit of that interdisciplinary conversation that this *Festschrift* for, arguably, the

greatest living expert on Britain’s constitution is written, including, as it does, reflections from historians, political scientists and legal scholars. The book covers a range of constitutional issues that have been the subject of much writing and reflection by Bogdanor himself: New Labour’s constitutional reforms; constitutional conventions; devolution and Scottish independence; parliamentary sovereignty; and the monarchy. As such, a concluding response from Bogdanor addressing some of the issues raised by the contributors would have been a magnificent conclusion to the book. Some of the chapters worth highlighting include a contribution from Peter Riddell on the general lack of interest shown by voters in constitutional issues; David Feldman’s chapter on constitutional conventions; Robert Gordon’s reflection on parliamentary sovereignty; and Robert Blackburn’s chapter on the evolution of the monarchy. Each of these chapters engages thoughtfully and lucidly with Bogdanor’s arguments on the topics over a number of years.

This collection of essays should be enjoyed by anyone who has engaged with the writing of Vernon Bogdanor on the UK constitution. For students, it serves as a helpful commentary on some of Bogdanor’s views on the topical constitutional issues in British politics over the past 40 years. For academics, it acts as a highly valuable and highly readable contribution to the scholarly debate about the UK constitution. However, it should not act as a substitute for reading the many and varied reflections of Professor Bogdanor on the UK constitution, and this reviewer would encourage any student to consult that work first before reading the *Festschrift* to ensure that Bogdanor’s writing on this topic is enjoyed for all its richness and academic rigour, irrespective of whether one is likely to agree with him or not.

Peter Munce
(University of Hull)

Crisis? What Crisis? The Callaghan Government and the British ‘Winter of Discontent’ by **John Shepherd**. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013. 205pp., £70.00, ISBN 9780719082474

More than 35 years on, memories of the ‘Winter of Discontent’ retain considerable political power. This book from John Shepherd offers a full-length account

of the events of 1978–9, and attempts to explore the afterlife of that winter in contemporary British politics. Shepherd narrates the development of the ‘crisis’ over a period of eight months from September 1978 to May 1979, beginning with Labour leader James Callaghan’s decision not to call a general election and concluding with the fall of the minority Labour government and the Conservatives’ subsequent election victory. In between, Shepherd addresses the ‘Winter of Discontent’ strike by strike, unpicking the origins of each industrial conflict and assessing its consequences for the lives of ordinary people and the political fortunes of the government. Shepherd also assesses the media coverage and political aftermath of the ‘Winter of Discontent’, and the way in which memories of the ‘crisis’ have been mobilised in the decades since the 1970s, demonstrating the ways in which a range of political actors (from both the right and the left) have used the ‘Winter of Discontent’ as a means of discrediting certain forms of ‘Old Labour’ politics.

There is no doubt that Shepherd’s book will serve as a useful and authoritative guide to the events of 1978–9. His careful use of archival material that has only recently become available and extensive researches into press reporting of the strikes, combined with dozens of interviews with key actors, allows Shepherd to offer a multifaceted picture of origins and experiences of the ‘Winter of Discontent’. There are a number of key questions that remain unanswered, however, perhaps the most important of which being why the ‘Winter of Discontent’ remains so powerful more than 30 years on. Although the book engages with recent literature (most notably the work of Colin Hay) on the discursive construction of the ‘Winter of Discontent’, and the role that the Conservative Party and the media played in creating a sense of ‘crisis’, it is ultimately unclear how far Shepherd would subscribe to this version of events. Although the book insists that the ‘Winter of Discontent’ represented ‘a decisive turning point in late twentieth-century Britain’ (p. 6), in the final analysis it stops short of offering a clear verdict on whether these events owed their importance to the real impact(s) that they had on the lives of ordinary people or to the stories that were told about the winter of 1978–9.

Matthew Francis
(University of Birmingham)

New Paradigms in Public Policy by **Peter Taylor-Gooby (ed.)**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 258pp., £55.00, ISBN 9780197264935

This book is essentially a collection of high-quality updated reports written for the British Academy project ‘New Paradigms in Public Policy’. Its main aim is to review some central public policy areas and to outline interpretative paradigms that help make sense of public policy developments (or the lack thereof). Andrew Gamble writes on the political economy; Peter Taylor-Gooby provides a chapter on public expenditure (essentially reviewing the various approaches to squaring the circle between rising service demands and limited resources); Ian Gough adds a chapter on climate change; and Tariq Modood contributes a chapter on immigration and citizenship. Other chapters deal with older people and demographic challenges (Pat Thane) and community and neighbourhood activism (Anne Power). All the papers are of a high conceptual quality, outline relevant interpretative frameworks and assess potential solutions. The collection is rounded up by a critical review of political disengagement in the UK by Gerry Stoker and a final chapter on how social science can assist in ‘designing’ policy responses to issues of public concern.

All of the chapters are well written, while some are more conceptual than empirical. They offer plenty of material for controversy and all are written in a nuanced and balanced way. I would like to select just one issue among many worthy of debate. Stoker outlines concerns around political disengagement in the UK. He is very careful to point out that there is little historical evidence of a ‘golden age of politics’. Yet most political scientists and politicians advocate a potentially elitist ‘activist vision of politics’ (mainly because of issues around systemic legitimacy). But does engagement really matter? And if so, for whom? First, asserting an association between political engagement and personal outcomes assumes that politics can actually change lives, but does it? Second, it assumes that *disengagement* is caused by a shared sense of the failure of politics to deliver. A more realistic view may be that politics has become the largely invisible aspect of public lives (weekly bin collections and taxation are pretty much the only points of contact between many people and the political system). This may be a

function of the smooth working of the political system rather than a function of its failure to deliver. Thus, perhaps more realistically, a lack of capacity to change lives and the disappearance of politics from ordinary lives may conspire to produce 'irrelevant politics' that sustains high levels of disengagement.

Axel Kaehne
(Edge Hill University)

Conservatism for the Democratic Age: Conservative Cultures and the Challenge of Mass Politics in Early Twentieth Century England by **David Thackeray**. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013. 220pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 7190 8761 5

For the Conservative Party, the first two decades of the twentieth century were among the most challenging it had ever faced. Starting in 1906, the party and its Liberal Unionist allies lost three successive general elections to the Liberals, while the 1918 Representation of the People Act changed the complexion of the electorate by tripling its size. Yet the Conservative Party emerged from this period as the dominant political party for most of the remainder of the century, winning twelve of the remaining 22 general elections outright and another two with coalition partners. While David Thackeray is not the first author to explore how the party adapted to the shifting political landscape, he goes further than his counterparts by tracing the start of the transformation to the Edwardian era and shifting his focus from the national stage to political activism at the local level.

The catalyst for this activism was the tariff reform campaign started by Joseph Chamberlain. Although organisations such as the Tariff Reform League were more concerned with advancing protectionism than with changing the operation of the Conservative Party, they widened opportunities for women and other marginalised groups to participate in politics. Through these groups, the Conservatives advanced arguments that targeted working-class voters in more sophisticated ways than previously. Although tariff reform was temporarily set aside in 1913, the party drew upon the activist culture created by the tariff leagues to promote its broader agenda. The patriotic organisations created by party activists during the First

World War continued this outreach, although the growing inclusion of women required some distancing from the rougher aspects of the masculine political culture of the radical right. This abandonment of 'rowdiness', coupled with the experience of grassroots politics, left the Conservatives well positioned to establish themselves as the dominant party in the more democratic political environment of postwar Britain.

