

BOOK REVIEWS SECTION

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McIntyre, Alister M. (2016). *The Caribbean in the wider world: Commentaries on my life and career*. Kingston Jamaica: UWI Press. ISBN: 978-976-640-633-2. 288 pp. US\$35.00.

Sir Alister McIntyre is a retired Caribbean academic and technical expert who served at a very high level in several United Nations agencies and regional organisations. His autobiography is divided into five parts. The first covers his childhood and adolescence in the 1930s and 1940s in Grenada as well as his university education in Britain. This section is of particular interest for its glimpses into colonial life in the 1930s Caribbean and the structural obstacles and opportunities encountered by the author in the course of acquiring an education, entering the labour market and pursuing the elusive dream of higher education overseas. There are numerous insights into life in a very small society, balancing personal initiative, intelligence and determination against the risks of rocking the boat and incurring societal or workplace sanctions. Chapter Three is instructive on the growth of a shared regional identity and professional networks among West Indians educated abroad in the 1950s whose student encounters often laid the foundation for lifelong friendship and collaboration. The writer's narrative demonstrates that, throughout his professional career, he was able to draw on the extensive collegial networks of people from developed and developing countries with whom he had studied and worked in Europe and North America.

Section Two focuses on the construction of a regional university in the Commonwealth Caribbean, one of the more enduring legacies of the short lived West Indies Federation. The author chronicles his 14 years spent as a lecturer in Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago and his stints at universities and research centres in North America. It is a narrative of the growing pains and periodic parochial spasms of a university closely linked with the decolonisation and development struggles of the Caribbean region, the debates over the academy's mission and what should be an appropriate balance in the curriculum between global and locally generated knowledge, between the study of theory and the analysis of policy and praxis. This section mentions in passing the turbulent politics of the times in Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago; but, in general, the author remains circumspect on such themes. His strong commitment to regional and national development issues is very much in evidence.

Sections Three and Four review his work with regional and international organisations and the various personal assignments entrusted to him by Caribbean governments. Section Three offers an insider perspective on the formation of the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) 1967–68, and on the early years of the CARICOM Secretariat. There is interesting information on the ACP-EC negotiations, which led to the signing of the Lomé Convention in 1975, and on the Commonwealth's involvement in hammering out proposals for a New International Economic Order. McIntyre was keenly aware of the importance of the external environment for Caribbean development; he worked hard to strengthen the region's diplomatic capacity for international negotiations. He offers insights into the workings of small state diplomacy, the strategies employed to exert influence over more powerful actors and the challenges of coalition-building within the Group of Seventy-Seven. Equally, the reader gains insights of the dynamics of bureaucratic politics, tensions that may arise between politicians and public servants, and the risks of excessive informality and weak institutionalisation in regional organisations. The book here offers a thought-provoking account of decision-making and implementation within very small circles of regional and international technocrats well

known to one another. The writer himself sometimes advocates for a greater involvement of the private sector and from the world of finance; but there is little mention of socio-economic policy-making that would involve large scale public consultation.

There is considerable detail on the establishment of UNCTAD's Common Fund for building buffer stocks and stabilizing the world prices of key commodities produced by developing countries. There is also useful information on the review of the United Nations' social and economic programmes, undertaken around the time of the UN's fortieth anniversary at a very challenging time for the multilateral system. This has relevance for those studying the future of today's crisis-ridden multilateralism as the power structures and agreements on which it was built continue to erode. Finally, the author chronicles his work as the UN Secretary-General's representative to mediate the border dispute between Guyana and Venezuela in 1990, concluding that little was achieved. He also documents the establishment of the South Commission in 1987, and the work of the IDB/OAS Experts' Group in Smaller Economies in Western Hemisphere Integration, carried out in 1996–97.

