

Journal of Peace Research

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/>

Book Notes

Journal of Peace Research 2013 50: 761

DOI: 10.1177/0022343313508038

The online version of this article can be found at:

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/content/50/6/761>

Published by:



<http://www.sagepublications.com>

On behalf of:

Peace Research Institute Oslo



Journal of Peace Research Replication Data



Additional services and information for *Journal of Peace Research* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://jpr.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

>> [Version of Record](#) - Oct 24, 2013

[What is This?](#)

Book Notes

Journal of Peace Research

50(6) 761–770

© The Author(s) 2013

Reprints and permission:

sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav

DOI: 10.1177/0022343313508038

jpr.sagepub.com



Acemoglu, Daron & James A Robinson (2012) *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*. New York: Crown. 529 pp. ISBN 9781856684302.

A book recommended by six Nobel economics laureates and by Niall Ferguson, Francis Fukuyama, and Ian Morris (whose work is ignored) and Jared Diamond (whose work is trashed) must surely have something exceptional going for it. And indeed, this book (which might just as well have been titled *Why Nations Succeed*) is a tour de force in development economics, which cannot fail to impress with the scope of the historical material it reviews. The message is deceptively simple: nations succeed when they have inclusive institutions, political as well as economic; they fail when the two sets of institutions are extractive. Nations can get into virtuous circles, where inclusive institutions in politics and economics reinforce each other, or into vicious circles mutually supported by extractive institutions. While growth under extractive institutions, particularly political institutions, is possible in the short term, such a currently popular deviation from ‘the Washington consensus’ is not viable in the longer run – so China beware! The book’s thesis is backed by historical examinations of the Maya cities, the Glorious Revolution in Britain in 1688, the Meiji Restoration in Japan, European colonialism, the two Koreas, and a host of other examples which fit seamlessly into the main thesis. The authors firmly reject competing arguments based on geography, culture, or modernization theory. What is not equally clear to this reader is how to assess precisely the degree of inclusiveness of institutions (does this ‘new’ theory differ from a more traditional emphasis on democracy and a market economy?) or how inclusive institutions can arise, beyond a fairly general notion of ‘critical junctures’ in history.

Nils Petter Gleditsch

Bartkowski, Maciej, ed. (2013) *Recovering Nonviolent History: Civil Resistance in Liberation Struggles*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. xii + 436 pp. ISBN 9781588268952.

Political science and sociology have long regarded nation-building as a fundamentally violent process. As Charles Tilly famously argued, ‘War makes the state, and the state makes war.’ This volume challenges this claim, arguing instead that popular nonviolent struggles have been equally influential in defining peoples, cultures, and borders. In *Recovering Nonviolent History*, Maciej Bartkowski has assembled a compelling set of research articles that describe the many ways that people power movements have actively confronted foreign occupation, colonial influence, and territorial domination in ways that have affected the current global landscape. Impressive in global and historical scope, the book’s main theoretical contribution is its conjecture that nonviolent resistance may have played an equally important role in the establishment of nations and states as violent struggle – a hypothesis that receives limited support in the case studies, though systematic testing is left to future researchers. Each of the chapters possesses originality, detailed research, and success at ‘recovering’ some novel national histories. Highlights include Conser’s chapter on civil resistance in the American colonies from 1765 to 1775, and Smithey’s chapter, which challenges the notion that collective action is always predetermined by pre-existing repertoires and argues that instead, opportunities and opponent moves can produce novel forms of collective action that can in turn reinforce existing values or even introduce new identities. The main weakness of the volume is the puzzle that remains – if nonviolent struggles have been so important in state and identity formation, then why have they been forgotten? Bartkowski’s concluding chapter offers some potential explanations – including the ‘cloaking’ of masculinity in the archetype of armed struggle, the influence of external actors taking credit for victorious struggles, and that civil resistance is just now

an emerging field of study – but the volume leaves these as untested hypotheses. More research is required to understand the reasons why the history of nonviolent resistance needs recovering in the first place.

Erica Chenoweth

Brauer, Jurgen & J Paul Dunne (2012) *Peace Economics: A Macroeconomic Primer for Violence-Afflicted States*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace. xvi + 155 pp. ISBN 9781601271389.

Violence is detrimental for economic development. Actual peace is the only long-term condition for sustainable development. This is the crucial message of this book authored by two economists who have devoted years to the development of this field of study. The book is intended for a wide audience. It expounds the basic elements of peace economics in a simple and engaging way. The first four chapters cover the impact of violence on economic development with a special focus on macroeconomic fundamentals. In the final chapter, institutional aspects of peace-building are presented. In particular, the authors present a list of 12 guiding principles for designing peaceful economic policies. Each chapter is finalized by expounding some illustrative case studies. In particular, the authors present examples of violence-afflicted countries that are either successes or failures in terms of economic progress. I found this extremely appropriate. In fact, such comparative juxtaposition helps the readers to fix in the mind the main issues related to the topic previously expounded. The main text is complemented with a useful appendix which presents the taxonomy of different kinds of violence and a technical glossary. In sum, *Peace Economics* has to be recommended to students and scholars of economics and other social sciences because it delivers what it promises. It gives an insightful account of how peace ought to be considered in an economic perspective. It also grants the reader a sense of novel curiosity about the fundamental engine of economic and societal progress.

