processes of democratisation and the continuing contestations over binding rules and channels to seek political power. The contributors do a commendable job of imposing overarching themes and yet portraying the nuance and complexity of each case. The book suggests that democratisation, while problematic, has been significant and meaningful – and is continually transforming. The rich contextual accounts and the strong concluding analysis make the book a must-read as both a general overview of democratisation on the continent and a contemporary assessment of key cases.

RACHEL BETTY RIEDL
Northwestern University

Security beyond the State: private security in international politics by RITA ABRAHAMSEN and MICHAEL C. WILLIAMS
Cambridge University Press, 2011. Pp. 272, £18·99 (pbk).
doi:10.1017/S0022278X12000109

This is an important new book on the globalisation of private security and its implications for politics and international relations theory. The authors start by questioning Weber's premise that the state maintains a monopoly on the legitimate use of force, as a result of globalisation. They use the private security industry as a lens to interrogate the ways in which sovereignty and power are being restructured and respatialised under, and are constitutive of, globalisation.

A key concept developed in the book is that of 'global security assemblages', through which (in)security is effected around the world. These assemblages bring together private and public, global and local actors to govern and securitise territories and spaces. The book details empirically the scale of the global private security industry and the multiple sectors in which it is involved, from detaining asylum seekers in Australia to controlling money dispensed from ATMs. Using Bordieu's theory of economic, symbolic and cultural capital, it shows how the private security industry is able to draw on discourses and registers of security and the public interest to increase its symbolic and material capital. While security is often held to be the last domain of public interest administered by the state, it shows how new nodal networks of governance have emerged in this field over the last number of decades.

The book is based on case studies and extensive fieldwork in four African countries – Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya and Sierra Leone. The Nigerian case explores (in)security in the Niger Delta, the main oil-producing region of the country, while the Sierra Leone one examines urban security and the regulation of the diamond fields. While some of the broad details from the other cases will be known to Africanists, the South African case is particularly illuminating. The authors argue that as a result of democratisation in 1994 the private security industry went from being an upholder of the (unjust) *status quo* to being viewed with deep suspicion by the new government. However, an attempt to pass a law that stated that all private security companies in South Africa had to be national was defeated after intervention by the minister of finance. The authors trace this decision to the broader political economy of neo-liberalism in South Africa: the

belief that protectionism would have damaged the country's attempt to be seen as an 'investor friendly' destination. Thus security is not separate from other forms of state and economic restructuring. The exclusions of the new security system and regime are also explored in the book, with Securicor staff in Cape Town moving beggars along, for example – a form of class apartheid.

This is a theoretically and empirically rich book, with broad implications for international relations and globalisation theory. It is exceptionally well written and will be of interest to scholars of these fields and also African Studies.

PÁDRAIG CARMODY
Trinity College Dublin

The Front Line Runs through Every Woman: women and local resistance in the Zimbabwean liberation war by ELEANOR O'GORMAN
Woodbridge: James Currey, 2011. Pp. xv+192, £17·99 (pbk)
doi:10.1017/S0022278X12000110

Eleanor O'Gorman carried out the research for this book in 1993 and wrote her thesis in 1999. As she writes, 'revisiting a PhD sounds a warning bell to writer, reader and publisher'. The resulting book might have been bogged down in the problematics of a decade ago, or have curdled or rotted with time. O'Gorman, however, turns the delay to her advantage.

She gains three positives from it. First, it has allowed her to winnow out the preceding literature on women in the Zimbabwean war, a good deal of which was purely rhetorical and no longer needs to be considered. Second, it makes it possible to set the Zimbabwean case in the context of the developing general discussion of gender and violence. Third, it has enabled her to compare and contrast the violence to which Zimbabwean women were subjected in the 1970s with their experience in the 2000s.

This is a book rich in contrasts and comparisons. Its historiographical discussion is all the stronger for focusing on work which has demonstrated a continuing influence and leaving out the ephemeral and fashionable. O'Gorman is the last person to believe that women's participation in war has earned them improved rights. And she finds substantial and controversial continuities between earlier and recent gender violence in rural Zimbabwe.

In this book violence is something which happens to women rather than something they choose. Relatively little attention is paid to female combatants. Violence happens where the great majority of women are, in the villages or in the 'keeps' constructed during the guerrilla war, rather than on the battlefield. Women have agency but it allows them to survive violence rather than to embrace or avoid it. And because it is unavoidable, all women are in one way or another involved. The male combatants, whether Rhodesian soldiers or auxiliaries or guerrillas or *mujibas*, are hard to distinguish from each other in their arbitrary and ruthless demands – for food, for sex, for obedience. Gendered memory calls down a plague on all their houses. Even women who sang liberation songs at guerrilla *pungwes* remember that they were happy then – and they were terrified. Women whose soldier or camp guard lovers were killed by guerrillas defiantly remember that love was real, unpredictable and should have been spared violence.