Section Four is a whirlwind tour of his advisory work assisting Caribbean governments to address public policy challenges. The issues encompass economic sectoral development, post-hurricane rehabilitation, mismanagement of public funds, capacity-building in the OECS and Belize, and socio-political crises in Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago, Guyana and Grenada. In Section Five, the author's life comes full circle and he ends by commenting on a decade spent as Vice-Chancellor of the University of the West Indies 1988 – 1998. He arrived at UWI Mona just before the devastation wrought by Hurricane Gilbert to the university and the entire island of Jamaica. This helped to shape the new Vice Chancellor's agenda and catapulted him into an era of post-disaster reconstruction and resilience-building, working with the local private sector and international agencies and eventually crafting both the UWI Development and Endowment Fund, and a ten year Development Plan for the institution. McIntyre's term of office focused on various aspects of internationalisation, including intense engagement with donor agencies, the establishment of alumni offices and foundations in major Caribbean diaspora locations, networking with major research universities and multilateral institutions to strengthen the UWI's academic exchanges, teaching, research and development impact on the Caribbean region. He recounts an ambitious vision which produced a scorecard of successes and disappointments in equal measure. This section is an interesting case study of the globalisation of higher education as experienced by a medium-sized public university in a developing region, searching to boost its relevance and international competitiveness.

McIntyre's autobiography is a valuable resource for scholars of multilateralism and small developing states, and for those interested in the past century of Caribbean political, institutional and socio-economic development. His participant accounts of key events and his pragmatic reflections on the possibilities and inherent limitations of multilateral governance are instructive. His writing style is simple, direct and clear; and readers are generally left to draw their own conclusions. Apart from being a resource for researchers and practitioners, this volume is recommended reading for courses on Caribbean International Relations, Development Economics and Public Policy.

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Thorhallsson, Baldur (Ed.) (2018) *Small states and shelter theory: Iceland's external affairs*. Part of book series on: *The New International Relations*. London and New York: Routledge. ISBN: 978-1-138-61537-3. xvii+213pp. hbk: £92.00stg; e-book: £20.00stg.

... Only

There is shadow under this red rock,
(Come in under the shadow of this red rock)

T. S. Eliot, *The Wasteland*, 1922

When British poet T. S. Eliot wrote these lines in his epic poetic work, *The Wasteland*, in 1922, he was expressing his disappointment at the emptiness of a world – indeed, *a waste land* – a desert without culture, without guidance and without spiritual belief. There is, however, some solace, and a place of refuge. It comes in the guise of a red rock. The reference is possibly to the Old Testament Book of Isaiah XXXII(2), wherein the "righteous king" "shall be . . . as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

I found myself thinking of this passage as I was leafing through Baldur Thorhallsson's latest offering to the literature of small state studies. The throwback to the past is instructive: Thorhallsson's argument is precisely that it is not enough to look at the governance of small states by examining their impressive democratic credentials. They also need, or crave, what the Bible refers to as a "righteous king". Translated into 21st-century speak, this is an external power, benign and generous, perhaps even imperious, willing to extend its oversight, its security infrastructure, its favourable trading regime protocols, to small jurisdictions who cannot offer it much in return except perhaps gratitude, sympathy and loyalty. It is by this covenant that small states bolster their chances of survival in an uncertain world: after the Russian invasion of Georgia in 2008 and its wholesale annexation of Crimea in 2014, it seems to me that the world is indeed an increasingly uncertain place, especially for small countries. Hence, seeking "rivers of water" and "the shadow of a great rock" – what Thorhallsson describes as shelter – is an increasingly strategically smart and crucial policy choice for these smaller players. All the more so in a post-Cold War world where the architecture of the international system is frayed and characterised by multi-polarity. This increases the options for adventurism and raises the likelihood of getting away with such escapades, to the chagrin of the affected subject.

Shelter theory is the name of the game: a transactional, binary relationship that is clearly unequal but that provides symbolic or material benefits to either side.