Raul Caruso

Bunker, Robert J, ed. (2013) *Criminal Insurgencies in Mexico and the Americas: The Gangs and Cartels Wage War*. New York: Routledge. xiii + 209 pp. ISBN 9780415533447.

This book proposes the provocative claim that drug cartels represent ‘narco-insurgents’ with the power to carve out areas free from state interference and the

capacity to threaten regional security in the near future. Eight substantive chapters and a preface – all written by journalists or people attached to the security sector – present a ‘witches’ brew’ tracing the rise of drug cartels, the evolution of street gangs, the potential effects on cities, cartel access to weaponry and corruption in US law enforcement. These themes demand objectivity, caution and primary evidence. Unfortunately, few of the chapters come close to these requirements. The tone is hyperbolic, almost hysterical, littered with vague terms such as ‘war’ and ‘insurgency’, but not one mention of daily life in Mexico. The editor stresses that the analysis is ‘unbiased’ and that ‘many’ contributors have ‘Spanish skills’. I counted 465 references but only 54 in Spanish, almost all newspaper reports, and four chapters had no Spanish reference. Only a couple of the chapters were based on interviews, the level of self-citation and use of non peer-reviewed sources is astonishing and using the *Economist* to substantiate a claim that FARC is aiding the Mapuche is irresponsible. There are useful contributions – Malcolm Beith on cartel–state collusion in Mexico and Steven Dudley’s country threat assessment that refutes many of the book’s central assertions – but too many blur hypothesis with fact, use single events as evidence of a trend and make claims that are just ‘wacky’, notably the idea that cartels have developed a spiritual cult status that motivates and accounts for actions. Handle with care.

Gareth A Jones

Christia, Fotini (2012) *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. xvi + 343 pp. ISBN 9781107683488.

While general theories of civil war usually envision a single rebel group fighting a government, many actual civil wars feature more than two parties. In this powerful book, Christia analyzes why and how groups in such multiparty civil wars form alliances, and why they sometimes experience splits and internal takeovers. Drawing on neorealist IR theory, she argues that warring groups enter alliances primarily to maximize postwar power; they seek to form minimum winning coalitions that are just powerful enough to win the war. Groups are also wary of allying with disproportionately strong groups since these cannot credibly commit to sharing power after victory. From this foundation, Christia predicts that change in relative power is the key determinant of alliance formation; weaker groups will ally in order to ‘balance’ against the strongest group – unless one group

seems likely to win on its own, in which case the others will 'bandwagon' with it. Christia argues that group fractionalization is also governed by power considerations, occurring when one subgroup bears larger power losses than other subgroups. The arguments are assessed in four comparative case studies – the Afghan civil wars of 1978–89 and 1992–98 and the Bosnian civil wars of 1941–45 and 1992–95 – in which the author presents an impressive amount of data on different levels of analysis to support her theory. She also provides a simple statistical assessment on a broader sample of 53 multiparty civil wars. The analyses are persuasive, but also invoke questions that are not fully answered, such as why negotiated settlements sometimes occur. Nonetheless, this is an excellent book that combines depth, rigor, and ingenuity to provide new and important insights and arguments.

Helge Holtermann

Cohen, Carol, ed. (2012) *Women and Wars*. Cambridge: Polity. xix + 296 pp. ISBN 9780745642451.

Cohen's edited volume is a gendered analysis of war, with focus on 'the impacts wars have on women, the ways women participate in wars, the varying political stances women take toward war, and the ways in which women work to build peace' (p. 1). After presenting a comprehensive conceptual framework in chapter 1 that appropriately positions the reader to best internalize and understand the subsequent chapters, Cohen and her colleagues lay out an elaborate yet easy-to-understand gender analysis of war, in the process painting a clear picture of how men (and boys) and women (and girls) differentially participate in war and peacebuilding and how this has differential impacts upon them. The book addresses a wide range of issues including women's participation in political economy, women's health, forced migration, political activism, state military forces and non-state armed opposition groups, peace processes, DDR and life after wars. Each situation is further elucidated by real life case studies, while highlighting how gender analysis improves the understanding and appreciation of the impacts of war on women and girls. Rarely will a book like this address women's health, including the impact of wars on the reproductive health of women and girls, in such an elaborate and extensive way. It makes a strong case that 'without better understanding of the specific context of sexual violence in a conflict ... efforts to respond to the problem are bound to remain less effective than they could be' (p. 78). The

presentation is suitable for both an academic and non-academic audience, including policymakers. The inclusion of discussion questions at the end of each chapter makes it particularly suitable for teaching at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels, especially for students of peace and conflict studies, development studies, women and gender studies and related areas.

