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Elke Krahmann. States, Citizens and the Privatization of Security. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

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The rise of private security firms has become a high profile feature of international relations since the end of the Cold War. This was symbolized by the private military company Executive Outcomes operating in Africa in the 1990s and Blackwater operating in Iraq in the 2000s. However, these companies were not the only ones in existence; they were just the most visible. In fact, there were more American-based private security companies in Iraq than members of the United States Armed Forces. In addition, the privatization of security involves more than just the use of armed guards; it also involves the outsourcing of many military services, such as logistics, base management, and training. This transformation has raised a number of important questions for mature democracies: Has the state monopoly on collective violence been eroded? What is the extent of democratic control over military force? Should armies be made up of volunteers or conscripts?

In tackling this important and current subject, Elke Krahmann wanted to do something different than the traditional literature on military privatization written by the likes of Peter Singer, Christopher Kinsey, and Deborah Avant. This literature focused on "functional arguments related to changes in the security environment, budgetary pressures and the market forces of supply and demand"(9). Examples of these functional arguments include the end of the Cold War or a desire to reduce military budgets by contracting out services.

Instead Krahmann sought to trace the ideological roots, through an examination of Social Contract Theory (as conceived by Thomas Hobbes and Jean-Jacques Rousseau), of this transformation. She explores the competing visions of republicanism (James Madison), liberalism (John Stuart Mill), and neoliberalism (Milton Friedman)

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ideas of the state, the citizen, and the soldier. Republicanism "advocates the centralization of the provision of security within the state and national armed forces composed of conscripted citizen-soldiers"(3). Liberalism "suggests the fragmentation and limitation of governmental powers and the political neutrality of professional armed forces"(3). Neoliberalism, a 20th century redefinition of liberalism, emphasizes "the role of capitalism in satisfying the needs of citizens and in limiting the coercive powers of the state"(34). In a military context, neoliberalism argues for the availability of free market alternatives to the state by privatizing national arms industries, outsourcing some military services, and creating an all-volunteer armed forces. Krahmann distinguishes between these ideologies based on geographical scope, functional scope, resources, interests, norms, decision-making, implementation, and democratic control and accountability. She also shows how each ideology has a different ideal type model of the soldier: citizen-soldier (republicanism), professional solider (republicanism and liberalism), and private military contractor (neoliberalism). Krahmann argues, convincingly in the mind of this reviewer, that it is ideology which best explains the growth of private military forces and why military privatization has varied among Western democracies, while offering a theoretically-based assessment of the consequences of this growth.

The empirical part of the book is composed of case studies of the United Kingdom, United States, and Germany. The UK and the US were chosen because they have pursued most actively the neoliberal vision of security, especially since the Thatcher-Reagan years, but continuing with successive governments of all political parties. In contrast, Germany has identified more with republicanism. For example, both the UK and US have moved to volunteer armies, while Germany retains conscription. For all three countries, Krahmann describes their civil-military history from the late 18th century through to the current conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. Doing this historical analysis allows her to show "how the ideological competition between Republicanism and Liberalism has influenced varying conceptions of the state and the soldier within different security contexts"(51).

Krahmann concludes with revisiting the ideologies based on the challenges that she has identified with the current policies surrounding military privatization. For neoliberalism, she proposes three mechanisms for improving the democratic accountability of private military contractors, through "competitive federalism, fiscal control, and private standard-setting"(253). For republicanism, she borrows from the ideas of Jürgen Habermas and Ulrich Beck to propose a version of "Cosmopolitan Republicanism" which includes: "the broadening of citizenship, political community and the Social Contract from the national to the regional or even global levels; the

reform of international organizations; the strengthening of solidarity and democratic participation through the promotion of civic virtue and civil society; and the strengthening of international law and courts"(258).

Overall, Krahmann has written an excellent book. She has written about the importance of the ideological roots that have driven the movement to privatize security. She is also correct to note that "the theoretical, practical and normative implications of treating security as a private commodity have so far been the least researched"(279). Obviously a task for her next book!

That being said, there are a couple of ways that she could have improved the analysis. First, she could have made a better selection of cases. Given the similarities between the United Kingdom and United States, why include both? It might have made for a better contrast to replace one (most likely Britain) with either Japan or Sweden. As it stands, because of the case selection, it appears that Germany is the outlier when it comes to the privatization of security, but perhaps with different countries, it would show that it is the UK and US that are the outliers.

A second way that the text could have been improved is by providing a greater focus on the role of neoliberalism in the overall conception of German society. This was done in the British and American chapters to show the rise of neoliberal thinking, but was not done to explain the resistance to neoliberalism in Germany. To be fair, Krahmann does briefly touch on this when she notes that "neoliberal language and policies have found their way into public administration and sectors such as transport, telecommunications and health care. However, significant sections of the German population and the two largest political parties have been sceptical towards a wholesale adoption of the neoliberal model of the small state"(157). But this is one paragraph. Surely such a very salient point for why Germany, and other countries too, have not adopted the UK/US model of military privatization needs substantially more space than one paragraph.

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