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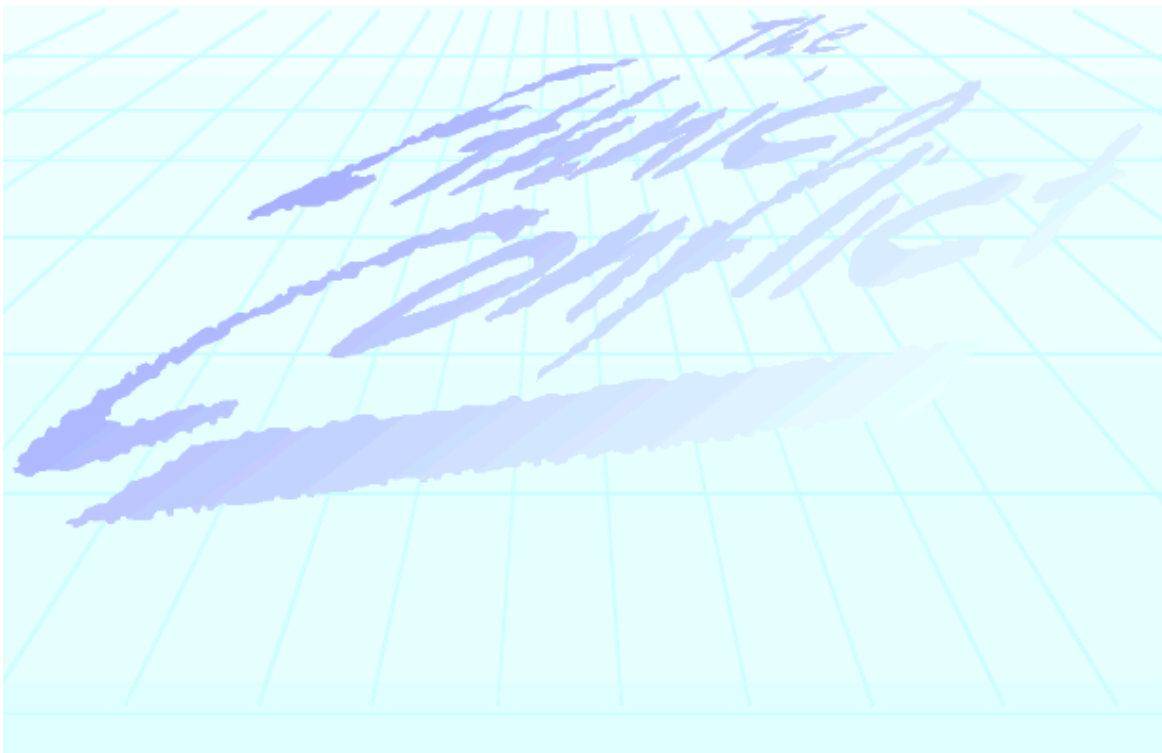
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Welcome to the 2009, Volume 7 Number 1 edition of the *Ethnic Conflict Research Digest*. Once again, we have reviewed a wide array of books from the fields of peacebuilding, globalisation, gender, human rights, as well as a number of regional studies. Volume 6 was released in 2006, and so it is important that this edition of Volume 7 is available after such a gap in time.

Unfortunately, the time between editions has rendered the issues of conflict management, terrorism and peacebuilding no less salient. In their reviews, Cathy Gormley-Heenan and Aaron Edwards note the difficulties of managing ethnic conflict whilst simultaneously pursuing the 'war on terror', and one can seriously question the utility of existing conflict management frameworks in a global environment where, more often than not, *realpolitik* predominates. Nevertheless, one can see some hope in Cillian McGrattan and John Nagle's commentaries, as their reviews of David Laitin and Will Kymlicka's works provide new ways of thinking about ethnicity and multiculturalism. However, both McGrattan and Nagle note the limitations of Laitin and Kymlicka's conflict management strategies when the state itself is in question. These limitations are also highlighted in Josephine Lett's review of Pete Shirlow and Brendan Murtagh's *Belfast: Segregation, Violence and the City.* Although one could take issue with their assertion that the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement itself has *increased* or *entrenched* sectarianism, the poor inter-communal relations that have characterised post-Agreement Northern Ireland do point to the difficulty of managing ethno-national conflicts even in environments of relative peace.

In addition to these themes, readers will find reviews on the subjects of globalisation, the media's role in ethnic conflict, gender, the EU, human rights and a number of important regional studies. As always, any comments on the reviews, or on any aspect of the *Ethnic Conflict Research Digest* are most welcome.

I am grateful to the publishers for continuing to provide INCORE with books to review. I would like to thank INCORE interns Adam Fox, Michael Simopoulos and Alan Murphy for their assistance with this edition. Adam Fox's diligence in laying out the publication is also greatly appreciated. I would also like to express my appreciation to all of our reviewers for taking the time to provide readers with such thoughtful commentaries and reflections on the worked that is reviewed herein. Please feel free to contact INCORE if you would like to be added to our list of reviewers. Earlier editions of the *Ethnic Conflict Research Digest* are available on the INCORE website: http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/services/ecrd/new/search.html

The website has search tools to enable you to search by subject, year of publication, author title, keyword, reviewer or volume.

I hope you enjoy this edition.

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Contents

Gender and Conflict

'Honour' Crimes, Paradigms, and Violence Against Women

Lynn Welchman and Sara Hossain (eds.)

'Violence against women' is not a new topic of discussion. This book, however, addresses the phenomena of violence against women in an innovative, challenging and unique manner. Specifically, it addresses 'crimes of honour'. It provides an analysis of the complex issues surrounding these crimes and examines the problems which limit the ability of domestic, regional and international regimes to make clear their condemnation of both the individual perpetrators and governments that sanction or tolerate such crimes.

This volume is comprised of 16 contributions by authors from various disciplines and contexts. This much-needed volume provides invaluable insight as to how we should understand the concept of 'crimes of honour' as it predominately affects women, young girls and infant female children in various contexts throughout the world. It is important to note that while this book considers the current popular association of 'crimes of honour' within Muslim-majority societies or communities, it endeavours to move away from this association by devoting specific chapters to examining the widespread incidence of such crimes and recent struggles to combat them among Christian majority communities in Latin America and Southern Europe, as well as similar, long-standing efforts among Sikh and Hindu communities in India.

Significantly, this book also challenges inherent socially accepted biases that 'crimes of honour' merely involve 'honour killings' whereby women are killed by male family members for their perceived or actual immoral behaviour. Using a law-focussed approach, it acknowledges that the definition of 'crimes of honour' is by no-means straightforward. In the book it is used to describe an array of crimes that are 'justified' through recourse to 'a concept of "honour" vested in male (family and/or conjugal) control over women and specifically women's sexual conduct: actual, suspected or potential' (4). Furthermore, this book continues to contribute to the theoretical discourse by appreciably acknowledging that women may commit 'crimes of honour' and that men can also be the victims of such dishonourable crimes.

This book also challenges constructs of the female as passive by including accounts of women providing funding for, and actively engaging in, campaigns to give a voice to women's rights during periods of armed conflicts. While such efforts are welcome developments and have made an impact in certain societies, Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian, Nazand Begikhani and Aide Touma-Sliman all document the reduced attention activists are able to give (and attract) to women's issues and rights in times of military hostilities and when national entities or communities are threatened.

The various authors in this volume succeed in their aim of contributing to an understanding of not only 'crimes of honour' but also of gender-based violence as a distinct phenomenon. This collection adds significantly to the existing literature on honour killings, gender-based violence and violence against women in general by providing invaluable personal accounts of women's experiences of violence that emphasise the impact of tribal and patriarchal views on individuals, families, communities and the state legal system. The use of case studies and statistics provide an insight into the culture of patriarchal and conflict-based societies and the influence that such factors have had on women's status in the family and community in general.

The emphasis throughout the book centres on the paradox that while women are inhibited by shame, family honour and the very real fear of death from giving evidence or seeking state protection, it is only through the use of legal structures that the seriousness of crimes of violence against women will be acknowledged. This book has a great deal to say; ultimately it deepens our understanding of the many faces of violence against women and urges reform of existing patriarchal social, political and legal structures which ultimately serve to subordinate women.

As such, this book is profoundly valuable as a documentation of the suffering endured by women throughout the world in the name of 'honour'. It stands as an important marker in the fields of gender-based violence, state accountability and cultural theory. It is a thought-provoking read and should be read by all with any special interest in overcoming violence against women, particularly in the so-called private sphere.

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Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary

Veena Das

(University of California Press: Berkeley, 2007) 296 pp, PB, £12.95, ISBN 978-0520247451

In this book, Veena Das demonstrates a remarkable ability to weave the stories of a handful of survivors into an analysis that illuminates some basic questions about how violence impacts on everyday life and how social scientists should respond to silence and suffering. The book can be roughly divided into two halves. The first draws on fieldwork undertaken in 1973-4 into kinship among urban Punjabi families in Delhi and is especially interested in the lives of women abducted and recovered during this inter-communal conflict. The second half deals with a more recent event. In 1984, Das was active in providing assistance to Sikh families that had been targeted by Hindu mobs after the assassination of Indira Gandhi by her Sikh bodyguards. So this is research based on a very direct experience of the consequences of violence. At one point she helped look after the daughters of a mother who had killed herself after her husband and sons were burnt to death by the mob. Throughout the analysis, Das engages with a number of heavyweights, including Wittgenstein, Weber, Lyotard, Lacan and Derrida. The author expertly handles the transition from the streets of Delhi to abstract discussions of a very high quality, but it is not possible to do justice to all the insights and arguments of this fecund volume in a short review.