But there are also costs and risks, especially for the smaller player. National 'sovereignty' and independence may be compromised by dependence on one country's largesse. After all, this is a relationship that risks becoming a suzerainty of sorts, a lord-vassal dynamic, if not handled properly. Shelter-providers may themselves be relative minnows in the grand scheme of things. Political rhetoric may repel and antagonise, rather than attract and massage, the general publics of shelter-seekers towards considering such liaisons positively. And long-standing shelter-providers may have a change of heart, may re-evaluate their regional or foreign policy positions, may have to come to terms with declining economic or imperial heft . . . all leading to a renegotiation, or possibly the abandonment, of their provision of shelter. But the alternative is not such a palatable option: left to their own devices, small states risk being overwhelmed by regional hegemonies, or swamped by environmental, economic or financial crises. For all the trappings of sovereignty, they remain so open and sensitive – some

would even say vulnerable – to events happening beyond their shores, and over which they have hardly any influence, let alone control. *Dare they risk it?*

Thorhallsson is an Icelander, and he never misses the opportunity to illustrate his argument is direct application to the history of Iceland, as it has unfolded since the Middle Ages and right up to the current historical moment. This is skilfully done in this book by means of six chapters, in each of which Baldur Thorhallsson is a co-author.

The policy dilemmas are stark, and these are at the core of the book's arguments. Iceland is a member of the European Economic Area (EEA), the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), the Schengen Treaty and a candidate country for EU accession, with however a political spectrum and a voting public that are largely not well disposed to joining the EU. Iceland is well integrated into the structures of Nordic cooperation, but none of the Nordic countries could offer Iceland comprehensive shelter. Iceland is a close ally of the United States and is a founding member of NATO; but the US has opted to abandon its base in Keflavik in 2006, and the Trump administration has not sent strong and unequivocal signals of support to its NATO members. Iceland is aware of the increasingly strategic role of the Arctic both as geo-political theatre as well as site for seabed exploration and mineral extraction: the presence and interest of Russia and China are palpable. Could either of these serve as a new *patron* to Iceland? Either of the two might jump at the opportunity to solidify a stronger presence and impact in the North Atlantic; but with what repercussions? Or would a United Kingdom, fresh out of the EU after 'Brexit', be a ripe, reliable (and less irksome) candidate for nurturing shelter-like relations with the likes of its neighbour and fellow island state Iceland; and in spite of the bitter memories of the 'cod wars'?

The text is bookended by a short preface from the book series editor Iver B. Neumann; and an engaging conclusion by Anders Wivel and Christine Ingebritsen. The latter, in particular, offers vital and critical insights into the analytical power of the concept of shelter theory. How and when is shelter different from dependency, influence, bandwagoning or co-optation? Is it really that impossible for small states to survive, and thrive, without they being granted shelter services, in the shadow of a big red rock? And could such 'services' be merely rhetorical or psychological, enough for the small state public, or its potentially hostile powers, to understand and assume that they exist?

Something tells me that we will be reading much more about this intriguing concept, and applied to cases beyond Iceland.

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de Carvalho, Benjamin and Neumann, Iver B. (Eds.) (2015). *Small state status seeking: Norway's quest for international standing*. London: Routledge. 162pp. ISBN: 978-1-1382-8959-8. €32.60.

In recent decades, the idea that world politics is hierarchical rather than anarchic in nature has gained traction, with the quest for social status as one defining feature of interstate relations. Until recently, however, this field of research has primarily focused on the social status of great powers and overlooked the pursuit of international prestige and esteem among states of lesser standing.

Benjamin de Carvalho and Iver B. Neumann's edited volume *Small state status seeking* sets out to address this lacuna. The editors suggest that competing for power supremacy is not really an option for small states. Thus, for the Lilliputians of the world, social status often becomes 'the only game in town'. As the introductory chapter suggests, small powers like Norway exemplify this attitude by seeking to project moral authority by being acknowledged as a good, reliable partner and honest broker to the major powers. It has pursued the *good power*. The book foregoes broad generalisations to inductively explore the numerous forms of non-great power strategies for status-seeking, which it then suggests could offer a fruitful basis for other comparative projects.