Chi Primus Che

Collier, Paul & Anthony J Venables, eds (2011) *Plundered Nations? Successes and Failures in Natural Resource Extraction*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. xiv + 360 pp. ISBN 9780230290228.

In *Plundering Nations*, Collier & Venables explore why some states are successful in turning natural resource revenues into rapid and sustained development, while others are incapable of managing such revenues, with the opportunity turning into a nightmare of corruption and violence. The edited volume consists of eight case studies: Russia, Iran, Malaysia, Chile, Cameroon, Nigeria and Zambia. Each case is rich in detail, with statistics related to the natural resource sector and descriptions of various strategies of natural resource revenue management. This detail makes for interesting and careful analyses of case countries' failure or success. Collier & Venables summarize the broad findings of the case studies in chapter 1, introducing a framework to help guide key decisions for natural resource management. They use the analogy of a chain to describe the various aspects of natural resource extraction that are needed to achieve sustainable development: (i) discovery and development, (ii) government taxation, (iii) asset formation and saving, and finally (iv) domestic investments and diversification of the economy. This book is an essential contribution to the effort to understand how to responsibly manage natural resource revenues and is highly relevant for both academics and policymakers. However, the title of the volume suggests that the book might explore natural resource extraction in a broader sense, taking into account themes such as environmental problems, issues with local livelihoods and resource-related grievances. Somewhat unfortunately, most of the chapters are concerned with fiscal aspects of the subject, which may prove a lost opportunity to explore this important issue from a broader perspective.

Siri Aas Rustad

Coyne, Christopher (2013) *Doing Bad by Doing Good: Why Humanitarian Action Fails*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. xiv + 258 pp. ISBN: 9780804772280.

In today's international aid community, perhaps no phrase better sums up how lofty institutional principles can be shredded by political rationalization than 'Do No Harm'. Christopher Coyne brings us a useful, thought-provoking addition to the crowded field of intervention critiques, exploring the gap between universal feelings of what societies 'ought' to do about unfolding disasters versus what state-led humanitarian intervention actually accomplishes. Arguing that emotions cloud humanitarian judgment to the point of over-promises and under-deliverance, Coyne calls for using 'positive economic analysis' (pp. 26–27) to guide a more constrained global aid agenda. He uses long-suffering Helmand province in Afghanistan to illustrate how 70 years of aid projects have failed to 'lift' local populations; and how all interventions – humanitarian or otherwise – have local winners and losers. This often understated (or ignored) fact strengthens Coyne's robust defense of the need to understand and respect endogenous rules of society when planning aid (pp. 182–185). While Coyne's initiative to seek patterns underneath a broad humanitarianism framework is laudable, it strains an otherwise engaging economic case against output-fetishized state-led development aid by lumping together acute emergency responses by actors like the Red Cross with the serial social engineering failures of the development aid community. While Coyne's assertion that no constructive state-led humanitarian efforts are consistently replicable (p. 24) may also be vociferously critiqued by humanitarian actors, his argument that 'unintended' consequences are in fact part and parcel of an always-political humanitarian response package bears repeating. Coyne's perhaps polemical warning that 'disregarding the economics of humanitarianism will ... contribute to needless human suffering and the stagnation, if not retrogression, of the well-being of billions of people around the world' (p. 204) indeed strikes to the core of the debate, even if many would not yet be ready to rely on cold calculations alone when human lives are at stake.

Jason Miklian

Einsiedel, Sebastian; David Malone & Suman Pradhan, eds (2012) *Nepal in Transition: From People's War to Fragile Peace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. xiv + 398 pp. ISBN: 9781107005679.

The edited volume is a thorough analysis of Nepal's troubled transition toward peace, security, and development.