Although Das does make some fascinating comments on Hindu and Sikh masculinity, her main interest is the lives of women who have experienced 'world annihilating violence' (8). Here language and meaning break down and old signposts become unhinged. Her focus is not on the initial act, however, but on how the memory of these past events is 'folded' into social relationships that carry both the signature of the state and masculine dominance. One of the themes of the book is the need to grasp phenomenal time where events far apart in physical time can be imagined as simultaneous. Thus actions during Partition may not have the 'feeling of pastness' (97) for survivors as they struggle in silence and with memories of betrayal and discord to find new meaning in a society that has frozen the events of 1947 into an official narrative. Phenomenal time also manifests itself in the violence against the Sikhs in 1984, which could draw on a mythical past to create a crisis in the present through rumour and a worldview that allowed Hindus to see themselves as victims even when they were killing. One of the most interesting of Das' topics is how individual survivors can recover from their experiences. She is sceptical that the language of transcendence really works here, advocating, as it

does, an escape from the everyday. What is needed instead, as the subtitle of the book indicates, is the descent into the ordinary. This is where the recovery of life becomes possible. This is a unique book and a vital text for anyone interested in the impact of violence on individuals and communities.

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Globalisation & Multiculturalism

Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger

Arjun Appadurai

The period since the end of the Cold War has been marked by the materialisation of a truly global society, both technologically and economically. Within this era of unheralded globalisation there has been an advanced effort towards promotion of human rights, expansion of democratic rule, and significant capital gains. However, this time period also revealed a surge of violence in the form of terrorism, ethnic cleansing, and structured political oppression never before witnessed. In *Fear of Small Numbers*, Arjun Appadurai analyses the complex dynamics of these issues and offers solutions to some of the most challenging dilemmas plaguing today's society. Appadurai provides a conceptually unique framework for understanding root causes of global violence by bringing clarity to controversial issues such as globalisation, terrorism, and a growing worldwide malevolence towards minorities.

Appadurai suggests that much of the ethnic violence seen in the world today is not necessarily a 'clash of civilisations', as suggested by Samuel Huntington, but rather a clash of world systems. To understand this clash of systems, Appadurai differentiates between the 'vertebrate' world with the 'cellular' world. The vertebrate world is the world of the nation-state defined by its structure - borders, military treaties, economic alliances, and international institutions of cooperation are all parts of a larger vertebral structure

The cellular (or invertebrate) world, on the other hand, functions through isolated units that do not adhere to national and/or geographical boundaries. Cellularity is a key aspect of many anti-globalisation movements, including more combative ones such as terrorist organisations, which thrive in this high-technological age and function in isolated pockets across the globe unconstrained by national boundaries. Therefore, as Appadurai suggests, Huntington's theory is flawed because it is looking at a clash of two vertebrate societies rather than a clash between vertebrate and cellular worlds; a clash of global ideologies. Taking this into account, today's warfare is no longer fought in open battles where the antagonists are clearly defined. For example, high profile conflicts such as those taking place in Iraq and Afghanistan are not wars fought against a common tangible enemy. Rather it is war against an ideology that has no formal vertebral structure, and therefore cannot be fought in the traditional sense.

Appadurai argues that modern society's greatest weakness is nationalism because it is ultimately built on the notion of 'exceptionalism', the belief that a national ethnic group is unique and ultimately different if not better than the rest. However, this ethnocentric mentality is not limited to fringe cellular groups such as the Klu Klux Klan or Al Qaeda terrorists. It is also deeply rooted in western liberal thought that Appadurai argues is becoming more and more ill-equipped to deal with the issues of multiculturalism brought on by globalisation.

Rather than enter the debate over globalisation, what Appadurai looks at as an inevitable process and in this book seeks to analyse the darker side of it: suicide bombings; American imperialism; anti-Americanism; the growing gap between rich and poor; and the difficulties that resilient, cellular organisations such as Al-Qaeda present to centralised, 'vertebrate' structures such as established states.

Al-Qaeda is a clear example of Appadurai's concept of cellular global organisations. As opposed to following the so-called 'rules of warfare', terrorism has successfully blurred the line between military and civilian space. Atrociously violent acts such as suicide bombings are becoming an increasingly common way of fighting the intangible enemy of western society, while at the same time successfully living up to its name of creating terror in people's lives whether they be from Iraq, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka or Oklahoma City. Terrorism opens us to the possibility that anyone may be part of these angry cellular groups and the fear of this uncertainty only further intensifies the fear and terror.

Appadurai believes that terrorism represents the worst side of globalisation. By organising themselves in flexible, decentralised cellular networks, terrorist groups directly threaten the survival of the nation-state. Today, terrorism is often directed at western society and the US in particular as a consequence of its perceived cultural and economic hegemony, as well as for its blatant misuse of military power around the world, especially in the Middle East.

Appadurai also sets out to explain why weaker, disempowered minorities become targets of fear and hatred by the more powerful majorities. The explanation offered is that there is an anxiety of incompleteness by the majority, deriving from the gap separating majorities from the myth of a national 'purity'. Majorities are reminded of the slim margins that allow them to maintain their dominance, contributing to fantasies of national

incompleteness, rage and ultimately, a desire to purify the land of the minority. Minorities are perceived as a direct challenge to narratives of social cohesion and uniformity creating what Appadurai refers to as a predatory identity, where one group begins to feel that the existence of the other group is a danger to its survival that should be eliminated. Meanwhile, the modern nation-state has increased measures of classifying/surveying populations and accounting procedures which clearly define who gets classified as a national minority or majority, creating a greater sense of 'us' versus 'them'.

In addition, the anxieties created within the majorities are further exacerbated by the inequalities produced by globalisation breaking down national boundaries, clearly defined cultures and nationalities, and the widening gap between rich and poor. Under these conditions, issues surrounding minorities can ignite fundamental debates about gender, equality, legal citizenship and religious freedom. This hatred and fear, fed by state propaganda, economic hardship and migratory turmoil, can create a deadly combination and can even lead to the form of ethnic cleansing seen in Kosovo, India and Rwanda.

In *Fear of Small Numbers,* Appadurai makes unique conceptual contributions to a number of major questions about sources of global unrest, terrorism and ethnic strife, all in the context of an emerging global society. The 'geography of anger' refers to the increasing global struggle between forces of permanence and change, between cultural tradition and modernisation, fragmentation and homogenisation. It is further exacerbated by two distinct global ideologies: the 'cellular' model of capitalism and terrorism, and the 'vertebrate' model organised through the central spinal system of international cooperation, nation-states and economic coalitions. The book also takes a look at how this dark side of globalisation can create a deadly amalgamation in

which the 'small number' minorities become both the victim and victimiser.

Appadurai, however, does see a glimmer of hope in the many grassroots activist networks around the world working towards positive socio-economic and political change. By taking a more cellular approach to community-building, these networks have a much greater capacity to counter the worldwide trends of terrorism and genocide than the current vertebrate structured approaches.

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Migration and its Enemies: Global capital, migrant labour and the nation-state

Robin Cohen

Political, economic and social discussions can no longer be had without the inclusion of migration and migrant labour in a global society. Nor can migration be discussed in isolation. These ideas ring true throughout *Migration and its Enemies,* wherein Cohen looks at migration - its history, causes and consequences - through a variety of lenses. In the introduction, three predominant themes are made clear to the reader: the exploitative nature of the systems to which migrant labourers are often tied; the increasing demand for cheap and illegal labour in spite of neo-liberal claims that capitalism provides equality of opportunity; and the misguided attempts by government policy to manage border control, resulting in the social exclusion of migrants.

Cohen first sets the scene by providing a history of 'unfree' labour – outlining the concepts of indentured servitude, apprenticeships and

colonialism. Refuting the Marxist idea that capitalism is reliant solely on free labour, Cohen argues that global capitalism requires free labour coupled with the unfree. By breaking migrant labour into categories, each with their own level of rights and privileges, Cohen demonstrates how unfree labour exists within a free market system. According to chapter six, labourers comprise three groups: citizens, who have full access to rights and protection; denizens, who cannot participate politically, but are the more privileged migrants; and helots, the class of unfree labourers who are denied rights and are vulnerable due to lack of legal status in the host society. Cohen argues that 'capital logic' depends on the existence of a class of helot workers, both to replace migrants as they achieve more secure status, and to keep current workers 'in line' through threat of replacement (60). The final theme of the book examines government response to migration management by reviewing past and present British deportation policy, various types of social exclusion of migrants, and the impact of aid and trade on immigration. Through a series of case studies of aid and trade agreements to countries with high emigration rates, and the examination of familial networks which impact directly on the likelihood of migration, Cohen determines that there are too many uncontrollable factors, which make control of immigration through these means impossible. He likens British deportations to a 'malevolent game of pass the parcel,' (87), and concludes that immigration policy does little to manage the influx of migrants, but rather serves to maintain their status as 'others'. Ultimately, Cohen argues that traditional responses to migration control will be ineffective in dealing with the modern context.

While the book does not offer new research or data, its theoretical contribution is clear. The strength of the argument lies firmly in its multi-disciplinary approach, borrowing from economic, political, sociological, anthropological and psychological theories; there are few perspectives from which the primary themes are not examined. The use of historical parallels points out the

fundamental issues that bring about migration, while the exploration of present day contexts, such as the introduction of cosmopolitanism, a global market, and post-9/11 immigration policy reveals the problems modernity brings. Cohen's work is certainly a testament to the need for 'cross-pollination' of ideas in dealing with migration in a global context.

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Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity

Will Kymlicka

The virtues of civic republican nationalism, based on undifferentiated and homogenous citizenship, in which minorities are either forcibly assimilated or discarded, are no longer a model to which nation states should aspire. Increasingly this model of a modern, centralised and homogeneous Westphalian state is being contested and replaced by newer multicultural models of the state and of citizenship.

For Will Kymlicka, this change in the relations between nation states and its ethnocultural minorities that has increasingly occurred across the globe during the last 40 years is a 'veritable revolution' (3). In fact, the inability of a state to recognise and deal with ethno-national cultural diversity and minority rights in a satisfactory fashion is a strong indication that a nation is unfit to be a member in good standing of the club of liberal democracies. Will Kymlicka's most recent book, *Multicultural Odysseys*, seeks to analyse how and why this 'revolution' has occurred, its uneven global dissemination and to pinpoint the moral dilemmas which have accrued as a result.