In Chapter One, Halvard Leira explores how Norway's pursuit of absolute status (statehood), and later on relative status, was a key feature of the formative years of Norwegian foreign policy. Chapter Two by Kristin M. Haugevik investigates the special historical relationship between Norway and the United Kingdom by showing how the pursuit of status influenced security relationships between a small and large power. Benjamin de Carvalho and Jon Harald Sande Lie show in Chapter Three how *engasjementpolitikk* (policy of involvement) became a key status-seeking practice in Norwegian foreign policy since the early 1990s. Moving to the more contemporary part of the book, Niels Nagelhus Schia and Ole Jacob Sending explore Norway's status-seeking in the UN in Chapter Four, suggesting that Norway's embodied role as a reliable actor produces status. In Chapter Five, Nina Græger shows that Norway has sought status by contributing to international peacekeeping and humanitarian interventions. In Chapter Six, Ingvild Johnsen explores Norway's most prized possession, the Nobel Peace Prize, and its role in generating moral authority and thus also international status. Chapter Seven outlines how status impacts Norway's policy on the international environmental policy field where the authors Bård Lahn and Elana Wilson Rowe claim that Norway has sought the role as a front runner, which in turn enables access to certain privileged fora to which it would normally be excluded. In the final chapter, William Wohlforth sums up the overarching findings of the book and notes that Norway is best conceived of as a small middle power which in turn should be the starting point for any future comparisons made with reference to this Scandinavian country.

The study of small states often falls into the exceptionalism trap because small states exhibit characteristics that mainstream IR theory cannot explain. While empirically accurate, this can result in the marginalisation of small state studies. *Small state status seeking* elegantly avoids this trap. The volume's primary contribution to the broader field is to show that status-seeking is diverse. Status may be sought domestically or in world politics, through wars or development aid, by means of nuclear weapons capability or the Nobel peace prize. As such, the book represents a model for any status research applying a case study approach. With some modifications, the overall framework could easily be applied to Sweden or Denmark, as it could also be to Serbia, South Korea or the United States. This is a testament to the analytical

eclecticism of the book, which is supplied by the theoretically well-informed conceptual framework as laid out in the introductory chapter. This conceptual framework and its potential expansion to other contexts is a key strength of this book.

This analytic flexibility does have its drawbacks, however. It is unclear whether the analytical framework set out by de Carvalho and Neumann is particularly suitable for grappling with the category of small powers. The volume links small state behaviour to moral authority; at the same time, the editors, explicitly or tacitly, argue that Norway is not a typical small power. While the editors state that their intention is exploratory, this ambiguity results in an overall uncertainty about what the volume can tell us that is relevant beyond Norway.

The ambiguous treatment of labels allows the book to avoid the categorisation question that has long stymied the small state literature. In brief, this deadlock revolves around the question of what a small power is and what it is not. Though understandable, avoidance of this question is also disheartening since a focus on status has the potential to nudge this debate further in the direction of perception. Whether a country is a small, middle or great power depends not on its military capabilities, wealth or moral authority, but whether it is recognized as such. *Small state status seeking* focuses on how countries seek status. It would have been an even stronger volume if the authors included a focus on how countries are also *recognised* for their status.

Not focusing on the perception of status leads to a final critique of the book, namely the lack of discussion about what status *does*. In short, the book does not show how status can potentially be turned into influence, power and deference. Indeed, the editors explicitly limit themselves to the intrinsic aspect of status seeking. As they put it: status ‘does not sell more cod’ (p. 16). But: is this really true? A range of countries, including Norway, invest in nation-branding to increase the visibility and attractiveness of the country, which in the long run would, quite literally, ‘sell more cod’. Indeed, all the chapters in the book, ranging from alliance politics and great power relationship, to climate politics and multilateralism, seem to be ideal arenas for exploring the instrumental aspect of status. There is an enormous potential here which the book has perhaps not taken full advantage of. To be sure, this is a problem that is not only applicable to this book, but in general to the emergent field of status research in International Relations (IR). Yet, given the excellent conceptual framework, it is a bit disappointing that it barely recognizes the *doing* side of status.

Having addressed these caveats, this book deserves much praise. Overall, *Small state status seeking* is an excellent contribution that has already moved the field of status research in IR forward. The criticism put forward in this review has largely revolved around the issues and questions which it does *not* address. This should not overshadow the novel aspects of status-seeking that the chapters so compellingly do grapple with. The fact that the book is short – it has only nine articles – is deceptive; this is an empirically rich book and a theoretical gem that will serve as a future reference point for any authors wanting to join the status turn in IR. Indeed, *Small state status seeking* needs to be on any future IR curriculum that seeks to teach students about status or hierarchies.