Three experts on the country's recent history, internal conflict, and peace process masterfully distill the hard-learned lessons of post-conflict Nepal from the contributions of 16 political analysts, human rights activists, international civil servants, journalists, social scientists, and development and conflict resolution practitioners. The book succeeds in its stated purpose of assessing the effectiveness of internationally supported peacebuilding and detailing a case study of post-conflict transition (p. 3). It is a precious reference for academics and practitioners to understand the complex challenges of Nepal's democratization and the pitfalls of international intervention in national reconciliation processes. The book's strength rests in the exhaustiveness of the contributions. The editors offer an excellent introduction to the country's history and geopolitics and combine different streams of social scientific research with practitioners' experience from the conflict and the peace process. As a result, the reader substantially advances her understanding of the Maoists' success in mobilizing insurgent support and attaining electoral endorsement (chapters 2, 10). The book centers on Nepal's failing democratic reform, the challenges of restructuring formerly opposed armed forces (chapter 3) and the shortsightedness of exclusionary development models (chapter 4). The editors show the inextricability of justice, democracy, peace, and development and caution that only genuine participation leads to sustainable development – hence, the importance of 'orchestrated efforts [to overcome the] exclusionary nature of Nepal state' (p. 31), of which the Constituent Assembly was an outstanding example (chapter 9). Ultimately, they remind us that elections are but one step toward successful post-conflict transitions and that Nepal has not yet addressed the discriminatory state policies that fueled the insurgency.

Francesca Grandi

Gearty, Conor (2013) *Liberty and Security*. Cambridge: Polity. 160 pp. ISBN 9780745647197.

In *Liberty and Security*, Conor Gearty argues that security and liberty have become privileges afforded solely to the empowered few. Therefore, it is argued that we must work towards returning to a true universalism that ensures democracy, rule of law and human rights to all. To this end, the author expends substantial energy cataloguing how post-9/11 governments have used counterterrorism and, by extension, security as a justification for ever further encroaching violations of the liberties of many if not all of their citizens. Emphasis is

placed on the increasingly common failure to provide due process to accused terrorists (or their supporters) and the misuse of violence by states to combat perceived terrorist threats. Indeed, many, if not all, of the shortcomings identified in the book are alarming. However, Gearty is either unable or unwilling to engage with the complexity of a war on terrorism, leaving readers to believe that terrorism is nothing more than a run-of-the-mill criminal activity. Furthermore, the book fails to provide solutions; namely, how society should balance the challenges of security with the value of liberty. There is no doubt that greater legal transparency in legal proceedings related to terrorism would be beneficial, as would collective efforts to ensure greater respect for human rights in the fight against terrorism. However, these concerns are neither new nor novel. Therefore, while *Liberty and Security* may raise some interesting questions, it falls short of providing any innovative answers.

Yehonatan Cohen

Gibler, Douglas (2012) *The Territorial Peace: Borders, State Development and International Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. xiii + 189 pp. ISBN 9781107016217.

This book argues that the settlement of border disputes leads to both peace and democracy. The important contribution of the work is in the questions it asks and its exploration of the pathways by which territorial threats influence political intolerance and centralization. Research such as this should be embraced for engaging with challenging and central questions on the potential for democratic governance of foreign policy and issue settlements from an international relations perspective. However, despite this contribution, its theoretical ambitions are not everywhere matched by the research design. This disconnect is understandable given that the topic has significant potential for reciprocal causation. Yet in the future it might be instructive if these difficulties were highlighted and alternative causal orderings and identification strategies were explicitly analyzed. To take the most controversial instance, the book argues that it is the settlement of territorial issues, and not democracy, that leads to peace. This is clearly a 'second image reversed' explanation, whereby external forces have an effect on the internal workings of a state. However, in reversing the independent and dependent variables from more familiar accounts of the relationship between democracy, issue settlement and peace, this analysis simply interprets

the covariance between settlement and democracy as supporting its hypotheses and only for contiguous states. Yet this is an assumption, not an empirical finding. Work by Huth & Allee (2002), Owsiak (2012), and Park & Colaresi (2014) suggest there are limits to assuming the irrelevance of domestic political institutions to territorial issues. More research on this topic in a broader range of cases is needed. Caveats aside, this well-written book is worth engaging with and building upon.

Michael Colaresi

Halvorson, Dan (2013) *States of Disorder: Understanding State Failure and Intervention in the Periphery*. Farnham & Burlington, VT: Ashgate. x + 197 pp. ISBN 9781409451884.

Timing could hardly be more opportune for publication of this thoroughly researched book, as the civil war in Syria has brought yet another insolubility for Western political thought. It is plain impossible to invent a rationale for an intervention – and it is equally impossible not to intervene. Syria could have indeed provided a useful fourth case to the unusual selection in this study: the British intervention in Egypt in 1882; the US intervention in South Vietnam in 1965; and the French intervention in Ivory Coast in 2002. It is generally a tall order for any aspiring author to challenge mainstream academic 'wisdom', and Halvorson gears his analysis to substantiate two points of contention. Firstly, he argues that the conventional interpretation of 'state failure' as a modern phenomenon is profoundly flawed because disorder in the periphery is a normal state of affairs for any international order established by a group of great powers. This perceived chaos does not constitute any direct security threat to these powers but it threatens their vision of how the international system should function, and so becomes a challenge to 'ontological security' (p. 152). Secondly, the great powers feel obliged to launch interventions not because of material interests or, presently, humanitarian concerns but primarily because of prestige-based motives. Prestige, in this context, needs to be understood as a complex political phenomenon, but it is easy to agree with the author that the violent turmoil in far-away places is 'experienced emotionally by political leaders in the form of anger or frustration' (p. 153). Halvorson's challenges are open to criticism but the conclusion about the high probability of failure in such interventions is sobering.