Investigating how and why multicultural forms of governance have become increasingly hegemonic in recent years, especially in the 'west', Kymlicka discards the oft-rehearsed criticism that multiculturalism is the result of anti-Enlightenment tendencies which gravitate towards cultural relativism. Instead, Kymlicka persuasively asserts that multiculturalism is in fact very much part of a universalising project borne by the human rights revolution. The advancement of multicultural norms, Kymlicka argues, rather than giving a green light to ethnic chauvinism and endowing groups with cultural rights that usurp individual human rights, are predicated precisely on promoting and upholding the rights of individuals guaranteed by international law.

This leads to Kymlicka's central thesis: that the dissemination of liberal multiculturalism is being carried out by a host of International Organisations (IOs), ranging from the EU, UN, UNESCO and even the World Bank. These organisations have charged themselves with formulating and sharing best practices for multiculturalism and codifying international norms embodied in declarations of minority rights. These norms can have tangible effects in terms of promoting multicultural governance; for instance, post-communist countries wishing to join the EU are now required to demonstrate their commitment to minorities prior to successful entrance. Neither is liberal multiculturalism a project borne of western and neo-imperialist hegemony a tool for advancing the geo-political interests of the most powerful western states. Western states are deeply divided over the merits of minority rights. Kymlicka argues that IOs, including western states, have become increasingly amenable to liberal multiculturalism because contrary to previous expectations that group rights would inflame ethnic conflict or it would counteract the glue needed for social cohesion, it can actually constructively manage ethnic instability and even provide the basis for new forms of nation-building.

Kymlicka's strongest suit is his political science rather than his political philosophy. Analysing why some states seem to be more acquiescent to forms of liberal multicultural governance than others which continue to rely on the Westphalian, civic republican model, especially ex-communist states from the former eastern bloc and so-called post-colonial states, Kymlicka argues that the important variable is not notions of nationality based on blood and soil, but existential questions of security. While minorities in the west, especially sub-state minorities in EU states, are no longer seen as a threat to national security, post-communist and post-colonial states often have sub-state or indigenous minorities within the state who are perceived to either wish to secede or desire its overthrow. This situation creates poor conditions for liberal multiculturalism to prosper.

Notably, there are omissions from Kymlicka's analysis, especially Northern Ireland, which he admits is 'difficult to categorize' (70). In other words, places in which sovereignty is the root of conflict rather than issues of pluralism are ill fitted to the discourse of liberal multiculturalism, even though the dispensations of the Good Friday Agreement in many ways are informed by the issue of minority and group rights.

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Terrorism

Terror on the Internet: The New Arena, the New Challenges

Gabriel Weimann

Focussing on the actual and potential role of the internet in terrorism, this book is a superficial overview of terrorist organisations' presence online. Relying mostly on policy and intelligence reports, as well as media coverage, the book does not represent a contribution to theory or original research. As such, it greatly suffers from following a popular rhetoric on both terrorism and the internet, ignoring the complex relation between terrorism, the public, power and technology. Although the book promises to cover a variety of terrorist dynamics, the problematic explored is primarily US-centric, with a heavy – and somehow questionable – emphasis on Islamic fundamentalism. An appendix reproduces the US State Department's definition of terrorism and the list of the designated foreign terrorist organisations. However, an appropriate engagement with the issue of terrorism in the context of global capitalism, its relation to the state and to its various publics (from passive supporters to media and civic groups) is widely missing.

The book is structured into seven chapters, moving the reader from a brief overview of the history of the internet to a simplistic discussion of terrorism as psychological warfare. The subsequent chapters deal with terrorist organisations' use of the net to communicate with their constituencies and the world, as well as for other utilitarian purposes such as gathering information, networking, recruiting

and mobilising, training, propaganda and fundraising. Unfortunately, this section – which could potentially be a major contribution to the field – is not methodologically sound, and mostly glosses over, in a superficial manner, a predetermined list of actual and potential uses of the internet for terrorism that seems to be derived from US policy and intelligence reports. There is no discussion of how the various publics actually relate to the presence of terrorist organisations on the internet; furthermore, by selectively using some examples to support a predetermined list of uses of the internet for terrorism, the book misses the context of these cases, and as such cannot speak to the complexity of terrorism in relation to modern relations of power ranging from state structures to class, ethnicity and race among others.

On the positive side, these chapters refer to a variety of policy and media sources, which may be useful for subsequent analysis. A special chapter attempts to construct a case for the potential of terrorism on the internet, widely relying on speculations and without truly engaging with any of the core debates around the social use of the internet, such as its privacy or surveillance aspects. The last two chapters attempt to map the range of state reactions to terrorism that are relevant to the internet, and to explore the thorny issue of the border between counter-terrorist measures and civil liberties. In my opinion, the book fails to engage with the problematic of terrorism and its relation to the internet in an academic manner, although it can be useful as a repository of raw examples in a field which is in great need of academic attention.

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Democracy and Counterterrorism: Lessons from the Past

Robert J. Art and Louise Richardson (eds.)

There 'is not one terrorism but many', the editors remind us towards the end of this fascinating and frustrating journey. Equally, they speak of mature as well as new and fragile democracies; and in the text one author refers to 'hollowed out' democracy. The frustration we encounter lies in the volume's inconsistent approach to the relationship between democracy and terrorism. Without the latter there is no need for counterterrorism and its absence would have made this book redundant. In his classic *In Defence of Politics* published in 1962, Bernard Crick reminds us that democracy 'is perhaps the most promiscuous word in the world of public affairs. She is everybody's mistress and yet somehow retains her magic even when a lover sees that her favours are being, in his light, illicitly shared by many another'. A few years later C.B. Macpherson explored the nature of this promiscuity when he made the distinction between liberal and non-liberal democracy - the latter consisting of the communist and underdeveloped variants. He divided the former into four models: protective, developmental, equilibrium and participatory democracy.

We have laboured this point because too many terrorism studies are facile and belong in the world of post-Cold War politics. Little distinction is made between the nature of political violence and the milieu in which it operates. "Terrorism" becomes a catch-all expression devoid of proper analysis; and part of the motivation for this volume seems to be the challenge to the United States created by international terrorism. That is a worthy objective so long as it is not conducted in

the hysterical mindset of neoconservativism. It has to be said that Art and Richardson do not fall into that category. They have produced a summary that is commonsensical and comprehensive with their emphasis on sticks and carrots and 'soft' and 'hard' power. Furthermore, some contributors have addressed the difficult issues openly. Peter Waldmann's essay on Colombia, sub-titled 'Failed attempts to stop violence and terrorism in a weak state', is a superb piece of analysis; the Japanese study is a good example of where countries can learn from their own past misdemeanours; and Turkish treatment of the Kurdish problem reads like a classic example of arbitrary governance.

There are many valuable lessons to draw from this volume. An important truth is contained in Richard Solomon's foreword where he writes that put 'simply, terrorism often works'. The need for international cooperation, communication, closure, and for repentance legislation are all flagged up. But in the end the true value of this volume may reside in the individual case studies and the realisation that each of them are culturally and politically specific. Yes, there are lessons to be drawn but fewer Iron Laws to be proclaimed.

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Iraq: People, History, Politics

Gareth Stansfield

Gareth Stansfield's *Iraq: People, History, Politics* is a meticulously researched work which sets out to explain how the United States-led Coalition Forces are 'struggling to cope with the post-invasion dynamics' of the conflict since 2003 (p. 2). Stansfield argues that the presence of Coalition Forces has played a significant part in creating an unstable political system under which a plethora of tribal, ethnic and religious forces have flourished.

Stansfield conceptualizes Iraq's historical and political development under four broad thematic questions. First he asks: was Iraq an 'artificial' state? In his response Stansfield traces the artificiality debate back to the days when the League of Nations assigned the mandate over Iraq to the British after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Although he acknowledges that all states are artificial to an extent, he argues that Iraq remains unique in that its integrative association with imperialism continues to shape its political culture (p. 193). While Iraq became the first League of Nations mandated state to gain full independence in October 1932 (p. 49) the state was never built on sure foundations and its colonial legacy made it a deeply volatile creation. Despite its rich and somewhat turbulent history (p. 10), the significant problems now facing Iraq have a more recent gestation, suggests Stansfield, almost certainly dating back to Iraqi's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and the 'First Gulf War' (p. 128).

The second thematic question addressed by Stansfield is Iraq's 'national identity'. Saddam Hussein's Ba'thist regime, from his consolidation of power in 1979 until his eventual removal in 2003, rested upon the constant manipulation of a myriad of tribal, ethnic and national identities. Yet, as Stansfield points out, 'Saddam's trusted circle remained firmly rooted among various tribes and communities almost always Arab in ethnicity and nearly always Sunni in sectarian allegiance' (p. 197). Third, Stansfield considers the 'dictator debate', in which he investigates just how the military infected Iraq's body politic. Iraq was the first 'post-World War I' Middle Eastern state to experience a military coup, which came in 1936 (p. 78) and continued to give the state its bayonet-cushioned autocratic complexion until Saddam Hussein was overthrown. Lastly, Stansfield considers the competing debates on 'state-building and democratization' in post-Saddam Iraq,

concluding that 'the new rules are those of communalization, identity-based politics, chauvinism, religious exclusivism and ethnically-based nationalism' (p. 204). In detailing the root causes of violence Stansfield reaches the rather depressing conclusion that 'Quite simply, Iraq as it was cannot be reconstructed as the parts which were used to assemble it in the first place are no more' (p. 194).