Thackeray's well-researched book provides an astute study of the culture of early twentieth-century British politics at the local level. By demonstrating the involvement of Conservative-aligned auxiliary associations in Edwardian politics, he offers a useful corrective to older works by John Ramsden, Ewen Green, Philip Williamson and others, who have long overlooked the prewar pedigree of the Conservative Party's postwar democratic appeal. Scholars of the history of the Conservative Party cannot afford to ignore this book, which demonstrates just how much more we have to learn about the party's efforts to adapt to modern democracy.

Mark Klobas
(Scottsdale Community College, Arizona)

Defectors and the Liberal Party, 1910–2010: A Study of Inter-Party Relations by **Alun Wyburn-Powell**. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012. 208pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 7190 8769 1

Although there are many historical accounts of the Liberal Party that inevitably touch upon parliamentary defections, none take such a long-term perspective and present it in as coherent a form as this one. Alun Wyburn-Powell therefore does his readers a great service by charting the various defections of Liberal MPs between 1910 and 2010. The defections amount to 116 Members of Parliament (MPs) in total during this period. Of those, 47 moved to the Labour Party, 34 to the Conservatives, 21 to other centre-right parties and 14 to become Independents. Most defectors (83) did so during the leaderships of Herbert Henry Asquith or David Lloyd George, and only four MPs have defected since the formation of the Liberal Democrats (in 1988). While the book does not address the 2010 coalition government in great depth, it raises interesting questions for future research to bear in mind.

At its core, this text provides a valuable handbook for historians and political observers to pop in-and-out of for years to come. Given the wealth of information at hand, there is the inevitable danger that such books can be difficult to read (even though Wyburn-Powell impressively keeps the book to 208 pages). Thankfully, there are enough oddities along the way to keep the reader interested. No better example of this is provided than that of Cecil L'Estrange Malone (pp. 46–7), who, between 1918 and 1931, was a Coalition Liberal MP, Communist MP (the first in the UK) and finally a Labour MP. During that time, he was charged with sedition and served six months in prison. The Liberal Democrats' current leader Nick Clegg should count himself lucky that he has no such characters with whom to contend.

Wyburn-Powell rightly points out that the defection of an MP is a powerful verdict on a party, and understandably he focuses solely on the defections of national parliamentarians. Even so, there is a sense throughout the book that the local impact of defections is overstated at the expense of the national impact. While the former is interesting, its impact often feels limited to its time. Additionally, while the statistical analysis uncovers good results, such as the significant differences between defectors and loyalists, and the evidence provided for Paddy Ashdown's 'toffs defect' theory, it feels somewhat disconnected from the rest of the book.

Ultimately, Wyburn-Powell's detailed research has produced a definitive account of each individual defection from and to the Liberal Party between 1910 and 2010. It is recommended without reservation to historians and interested observers of British politics.

Craig Johnson
(Newcastle University)

Europe

EU Climate Policy: Industry, Policy Interaction and External Environment by **Elin Lerum Boasson and Jørgen Wettestad**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. 223pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 0355 5

It is worth mentioning right at the start that, despite being a well-studied policy area in European Union studies, this volume shows that there is still much to be

written about EU climate policy. Boasson and Wettestad try to answer an overarching question about how we can best explain the development of this policy at the EU level. To do so, the authors take up the challenge of developing a *tailored* analytical framework for EU climate policy developments, drawing on three main theoretical approaches: liberal inter-governmentalism, new institutionalism and multilevel governance. In order to explain the key mechanisms that have shaped the course of action in EU climate change policy, the authors put the focus on the role of three factors within the policy process: the role of industry, policy interaction and political context outside the EU.

Once the theory and methods guiding the study have been presented and the fundamentals of EU climate policy explained, the authors analyse four case studies of climate sub-policies. These serve as tests of the theoretical assumptions derived from the chosen frameworks. Chapter 4 assesses the basic question of 'why did the EU choose the Emission Trading System [ETS] as its flagship in regulating carbon emissions' and why has the ETS ended up being a 'Single European Market type of system?' (p. 53). Chapter 5 deals with the EU's renewable energy policy. Chapters 6 and 7 interestingly examine the less appealing cases of, respectively, carbon capture and storage (CCS) and EU energy policy for buildings. Finally, the book closes with a chapter where several compelling conclusions are drawn through systematic comparative analysis.

Even though some of the conclusions can be debatable (e.g. characterising EU renewable energy policy as a sub-field in which the 'EU enjoys considerable authority' (p. 157)), this is a very welcome contribution that will help readers understand the development of this fundamental area of EU policy making. As stated by the authors, this contribution is an invitation to further debate on the policy drivers that promoted this policy so significantly into the core of EU action (p. 2). In this regard, the book becomes a key instrument for moving forward in this debate. While this text will be of particular interest for academics, stakeholders and policy makers involved in EU climate policy, it will also appeal to EU public policy students interested in cross-field and cross-level negotiation and decision making

Israel Solorio Sandoval
(Freie Universität Berlin)

Euroscepticism within the EU Institutions: Diverging Views of Europe by **Nathalie Brack and Olivier Costa (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2012. 136pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0 415 50349 5

The issue of Euroscepticism has been the subject of academic debate for more than fifteen years. Whereas most of the literature has dealt with party-based and public Euroscepticism, this volume focuses on Euroscepticism *within* the main European institutions and the influence on the internal institutional dynamics. The book consists of several articles originally published as a special issue of the *Journal of European Integration*.

Renaud Dehousse and Andrew Thompson point to a large variety of attitudes towards the EU among Commission officials, based on an extensive survey. Although the Commission is always characterised as a pro-European institution, they find that a sizeable minority of officials take a strict intergovernmentalist stance. Cécile Leconte discusses the Presidency of the Council of Ministers on the basis of four 'Eurosceptic' cases: the Italian (2003), French (2008), Czech (2009) and Hungarian (2011) Presidencies. She argues that institutional constraints, especially since the Treaty of Lisbon, make it difficult for governments to push their Eurosceptic preferences through.

Nathalie Brack uses role theory to describe Euroscepticism in the European Parliament. She develops a typology of three different roles that Eurosceptic MEPs adopt in their parliamentary activities: the absentee, who spends most of his or her time in his constituency; the public orator, who uses public speeches to spread negative information about the EU; and the pragmatist, who tries to control and influence EU policy. Caroline Naômé focuses on Euroscepticism in the Court of Justice. However, she concludes that Eurosceptic actors can hardly influence the Court's decision-making and rulings because of the internal procedures and institutional set-up of the institution.

Vivien Schmidt does not focus on a specific institution, but distinguishes four possible discourses of the Member States' elites: the EU as a free market, a values-based community, a rights-based community, and a strategic global actor. She pays specific attention to Britain, France and Germany, and describes how

crises in the EU can cause radical shifts in these elite discourses.