Pavel Baev

Kapoor, Ilan (2013) *Celebrity Humanitarianism: The Ideology of Global Charity*. London & New York: Routledge. xiv + 145 pp. ISBN 9780415783392.

There have been several scholarly attempts in recent years to grasp the phenomenon of celebrity humanitarianism, but few have been as thorough as Kapoor's contribution in this book. His main argument is that celebrity engagement is less about the causes they promote and more about legitimizing the neoliberal global order, 'including the latter's tendencies towards depoliticization, imperialism, and inequality' (p. 2). Rather than being altruistic, it advances consumerism, promotes celebrity 'brands' and contributes to rationalizing the very global inequality it pretends to fight. Kapoor draws on Slavoj Žižek's work to advance his ideological critique, and looks at three main types of celebrity engagement: the global charity work of entertainment stars (Bono, Geldof, Madonna, Jolie), the corporate philanthropy of billionaires and big business campaigns (from Soros and Gates to the (RED) brand to collect funds for the fight against AIDS), and lastly, the humanitarian work of 'spectacular' NGOs, drawing on celebrities in their campaigns, and also building celebrity status themselves to boost their fundraising. He also addresses the problems of oversimplification of various causes as they are communicated through celebrities' engagement, by overdramatizing, as in the case of George Clooney's Darfur involvement, by misrepresenting realities on the ground, or through exaggerated optimism around the success of the campaigns they engage in, giving the impression that all has been solved, as when Bob Geldof declared 'mission accomplished' after his lobbying of G8 leaders at the Gleneagles summit in 2005. Despite Kapoor's criticism against the ideological foundations of celebrity humanitarianism, there is little attention devoted to *why* humanitarianism has this appeal, and what the moral underpinnings of its image of being unambiguously 'good' are.

Maria Gabrielsen Jumbert

Kapteijns, Lidwein (2013) *Clan Cleansing in Somalia: The Ruinous Legacy of 1991*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press. 336 pp. ISBN 9780812244670 (hbk).

Lidwein Kapteijns's book explores the relationship between political discourse and power. Kapteijns describes how Somali politicians instrumentalized violence and discourses of clan identity before and during the collapse of central state order in 1991. This is an old story, of state officials and militia leaders who use

violence and words to rigidify social categories to build personal powerbases and marginalize opponents, but Kapteijns does it in a new way. The real contribution of this book lies in her investigation into the discursive process. Why would a typical Somali with diverse social ties and who recognizes that politicians use this discourse for personal instrumental reasons participate in clan-based violence? Once within the process of conflict, why then turn against one's recent allies and fight them, an act that defies the logic of the master narrative of immutable identity? Kapteijns addresses this puzzle through two devices. First she shows how poets and other authoritative voices in Somali society shifted conceptual frames in a variety of directions in the early 1990s and what people thought about that. Then she drills down into the elements of violence in 1991 aimed against alternative political voices in Somalia society. She exposes the nuts and bolts of essentializing conflict: the systematic attacks against elders and others able to express 'critical memory' to a broad audience. That leaves poets to address contemporary Somali politics and the role of this historical record in shaping it. Readers may be especially intrigued by her position that, like the poet Mohamud Togane, a sort of 'clanaholics anonymous' debate is needed – a discourse that presents alternative realities and personal experiences against the clan paradigm that dominates the public realm.

Will Reno

Ker-Lindsay, James (2012) *The Foreign Policy of Counter Secession: Preventing the Recognition of Contested States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 215 pp. ISBN 9780199698394.

This short but comprehensive volume discusses the wide array of strategies devised and implemented by states aiming to prevent the recognition of unilaterally secessionist territories. The author explores the reasons why states might be keen to prevent international recognition and persuasively shows that the rationale behind such efforts is frequently more multifaceted than simply the desire to preserve territorial integrity. Of particular interest in the examination of counter-recognition strategies themselves is the role of public diplomacy and antilegitimization campaigns. This reviewer also found the discussion of membership in sporting and cultural organizations as a vital battleground for recognition especially engaging. A core theme of the book is the role of various external actors. Ker-Lindsay demonstrates that these significantly affect international legitimization of

secessionist territories, and therefore constitute key targets of antirecognition campaigns. Empirically, the book draws on a range of cases from different parts of the globe. While the counter-recognition dynamics between Cyprus and the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus', Serbia and Kosovo, and Georgia and Abkhazia are examined in greater detail than for other cases, diverse examples are referred to throughout. The amount of fieldwork conducted, especially personal interviews, is particularly impressive, given the well-documented difficulties of research in such regions and the sensitivity of the subject-matter. Overall, this book is a very valuable contribution to literatures on peace and conflict studies, international security, self-determination and foreign policy. It has direct relevance to continued international efforts to manage conflicts between states and breakaway entities. I strongly recommend the book to scholars, policymakers and anyone interested in issues of secession, territorial conflict or international affairs more broadly. The volume will also be a worthwhile addition to reading lists for university courses in international relations and comparative politics.