Stansfield's book is an excellent beginner's guide to recent developments in one of the world's most troubled hotspots. Moreover, it is written with a firm and even-handed grasp of the complexity of Iraq's society and politics. It provides an illuminating insight into the important debates permeating the academic literature on Iraq, the so-called "war on terrorism", as well as Islamist fundamentalism. The book will be of benefit to students and scholars undertaking a course of study on the Middle East in particular and/or in the much broader field of international relations in general.

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Theoretical Approaches to Conflict & Conflict Management

Understanding Conflict and Violence: Theoretical and interdisciplinary approaches

Tim Jacoby

This book is a highly useful resource for understanding the complex debates on why violence and conflicts occur. It focuses on diverse theories and compares analytical themes, with case studies and examples drawn from a variety of historical periods. The book explores nine interrelated ways of theorising causes of conflict and violence through a highly interdisciplinary analysis, which appeals to a wide audience.

The book begins by examining *dimensions* and difficulties in defining conflicts, looking for patterns of similarity. What these show is that while 'Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the Khmer Rouge's activism in Cambodia, the French Revolution and domestic violence' (32) might appear dissimilar, they all exhibit a basic, fundamental struggle for recognition or resources. Jacoby also utilises Galtung's (1969) notion of structural violence to analyse how *structures* explain violence. Direct violence includes deployment of arms, while structural violence includes malnutrition, lack of shelter and health care. He notes that violence is psychological as well as physical, while a focus on structural violence pays attention to discrimination of class, gender, ethnicity and race.

Another theme in the book that Jacoby stresses is the need to understand the *functions* of social conflict as demarcating boundaries from others that help to solidify groups. As with most

functionalist accounts, I found this chapter lacking in a critique of the validity of such functions. In the fourth chapter he explores *innate* explanations for the human propensity to engage in violence, an idea often used in seemingly intractable ethno-religious conflicts. The fifth way of understanding the 'why' of conflict is to look at *learnt* forms of aggressive behaviour that are derived from individuals' socialisation experiences, including gender-differentiated patterns.

Chapter 6 looks at the notion that much social conflict results from *grievances*, particularly relating to inequality and social expectations. When people are aggrieved and not able to satisfy needs for sustenance, security and self-actualisation, frustration and aggression often sets in. This leads on to the argument in the seventh chapter, which notes that other accounts of conflict look at how *mobilisation* is rational and self-regarding in assessing the cost-benefit of participating in violent acts. Again, a critical approach would have been appreciated. *Crises* triggered by verbal acts, economic sanctions, political measures or military coercion underlie the eighth explanation of conflict, particularly evident within international relations theory, while the ninth explanation looks at *hegemony* as a way for powers to assert themselves.

Each chapter makes excellent links from one explanation to the next. The conclusion raises further issues relating to the analysis of conflict over disciplinary boundaries and ethical considerations on understanding war and peace. The book has an extensive 40 pages of references with an eclectic selection of literature. It includes a vast array of diverse examples, utilising interdisciplinary literature and contrasting theories. Hence it has broad appeal to a diverse range of students and scholars. While extremely impressive in the breadth of coverage of explanations, I would have welcomed a more critical approach to the theories and further indication of how an understanding of conflict and violence may actually help to prevent or minimise

further outbreaks. That is, an understanding of conflict should lead to an understanding of what furthers peace.

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Nations, States and Violence

David D. Laitin

Although few scholars would welcome being described as 'priomordialists', the insights of constructivist thinking have yet to affect the dominant explanatory models used in the study of ethno-nationalism. The consociational segregation of ethnic communities remains a default conflict management prescription, while deterministic downward spirals of 'outbidding' continue to dominate analyses of why those conflicts occur. In this stultifying atmosphere, David Laitin's short book provides a breath of fresh air. Together with his erstwhile co-author, James Fearon, and other scholars including Kanchan Chandra and Rogers Brubaker, Laitin has pioneered groundbreaking research on ethnic identity and nationalist contention. This book offers an accessible and concise introduction to the latest thinking in the field.

Laitin begins with the idea that 'multiculturalism has value and properly promoted can work better than it has worked in the past' (ix). This can be achieved, he argues, by a better understanding of what multiculturalism means and, specifically, what ethnic identity does and, crucially, does not do. Contrary to the dominant views, Laitin points out that the 'real challenge for understanding communal relations, given the vast potential for violence, is the near ubiquity of ethnic cooperation' (11). Thus, conflict arises not

because of ethnicity, but because of the actions of political entrepreneurs on the one hand, and, on the other, 'weak states' that are unable to provide basic security provisions to their citizens (21). Laitin imports the idea of 'tipping points' to explain how ethnic identities are mobilised. Concentrating on linguistic differences – notably in Catalonia and post-Soviet Eastern Europe – he describes how policy choices 'cascade' among populations and across generations (78). This process establishes 'norms of solidarity' (52) and passing the 'tipping point' provides rich incentives to form rigid ethnic boundaries. There is, therefore, a nuanced rational choice functionalism underpinning Laitin's analysis – ethnic groups emerge to meet social needs. The implications of this approach strengthen the constructivist claim that identity can be both pliable and resilient: as Laitin points out, while national identity can give an appearance of permanence, it can also be flexible enough to take advantage of shifting political opportunities (58). This is an important point that fundamentally undercuts the determinism of both the Horowitz's and Lijphart's models, both of which remain profoundly suspicious of ethnicity.

Yet whereas Lijphart and Horowitz provide detailed schemes for 'managing' ethnic conflict, Laitin argues that the solution to contentious politics 'is the establishment of a rule of law rather than the suppression of national aspirations' (130). He rightly points out that factionalism, regionalism, and heterogeneity are hallmarks of the post-1991 era, and suggests that separate institutions can be 'strengthened through participation' (137). Although Laitin's constructivism implies that the concept of the 'nation-state' is passé, it could be countered that state apparatuses will remain necessary to ensure that there is a Madisonian balance of 'ambition … [countering] ambition'. Indeed, despite the potential inherent in regional autonomy schemes, the state remains problematic. For instance, incentives to cooperate may not be sufficient in situations where the state itself is contested – this

not only relates to situations of ethnic conflict but to any number of 'transitional societies' across the globe. Again, a layered reorganising of the state may not necessarily reduce its power or solve the dilemma of state intervention encouraging divergent perceptions of opening opportunities and threats by political entrepreneurs. That said, this is a rewarding book that challenges received wisdom in a lucid, straightforward manner and it deserves attention.

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Sustainable peace: Power and democracy after civil wars

Philip G. Roeder and Donald Rothchild

This volume is a comprehensive investigation into the potential solutions to ethnic conflict. It examines 'recent experience of internationally imposed power sharing' and concludes that there are 'dilemmas in power sharing [and…] international interventions and protectorates' (25). In the three parts, the authors assess recent post-conflict cases (Bosnia, South Africa, Ethiopia etc.) and conclude that the current power-sharing strategies applied compromise the long-term peace for the needs of short-term peace. This analysis is also referred to in post-conflict literature as 'positive peace' and 'negative peace'. A shared national identity ('identity constraint') and the ability of the state to fund the duplications of administration necessary for the regions and ethnic groups ('resource constraint') are limited in post-conflict societies, effectively curtailing the chances of workable power-sharing. For example, in Chapter Nine, Marie-Joëlle Zahar examines power-sharing in Lebanon from the Ottoman period through the French and Syrian protectorates to the present day. She concludes that, in spite of

the relative peace during times of 'protection', the various power-sharing strategies implemented have ultimately led to an 'increase [in] the incentives for sectarianism and thwarted the development of a nonconfessional democracy' (238).

The theoretical solution advanced by the authors is a strategy of nation-state stewardship. Nation-state stewardship involves implementing an institutional framework based on the American system, whereby there is a division of power between the executive, legislature and judiciary. In sum, according to the authors, 'allocat[ing] state powers between government and civil society with strong, enforceable civil liberties […] take[s] many responsibilities out of the hands of the government' (15). The importance of this power division is that the different 'decision-making centres' ensure that the ethnic groups are kept in check. The stewardship also involves 'guidelines concerning both the form and timing of interventions by the international community and the occasions when partition may be the best option' (15). These timings concentrate on implementing a two-point short-term power-sharing arrangement during the 'initiation phase'; majority reassurance that minority rights will be protected during the initial post-conflict period and a 'principle of proportionality for one-time, pump-priming decisions, such as the initial staffing of new bureaucracies and the armed forces' (320). One policy recommendation that must be examined in closer detail is *delaying intervention*. This policy suggests that for long-term peace and democratic consolidation, international intervention must wait until there is one clear victor, irrespective of the short-term costs in people's lives (338).

This volume provides essential analysis to the examination of contemporary post-conflict strategies and provides an important contribution to a theoretical solution. However, in practical terms there are many holes in this solution. Some are listed here. It is misguided to claim the

American 'division of powers' democratic model as the practical framework for the resolution of ethnic tensions in post-conflict societies. This ignores the incapacity of the American political system to deal with its own ethnic problems, from slavery, to its alienation of Japanese-Americans during the Second World War, to the government's continually poor treatment, if not genocide, of Native Americans. There are many ethnic divides in America and it has been shown that the system cannot cope. Moreover, this volume makes the implicit and optimistic assumption that transition-based democratisation will deliver a consolidated peaceful democracy. There is no suggestion that structuralism and its critique of transition theory has any standing, but this is unsurprising given the transition-based nature of its solution. A final, minor criticism is that, in my opinion, Chapter One did not provide a clear introduction to the aims of the work. Overall, and rather like my attitudes to Marxism, I find the critical analysis of the *status quo* in post-conflict strategies to be thorough, but the solution proffered to be inadequate.

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Conflict Management and Peacebuilding

Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World

Chester A. Crocker, Fen Olsen Hampson & Pamela Aall (eds.)

The United States Institute of Peace's latest volume in its ongoing series of books on contemporary conflict will have many fans eager for an update from their 2001 work on *Turbulent Peace*. This newest edition incorporates the many significant periods of our recent history including the 9/11 attacks, the US-led invasion of Afghanistan, the war in Iraq and the rise of al-Qaeda and other militia groups as illustrations of the monumental changes in our global security environment since then.

