

*Anne L. Clunan and Harold A. Trinkunas, eds., Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010.*

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The end of the Cold War was viewed by many as a time to usher in peace and stability throughout the world. As soon became apparent, however, the global crumbling of Soviet-style communism had precipitated an unforeseen period of fragility in the international system. Ethnic conflicts started to flare up in many parts of the world and the rapid spread of globalisation started to create a wealth gap, and thus, social tensions. The rise of American unilateralism in post-Cold War international affairs, combined with the momentous globalisation of the Third World (which is sometimes seen as either a direct or indirect product of American foreign policy), had precipitated a resulting rise in anti-American sentiment throughout many parts of the world. This development was particularly evident in the Middle East and other parts of the Muslim world and ultimately culminated in the September 11 attacks on the United States.

The 9/11 attacks symbolised a shift in the West's approach to both viewing and dealing with security issues. The book Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty, edited by Anne L. Clunan and Harold A. Trinkunas, deals precisely with this issue. Today's conflicts have shifted away from conventional inter-state wars to ones fought against non-state actors where it is often difficult to define the enemy, let alone to locate them. Ungoverned Spaces presents the

academic field of security studies as overly state-centric and provides a much-needed alternative approach. It manages to successfully account for both the contemporary trends of non-state actors as well as the effects they have on state and human security.

The book correctly characterises these “alternatively governed spaces” as an arena of competing and overlapping areas of influence between the state, non-governmental organizations, and private interest groups. A direct result of this competition is increasing inequality and isolation of underprivileged and marginalised groups, which further leads to the growing importance of identity politics, and the fragmentation of loyalties. Although not always the case, one indirect product of this potent brew is the spread of geographical and social “no go areas” where the rule of law is being devised and implemented by local strongmen with their own personal agendas – formal state institutions and the code of law serve little or no function in these places. As such, the book argues these areas are wrongly termed “ungoverned spaces” by the state-centric dominant view in the field of security studies. The local practises and customs in the “no go areas” merely create the illusion of “ungoverned spaces.” The book claims that “alternatively governed spaces” is a more suitable term and scholars ought to have more of a focus on conflict dynamics rather than state institutions.

The first two chapters duly present the necessity to revise the dominant approach to security studies and further set and define the theoretical framework of the book. The rest of the book substantiates these arguments through case studies. As a whole, the book does well to define “the state” in terms of both territory and function. The book presents this push to keep states at the centre of the provision of governance as being in contrast to liberal globalisation and while state power is waning in many parts of the world, the decline of the sovereign state allows for other actors to move in and fill the void. The volume shows that although globalisation does not promote the spreading of harmful ungoverned spaces and terrorist activity, it does provide them with an avenue to extend their reach. In the same vein, in many situations violence is the *product* of the criminalisation of the state through patronage networks and corruption and an important factor in propping up such political systems.

It is important to mention, however, that while the book defines and explores the issue of security as it pertains to physical threats to state governments and their constituent populations, the section on state power in “virtual spaces” strays from this

norm and does not follow the main thrust of the book. Instead of dealing with the threat hackers pose to state infrastructure and financial institutions and private firms running our globalized economy, as one might expect, this section of the book instead focuses on international negotiations over internet governance and usage rights, the financial losses posed to state governments through offshore financial institutions, and the utilisation of internet censorship mechanisms by state governments. While the essays in this section depict the importance of cyberspace to state authority and international relations, they do not relate the subject to real and perceived physical threats to individuals nor to terrorism.

Although the section on cyberspace may seem unrelated to the general argument the book is making, it does make an important question more evident – when do alternatively governed spaces threaten security? Many of the essays presented offer insight into how these illicit forces contest formal state authority as well as the symbiotic relationship that sometimes exists between the two. Furthermore, it quickly becomes apparent that some of the essays struggle to relate the specific details of their empirical case studies to the overarching general theme of the book. Although the book never addresses the important question presented above nor offers any concrete policy solutions, it does as a whole make a convincing argument for the need to revise our approach to how we view and deal with contemporary security issues. While geography and demography may be seen as “constant” sources of “alternatively governed spaces,” this volume suggests that the uneven effects of globalization on societies and states act as the biggest driver for the spread in reach and influence of such areas. The main conclusion to be drawn from Ungoverned Spaces is that government policy as well as academic studies should be revised to focus on conflict dynamics and mitigation.

The book in essence proposes a theoretical shift in the level of analysis. In order to support this argument, the contributors offer empirical studies on a vast range of issues comprising the field of security studies. While the case studies are not overly detailed and do not offer an in-depth analysis of the subject matter, they serve as a sound introduction to the issues at hand, and as such, the book is a good introduction to security studies for aspiring international relations students.

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