Anastasia Voronkova

Kostić, Roland & Mikael Eriksson, eds (2013) *Mediation and Liberal Peacebuilding: Peace from the Ashes of War?* Oxford & New York: Routledge. xiv + 195 pp. ISBN 9780415638357.

This volume, consisting of articles from scholars working in Sweden and Norway, contributes to both practical and academic discussions around mediation and liberal peacebuilding. Composed of seven case studies including Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Sudan, the Ivory Coast, Senegal and Sierra Leone, the authors analyze the mediation practices of external actors in peace agreements, with the exception of solely internal peacemaking in Senegal. The book's main contribution is in its detailed and often critical analysis of contemporary peace processes gathered from those who were directly involved, highlighting the lack of ownership among local actors when third-party power interests are overinvolved, particularly Western liberal powers. The first and concluding chapters provide a theoretical framework, with each case study focusing on the negotiation process, the involvement or lack thereof of both primary and third parties, and the consequences of the process analyzed. Despite the concluding chapter by the editors which ties together different aspects of the cases, more

comparative analysis between the cases throughout the text would have proven more beneficial. Nonetheless, the authors make a strong case for the lack of long-sightedness when it comes to the interconnected nature of the motives of mediators during the peacemaking process and sustained peace, both at the empirical as well as theoretical levels. They raise interesting questions about the importance of negotiation and mediator practices during peace agreements and their lasting implications rather than focusing solely on the post-conflict phase. The book's unique approach will prove a worthwhile supplementary read to practitioners and scholars interested in topics of statebuilding, intervention, liberal peace, and peace and conflict studies.

Dženeta Karabegović

Kurtzer, C Daniel; Scott B Lasensky, William B Quandt, Steven L Spiegel & Shibley Z Telhami (2013) *The Peace Puzzle: America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989–2011*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press & Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace. xii + 336 pp. ISBN 9780801451478.

The authors of this book have previously published a small monograph on best practices for US diplomacy in the Arab-Israeli conflict (reviewed in *JPR* 46(2): 288). With *The Peace Puzzle* they have fleshed out these original findings by investigating a series of US diplomatic efforts, from the Madrid process to the diplomacy of the Obama administration. Having conducted in-depth studies of these various efforts, the authors are able to provide valuable insights into what has worked, what has failed, and why. These case studies therefore provide important lessons to diplomats, analysts and politicians alike. The authors are able to provide this impressive level of insight by use of difficult to access empirical evidence. Many high-level actors have been interviewed and an impressive amount of literature has been reviewed. The book hardly provides reasons for optimism. It is able to show that there have been ample opportunities for peacemaking in the Arab-Israeli conflict, but that these have been mishandled by a series of US presidents. This is particularly frustrating because such opportunities are so few and far between. Perhaps the most frustrating study is that focusing on the Syrian-Israeli negotiations under Clinton. The study shows that the parties were extremely close to reaching a deal, and had the US team managed the negotiations better, the two states might have succeeded in

negotiating a peace treaty. That window of opportunity has now obviously been closed indefinitely.

Jørgen Jensehaugen

Lasserre, Isabelle & Thierry Oberlé (2013) *Notre guerre secrète au Mali. Les nouvelles menaces contre la France* [Our Secret War in Mali: New Threats Against France]. Paris: Fayard. 248 pp. ISBN 9782213677941.

On 11 January 2013, the French government launched its *Operation Serval* in Mali. One year earlier, Tuareg rebels and Islamist fighters had taken control of the northern parts of the country displacing a weak Malian army. Islamists were now advancing south and the French, who had troops in Chad, were called upon. The swift French reaction seemed to have emerged out of the crisis. This book shows, however, that a French operation in northern Mali had been in the planning for a couple of years. The book is written by two journalists specialized in Saharan politics and working with the newspaper *Le Figaro*. So what were the root causes of French intervention in Mali, apart from the emergency? Northern Mali was increasingly becoming a zone of attraction for Salafists not only from West Africa, but also from the suburbs of Paris and elsewhere. The North Africa branch of Al-Qaeda (AQMI) was beginning to threaten France, leading to an increasing worry about an attack like 9/11 on French soil. In addition, Islamist groups in the Sahara control a large part of the cocaine supply to Europe, and EU countries have spent millions of euros to free hostages in this region in recent years. Cocaine and kidnapping are problems in themselves, but these sources of income have also helped Salafist groups buy arms and attract new recruits. Finally, French economic interests in West Africa, such as the need to control the uranium mines in northern Niger, were also important. This book provides new information on French motivations to intervene and is also an excellent overview of the increasingly complicated political economy of the Saharan region.