Leashing the Dogs of War sticks to the format of the previously successful volumes. A range of more than 40 well-known academics and practitioners have contributed to an examination of the various sources of conflict and challenges to global security, the uses and the limitations of force as a conflict management strategy, the uses and limitations of the rule of law, diplomacy, international mediation and non-official actors as a conflict management approach, as well as the role of institutions and governance. This book's primary consideration is whether or not states can conduct both a war on terror and the implementation of conflict management policies simultaneously. Its conclusion is optimistic insofar as it argues that conflict management polices are critical to the creation of a less divided world even while the 'war on terrorism' continues.

It is true that the nature of the academic debate has shifted away from the various challenges of humanitarian interventions and the seemingly intractable nature of certain conflicts which characterised the period of the 1990s and early 2000s. The various chapters in this volume reflect this shift well by introducing some of the equally salient questions around, for example, whether democracy (or coercive democracy) can be the answer to a conflict ridden society's problems. Marina Ottaway's excellent and thought provoking piece 'Is Democracy the Answer?' points to the increasing evidence which suggests that coercive democratisation in post-conflict societies has not necessarily stabilised their countries nor consolidated their peace.

Leashing the Dogs of War will enjoy a wide readership, much like the previous volumes, among teaching staff and students of politics, international relations and peace and conflict studies, as well as practitioners in the field. The perfect blend of theory and practice as well as the fluid writing style throughout the volume will keep its readers engaged, no doubt begging the question of when the next volume in the series will be released and what other changes in our global security environment we might expect to see by then.

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Unity in Diversity: Interfaith Dialogue in the Middle East

Mohammed Abu-Nimer, Emily Welty and Amal I. Khoury

This book remedies a dearth of literature on the systematic analysis of interfaith dialogue for peace. Recognising a conspicuous gap in the literature, it lays a cornerstone for future studies in this faith-based approach to peacebuilding. The major treatise of the book is to identify and distinguish, for the first time, between the various interfaith activities found within specific Middle Eastern societies.

Divided into seven chapters, the three authors frame their discussion under the heading of Track Two diplomacy, where 'unofficial' practitioners seek to use religion as a source for inter-religious understanding. Following a brief introduction on the context and challenges of dialogue, Chapter 2 begins by examining the various approaches and ideas associated with Interfaith Dialogue (IFD). Within the two categories used by the authors to classify IFD, namely the cognitive and the affective, they develop numerous models. These include the Abrahamic Theological Dialogue (a confessional/forgiveness model that values ritual); an advocacy/action model that focusses on practical outcomes; and their favoured Religious Transformation model, which has an 'evolutionary' underpinning. Within this final model, four worldviews are defined before the chapter concludes with a list of best practices for Interfaith Dialogue.

Chapters 3 through 6 investigate inter-religious activity within five particular Middle Eastern societies – Israel and Palestine, Lebanon, Egypt, and Jordan. The final chapter makes a comparison between these societies, a list of recommendations for improvement, and offers best practices based on the Interfaith Dialogues used within the societies listed. The book concludes with two appendices, one offering a list of acronyms used; the second a directory of organisations as well as a bibliography and subject index.

The contributions of this ground-breaking work are numerous: an inventory of IFD activities in the Middle East, a framework for categorising approaches and models of IFD, perhaps the first inter-country comparison of IFD activities, and the creation of a best practices list for an emerging field of study. This work will assuredly be valuable to both interfaith practitioners and academics studying the field. Other contributions would also have been welcome. For example, an acknowledgment that dialogue generally has a longer academic history than is visible in the literature review. Very few theologians or academics in Communication Studies are referenced throughout. This is in contrast to the larger field of literature produced on the topic. Similarly, dialogue methodologies are being used for working with class, race, and gender issues. Is there anything we can learn from these processes that applies to IFD? Finally, though named in, but outside the scope of this study, it would be of interest to understand how country and cultural histories (and particular issues such as the Crusades, the Holocaust, the creation of Israel, neo-colonialism and globalisation for example) affect the practice and perception of IFD within specific countries.

The authors present an engaging foundation for future Interfaith Dialogue work. *Unity in Diversity* is an excellent resource for those interested in inter-religious peacebuilding.

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At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict

Roland Paris

What happens after a peace agreement has been signed and how is a society transformed from a state of conflict to a state of peace? Roland Paris touches broadly on these issues in his analysis of 'post-conflict peacebuilding'. More specifically, Paris's book deals with the role of peacebuilding missions carried out by external/international actors in post-conflict settings. According to Paris, the main bulk of post-conflict peacebuilding missions during the 1990s were inspired by what could be referred to as a liberalisation and democratisation ethos ('Wilsonianism') and the book therefore sets out to evaluate the connection between these factors and the achievement of sustainable peace.

The book argues that although 'market liberalisation' is a significant factor in post-conflict peacebuilding in the long run, it is necessary to consider the possible negative effects of these measures when they are introduced too soon in the volatile environments that often characterise post-conflict societies. Drawing on a number of case studies, Paris argues that the predicted peaceful effects of liberalisation (as argued by Wilsonianism) are rarely accomplished when introduced too quickly following a war. As an alternative, he offers his 'Institutionalization Before Liberalization' (IBL) approach (179). While recognising the importance of liberalisation/democratisation, Paris's approach also claims to take into account the destabilising impact these might have in the short run. Compared to the alternatives, i.e. 'authoritarianism or partition' (211), the IBL approach proposes the following: 'gradual and controlled liberalization,

combined with the immediate construction of domestic institutions that are capable of managing the destabilizing effects of democratization and liberalization' (ibid).

Although Paris argues cogently for his IBL approach and tries to foresee and meet potential criticism, one point appears particularly worrying, namely the argument that the role of international peacebuilders should be strengthened, taking on the role of 'nation builders' (206) and acting as 'surrogate governing authorities for as long as it takes' (ibid). This raises the complicated issue of what post-conflict settings would actually be selected for IBL reconstructive peacebuilding and who would be responsible for making these decisions. Paris's suggestion that a new international peacebuilding body be created to oversee this might sound good in theory, but one wonders if reality is not too complex and multi-layered for this approach to be a success. For instance, the number of (competing) agendas within the international community would certainly appear to make this approach problematic.

It should finally be noted that Paris's book certainly offers a thorough account of the connection between international peacebuilding missions in post-conflict societies, the introduction of democratisation/liberalisation through these missions, as well as how these combined variables contribute to/prevent peace. Paris backs up his arguments well with case studies along with convincing and relevant examples, statistics and quotes throughout the book.

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Reparations: Interdisciplinary Inquiries

Jon Miller and Rahul Kumar (eds.)

In this volume, key international scholars from law, politics, economics, political science, history, psychology and philosophy offer an investigation into reparations. Elazar Barkan's abstract conceptual framework introduces this inquiry by providing an insight into the wide range of existing historic injustices and the theoretical dilemmas of redressing them. Thereafter, the book is arranged into four parts. These explore different modules of reparations, namely those concerning indigenous peoples, the legacy of slavery in the United States, colonialism and those involving victims of war and conflict. It is helpful that examinations of each topic include both theoretical debates and discussions on real case studies. Unfortunately, what is termed a conclusion introduces new issues instead of summarising the peculiarities and common features of each of the four reparations modules around which the volume has been structured.

Nonetheless, all sections of this volume will be a useful and stimulating read for all those who are interested in the study of the reparatory programmes or policies that may be adopted in the aftermath of war, an authoritarian regime, and/or ethnic conflict. In the aftermath of ethnic conflict, scholars and practitioners often tend to focus on injustices of the immediate past. Yet the legacies of slavery and colonialism as well as the concerns of indigenous people are often salient features of an ethnic conflict. Thus, I regard parts II and IV, when read in conjunction with Barkan's exposition on the limits of redress (4-6) as the book's greatest strengths, as they make a major contribution to the topic. These sections candidly address complex questions that scholars often deliberately ignore.

Another axiomatic strength of this work is that it is an interdisciplinary inquiry which unifies knowledge. The editors, Jon Miller and Rahul Kumar state that the unification of disciplines was pertinent in view of the complex issues which must be considered in any credible work on the topic. They group these difficult questions into four broad clusters. These are as follows: the question of the identity of perpetrators and victims; what constitutes appropriate reparations; the link between reparatory programmes and other social justice goals; and the issue of what is the broad objective of reparations. However, whilst their understanding has its merits, the approach negates the advantages of specialisation, which is often a catalyst for an increase in expertise on any field. Nevertheless, the volume provides a 'portrait of reparations' that might inform further specialised research on the nuances identified.

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Zones of Peace

Landon Hancock and Christopher Mitchell (eds.)

There is a tendency in many books about violent conflict to regard 'ordinary people' as the prisoners of impersonal structural forces or as tools of manipulative elites. One of the strengths of these essays is that they remind us that people can choose to be neither victims nor pawns and can undertake initiatives that represent creative, dynamic and non-violent responses to their situation. This collection analyses the use of sanctuary and Zones of Peace (ZOP) in war zones, which, as the first chapter demonstrates, have a long history. The main cases, however, are taken from situations of internal conflict in the past two

decades. After two thoughtful introductory overviews on theory and practice the reader is offered chapters on the Philippines, Colombia, Peru, El Salvador, Aceh and Sudan. There is also a comparative analysis of the Philippines and the UN Safe Areas in Bosnia. The book ends with an extended discussion of the different forms that ZOP can take and the factors that are likely to make them a success. The contributors are to be praised for a coherence often lacking in edited books of this type. In part this is because the volume is rooted in the working group on Zones of Peace at George Mason University's Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. All the authors have been either academics or post-graduate students there. The other reason for the sense of evenness is that the two editors contribute to six of the ten chapters.