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Twomey, Mathilda (2017). *Legal métissage in a micro-jurisdiction: The mixing of common law and civil law in Seychelles*. Wellington, New Zealand: Comparative Law Journal of the Pacific, Collection *Ex Professo*, Volume VI, printed by City Print. 216pp, pbk. Also available as open source at: <https://www.victoria.ac.nz/law/research/publications/about-nzacl/publications/special-issues/Twomey.pdf>

Legal métissage is an interesting and much needed contribution to the sparse legal scholarship of Seychelles. It is a book with many intertwining narrative levels. Mathilda Twomey opts for a ‘legal tradition approach’ to her analysis. In so doing, she provides a biography of a young small island state and the ongoing evolution of its legal system. The book offers a richly detailed yet critical historical account, starting from the first settlements in the 1700s all the way to modern times, in an effort to draw a picture beyond the dry black letter of the legal system. In doing so, Twomey conveys the deep roots of a *sui generis* legal (and national) culture. Of particular interest is the analysis of the interplay between the ‘wholesale’ model of exportation of the French ‘national patrimony’, inclusive of comprehensive codifications, with the more subtle and ‘consensual’ form of British legal imperialism.

Beyond its core topic of interest – the Seychelles legal system – this book makes an important contribution to colonial and post-colonial scholarship as it reflects upon an all too often forgotten small country. Its peculiar history, which saw in succession French and British rule, did not begin with the shocking experience of conquest and occupation, as its islands had no indigenous population. Yet, the author astutely describes how colonialism found its way in the country, through the racial and class divisions that saw white settlers benefitting from the laws of their homeland, while slaves were bound to the *Code Noir*. This initial disparity was maintained, in evolving forms, during British rule, arguably up until the post-independence coup of 1977 led by the Seychelles People’s United Party, which imposed a one-party system affiliated to the socialist block.

The book develops a theoretical reflection on the hybridisation of a legal system to explore how a young sovereign nation develops its own autonomous legal identity. In this sense, Seychelles constitutes a fascinating case study. There is, of course, the mix of the two main Western legal traditions, with a progressive dominance of the British common law at the expense of the French civilian model, which however still strenuously holds its ground in the Civil Code. In addition, the book guides us through the discovery of fascinating aspects of African customary practices that permeate popular culture from the times of slavery, and sheds light on the legacy of the socialist rule that followed the 1977 coup. While abandoned in 1993 with the adoption of a new Constitution based on the principle of multi-party democracy, aspects of it remain deeply entrenched in Seychellois society. These range from the country’s economy and its heavy reliance on the public sector, to the regular use of state-aid practices. While at odds with the market liberalisation reforms imposed by international institutions (such as the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank) in exchange for financial support, public involvement in the economy is particularly resilient in Seychellois society and nurtured by its state institutions. Twomey confronts this panoply of synergies and contradictions in a relentless quest for the ‘legal voice’ of her country, a task she undertakes with both matter-of-fact lucidity and analytical rigour. This makes for an engaging read, in particular in chapters 1, 2, 4 and 5, where the holism of the ‘legal tradition approach’ stands out.

Legal métissage serves another important purpose: it represents a much-needed doctrinal contribution in a country where scholarship has so far been a noticeably lacking “legal formant”, to use the terminology coined by comparatist Rodolfo Sacco. Chapter 3, with its analytical description of salient features of both substantive and procedural laws of Seychelles, constitutes a reliable map of the Seychellois legal landscape as well as a solid basis for a future in-depth systematisation of the laws of the land. The urgency of such endeavour cannot be overstated, as pointed out by the author when she observes that, currently, practitioners and reformers alike struggle to find any interpretative guidance, not to mention the difficulties of law graduates confronting the national Bar Exam without manuals or commentaries.