The diversity and specificity of the different institutions make it difficult to paint a consistent picture of the issue. Additionally, some authors only focus on Eurosceptic actors in an institution, while others, such as Schmidt, describe the whole range of possible attitudes towards European integration. Furthermore, the definition of 'Euroscepticism' varies between the different articles.

Nevertheless, all of the articles emphasise the diversity among Eurosceptic actors and describe how they adopt various attitudes and strategies. Furthermore, a number of them point to the institutional constraints that dramatically limit the room for manoeuvre of Eurosceptics in the European Parliament, the European Court and the Presidency of the Council. Overall, the book certainly offers a valuable contribution to the debate and research on Euroscepticism.

Wouter Wolfs
(University of Leuven)

Fortress Europe: Dispatches from a Gated Community by **Matthew Carr**. London: C. Hurst, 2012. 295pp., £20.00, ISBN 978 1 84904 253 6

Fortress Europe: Dispatches From a Gated Continent is (unfortunately) an everlastingly well-timed book. At a time when the Mediterranean has become once again a wide cemetery for migrants trying to reach Europe, journalist Matthew Carr travels through the EU's borders, describing and criticising its increasing militarisation. From the 'cayuco route' (p. 51) leading to the Canary Islands to the Polish-Ukrainian crossing point of Dorohusk (p. 37) up to Calais (p. 120), the picture drawn by the author is that of a continent policing its frontiers to the point of challenging its own philosophy, values and political project.

The parallel between recent European history, made of citizens escaping postwar poverty and politicians wishing for 'no more iron curtains', and the current hardening of external borders successfully contributes to depicting the contradictions underlying the European project and conveying migrants' disenchantment when encountering fences, checkpoints and sea patrols. The fall of the EU's internal borders

and the building of walls all along the external frontiers are seen as a dangerous process of constructing the 'self' and 'the other'. The EU through the Schengen *acquis*, Member States' security and migration policies and the media are questioned, in that they are dehumanising a human phenomenon by substituting numbers for people (p. 86), fostering xenophobia and depicting a war atmosphere wherein a visa is the main weapon.

Fortress Europe is a history of borders intended to secure identities and protect a community. It offers an unusual narrative of the European integration process and a collection of migration stories that appeal to the reader's rational and emotional side. Therefore, without losing its focus on migration, the book is also a useful and interesting read for those wishing to approach contemporary European history from the 'outside'.

Matthew Carr succeeds in bringing not only migration as a phenomenon, but also the whole migration challenge back to its human dimension. Ultimately, the emotional component of the book, sometimes excessively stretching the dichotomy between 'some of the richest countries on earth' and 'a stateless population from some of the world's poorest' (p. 3) is well balanced by the author's analysis of the contradictory policies and attitudes of European governments, and by an epilogue that does not refrain from suggesting alternative perspectives (notwithstanding a world system based on nation states) or from describing European citizens' solidarity when rescuing migrants.

Federica Zardo
(University of Turin)

The Maastricht Treaty: Second Thoughts after 20 Years by **Thomas Christiansen and Simon Duke (eds)**. Routledge: Abingdon, 2013. 184pp., £85.00, ISBN 9780415641265

The purpose of the volume is to provide a comprehensive assessment of the contribution of the Maastricht Treaty to the process of European integration. In conceiving the book, the editors assembled nine thematically demarcated contributions from prominent international experts.

In the first contribution, Michael Smith contends that the framework of the treaty has had a constrain-

ing effect on the successive frameworks for EU external relations. Jörg Monar argues that, despite the limited output in the domain of justice and home affairs, the treaty prepared the ground for institutionalised cooperation in the areas of freedom, security and justice. Anne Rasmussen analyses the impact of the co-decision procedure on the balance of power and cooperation between the European Parliament and the Council. James A. Caporaso and Min-Hyung Kim explain the development of the Eurozone crisis by highlighting precarious structural imperfections in the design of the treaty, among other factors. Kenneth Dyson returns to the predicament of the Eurozone and concurs with Caporaso and Kim on the inadequacy of the treaty to address the flaws in the provisions for crisis prevention and management in EMU (European Monetary Union). In the final chapter, Desmond Dinan carries out a nuanced analysis of the institutional innovations contained in the treaty – namely the co-decision procedure and qualified majority voting. The above contributions are to be particularly commended for their consistency with the research objectives of the book.

However, the reader might discover that certain chapters somewhat distort the trajectory of the narrative in the volume. Wolfgang Wessels, for instance, provides an exhaustive account of the institutional evolution of the European Council and merely contextualises the treaty within its evolution. J.H.H. Weiler explores three concepts of legitimacy and demonstrates their inoperability in the European construction. The reader might observe that the treaty is somewhat inadequately articulated in this contribution and hence expect a more conclusive contextualisation, for instance, in that legitimacy concerns comprised the rationale for the institutional reforms. Beate Kohler-Koch argues that the treaty induced the expectation to increase societal participation in EU governance but fails to draw a substantial link between this impetus and the treaty.

Nearly all the contributors construct their respective lines of argument following the broader research objectives of the edited collection and examine the far-reaching implications and repercussions of the treaty for the functioning of the EU. Nonetheless, the reader might expect that more potent or more

novel empirical evidence should be presented in the book. Pedantry aside, these insignificant disadvantages are outweighed by the capacity of the volume to perpetuate further discussion on European integration.

Dzmitry Bartalevich
(Copenhagen Business School)

The Crisis of the European Union: A Response by Jürgen Habermas. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012. 140pp., £40.50, ISBN 978 0 7456 6242 8

When a political philosopher of Jürgen Habermas' pre-eminence tries to square a circle, one ought to pay attention. The task at hand is legitimating the supranationalisation of political authority, while defending the roles of democracy and the state. Habermas' book has three parts: the central essay on the legitimacy of the EU, a shorter essay on human rights and human dignity, and an appendix with three short newspaper pieces on the EU. This review focuses on the first of these.

Habermas defines the scope of his problem by reference to the oft-repeated idea that there is a loss in legitimacy when powers are transferred from classical, democratic sovereigns (states) to a 'dense network of supranational organizations' (p. 12). His argument rests on breaking the conceptual connection between popular and state sovereignty by separating 'peoples' (organised into states) from 'citizens' (organised into polities). Globalisation and the financial markets require democratic decision making beyond the state. We thus need supranational structures (like the EU) in which 'peoples' extend solidarity and *share* sovereignty via new democratic procedures.

The second line of defence for the European project (and cosmopolitan supranationalism in general) is its potential role in the 'legal domestication' (p. 25) of state violence. Multilevel supranational institutions can be a 'civilising' force not by replacing the state, but by legally binding members to common norms *without* impeding on the state's exclusive monopoly on legitimate violence.

In the last section of the essay, Habermas shows how the EU, at best, would 'fit seamlessly into ... a politically constituted world society' (p. 57). A suitably reformed and democratised global component (repre-

sented by the UN) would focus on peacekeeping and human rights – the universalism of its mandate reducing its legitimacy demand. More contested (political) policy would be authorised at the regional, supranational level by citizens simultaneously associated into states that maintain a *prima facie* monopoly on legitimate force.

