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## Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life during War by

Z. C. Mampilly

Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011. Pp. 320. £27.95 (hbk) doi:10.1017/S0022278X13000463

Zachariah Mampilly's *Rebel Rulers* is a highly original and carefully crafted addition to the literature on internal war. While most work in this literature focuses on explaining the length, duration, recurrence or causes of conflict, Mampilly studies how insurgents govern the civilian populations in the territories they control. He reminds us that rebels have been rulers in a broad range of conflicts across time and across continents but that we have given scarce systematic attention to how and why the nature of rebel governance varies so dramatically. Mampilly's work helps fill the void by asking three intriguing questions of lasting relevance. First, why do some rebel rulers provide civilians with extensive public goods while others provide few if any goods at all? Second, how do rebels make decisions about the sort of governance they undertake? And finally, why are rebels accorded legitimacy in some cases but resisted and even fought violently in others?

Mampilly answers these questions using an impressive range of original material from three well-chosen case studies including, the LTTE in Sri Lanka, the SPML/A in Sudan and the RCD in D.R. Congo. He shows us that the nature and extent of rebel rule is partially an outcome of rebel preferences (as one would guess) but that rebel relations with social and political actors at the local level and in the international arena are key as well. His multi-level, nuanced argument explains the variation in his cases—with the LTTE representing extensive and legitimating rule, the RCD representing wholly ineffective and almost exclusively coercive rule and the SPML/A representing something in between.

The local level factors that shaped rebel governance in these cases are multiple and wide ranging. Mampilly does not seek parsimony and instead embraces the complexity of each case. He does, however leave us with seven testable hypotheses extracted from his rich comparisons. Each of these is sustained within the stories he tells and worth examination elsewhere. Summarised, these hypotheses posit the following associations: that governance provision is likely to be more extensive in areas where state penetration raised citizen expectations prior to the outbreak of conflict; that effective governance is more likely to develop if insurgents aspire to secession or to ethno-nationalist autonomy; that effective governance is more likely if insurgencies adopt Maoist organisational structures; that neglected internal divisions weaken governance capacity; that stalemate or ceasefires boost the likelihood of more effective governance; that effective governance is more likely if rebels can co-opt humanitarian organisations and finally, that competition from local and transnational organisations can increase incentives for effective governance if, for ideological or other reasons, the rebels choose to deal with competition non-coercively.

This is not a simple book but it is, beyond doubt, a profound and provocative book that anyone interested in internal war should take seriously. Mampilly took huge personal risks to witness rebel rule first hand and to interview both 540 REVIEWS

the rulers and the ruled in all three of his cases. His risks provide rich rewards for scholars and policymakers alike.

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Emotional and Ethical Challenges for Field Research in Africa: The Story behind the Findings edited by S. Thomson, A. Ansoms and J. Murison London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. Pp. xiv, 169. £55 (hbk) doi:10.1017/S0022278X13000475

This small and smart but ridiculously expensive volume fills a crucial gap in the existing literature on research methodologies in the social sciences in Africa (and beyond). It accommodates anthropology, conflict studies, development economics, history, sociology and political science; and has two chapters on Burundi, two on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, four on Rwanda and two on Uganda. From my anthropological perspective, at a first glance, the short introduction seems to claim the obvious: outside researchers need to adapt to local realities, prepare themselves with time and patience, ensure to gain the trust and respect of their informants, and also be prepared to face emotional challenges. Researchers have, in the editors' phrasing, to roll with it. But if the introduction is somehow short and brief, it leaves more room for the individual chapters, which offer intimate perspectives. The chapters, almost all of them reporting from completed PhD projects, tell important stories.

Taken together, the four chapters on post-genocide Rwanda sketch a place that seems particularly difficult to research, with an omnipresent state apparatus that follows every step of the researcher. An Ansoms addresses the profound feeling of being a voyeuristic disaster tourist in Rwanda, while Larissa Begley discusses fear and rumours as well as her own post-traumatic stress. Yolande Bouka on her side emphasises the importance of being aware of covert messages and 'the grammar' of respondents' narrative strategies. Finally, Susan Thomson addresses the extremely wearisome but for her rewarding process of applying for a formal ethical clearance, while at the same time noting that ethical quandaries must constantly be negotiated and renegotiated in the field. On Burundi, Judith Vorrath's chapter on political elites discusses intuition and common sense as research tools in situations when the researcher has to make up her mind whether or not to trust informants; while Lidewyde H. Berckmoes's contribution deals with trust, truth and fieldwork experiences of deceit and lies. From eastern Congo, Luca Jourdan compares his experience as a humanitarian with that of a researcher. If humanitarianism brought him to the Congo in the first place, academia brought him back, and he could now accept, with his Congolese informants, the existence of senselessness. To roll with it, to return to the editors' introduction, was a reason why Jourdan 'survived' in war-torn Congo. Eastern Congo is also the place of research for Julie Van Damme. In the effort to establish a constructive relationship between researcher and researched, she discusses the importance of returning to the field, and she analyses her ambition to improve the lives of her research subjects but also how all this changed her.