Tor A Benjaminsen

Manski, Charles F (2013) *Public Policy in an Uncertain World: Analysis and Decisions*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 199 pp. ISBN 9780674066892.

Concepts such as evidence-based policy and research impact are currently in vogue, but practice often falls short of aspirations. Manski criticizes the ‘incredible

certitude’ prevalent in much policy analysis and provides suggestions for more honest analysis, reflecting the uncertainty and the problems involved in decisionmaking under partial knowledge. The first section of the book reviews common problems in policy analysis, including point estimates with no indication of uncertainty, a conflation of science and advocacy, and a failure to justify the assumptions that inferences hinge on. The second section provides a largely non-technical illustration of problems in policy analysis, including selection into treatments and the rationale and limitations of different approaches to causal inference. Manski highlights how theory is often insufficient to make strong predictions about future outcomes without additional assumptions. Conventional economic theory, for example, does not provide direct answers to how labor supply responds to changes in income tax without additional assumptions about the relative preference for income versus leisure. Many simplifying assumptions, such as invoking single-peaked preferences, may be less credible than often asserted. For example, Manski points to plausible scenarios where this may not hold, in heterogeneous populations where some respondents prefer to maximize expected outcomes while others seek to minimize risk or wish to avoid ex post unequal treatment. In my view, everybody can benefit from engaging with this concise and largely non-technical book. The flawed examples of policy analysis reviewed should induce greater skepticism and humility among consumers. Although there are unlikely to be any simple and uncontroversial fixes, the book provides a host of helpful advice for more rigorous and honest policy analysis.

Kristian Skrede Gleditsch

McHugo, John (2013) *A Concise History of the Arabs*. London: Saqi. 352 pp. ISBN 9780863568893.

In this elegant work of history, John McHugo traces Arab history through the centuries. He starts with the period prior to the prophet Muhammad and follows the rise and fall of the various Islamic Empires via the colonial era, taking the reader through to the present day. McHugo’s account of Arab history is thorough, yet still an easy read. It is an introductory history for newcomers to the field, but it still manages to take up some of the most significant debates without making them banal. This combination makes this book one of the more recommendable introductions to Arab history. Despite the brevity of the book, McHugo does not shy away

from such difficult issues as the status of minorities in the Middle East, the Huntington thesis, or the question of Islam and women's rights, to take some examples. The book ends with the anecdote of Zhou Enlai who reportedly said that it is 'too early to tell' what type of impact the French revolution had. Equally, McHugo argues, it is far too early to predict what type of significance the so-called Arab Spring might have for the region. After all, '[i]t has only just begun'. This open-ended conclusion is important because it shows that change is a long and painful process whose end is never a given. As a historian, McHugo carefully shows the reader that much can be learned from the past, and that while this knowledge can be used to understand the present and to analyze possibilities that may eventuate, it cannot be used to predict the future.

Jørgen Jensehaugen

Mylonas, Harris (2012) *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*. New York: Cambridge University Press. ix + 255 pp. ISBN 9781107661998.

Why is it that some ethnic groups experience exclusionary policies, such as genocidal campaigns or deportation, and others do not? What motives underlie political elites' decisionmaking (or policy output) in a given host state toward ethnic groups? Mylonas sheds some light on these complex phenomena by offering a new theory on nation-building policies toward ethnic groups – which he recasts as 'non-core groups'. Applying a rational-choice approach, he generates various predictions and evaluates them by using historical examples from the era of the Balkan Wars at the beginning of the 20th century. Based on comprehensive archival research, the main argument that Mylonas develops is that the occurrence of three types of policies toward ethnic groups (accommodation, assimilation, and exclusion) in a given host state are not merely related to the discord between ruling political elites and ethnic groups. Rather they result from the complex interactions between the host state, ethnic groups, and intervening external powers, stressing the importance of the international and geostrategic context of nation-building policies. Using both quantitative and qualitative methods, Mylonas examines the cross-national, subnational, and long-term implications of his propositions. In conclusion he argues that nation-building policies are dynamic in nature 'depending on the international system, and vice versa' (p. 199). Although the study purports to apply 'very careful Process-Tracing' (p. 74), the operationalization of

this method in the qualitative case studies becomes blurred, making the historical sections arduous to follow. However, honestly underlining the odd cases and caveats, overall Mylonas's interdisciplinary research design and new typology of policy choices toward ethnic groups provide a new perspective for better understanding the conventional literature on ethno-political conflicts.