The book is also, in a way, an intellectual autobiography of the author. Twomey is simultaneously a Western-educated legal scholar with knowledge of both common law and civil law legal systems, a Seychellois Creole by birth and upbringing who has lived twenty years abroad, a former practising attorney of the Seychelles Bar, a member of the Constitutional Commission that drafted the post-socialist Constitution in 1993, and the current Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Seychelles. It is safe to say that she is a living building block of that Seychellois legal tradition that she so passionately researches, criticises and advocates recognition for.

To conclude, *Legal métissage* makes a valuable contribution to the nascent Seychellois legal scholarship as well as, more generally, to the studies of mixed post-colonial legal systems and micro-jurisdictions. It is also an enjoyable and stimulating read, thanks to the author’s engagement in the field, stemming from her unique knowledge, experience and personal history.

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Ugyel, Lhawang (2016). *Paradigms and public sector reform: Public administration of Bhutan*. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan. 243pp. ISBN: 978-3-319-40279-6. Hbk: €106.99; e-book: €83.29.

This book examines public sector reform in the Kingdom of Bhutan, a small landlocked country wedged between China to its north and India to its south with a total land area of 38,394 km² and a population of some 730,000 people. According to the World Bank (2015), Bhutan can be classified as a developing country with a per capita income of US\$2,330. According to Ugyel (2016), the Government of this country has been experimenting with public sector reform since the 1960s.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part of the book not only goes into a very detailed account of the geography, the economics and the population of the country but also presents a concise, theoretical summary, building on two important paradigms in public administration – ‘exemplars’ and ‘world views’ – in order to identify the ‘ideal’ types in the field. The author traces the history of public sector reform from the Peace of Westphalia (1648) to the Northcote-Trevelyan report (1854), the Pendleton Act (1883) and finally to the New Public Management (NPM).

In the second part of the book, the author examines the history of public sector reform in Bhutan from 1907. He then focuses on what he terms the ‘modern’ public administration effort from the 1960s to the 1990s. The ‘turning point’ for the modernization of public administration, he suggests may have been with the introduction of the Royal Civil Service Charter (RCSC) in 1982. Accordingly, the role of the RCSC was to build a personnel administration based on ‘principles of experience, qualification and merit’ (p. 85). It sought to promote efficiency and effectiveness in the civil service and to motivate and promote morale, loyalty and integrity among civil servants by ensuring uniformity of personnel actions in the civil service.

In Chapter 5, Ugyel examines a key plank in this agenda: the position classification system (PCS). He describes the key components of the system, a ‘process of grouping together positions that are sufficiently alike with respect to duties and responsibilities so they can be treated the same way for the purposes of human resource action.’ (p. 102). He draws on Hall’s (1993) concept of paradigms in public policy to explain the components of the PCS. The chapter then looks at the classification of positions and occupational groups. In concluding, the author notes that the PCS did not substantially change the shape of the Bhutanese public administration in relation to the ideal types he identified. He suggests that they made only incremental changes to the cadre system.

In Chapter 6, the public sector reforms were evaluated and the challenges in implementing the reforms were examined. He notes that part of the challenge had to do with measurement and evaluation. In conducting an evaluation of the PCS the study employed a mixed method approach in examining the dynamics of the public sector reform. In addition, in-depth interviews with elites in the civil service of Bhutan formed one of the two methods used in generating data for the study. In the survey (2011), the findings revealed that the perception towards PCS was generally positive with 41% positive and 10% very positive views as opposed to 14% negative and 4% very negative views (p. 133).

In concluding, this book offers, perhaps for the first time, an in-depth view of the civil service of a country in which the literature has been very sparse. The author engages the reader by exploring a number of systems and mechanisms that were employed in order to modernise the civil service in this country. The success of this book lies in the very comprehensive review of the theory that was utilised by the author and the painstaking details placed on describing the processes involved. Where the author was not as successful was in the limited way he treated major push factors such as change in the political guard, the role of seniority versus merit-based assessment in small societies such as this, and moreover the way culture has impacted on the change process. Another factor overlooked was the politics/administrative dichotomy and the extent to which the structure of the civil service impacted on functions. The author also should have indicated the roles and functions undertaken by the civil service, the expenditure in providing these services and perhaps looked at the extent to which civil society was satisfied with the services delivered. Nevertheless, such a book is useful to students of public administration since it maps out the reforms adopted by the small country of Bhutan.