The core motivation for ZOP is to provide places of safety during violent conflict. However, as the case studies reveal, zones of peace can offer more than conflict mitigation. Their work also encompasses: the delivery of humanitarian aid ('Corridor of Peace' in Sudan); conflict prevention by building stronger communities (the *rondas campesinas* of Peru); disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (Aceh); sustainable development (*La Coordinadora* in El Salvador); and post-violence peacebuilding (the Philippines).

All the authors seem sceptical about ZOP that are created through a top-down process. As well as a strong commitment and unity from the grass-roots that ensure initiatives are locally driven, other factors that facilitate success include: dialogue with all the key stakeholders rather than appeals to external norms; declared neutrality and impartial behaviour; effective leadership; clearly defined boundaries; and the capacity to work for positive peace. Some factors, however, are outside the control of the groups who want to make ZOP a success. These would include remoteness from the main centres of combat, the absence of valued goods (material or symbolic) within the sanctuary, and the existence of outside protectors or patrons.

Peace Zones cannot always convince cynical politicians and distrustful militarised groups that they deserve to be respected. Zones in Aceh collapsed when general hostilities resumed in 2003. In Colombia, the Uribe regime's attempts to destroy the FARC (strongly backed by the Bush administration) have made it harder to sustain some ZOP, but it hasn't destroyed them. This reminds us that we cannot escape the influence of structural factors or manipulative elites entirely.

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Media and Conflict

Israel/Palestine: The Black Book

Reporters Without Borders (ed.)

The Israeli/Palestinian conflict is without a doubt one of the most ideologically charged conflicts of the contemporary era. The possibilities of unearthing objective information on the conflict are often hijacked by the ideological agendas of various groups, and typical media explanations are tainted by an immense ahistoricism as well as a significant bias in the reporting of events. The Israel/Palestine conflict is arguably one of the most misunderstood, misreported and under-discussed conflicts of the twentieth and now twenty-first centuries; information without ideological bias is hard to come by and details of actual occurrences are scarce.

In lieu of this, Reporters Without Borders has compiled a valuable resource for anyone interested in the conflict entitled, *The Black Book*. A collection of reports detailing human rights abuses occurring in both Israel and Palestine, *The Black Book* is a text that places human rights first and

foremost. In an attempt to avoid the ever-present accusations of bias, Reporters Without Borders has only included reports by organisations that deal with human rights violations by their respective 'side' and ensured that the reports give equal prominence to all rights violations, regardless of the perpetrators. Focussing on the events of the second Intifada which began in September 2002, the reports range widely and are largely harrowing accounts. Many of the reports deal with the immediate consequences of the conflict and 'obvious' rights abuses, such as the excessive force used by Israeli Defence Forces, Palestinian killings of Israeli civilians, the high civilian price of Israeli incursions, and the demolition of houses and agricultural land in the Occupied Territories. *The Black Book*, however, also turns its attention to the less 'obvious' violations of human rights, such as violations of press freedom and attacks on journalists by both Israelis and Palestinians, the death penalty and the justice system's flaws in Palestine, and the status of the Palestinian minority in Israel. So as not to present yet another ahistorical account of the conflict, Reporters Without Borders begin the book with a chapter dedicated to the history of Israel/Palestine. This is a useful, albeit brief, introduction to the conflict for those not acquainted with it.

It is clear that Reporters Without Borders intends *The Black Book* to be a relatively objective account of a conflict where objectivity is severely lacking. While it remains the case that the consistent documentation of human rights abuses is one of the best ways to maintain an objective outlook towards the conflict, it nevertheless can be argued that there is some danger in portraying human rights organisations as bastions of objectivity. As recent reports over the 'distorted' reporting of rights violations suggest, human rights organisations are not immune to the pressures of lobby groups and can be harnessed to support the ideological war. It is thus paramount that the overarching context of the conflict be taken into account, and all in all, this is something

which has been achieved by Reporters Without Borders.

The Black Book remains both a crucial resource in understanding the Israeli/Palestinian conflict and an important contribution to a debate too often focussed on ideology at the expense of human life in the conflict.

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The Body of War: Media, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Break-Up of Yugoslavia

Dubravka Žarkov

In *The Body of War*, Žarkov provides a unique analysis of the representation of male and female bodies by the print media during the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Rather than accept that the conflict in Yugoslavia was based on ethnicity, Žarkov proposes that it was the simultaneous wars that raged on the ground and in the media that produced ethnicity. The term 'media war' refers to the 'direct and intensive engagement of the media of different Yugoslav republics in forging nationalist politics, defending the leaders and politics, of supposedly their own nation and republic, while at the same time fiercely attacking leaders, politics, and general population of other nations and republics' (3). The author advances existing arguments about the propaganda functions of the media within the restricted space of individual republics by claiming that 'the media war was about the production of ethnicity, with notion of femininity and masculinity and norms of sexuality as its essential ingredients' (3). From the outset the author argues that 'both the images in the press and the violent strategies of the war were

vested with a very specific power: the power to produce ethnicity' (2).

Žarkov explains that during the mid 1980s the Yugoslav media began to address issues which they had previously ignored including childcare, abortion, rape laws, sexual morality and maternity rights. The discussions were framed in a way which redefined family values in terms of ethnic and religious values. The threat of negative population growth in parts of Serbia led to widespread public calls for professional women to give up their jobs and start families for the nation. Men were criticised for not controlling their women and ensuring the growth of the nation. It was in this light, as Žarkov explains, that territories began to be referred to in terms of gender and sexuality with references to states as 'raped or pregnant, as virile or virginal; states becoming mothers or stepmothers' (4).

Throughout the book a comparative analysis is made between the approach of Serbian and Croatian newspapers in their depiction of events during the 1980s and 1990s and the way in which they generated the link between sexuality and ethnicity. The narrative approaches the perceived link between gender, sexuality and ethnicity in the press under three headings - the maternal body, the victimised body and the armed body. In the first section, 'The Maternal Body', Žarkov takes as her starting point the widespread protests by women against a statement about rapes and prostitution made by an Albanian politician from Kosovo. Žarkov studies the coverage afforded to, and response generated by, the protests in the Croatian and Serbian print media with a focus on the centrality of the female body. In the second section entitled, 'The Victimised Body', she examines the way the press in both jurisdictions addressed the issue of sexual violence primarily through a linkage between the victimhood of individual women and the victimhood of the nation. Žarkov writes that '[i]t is this link of ethnicity and territory through raped female bodies that in effect, makes both the victims and the

perpetrators imaginable only through their ethnicity'(154). In Chapter 8 the author focuses on the taboo subject of male sexual violence, which in the Balkan context leads to both the victim and perpetrator becoming 'homosexualised'. In this context the author centres on the intrinsic link between masculinity and violence affirming the commonly shared cultural code that 'masculinity equals heterosexuality equals power' (169). The final section of the book, 'The Armed Body', is devoted to the rarely coupled subjects of feminism and warfare. In the remaining chapters Žarkov scrutinises the attempts made by the Serbian and Croatian press to 'reconcile femininity and soldiering', attempts which inevitably fail given that militancy is seen as an inherently masculine pursuit (211).

In *The Body of War,* Žarkov contributes significantly to the existing literature of women's experiences of conflict and to the representation of gender and sexuality in the conflict discourse. Her argument is aided by the inclusion of carefully chosen illustrations from the Serbian and Croatian press, which depict, among other things, the link between motherhood and nationalism, and sexual violence and ethnicity. As a result, this book will appeal to academics, researchers and scholars with an interest in peace and conflict studies, ethnicity, gender issues and sexual violence.

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Economics and Conflict

Oil, Profits, and Peace: Does Business Have a Role in Peacemaking?

Jill Shankleman

Oil and gas companies have an enormous impact on conflict and peacemaking wherever they are established and work. According to author Jill Shankleman, there is a corporate social responsibility on the part of these companies to facilitate economic development, promote peace and reduce ethnic conflict. Shankleman clearly presents her argument in a precise, impartial and extensive manner that is an easy and enjoyable read. What is put forward is an examination of the consequences of oil exportation for oil-producing countries, emphasising the links between conflict and peace, and how oil companies' business practices affect the risks for conflict and the prospects of peace.

The author's argument begins with the analysis of the international oil industry, taking into account the features that facilitate or constrain its adoption of socially responsible approaches. Shankleman's aim in the book is to influence oil corporations' long-term agenda by highlighting the contributions they could make to conflict prevention and resolution, and raising awareness of economic issues amongst those involved in peacebuilding. Throughout the first four chapters Shankleman develops a foundation for grasping the two major connections between oil and conflict. The first link, and the most important according to Shankleman, is the immense wealth generated from oil production. The second is the expense to the surrounding area. Instability, environmental desolation and social tensions can

arise from production. It is in the fourth chapter where Shankelman's argument can have a practical influence upon oil companies. Not only does she lay out the issues created by international oil companies, but she also produces ideas and possibilities for these companies to incorporate into their business plans to help reduce violent conflict. This argument is assessed against three different case studies outlined in the book - Azerbaijan, Angola and Sudan. How the author profiles these countries is an essential read on how oil companies truly disrupt intergovernmental politics, economics and society.

Shankelman's data and recommendations are highly practical, proactive and realistic for any international oil company to incorporate into their long-term agenda. Oil can be a catalyst for violent conflict between different ethnic groups, political parties or nations. What is presented in this book intelligently brings to light attainable solutions for conflict prevention and it would be an injustice for any oil company to not take into account the findings Shankelman introduces.

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Rethinking the Economics of War: The Intersection of Need, Creed, and Greed

Cynthia J. Aronson and I. William Zartman (eds.)