This book (appendix aside) presupposes some specialist lexicon and is unapologetically dense and theoretical. It is of most interest to political philosophers and theorists interested in the cosmopolitan question and the difficult relationship between justice, democracy and legitimacy beyond the state. EU scholars previously acquainted with Habermas will also find rich food for thought, though perhaps his *Europe: The Faltering Project* (2009) is more accessible. I am doubtful if Habermas manages to square his circle in the end – the political fragility of non-coercive supranationalism and the question of democratic trade-offs remain problematic – but don't take my word for it.

Tom Theuns
(Institut d'études politiques de Paris)

Routledge Handbook on the European Union and International Institutions: Performance, Policy, Power by Knud Erik Jørgensen and Katie Verlin Laatikainen (eds). Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 494pp., £125.00, ISBN 978 0 415 53946 3

This handbook represents a comprehensive attempt at surveying the way in which the EU behaves within and in its relations with other international institutions. Rather than contributing to the ever-expanding literature on the EU's ontology, which highlights its actorness in the international system, contributions to this volume focus on what the EU is doing in its external relations. This endeavour is legitimised by the fact that the EU is widely seen as having a preference for multilateralism at the core of its DNA. A central theme that runs throughout the volume refers to assessing the performance of the EU's presence in multilateral institutions and its relationship with them. Contributors pay significant attention to the diverse nature of international institutions and the various processes of transformation which take place within them. There are 33 contributions from well-known scholars and practitioners that are

grouped into six parts which zoom in on different aspects of the EU's relations with international institutions.

The first part explores the legal aspects that underwrite the EU's status and engagement with international institutions. The key focus is on the development of the EU's diplomatic system and the way it is represented in its international relations. In the second part, contributors aim to emphasise the way in which approaches used for assessing the performance of international organisations can be used to evaluate the EU's performance in multilateral processes. Part three contains six chapters which chart the EU's activity in the United Nations by looking at its role in several institutions. These authors also focus on the way the EU feeds into or provides the drive for the UN's approach to human rights, terrorism and its role in maintaining peace around the globe. The EU's relations with a wide spectrum of international organisations are reviewed in the fourth part. Chapters in the fifth part emphasise and evaluate the EU's role in creating and perpetuating international regimes. Finally, part six of the handbook aims to place EU multilateralism within broader institutional contexts and trends. By providing a relevant overview of the state of the art in researching the EU's behaviour in international institutions, the handbook makes an important contribution to the literature on the EU's external relations. Moreover, it will also be of interest to scholars who have broader interests beyond the EU (i.e. in IR or international organisations).

Cristian Nitoiu
(Loughborough University)

Political Conflict in Western Europe by Hanspeter Kriesi, Edgar Grande, Martin Dolezal, Marc Helbling, Dominic Höglinger, Swen Hutter and Bruno Wüest. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 368pp., £19.99, ISBN 978-1107625945

Political Conflict in Western Europe is the follow-up volume to *Western European Politics in the Age of Globalization*, where Hanspeter Kriesi and his team analysed the impact of globalisation on the emergence of the 'integration-demarcation' cleavage and its impact in Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the UK. The authors adopt a Rokkanian perspec-

tive, as the main argument is that globalisation has resulted in 'the formation of a new structural conflict between "winners" and "losers"' (p. 3).

In this volume, the authors assess the implications of the 'integration-demarcation' cleavage, its effects at the national and European political system levels and the role of different actors in different arenas in the dynamics of political conflict. As in the previous study, the 'core sentence approach' – a type of content analysis – is adopted to analyse the 'debates on issues related to globalization' (p. 44) from a large number of mass media sources – mainly tabloid and broadsheet newspapers. Such a technique allows the authors to estimate the 'position, salience and conflict intensity' (pp. 49–50) of a wide range of public authorities (EU and international governmental actors, foreign state actors, domestic state actors); intermediary actors (political parties, trade unions, business organisations and public interest groups); and non-organised individuals (experts). The book updates the previous work with data concerning the national elections up to 2007. In addition, it also includes debates during European elections, in-depth analyses of public debates on economic liberalism, European integration and immigration issues, and a unique analysis on the effects of globalisation on protest.

Several findings and insights are provided by this excellent book, which is definitely a must-have for scholars and libraries alike. First, the counter-strategies put in place by mainstream parties have limited the 'structuring capacity of the new conflict' (p. 282), which has been incorporated into the existing bi-dimensionality of political competition. Second, despite the increasing importance of cultural issues, economic issues still prevail in the electoral arena. Third, the parties of the extreme right have adjusted to the changing environment by moving towards the positions traditionally associated with the 'left' in the economic policy space. Fourth, while the latter is mainly active and successful at the level of the protest arena, the former prefers to mobilise its demands in the electoral arena. Finally, there is evidence of 'a substantial "Europeanisation" of European elections' (p. 289), where the debates are progressively focusing on EU issues rather than national ones.

Mattia Zulianello
(Scuola Normale Superiore, Florence)

The EU's Foreign Policy: What Kind of Power and Diplomatic Action? by **Mario Telò and Frederik Ponjaert (eds)**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. 248pp., £20.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 6452 5

The EU's foreign policy is largely criticised because of its inconsistency, lack of strategic and global approach, and because it is deemed to be the litmus paper of the unachieved European political project. Notwithstanding a burgeoning literature, studies are often clearly framed into specific academic debates, thus limiting the opportunities to grasp fully the possible scenarios, both in terms of new research lines and from a policy perspective. This collection edited by Mario Telò and Frederik Ponjaerts, successfully manages to tackle the challenges of the EU's external action in the global environment, to investigate its regional dynamics, and to examine the impact of recent domestic institutional changes.

The international context – i.e. the implication for the EU of shifts in global power and its agency – is illustrated by Telò, Gamble and Howorth. Their effort to move beyond the widespread 'normative power/irrelevant actor' dichotomy leads to innovative multilateral scenarios where the EU's actorness is envisaged, notwithstanding its weaknesses and failures. External and internal variables are reconsidered as, along with NATO and CSDP (the Common Security and Defence Policy) cooperation, the only viable solution to European military incapacity.

Lequesne, Carta and Mayer shift the focus to the EU's architecture and policy-making process to explore the often abused concepts of 'coherence' and 'consistency' after the Lisbon Treaty. The picture which emerges from their analysis is that of a potentially efficient operational actor with poor means to develop strategic thinking and leadership, recalling Andrew Gamble's idea of a relevant player though one which does not shape world governance.

The analysis of the EU's policy towards its near and far abroad provided in the third section contributes to the provocative multilateral post-hegemonic scenarios suggested in the first part of the book. The gradual development towards stronger bilateral or 'strategic' partnerships accounts for the EU's attempt to reshape not only its relationships with relevant actors such as China, India, Japan and the Mediterranean countries, but also its own place in the global arena.

The authors thoroughly succeed in illustrating the results of their coordinated research. The structure of the book draws very useful insights for both IR scholars dealing with global power and international agency and for the literature on institutionalised cooperation beyond the EU's borders. It also paves the way for further research on largely overlooked, although strategic, regional contexts and for multidisciplinary approaches overcoming current theoretical deadlocks in the study of EU foreign policy.

