

do high levels of repression affect levels of protesting? These are the questions that Sabine Carey poses and systematically tests in a study of 66 countries in Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa for the 1977–2002 period. Studying human rights violations as measured by the Political Terror Scale (PTS), she finds that dissent triggers more repression, but also that repression increases the risk of dissent. The greater the threat is, the more severe is the response. Carey also finds that democracy strongly reduces the risk of repression, but that it hardly matters to the level of dissent. Moving beyond the conventional country-year design, Carey then studies the relationship between dissent and repression using daily data measuring conflictual and accommodating behaviours by government and nongovernmental actors. The data, from the Intranational Political Interaction (IPI) project, cover six countries in Latin America and three in sub-Saharan Africa. While Carey concludes that the IPI data confirm the finding of a reciprocal relationship between protest and repression, the results also seem to suggest that democracies may respond to dissent as repressively as non-democracies. A third level of empirical analysis is added by the detailed investigation of two case studies, Chile and Nigeria. Carey offers an impressive and rich overview of a field that has rapidly expanded over the past few years, as well as cutting-edge, methodologically sophisticated research. This work will be a valuable resource for teachers and researchers alike.

Henrik Urdal

Cheterian, Vicken, 2008. *War and Peace in the Caucasus: Ethnic Conflict and the New Geopolitics*. New York: Columbia University Press. 395 pp. ISBN 9780231700641.

The Caucasus was home to widespread conflict even before it was incorporated into the Russian Empire, and many historians and political scientists view post-Soviet conflicts in the Caucasus as both a continuation of these prior conflicts and part of a greater wave of post-Cold War conflict. This view attributes the causes of these conflicts primarily to ethnic nationalism. Vicken Cheterian takes issue with the nationalism explanation and argues that one must also consider the unique features of the post-Soviet experience when analyzing these conflicts. Cheterian argues that there are two root causes of conflict in the Caucasus. First, the collapse of the Soviet system left behind a power and ideology vacuum. Second, a historical memory of mass trauma has permeated the cultures in Abkhazia, Chechnya, and Armenia and leads them to counter force with force. Cheterian uses these causes as a lens to provide depth to the stories of violent conflict in Nagorno Karabakh, Abkhazia, and Chechnya. Cheterian's well-organized and insightful analysis clears some of the considerable confusion about the sources of these conflicts, which was generated both by comparisons with other regions and by Soviet-era manipulation of national histories. Cheterian also examines the role that the region's hydrocarbon resources are playing in these conflicts. He speculates that the petro-dollar financed buildup of the Azerbaijani and, to a lesser degree, Georgian

militaries could, in fact, 'have serious consequences on the power equilibrium behind the cease-fire agreements' (p. 379). Unfortunately, Cheterian was right about this, as evidenced by the August 2008 war between Georgia and Russia.

Callie Le Renard

Costa, Dora L & Matthew E Kahn, 2008. *Heroes and Cowards: The Social Face of War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 336 pp. ISBN 9780691137049.

Costa & Kahn go back to the American Civil War to analyze some of the best available data on combatant behavior. They are thus able to parse out their individual motivations much better than recent research that relies on either untested assumptions or poor data from recent civil conflicts. This clear and readable book combines econometric analysis presented in a non-technical way with a richly textured historical account of individual experiences, drawn from a variety of sources – affidavits, memoirs, and diaries. Based on a long and truly heroic data collection enterprise of service and medical records of almost 40,000 Union soldiers (the appendix should be studied by all those interested in the empirical study of war), this analysis supports Robert Putnam's intuitions about the individual benefits of social capital. Combatants were more likely to fight than desert if they were part of homogeneous companies composed of men sharing ties of locality and background. A company's socio-economic and demographic heterogeneity is the single most important predictor of desertion, trumping the role of morale and ideological commitment. In a similar vein, the density of social ties helped prisoners survive the horrible conditions of POW camps. This is not a perfect study. For example, individual ideological commitment is proxied by the electoral behavior of the locality of origin. It is also unlikely that findings from a conventional war generalize to contemporary irregular conflicts. We should not, however, make perfection the enemy of quality. This is simply the best study of the motivation to fight, demonstrating the benefits of long-term and deep engagement with a case and the advantages that accrue to the successful and creative combination of quantitative and historical methods.

Stathis N Kalyvas

Grant, Bruce, 2009. *The Captive and the Gift: Cultural Histories of Sovereignty in Russia and the Caucasus*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 188 pp. ISBN 9780801443046.

Grant's book studies ancient Greek and 19th-century Russian narratives that played an important role in the Russian domination of the Caucasus. He considers myths to be doorways to cultural understanding and peace. The author analyzes the persistence of the 'good prisoner' symbol through extensive research and personal interviews in the region. He uses classical anthropological theories found in Hesiod's *Prometheus* and Pushkin's *Kazkazskii plennik* ('Prisoner of the Caucasus') as a