Conflict research in the Cold War era chiefly concentrated on the political and ideological motivations of armed conflict. Inclusion of an economic perspective was limited to the role of poverty and inequality as underlying grievances that contributed to essentially political conflicts, with the resources required to sustain conflict also

characterised as means to political ends. From the mid-90s, research began to emerge largely in response to the appearance that resources were emerging 'not as a means to an end but as the very *object* of struggle' (3), particularly in African countries such as Angola, Sierra Leone and Liberia. Scholars such as Keen (1997) Berdal (1998) and Malone (2000) made seminal contributions to what has become known as the 'greed versus grievance' debate. The most influential scholarship in this field emerged from the work of Oxford economist Paul Collier who, while initially arguing against grievances as a root cause of conflict (1999, 2000), has since developed a more nuanced approach to the relationship between greed and grievance (2003).

This book therefore draws on this innovative scholarship in attempting to expand understandings of the interaction between explanations of the role of resources and greed in maintaining conflict with more established grievance-based explanations, thus taking a combined need, creed and greed approach, advanced originally by Zartman. In doing so, the book consists of ten chapters, situating previous thinking in the field and approaching the debate through a number of country case studies, including those that initiated interest in the economics of a war agenda (Sierra Leone, Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo) and some lesser known studies (Lebanon, Peru, Colombia and Afghanistan), none of which began as greed-based conflicts. Crucially, it also provides some policy considerations from some earlier scholars (Malone and Sherman) in terms of responding to economic agendas in civil wars. However, the case studies presented are not an international conflict inventory. Rather, each represents a conflict within which primary commodity-based economic resources 'played an important and observable role in the nature, duration, and intensity of conflict' (8) but were not, in themselves, of principal importance – diamonds (Sierra Leone and Angola), oil (Angola, Lebanon and Colombia), minerals (Democratic Republic of the Congo), drugs (Lebanon, Peru, Colombia and Afghanistan), land acquisition and expatriate remittances (Lebanon), coffee (Colombia) and arms (Afghanistan).

This book, by presenting research from other scholars in the field, not only builds on previous path-breaking research by Collier, Keen, Malone and Berdal *et al.*, but also offers a refreshing and more nuanced approach to the greed versus grievance debate through the need, creed and greed lens. In illustrating how violent conflict can be sustained by economic motivations, particularly when facilitated by global trading opportunities, it highlights 'the ongoing relevance of economics, politics and history to the understanding of internal armed conflict' (22), thus providing a stimulating and much-needed contribution to the literature of a complex field.

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Human Rights

The Essentials of Human Rights

Rhona K.M. Smith and Christien van den Anker

This volume is a collection of 142 essays by eminent scholars on various aspects of human rights. Each essay is quite succinct and comprehensive and informs the reader about almost all essential aspects of the specific strand of human rights under discussion, and the editors have also nicely organised these essays under ten broad headings that reveal their central underlying idea. The book serves two interrelated purposes: Specifically, these essays inform the reader about

the historical roots, traditional values, theories and critiques of human rights; this in turn equips him/her with the knowledge about rights and freedoms, institutional frameworks, legal instruments and the monitoring and enforcement of human rights. In addition to angles such as humanitarian law and criminal law, the reality of human rights in different regions of the world and the future of human rights are also covered.

Under historical roots of human rights, the essays discussed address the status of human rights before World War II and the efforts of the United Nations since the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Similarly, five of the essays highlighted the importance of traditional values of Ubuntu, Buddhism, Confucianism, Islam and Judaism to human rights. Various theoretical insights and critiques of human rights are discussed in some of the essays. Institutional frameworks, and legal measures and the monitoring and enforcing of human rights are also key areas covered by a large number of essays. Similarly, another major area focussed on by many of the essays concerns the field of rights and freedoms. Others also provide a flavour of humanitarian and criminal law. Besides these abstract theoretical constructs, the editors have given careful attention to essays dealing with the reality of human rights in different parts of the world. Moreover, the visionary essays on various emerging issues related to human rights (e.g., terrorism, bioethics and human security) significantly strengthen this volume.

Agreeing fully with Mary Robinson's foreword, this volume is a significant and ideal reference, with 'everything essential at one place'. It should be of relevance to all those, 'who are new to the human rights debate' (as claimed by the editors) but also to those who are dealing with human rights as activists, scholars and researchers, mainly due to its potential for quickly broadening their horizons and knowledge base. Keeping the aim of this volume in mind, there is very little to criticise; rather the editors should be congratulated for

bringing out such a compact concise volume that contains everything essential for familiarising the reader with the breadth of human rights. Their effort is worth appreciation.

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The European Union and Turkish Accession: Human Rights and the Kurds

Kerim Yildiz and Mark Muller

The European Union and Turkish Accession discusses Turkey's aspiration for EU membership in light of the Kurdish issue. Providing a brief account of the reform process following the Helsinki European Council of 1999 - when Turkey was officially accepted as an EU candidate country - Yildiz and Muller argue that the accession process has been a catalyst for change in Turkish politics. As such, they argue that it offers an opportunity to address the Kurdish issue by challenging the militarist, ethno-nationalist state ideology that has dominated Turkish politics since the end of World War I.

A summary of Turkey's relations with EU is followed by an account of the Turkish state's troubled past with its ethnic minorities and its poor human rights record, focussing on the treatment of its Kurdish citizens. Additionally, the oppressive policies of the state as well as violent acts of state agents towards the Kurdish minority are discussed in detail. Yildiz and Muller criticise the EU for hastening the accession process while there is still much to accomplish in order for Turkey to develop into a pluralist, democratic country.

Moreover, the annual European Commission reports on Turkey's three-tier accession process

fall short of emphasising the vital and deeply-rooted character of the abuses inflicted upon the Kurds. Indeed, they cannot be treated as sporadic incidents arising from the failure of state agents to implement the necessary political and cultural reforms. On the contrary, they are the consequence of a militarist, ethno-nationalist state ideology deeply rooted within almost every institution of the country. A high percentage of the victims of human rights abuses are Kurds, which further attests to the institutionalised ethnic character of the conflict.

As a result, there is a need to address the Kurdish issue separately rather than treating it as an example of failure to implement the reforms that would gradually be dealt with during the accession process. Indeed, the Kurdish issue has dominated Turkish politics for decades. Yildiz and Muller believe that it can only be solved via a major structural change in official state ideology. Promoting itself as an advocate and a protector of human rights, the EU has a responsibility to assist in establishing a dialogue between the conflicting parties. The prospect of membership should be used to empower the Kurds as well as human rights advocates so that a peaceful solution to the conflict can be achieved by challenging the resilient ethno-national nature of the Turkish state, which perceives any minority as a threat to its existence and oppresses it violently. Yildiz and Muller argue that until recently the EU has failed to accomplish this role to the disappointment of the Kurds.

Overall, the authors draw upon the well-known carrot and stick metaphor to emphasise the importance of the accession process. On the whole, this book represents a reminder to the EU of its responsibility to promote minority rights. It is a useful resource for students of both human rights and the EU, as well for anyone with an interest in the history and origins of the Kurdish issue in Turkey. The vast examples of court decisions, along with international and Turkish legal documents indicate a thorough study of the legal dimension of the Kurdish problem. Although one cannot avoid wondering why the authors insist on turning to the EU as the 'civilised role model' despite the frustration and disappointment it has inflicted upon the Kurds until now, the book itself provides the reader with a good amount of information on the history and the nature of the conflict.

Cagla Orpen

South-Eastern Europe and Russia

The Search for Greater Albania

Paulin Kola

This is one of those books whose title does not do it justice. Yes, *The Search for Greater Albania* provides unique insight on the development of political and cultural support for an Albanian political entity that includes ethnic Albanians living outside Albania proper. Yet this is just one piece of the story – and it is a richer, more engaging work for it.

Paulin Kola – statesman, journalist – has also written a political and diplomatic history of Albania the country. In doing so, he has aptly covered the evolving question of what objectives Albania should pursue in consideration of ethnic Albanians living in the Balkans. This question – of nation and nation-state – is the theme that has shaped Kola's inquiry, and that informs some of his most intriguing conclusions – for instance the lack of a 'greater Albanianism' akin to phenomena that existed in Serbian and Bulgarian thinking may be attributable to the lack of a central religious authority that might 'establish the psycho-social prerequisites for a nation-state' (383).

Indeed, Kola may short-change himself when he describes his historical inquiry as merely a tool of his theoretical study. For example, his examination of the deterioration of Albania's relations with Yugoslavia, of the break with Moscow, and the rise and fall of links with China have broader application and are some of the most compelling aspects of this book. Surely, Kola's conclusion that if Albanian nationalism ever existed it did so outside of Albania does not diminish the quality of his work.

Kola's chronological approach is an effective tool to show the evolution of political and diplomatic responses to questions of how the Albanian state has thought about Albanians outside its border. It draws out acute observations: that Enver Hoxha's refusal to sign the Helsinki Final Act in 1975 also rejected human rights provisions that might have been favourable to ethnic Albanians living outside of Albania (154); that Albania first sought to internationalise the issue of conditions for Albanians in Kosovo when Slobodan Milosevic began to politically exploit – and foster – Kosovar Serb discontent (189).

There is no lack of detail. Sometimes descriptions of diplomatic dealings and multi-national conferences include perhaps more procedural detail than most readers require. But it's just a minor complaint – overall, this is a well-written and engaging narrative, and indeed many will find the detail of great use. This is a workhorse of a book, not a polemic. That is a true asset; it gives any reader a strong base of understanding of just how ethnic questions are engaged in a political arena. That is always a difficult standpoint from which to extrapolate, but there is no shortage of insight worth considering in any theoretical or comparative approach. One suggestion for readers without a deep basis in Albanian political history is to read the conclusion first; it provides a strong analytical roadmap for the read, and won't spoil the appetite.

Jon Levy

Myths and Boundaries in South-Eastern Europe

Pål Kolstø (ed)

The mythological delimitation of the boundaries along which real wars are fought forms the focus of Kolstø's compilation. Many of this work's contributors note the irony that, while we are clearly capable of learning from the past, the past which we choose to heed is a mythologised version. Indeed so mediated, *marred* even, by present imperatives is this representation that it not only negates any positive lessons which could be drawn but frequently emphasises group distinctiveness and grievance, thereby exacerbating conflict.