Federica Zardo
(University of Turin)

Functional Representation and Democracy in the EU: The European Commission and Social NGOs by **Corinna Wolff**. Colchester: ECPR, 2013. 330pp., £27.00, ISBN 9781907301650

Corinna Wolff's *Functional Representation and Democracy in the EU* addresses functional representation in the European Union. Her work investigates the way in which functional representation has democratised European governance and the type of democracy that has resulted. The book is divided into three parts and twelve chapters. The first long chapters (2–4) develop theories of representation to analyse the processes involved in the democratic legitimacy of governance. Wolff describes the difficulty in developing a theoretical framework underlying the role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) as social partners in governance from the perspective of democratic legitimacy. However, theories of representation provide a starting point from which to examine participation and territorial representation in the democratic process as a whole. In the second part (Chapters 5–9), this theoretical framework is applied to the European Commission's discourses regarding the participation of functional representatives. For example, in Chapter 7, 'The Role of NGOs in the Social OMC', Wolff examines the concept of 'working together'. She argues that the European Commission emphasises the involvement of all social shareholders as a whole in the open method of coordination (OMC) – an approach that is fundamentally based on working together.

Finally, in the third part (Chapters 10–12), the results of the analysis are described and their implications for democratic governance in the EU

regarding representation theory and democracy are discussed. Wolff finds that by framing functional representation as a partnership, the European Commission undermines its own argumentation. In particular, the concept of social NGOs contradicts the role of 'working together'. Wolff concludes that the European Commission represents a global tendency to rationalise the concept of 'democracy'.

Wolff fills an empirical and theoretical gap in the normative analysis of governance settings. However, the text needs to be greatly simplified for readers who are unfamiliar with representation theory and the social OMC. This difficulty is intensified by the introduction of abbreviations within the text rather than providing a list of abbreviations at the beginning of the book. Nevertheless, it might be of interest to students, scholars and experts in IR and politics, particularly those interested in democracy issues and policy-making innovations in the EU, European new modes of governance and political systems.

Fatemeh Shayan
(University of Tampere, Finland)

Asia and the Pacific

Political Change in Southeast Asia by **Jacques Bertrand**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. 253pp., £18.99, ISBN 9780521710060

The primary objective of this timely book by Jacques Bertrand is to identify and analyse the forces that drive the imperative for political change in Southeast Asia. Bertrand highlights the principal sources of this change – namely, regime type, political will, nationalism, political institutions, and the extent of economic growth and democratisation. Impediments to the reform agenda are also underscored – e.g. the lack of legitimacy, an incipient civil society, and the perennial issues of, among others, corruption, dynastic politics and praetorian influence.

To the author's credit, the above barriers to change and reform continue to be salient in today's Southeast Asian political landscape. In perspective, similar themes have been explored by earlier scholars, such as Michael Vatikiotis, Damien Kingsbury, Jorn Dosch, Bobby Thomas and Yolanda Chin, and Donald E. Weatherbee.

Serious analyses of political change in this region would benefit from a greater elucidation of other pertinent challenges. This would include analysis of the effectiveness of key political institutions in impacting reforms and the modalities of democratic experimentations, and how these vary across different countries. There should also be analysis of European colonial usurpation (i.e. by the Spanish, Dutch and British, and particularly its radical alteration of the traditional economic life of maritime states from being sea-based to land-based economies) and the far-reaching consequences it had in transforming post-colonial states. Finally, while theoretical paradigms about political change (e.g. by Scott, O'Donnell, Schmidter, Sidel and Kerkvliet) fit in well with the overall discourse, alternative theories accounting for the forces that resist change could also have been included (e.g. authoritarianism, clientelism, path dependency, consociational politics and plural society).

All things considered, this book is a welcome addition to a theme that will continue to attract tremendous interest from scholars and observers of this region and beyond. Incorporating both country case studies and a broad, panoramic view of the region is indeed useful, as is the instructive introductory commentary to Parts I and II of the book. The author is evidently familiar with the culture, history, politics and economy of the Southeast Asian landscape and the domestic, regional and international factors that are driving change in the region. Overall, he has produced a generally well-argued and well-written narrative.

Hussin Mutalib
(National University of Singapore)

Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal by **Paul R. Brass (ed.)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 480pp., £29.99, ISBN 9780415716499

Drawing on contributions from 28 eminent regional experts, the *Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics*, now published in paperback, provides a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the main issues confronting contemporary South Asia. By examining the prevailing debates in the literature, the book takes into account

the political trajectory of five independent South Asian states – namely India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal, with Bhutan touched on very briefly at the end of Chapter 9.

The first part of the handbook thoroughly analyses the developments that led to the independence of the aforementioned states, thus outlining the role played by the local movements in the political processes occurring during the colonial era. As Talbot aptly remarks on p. 38, ‘contemporary South Asia is not fully explainable without reference to this past’.

From Part III onwards, the focus of the analysis shifts to the post-colonial period, thereby looking at the evolution of political, social and economic structures in the countries under examination. Addressing crucial issues such as the role of the judiciary, language controversies, ethnic conflicts and the political economy dimension, this reference work provides the reader with a very informative and sound reading, complemented by a comparative section in which the authors further highlight the main differences and similarities across the region, primarily in terms of civil-military relations, corruption, radical and violent political movements, and international politics.

The volume successfully manages to capture and outline, with analytical depth, the complexity of South Asia’s puzzling institutional and political developments. Each country’s individual political course is clearly addressed, also in a comparative perspective, from the very first pages. As the editor himself underlines, the volume ‘has been organised to encourage comparison’ (p. 1). Despite the slightly uneven allocation of space to each country, where India sometimes overshadows the others, all the chapters work perfectly together in a coherent, well-articulated and systematic shape, always shedding light on the most significant dynamics underpinning the political evolution of the main actors in the sub-continent. This unique and wide-ranging volume is thus an essential read for students, researchers and practitioners who are interested in deepening their understanding of South Asian dynamics, presenting them with an exhaustive, comprehensive and well-rounded reading.

Filippo Boni
(University of Nottingham)

Pakistan: The US, Geopolitics and Grand Strategies by **Usama Butt and Julian Schofield (eds)**. London: Pluto Press, 2012. 288pp, £18.99, ISBN 9780745332062

Pakistan: The US, Geopolitics and Grand Strategies provides a comprehensive and exhaustive insight into Pakistan’s foreign policy, moving from a recurring perspective that portrays Pakistan’s foreign policy as ‘exclusively, or even largely, influenced by direct US diplomatic pressure and coercion’ (p. 1) to one that seeks to provide a detailed account of Pakistan’s puzzled foreign relations.

Drawing on significant contributions by a team of eminent scholars, from both Pakistan and the West, this wide assessment of Pakistan’s foreign policy includes the analysis of some of the major regional geopolitical dynamics underpinning it. To this end, the book is divided into two sections: the first addresses the ongoing debate on the nature of and developments in Pakistan-US relations, and the second focuses on a wide array of Pakistan’s bilateral ties including China, the Gulf States, the EU, Saudi Arabia and Iran. The final chapter examines Pakistan’s nuclear issues. Although conceived as independent pieces, the chapters in the sequence presented by the editors provide a coherent and comprehensive analysis of the kaleidoscope of Pakistan’s foreign policy interactions.