Can I Sezgin

Shirkey, Zachary C (2012) *Joining the Fray: Outside Military Intervention in Civil Wars*. Farnham: Ashgate. vi + 214 pp. ISBN 9781409428923.

Further developing a topic successfully explored in his 2009 *Is This a Private Fight or Can Anybody Join? The Spread of Interstate War*, Zachary Shirkey's recently published book unpacks the relationship between military intervention and civil wars by asking the questions of 'when do states decide to intervene in civil wars?' and 'what drives and conditions this decision?' To begin with, Shirkey grounds his work in filtered rationalist arguments. He equates the process driving intervention with the process driving war initiation and termination. This, combined with the lack of formal models, makes for both points of departure and innovative contributions to the rationalist bargaining theory. Secondly, the concept of intervention is subject to terminological and definitional clarifications which conclude with the narrowing of the focus on direct intervention. Against this background, Shirkey sets out to demonstrate that some characteristic of a war must change for a party to decide to join. With this particular purpose in mind, Shirkey develops a theory whose main hypothesis contends that revealed information and commitment problems account for changes in interventionist attitudes. The chosen case studies – the Hungarian Revolution (1848–49), the Lebanese Civil War (1975–90), the First and Second Congo Wars (1996–2003), and the Afghan Civil War (1979–2001) – support the theory by explaining, in an analytic and insightful manner, how the accumulation of information and commitment issues are part of the process of the continual bargaining endemic in any war. The theory also acknowledges the role of alliances and institutional patterns of interaction, as well as elements of strategy delay. In doing so, the book becomes a significant and intellectually refreshing addition to the existing literature.

Vladimir Rauta

Simic, Olivera (2012) *Regulation of Sexual Conduct in UN Peacekeeping Operations*. Berlin: Springer. xix + 191 pp. ISBN 9783642284830.

While much has been written about UN peacekeepers' involvement in trafficking and sexual exploitation of local women since the first reports on the issue started appearing in the mid-1990s, this book by Olivera Simic – considered by this reviewer at greater length for the Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (www.peacebuilding.no) – shifts the focus towards women's agency and freedom of choice. Simic states that the UN's response to these allegations bans almost all sexual activity between peacekeepers and local women, and argues that these policies contribute to the continued victimization of women, and may be at the expense of their human rights. Distinguishing between non-exploitative sexual conduct (sexual relationships and prostitution) on the one hand, and sexual exploitation on the other allows Simic to maintain a rights-based approach. She outlines the consequences of the UN's policy for women who make a living from voluntary prostitution, pointing out that banning prostitution drives it underground and takes away an opportunity to earn a living for many women. The issue of exploitative versus non-exploitative sexual conduct is perhaps the most controversial issue in the book. Irrespective of one's point of view, Simic provides an important insight into how the UN 'Zero Tolerance Policy' is a dysfunctional tool for dealing with these issues; it is a quick-fix solution designed to improve the UN's reputation and not necessarily change the conditions under which

women live and experience the war or postwar context. She sensibly argues that future UN policies about sexual conduct in peacekeeping operations should be informed by local women's knowledge and peacekeeper's views, and should be grounded in the frameworks of international human rights law.

Jenny K Lorentzen

Authors of Book Notes in this issue:

Pavel Baev – PRIO

Tor A Benjaminsen – Norwegian University of Life Sciences

Raul Caruso – Catholic University of the Sacred Heart

Chi Primus Che – PRIO & University of Oslo

Erica Chenoweth – University of Denver & PRIO

Yehonatan Cohen – Amadeu Antonio Stiftung

Michael Colaresi – Michigan State University

Kristian Skrede Gleditsch – University of Essex & PRIO

Nils Petter Gleditsch – PRIO

Francesca Grandi – Yale University

Helge Holtermann – PRIO

Jørgen Jensehaugen – NTNU

Maria Gabrielsen Jumbert – PRIO

Dženeta Karabegović – University of Warwick

Jenny K Lorentzen – PRIO

Jason Miklian – PRIO

Vladimir Rauta – University of Nottingham

Will Reno – Northwestern University

Siri Aas Rustad – PRIO

Can I Sezgin – Eberhard Karl's University of Tübingen

Anastasia Voronkova – University of London

Announcement

As of issue 51(1) 2014, the Journal of Peace Research will no longer be publishing Book Notes.

Erratum

Book Notes, Journal of Peace Research 50(5): 645–653.

DOI 10.1177/0022343313499994

Journal of Peace Research 50(5) (September 2013) contained a book review by Nils Petter Gleditsch of Jeff D Colgan's *Petro-Aggression: When Oil Causes War* (Cambridge University Press, 2013). The review claimed that the replication data were not publically available. Colgan has, however, published the data files on his American University website. By mistake, this information was not corrected in the printed review.