A clear theme of this work is the context-sensitive nature of myth. Contemporary and predominantly political requirements dictate the interpretation, and often require the complete *re*-interpretation of ethno-national myths. While this assertion is hardly innovative - indeed, it features prominently in nationalism studies - the primary distinction of the work is the sheer wealth of regional sources drawn upon, few of which are accessible in the English language. Indeed the only comparative work of recent note is Ivo Zanić's *Flag on the Mountain* (2007, SAQI), and so it comes as no surprise that Zanić is one of the contributors along with fellow old-timers Ivo Goldstein and Vjekoslav Perica and some note-worthy newcomers such as Ana Antić.

Structural coherence is provided by reference to a loose typology of the myth-types most prominent in the region: *ante murale*, antiquity, *sui generis*, and martyr-based of which all ten authors make use. While the central focus is upon the dynamics of Bosniak, Croat and Serb mythologisation, there are quality discussions of both Bulgaria and

Macedonia that offer comparative value for anyone in danger of developing tunnel vision with regard to the region. The volume's only weak point is the chapter focussing on the contribution of art to myth-construction. While this rightly highlights the responsibility of artists and other culture-weavers in creating national identity myths, it is a not entirely coherent addition and would have been best omitted.

Kolstø's collection is further notable for its sober analysis, perhaps since all the contributors (predominantly historians) display awareness of their profession's frequent complicity in myth-production and endeavour to provide a countervailing influence. This alone places the collection above works that, although similar, are more emotive and polemical in tone, like Branimir Anzulović's *Heavenly Serbia: From Myth to Genocide,* or Michael Sell's *The Bridge Betrayed: Religion and Genocide in Bosnia*. This is not to say the work is in any way morally equivocal; in fact its condemnation of those who construct the mythological support-strata of nationalist war-mongers is all the more powerful for its scrupulously-researched and restrained interpretation.

As regards theory building, this book complements the extant literature on the construction and maintenance of us/them boundaries but offers no great innovation. Several chapters, however, (notably Antić's and Aleksov's) examine how events since 9/11 have invigorated the *ante murale* discourse of Balkan ultra-nationalists and we would do well to heed the implication that if our actions betray the same perspective as this group, perhaps we should review them.

From a conflict-management perspective the central conclusion that must be drawn from this work is that, inherently fluid and contextual, hostile myths have the potential to be re-oriented to a more manageable dynamic should the incentive to do so exist. Although, as to what that incentive might be, I suspect we will have to abandon myth in favour of reality for an answer.

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Russia's Road to Deeper Democracy

Tom Bjorkman

Bjorkman's clearly written, empirically grounded and prudent analysis offers concrete insights without notable theoretical complexity. Based on his career as a former CIA analyst - with a Soviet/Russian focus - a US ambassador and a Brookings fellow, Bjorkman offers a considerably more optimistic perspective than the current conventional wisdom about Russian politics. Bjorkman analyses years of Russian public opinion survey data, with reference to political culture concepts, to establish that most Russians want democratic elections, an independent judiciary and a democratic welfare state. Nostalgia for the Soviet Union focuses on health, education and welfare deficiencies of the post-Soviet era. Two thirds of Russians with primary school education favour a one-party system, but majorities of all Russians favour two or multi-party competition, and two thirds of Russians with tertiary education favour a multi-party system. Russians respect Putin's restoration of order, after suffering the consequences of Yeltsin's chaos. Although they have little confidence in the present Parliament or political parties, they prefer a balance between the President and Parliament to the dominance of either. Most Russians want improved Russian institutions that provide effective and accountable government. Bjorkman's analyses of Russian politics, including advice to Putin from Gorbachev, leads him to conclude that deeper democracy is primarily

impeded by an entrenched but vulnerable Russian bureaucracy, not political culture or the President. Bjorkman rejects the easy western criticisms that seem to freely attribute all Russian misconduct to Putin, arguing that (like Neustadt's analysis of US presidents) Russian Presidents have limited power over the bureaucracy. Although he exhibits a substantial degree of independence from US political culture, it may have influenced Bjorkman's paying virtually no explicit attention to the new rich oligarchs who dominated the Yeltsin era and have been, at least selectively, engaged by Putin. The oligarchs, politicians and the bureaucracy all contribute to a high corruption rating for Russia by Transparency International. Bjorkman suggests that support for 'managed democracy' (9-10) with a market economy is primarily a response to Yeltsin chaotic era. He advocates strengthening judicial independence, executive accountability to Parliament, a stronger party system, a freer press and safeguards for the integrity of the electoral system, as a (very conventional) set of proposals for democratic change.

A brief mention of the war in Chechnya is the nearest Bjorkman comes to engaging with ethnic conflict directly. However, his book as a whole may be read as a thoughtful engagement with active western prejudice against Russia, which may have roots in ethnicity as well as cultural hangovers from the Cold War era. In his first and last chapters Bjorkman argues that the west dealing with Russia 'as part of the West rather than as a country whose choice is still to be made can become a self-fulfilling prophecy' (94) that would foster the deepening of Russian democracy. Bjorkman is too discreet to mention that this would involve a significant departure from the Western posture that the Bush administration has promoted, particularly on the NATO missile defence issue.

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Belfast: Segregation, Violence and the City

Peter Shirlow and Brendan Murtagh

The geography of segregation and its important role in the reproduction of politically motivated violence is the theme of this excellent book. Beginning with the Belfast Agreement of 1998, the authors are critical of its failure to challenge ethno-sectarianism and argue that its institutional approach has actually increased the social, political and spatial divide between Northern Ireland's two communities. The rationale for their criticism is the Agreement's failure to adequately address the most enduring spatial aspect of division – segregation and the interface areas. They note that while the cessation of paramilitary violence in Northern Ireland is to be welcomed, hostilities have been replaced by segregation, fuelling ethno-sectarian animosity. Violence and fear is continually reproduced through attempts to monopolise singular narratives of victimhood and exclusion. The heterogeneity displayed in their survey is silenced by political elites in an attempt to reproduce a one-dimensional identity and political belonging.

Interface walls act as much more than a physical border. They are a symbol of social, cultural and political differentiation creating a space between two communities. They act as a constant reminder of both harm done and of possible future threat. Intended to create a safe space, interface areas were in fact the most dangerous places to live. A third of the victims of politically motivated violence were murdered within 250 metres of an interface, and around 70% of deaths occurred within 500 metres of all segregated boundaries

(72). The most dangerous place was the home as nearly a third of all those killed were murdered either within their home or within a few metres of their place of residence (74), offering concrete evidence of a clear link between violence and residential segregation. Such attacks were viewed as attacks on the community in general contributing further to the perpetuation of the self/other discourse.

It is clear from the evidence in relation to consumption, leisure and labour that lifestyle activities are to a large extent influenced by ethno-sectarianism. From shopping to education, public transport to housing choices, sectarian attitudes were strongest in the 16-40 age group while pensioners were the most likely to use mixed facilities. The authors found examples of mixing but noted that such mixing was not made public to their own community.

Hopes that an upwardly mobile middle-class might produce a third way or an alternative to the binary politics of Northern Ireland have not been realised. It was hoped that shared class values and lifestyles might cut across the ethno-religious formulation of national identity. The authors found that sectarian animosity exists among all classes and that the tolerance displayed in new mixed suburbs is more a factor of protection of material wealth. The book is tied together with a review of policy measures undertaken and identification of the key gaps that have emerged.

This is a fascinating book full of rich empirical data, which will be of interest to the expert and novice alike. Ultimately the mood of the book is sombre and pessimistic as the authors conclude that despite the cessation of paramilitary hostilities, ethno-sectarian animosity is reproduced through segregation, which explains the failure of inter-community politics to emerge in the wake of the Belfast Agreement.

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Irish Travellers: Tinkers No More

Alen MacWeeney

Alen MacWeeney's *Irish Travellers: Tinkers No More* uses photographs, songs and stories to present a descriptive account of the lives of Travellers in Ireland in the 1960s. The author is a photographer - who trained with the renowned Richard Avedon - and uses pictorial representation of Travellers, resulting in a fairly short narrative. The introduction, written by Bairbre NíFhloinn, outlines who Travellers are by focussing on cultural idiosyncrasies and contested claims of origin. The book advances no clear argument or contribution to theory as such but does provide rich ethnographic data to help us understand the everyday lives of Irish Travellers in the 1960s, and makes a valuable contribution in that respect.

Issues relating to ethnic conflict are not directly relevant to Irish Travellers given that they make no secessionist claims and are not in competition with other ethnic groups for material resources. Any tenuous claims to 'conflict' can be found in Travellers' relations with the majority society but this crucial aspect is not investigated. The political claims of Travellers are not addressed although it is questionable whether Travellers had any political claims in the 1960s given their lack of political leadership, and apparent resistance to mobilization efforts (36). Travellers are an ethnic community - though still not recognised as such by the Irish state - and this book provides an insight into everyday practices which sustain and reproduce Traveller identity.

The photographs are certainly arresting in their beauty. These stark black and white images of life in Traveller camps play on external perceptions of the Traveller 'way of life' which social anthropologists appear keen to propagate. The title

suggests challenging perceptions, yet we are presented with predictable representations of Travellers: swollen families packed with grubby-faced children; horse-riding; tin-whistle playing; a young bride and groom; and world weary faces staring back at the camera lens. MacWeeney states, 'I was aware of the appeal of poverty to a camera, especially when dressed up with romantic notions of horses, caravans, and campfires' (2), yet he does nothing to dispel these romanticised notions of Traveller identity. The real value of this book lies in the insight we are given into the lives of Travellers as outsiders looking in, like MacWeeney himself. Laced with songs - a CD is included featuring songs and music - and stories, the photographs describe a life of poverty and marginalisation. This book will be of primary interest to social anthropologists, photographers and musicologists.

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