This account definitely fulfils its remit of shedding light on some overlooked dimensions in Pakistan’s foreign policy by providing the reader with a timely, well-articulated and in-depth map of the main interactions occurring in the contemporary international environment *vis-à-vis* Pakistan. The central argument of the book is that ‘Pakistan’s foreign relations cannot be explained solely as a result of 9/11 or through its policy towards India’ (p. 9) but rather by taking into account a wide range of political, economic and military interests that *de facto* shape Pakistan’s geopolitical attitude beyond the War on Terror-centric perspective that dominates the contemporary academic and policy debates. In addition to that, as the authors argue in the conclusions, Pakistan’s foreign policy cannot be read exclusively in light of the war on terror paradigm, and it needs to be assessed taking into account that ‘there are larger regional forces at play that have shaped and will

continue to shape and reshape Pakistan's foreign policy' (p. 249).

The merit of the authors is to successfully condense Pakistan's puzzled and articulated foreign relations within a few pages and hence this book is recommended for politics students, researchers and policy makers who are interested in deepening their actual understanding of Pakistan's foreign policy.

Filippo Boni
(University of Nottingham)

A Middle Class without Democracy: Economic Growth and the Prospects for Democratization in China by **Jie Chen**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 210pp., £32.50, ISBN 978 019 984163 9

Two opposite opinions compete against each other in explaining the middle class's political orientation. While the 'unilinear' approach argues that this class is a production of the modernisation-democratisation process and in turn supports democratic values, the 'contingent' approach instead suggests that democracy may not always be appreciated by the middle class. Jie Chen's book contributes much to this debate by elaborating and explaining the political values of China's new middle class – arguably one of the country's potentially most powerful social forces.

This is the first book providing a systematic reading of China's emergent middle class based on a representative sample study. Drawing on rigorous empirical data collected through large-scale surveys and in-depth interviews in three major Chinese cities, Chen finds that China's new middle class relies heavily on the country's authoritarian regime for survival and development. Given that many of the opportunities and fortunes through which middle class members reach success and prosperity are actually granted by the ruling party-state, these people are not normally keen supporters of democratic values. Unlike its equivalents in the developed world, China's new middle class fears that democratisation might leave it worse off, for such a process 'could no doubt threaten the very existence of the current party-state' (p. xiv).

Unsurprisingly, the results of Chen's research oppose the 'unilinear' notion that a growing middle class creates demand and pressure for democratisation. Instead, as Chen argues, the middle class's political orientation is

'contingent upon salient socioeconomic and sociopolitical conditions', including 'the role of the state' and 'the class's ideational and institutional connection with the incumbent state' (p. 163). The implication is that while China's new middle class is not particularly in favour of democratic values and institutions now, their political orientation may switch in the future.

Chen predicts that China's middle class 'may become enthusiastic about democracy and democratisation' (p. 164) if, as Bruce Gilley summarises, 'its prospects worsen or its ties to the state weaken' (back cover). While this is certainly a reasonable (and perhaps very welcome) scenario, it is just one of several possibilities that could happen. Lessons from other parts of the world suggest that middle class members might also choose to back powerful ruling elites or even dictators when worried about being worse off under dramatic socio-economic and socio-political dynamics. Which choice, then, would China's new middle class make? Although this question clearly goes beyond the scope of Chen's already comprehensive book, readers may find it worth exploring.

Yu Tao
(University of Oxford)

Muslim Zion: Pakistan as a Political Idea by **Faisal Devji**. London: C. Hurst, 2013. 288pp., £20.00, ISBN 978 1849042765

What does Pakistan mean, what is the role of Islam and who belongs and who is an outsider? All of these questions make national identity a fiercely contested category. *Muslim Zion* by Faisal Devji focuses on the idea of Pakistan as an abstract political concept that is free from blood and soil, a modern form of political loyalty of which Zionism is the only other example. Israel and Pakistan are the only states founded on religion and both as political categories are devoid of history, geography and sectarianism and are ecumenical concepts. To Gandhi, the parallels between the two were quite apparent and were demonstrated by his reticence to endorse Israel in his encounters with Zionists such as Sydney Silverman.

Devji places the idea of Pakistan in a complex mosaic of communities that made up colonial India. His thesis is that Muhammad Ali Jinnah's definition

of 'self-determination' was distinct from territorial nationalism, as the primary forces that supported it were from areas that were destined not to be in Pakistan. Thus as a concept Pakistan was empty of content and a broad church to which all Muslims could profess loyalty. Consequently, in the way that it was conceived it had no history or geography, and minority status was too meagre a category for a community of this size. Devji's argument is grounded in an erudite analysis of the writings and poetry of Allama Iqbal and statements of Jinnah and Chaudhry Khaliquzz(a)man.

The role of the mercantilist capitalist, mainly Shia, leaders in spearheading this form of nationalism is seen to be significant and was in opposition to the landed elites of north India. Thus Ameer Ali and the Agha Khan are given centre stage in the development of this ecumenical formulation of Islam as opposed to Syed Ahmad Khan. Furthermore, Devji deftly explores Jinnah's Shia heritage and explores the gyrations that the Pakistani state went through to come to terms with this on his death.

The fragmented, discursive and discontinuous style of the text, true to the subaltern tradition, lends to heavy reading. More substantively, however, there were multiple and contradictory understandings of Pakistan among Muslims, of which the ecumenical strand was not necessarily the most influential in the crucial provinces of the Punjab and Bengal. This multiplicity of meaning was reflected in the incoherent statement called the 'Lahore Resolution of 1940'.

Devji has written a powerful reminder that Pakistan was based on a broad-church interpretation of Islam and that its descent into a Sunni-constructed Islamic state is an incompatible aberration from the original ideas of Iqbal and Jinnah.

Yunas Samad
(University of Bradford)

Changing Worlds: Vietnam's Transition from Cold War to Globalization by David W.P. Elliott. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 408pp., £32.50, ISBN 978 0 19 538334 8

The end of the Cold War affected many countries and Vietnam is not an exception. The country was 'forced' to change its 'political, social, and economic life' due

to 'economic stagnation', the 'Sino-Soviet split' (p. 3) and 'dynamics of international relations' (p. 5). David Elliot presents a good analytical portrait of how Vietnam is changing, and *Changing Worlds: Vietnam's Transition from Cold War to Globalization* should be essential reading for anyone wanting to understand international power relations after the demise of the Marxist-Leninist bloc.

Elliot does not attempt to produce a 'triumphalist tract', but rather offers an insight into the changing path in Vietnam. Vietnamese leaders understand that the 'primary danger' comes not from capitalism, but from 'falling behind' (p. 16), which may prevent the country from becoming a 'major player' (p. 25). According to the author, changes began with the Sixth Party Congress in 1986, despite 'considerable passive resistance' by the Communist Party (p. 51) which only thought of the implications inherent in the change (p. 52) and wished to 'restore the old certainties' (p. 76).

Elliot says that change caught the Vietnamese leaders 'off guard' since they did not understand 'this pivotal event' (p. 87). The Soviet Union – Vietnam's life support system – had collapsed, and China refuses to be the 'steadfast centre' of Communism (p. 90). This has been the dilemma for many countries in the communist bloc and it is no wonder that Vietnam's leaders have had to dine with 'former exploiters and adversaries' (p. 94). China, as always, 'based its policies on transient calculations of national interests' (p. 109) and therefore Vietnam had to try alternative strategies. Part of this has been Vietnam's 'entrance into ASEAN, establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States, and ties with the European Union' (p. 128). The country has to strike a balance 'between assimilation and control over national destiny' (p. 136) or else suffer the same fate as other wounded lions.

To Elliot, these changes were seen by Vietnamese leaders as risky to institutions and the Communist Party, creating an uncertain transition, alongside the growing influence of China, and neoliberalism generally. This is the essence of the dilemma for Vietnam. Elliot tries to answer the question of whether change would pave the way for a market economy in Vietnam and concludes that this all depends on how far Vietnam can move away from the control of the top party leaders. This is very complex to do, as the author admits. However, efforts to control the internet have

proved fruitless, and keeping ‘issues within the closed circle of the party’ is impossible (p. 288). Elliot espouses the role of information and NGOs and a new university curriculum, and, ironically, he tilts towards the probability that communism will continue in Vietnam. He sums up that Vietnam’s change is just a ‘journey to the open world of globalisation’ (p. 331).

Overall, *Changing Worlds* is superb in its analysis of Vietnam’s politics of change.

Kawu Bala
(Bauchi State Judiciary, Nigeria)

Risks and Opportunities of the Energy Sector in East Siberia and the Russian Far East: For Better Risk Management and Sustainable Energy Development by Sangtu Ko and Kyong Wan Lee (eds). Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2012. 320pp., £47.21, ISBN 9783643902412

Sangtu Ko and Kyong Wan Lee, applying multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches, employ the social and natural sciences to analyse energy questions, particularly in East Siberia and the Russian Far East. The volume is divided into four parts.

Part I, ‘Risk and Opportunity in Russian Society, in Political, Social and Demographic Dimensions’, deals with the risk factors and opportunities for Russian society along political, social and demographic dimensions. From the political perspective, Irina Busygina examines the centre-periphery problem in Russia and explains its effect on patterns of the state’s behaviour. In the civil dimension, Pyung Kyun Woo draws a map of the development of civil society and sustainable energy in Russia.

Part II, ‘Foreign Energy Policies of Russia in the European Union (EU) and Asia-Pacific Region and Prospects for Energy Supply’, concentrates on Russia’s growing interests in the energy markets of Asia-Pacific countries and provides a brief examination of the EU. For example, Ko compares Russia’s energy policies for Europe and the Asia Pacific and finds similarities and differences in Russia’s energy relations with each region.

Part III, ‘Natural and Scientific Approaches to Energy’, examines sustainable energy development by focusing on East Siberia and the Russian Far East. For

Saneev and Maysyuk, the importance of these regions lies in their problems with energy development and environmental protection.

Finally, Part IV, ‘Multi and Interdisciplinary Alternatives for Risk Management and Sustainable Energy Development in Russia’, suggests solutions for the problems of risk management and sustainable energy development in Russia. Pami Aalto and Nina Tynkkynen attempt to find a role for the sustainability of energy in Russia and they also extend the analysis to include geographical, financial, institutional and ecological factors.

The contributors successfully outline the risks and opportunities in the energy industry in the eastern part of Russia. The book’s main limitation is that the discussion is confined to the narrow viewpoints of Russian and Korean contributors, and broader points of view are ignored. As a whole, the volume would be of use not only to academics interested in multidisciplinary approaches, but also to students, scholars and readers wishing to learn about Russia’s energy issues.

Fatemeh Shayan
(University of Tampere, Finland)

Avoiding Armageddon: America, India and Pakistan to the Brink and Back by Bruce Riedel. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2013. 230pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 8157 2408 7

During the Cold War period, the US paid limited attention to South Asia – a region considered to be of scarce relevance because it was at the periphery of the international system. However, in the last few years, the growing importance of India and Pakistan has led US policy makers to reconsider their strategy towards New Delhi and Islamabad.

The title of the book clearly captures the complex nature of the triangular dynamics between these countries, deeply affected by the regional rivalry between India and Pakistan. In the past, the US has often intervened in the Indian subcontinent to defuse the numerous potential crises between the two regional foes. The chances that tensions could lead to a nuclear Armageddon exponentially increased, especially after both New Delhi and Islamabad conducted nuclear tests in 1998. From that moment on,

American policy makers became more and more aware of and concerned about the negative consequences of the nuclearisation of a region famous for its instability.

Bruce Riedel's study represents an important attempt to reconstruct the history of US strategy towards South Asia, focusing especially on crucial issues, such as diplomacy, counterterrorism and the nuclear question. The introductory chapters provide a general background to the initial diplomatic interactions between Washington, New Delhi and Islamabad. The rest of the book examines in detail how, following the end of the Cold War, American presidents from Bush Senior to Obama have managed to strengthen US ties with both India and Pakistan without getting involved in their zero-sum game dynamics.

No one is more qualified than Bruce Riedel to provide a clear and rounded picture of the nature of US foreign policy towards the subcontinent. His long experience as a Central Intelligence Agency analyst and political adviser, and his extensive research on this topic contribute to making this book one of the most accurate and interesting analyses of the tangled relationship between Washington, New Delhi and Islamabad. His book is easily accessible and of interest not only to a niche audience of South Asian scholars, but also to young students who want to have a general overview of American engagement in the subcontinent.

Francesca Silvestri
(University of Nottingham)

Islam and Popular Culture in Indonesia and Malaysia by **Andrew N. Weintraub**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 280pp, £26.95, ISBN 9780415838245

This book, containing fourteen chapters organised into four parts, has been prepared by well-qualified scholars in order to show the interaction of Islam with popular culture in Southeast Asia, with special reference to Indonesia as the largest Muslim country and Malaysia as a majority Muslim one. Part I provides analytical views of commercial, educational, government and religious institutions. For instance, Ishadi concentrates on the important role of television; he believes that Indonesian television has the

potential to swap Islamic culture and movies with Western products, as well as to propagate Islam more broadly and not specifically during the holy months (e.g. Ramadan). To illustrate this, he uses several figures and graphs that display the duration of religious programmes during Ramadan, as compared to the other months of the year. The second part concentrates wholly on Indonesia and explores the links that have been created by media productions with Islamic culture.

Part III talks about the Islamic perspective on film, music and literature in which Washima Che Dan focuses on Dina Zaman's book *I Am Muslim* published in 2007. Noiath Omar develops the connection between Islam and movies when he writes about 'Sexing Islam: Religion and Contemporary Malaysian Cinema'. This chapter considers the movies *Sepet* (2004) and *Gubra* (2006) directed by Yasmin Ahmad (1958–2009) and shows that 'Yasmin Ahmad's films promote a more publicly agreeable definition of Islam as a multi-racial non-exclusive religion. Thus, Islam is portrayed in such films as a tolerant religion, whose followers are not always be serious, dull, and disciplined' (p. 10).

The final part, entitled 'Representations, Values and Meanings', begins with Gaik Cheng Khoo's chapter, in which the author describes how several independent short films present a connection between Islam, gender and ethnicity, and ends with Bart Barendregt's essay about a genre of Islamic popular music entitled 'Pop, Politics and Piety: *Nasyid* Boy Band Music in Muslim Southeast Asia'.

This edited book provides several case studies that demonstrate the significance of Islam, people's interests, culture and the media in modern Southeast Asia. Several pictures and graphs help readers to understand the authors' goals easily. This is a well-written work, which is appropriate for enthusiastic scholars of cultural studies and media and religion.

Majid Daneshgar
(University of Malaya)

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Other Areas

Arab Revolutions and World Transformations by **Anna Agathangelou and Nevzat Soguk (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013. 152pp, £85.00, ISBN 9780415635929

Arab Revolutions and World Transformations is a very interesting and original book for political scientists and scholars of the Middle East. It collects eighteen contributions on a large number of issues which reflect on the connection between the events unfolding in the Arab World and broader, global political dynamics, and it does so by relying on critical theories. To complete such a difficult and complex task, the two editors recruited distinguished social science scholars from 'classical' Middle Eastern Studies and from the fields of Critical International Politics and Cultural Studies. The volume is very rich in terms of contributions and touches on different issues, ranging from authoritarian resilience, regional dynamics and social media to critical geopolitics, literature and poetry. It is a very welcome contribution because it introduces the study of the region to the wider field of social sciences, and offers fresh perspective of analysis to social and political scientists of the Middle East.

The volume is not divided into sections as it mirrors the structure of the special issue from which it originates, published in the journal *Globalizations*. Nevertheless, there are three clusters into which the chapters can be regrouped. The first group is composed of theoretical contributions elaborating on the specific characteristics of the Arab revolutions in the broader context of the global, insurrectional wave of the twenty-first century. The second group deals with different cultural aspects of the protests, elaborating on the role of poetry, street art, humour and the media in strengthening dissent and maintaining momentum. Finally, the third group deals with a variety of political and international issues, and here the most interesting contributions can be found. In particular, those chapters utilising critical geopolitics, theories of biopolitics and critical discourse analysis applied to IR are very successful in marrying apparently distant fields of study.

All the chapters are well written and effectively connect the Arab protests with wider dynamics of counter-hegemony and dissent, but scholars of the

Middle East might be disappointed by the absence in most of the contributions of empirical findings grounded in fieldwork. Readers might also be disappointed by the absence of a proper conclusion. Indeed, the book offers so many stimulating contributions that a conclusive chapter would have benefitted the whole project in terms of pointing out the most relevant ideas. Nevertheless, the book will appeal to sociologists, historians and political scientists not only interested in the Middle East, but more generally in international and contentious politics.

Paola Rivetti
(Dublin City University)

The Dying Sahara: US Imperialism and Terror in Africa by **Jeremy Keenan**. London: Pluto Press, 2013. 326pp, £19.99, ISBN 978 0 7453 2961 1

Africa, which was colonised by the European powers, continues to experience challenges. The continent is struggling from years of *coups d'état*, civil wars, and now terrorism. Africa's problems are not unconnected with decades of internal misrule and external interference. Regardless of the way imperialism is viewed, it is aimed at exploitation. Although Africa has suffered conquest and exploitation, the Global War on Terror (GWOT) has provided an unprecedented excuse to re-invade the continent. Jeremy Keenan aptly presents today's upheavals in Africa within the context of the GWOT being spearheaded by the US. *The Dying Sahara: US Imperialism and Terror in Africa* should be read by all people concerned with the need to make our world truly safer.

Keenan's findings enable readers to see the role being played by the US in the 'militarisation of Africa'. To him, Washington is using 'downright lies in portraying this new terrorist threat' (p. 2). This is not to say that other world powers are not complicit in the orchestrated game. Indeed, the author lays bare intricacies in the wave of crises in Algeria, Niger, Mali, Chad and other African countries. Keenan offers hints to help us understand this 'deceptive strategy' (p. 10). He laments that people are dying 'fighting something which they never really understood,' just for, 'imperial designs'. Here, Keenan's opinion cannot be faulted looking at the negative repercussions of 'state terrorism' (pp. 12–13). The slippery-slope effect is that it becomes hard to trust

any global initiative to combat insecurity. Is this not the reason why the War on Terror proves unwinnable at both the global and regional levels?

No one could deny the existence of misguided elements in Africa and elsewhere. Senseless killings must be abhorred, but global citizens shouldn't support operations where civilians are caught in the crossfire under a 'false flag' in order to get 'greater military access rights' (p. 15). Of course, there is the scramble for raw materials by Europe's corporations (p. 23) and the African dictators' ploy to 'eliminate opposition' (p. 29). In Africa, the locals, surprisingly, have started connecting bombings and sectarian conflicts to 'political agendas' (p. 47), even though there has never been a 'full investigation' (p. 57).

What Keenan explores about Africa are not isolated events. There are groups fighting against 'exploitative practices' (p. 94), and he appeals to readers to open their eyes towards the 'duplicity' that characterises global politics (p. 127). Although Keenan's book doesn't provide any in-depth coverage of 'fabricated' terror in sub-Saharan Africa (p. 126), Nonetheless it is a significant contribution to understanding the 'Long War' from behind the scenes (p. 282).

Kawu Bala
(Bauchi State Judiciary, Nigeria)

The Illegal War on Libya by **Cynthia McKinney (ed.)**. Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, 2013. 204pp, £12.99, ISBN 978 0985271060

The Illegal War on Libya constitutes a fierce critique of NATO's intervention which argues that it was illegal, immoral and the result of a capitalist plot to seize Libya's oil and gold reserves (pp. 24 and 114). The contributors, additionally, advance an almost uniquely positive view of Muammar Qaddafi's rule and suggest that it was precisely because his regime offered a

viable alternative to liberal democracy and capitalism that 'the West' determined to overthrow him (pp. 117, 123 and 178). While the contributors highlight many issues which NATO would rather not publicise, they have adopted a 'my enemy's enemy is my friend' attitude that undermines their critique of an undeniably controversial intervention. Their claims lose credibility when they present the 'Brother Leader' as a benign – indeed socially progressive – ruler who presided over a harmonious, egalitarian country (pp. 12, 46 and 101). For decades, many reputable human rights agencies castigated the regime for its excesses, yet they are ignored here. Many of the contributions constitute emotive descriptions of the aftermath of military strikes; while we must be made aware of what destruction 'humanitarian intervention' entails, are the authors pacifists determined to champion human rights? If so, how can they support a regime such as Qaddafi's?

There is no real engagement with alternative views; proponents and supporters of the intervention are castigated and denounced as puppets rather than being engaged with, and the book is largely devoid of theoretical insight apart from vague anti-capitalist generalities. The US is described as 'a menacing plague on humanity' (p. 99), and the West's nefarious capacity to orchestrate events (p. 36), manipulate the media (p. 127) and thus dupe the ostensibly ignorant public is difficult to accept and credits the powerful with more Machiavellian mendacity than is credible.

Aidan Hehir
(University of Westminster)

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