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Ferrandi, Jean-François (2017). *Corse et Sardaigne: îles autonomes? Un regard croisé.* [Corsica and Sardinia, autonomous islands? A comparative look] Paris: L'Harmattan. 114pp. pbk version, €14; pdf version, €9.99. ISBN: 98-2-343-12348-6.

In this short book, Jean-François Ferrandi, an economist in the employ of the European Commission, sets out both to compare Corsica and Sardinia and to analyze the relationship between them.

At its narrowest point, the Strait of Bonifacio that separates the two islands is only eleven kilometres wide, exactly half the shortest distance between New Zealand's South Island and North Island on the two sides of Cook Strait. And yet, Corsica and Sardinia are never imagined as the archipelago they objectively constitute (together with a few smaller islands that surround them.) Any map of Italy that included Corsica would conjure up suspicions of Italian irredentism (and justifiably so, for Mussolini did occupy the island during World War II), while maps of metropolitan France typically put Corsica in an inset because of its distance from the Hexagon (p. 16), rendering its propinquity to Sardinia irrelevant. Straits may separate islands, but they connect populations, and the Strait of Bonifacio is no exception (pp. 18-20). For centuries, the merchants of the southern Corsican city of Bonifacio traded in Sardinian goods, and when the north of Sardinia was abandoned by its inhabitants in the Middle Ages because of pirate raids, it was repopulated by Corsicans: the Gallurese language of north-eastern Sardinia is more closely related to Corsican than to Sardinian. In the Roman Empire, the two islands formed one province (*Provincia Corsica et Sardinia*). Later, they were ruled by different external powers; but, what tore them apart was the advent of the modern centralised nation-state, which required Corsicans to imagine themselves as French and Sardinians to imagine themselves as Italians, in spite of their obviously separate ethnic identities. For a while, the French state even went so far as to promote Spanish as a foreign language in Corsican schools at the expense of Italian, which is much closer to the indigenous language of Corsica (p. 51).

Today, both islands enjoy a degree of autonomy. Sardinian autonomy was enshrined early on in the Italian constitution of 1948; but Jacobin and unitarist France took longer to recognize Corsica's distinctiveness: a *statut particulier* was granted in 1982, and over the years it has evolved into the *collectivité territoriale unique* of today, a status Corsica shares with overseas French Guiana and Martinique but with no other European administrative division of France. Interestingly enough, the flags of the two autonomous island regions feature the same symbol – a Moor's head, with a white sash – testifying to a shared past.

Ferrandi's emphasis is on economics, and we learn little about the actual functioning of autonomy and the interactions between the island autonomies and their respective central governments, beyond the fact that Sardinian autonomy has tended to mean less in practice than what the Italian constitution would lead us to expect, Rome having found ways to circumvent it (p. 15). As for Corsica, the victory of the nationalists in the 2016 elections to the assembly is too recent to allow for a meaningful analysis of how local actors can use institutions to advance the cause of autonomy. For instance, although Corsica's regional assembly voted in 1983 to "Corsify" public employment, the central state has not implemented this recommendation, with the result that most public employees on the island are from the continent, although the French state employs large numbers of Corsicans elsewhere (pp. 31-32).

Generally speaking, Corsica is more peripheral to France than Sardinia is to Italy. This is partly a question of size: Corsica's land area is just over one third of Sardinia's, while its population is a fifth of that of its neighbour (p. 25). But size is not the only factor. Sardinia was included in the purview of the *Cassa per il Mezzogiorno*, the state agency founded in 1950 to promote the economic development of southern Italy. Heavy industry was brought to Sardinia, which acquired petrochemical plants and cement factories, among other industries (pp. 53-55, 81-100). Industrialization began much earlier in Corsica, which had a fledgling steel industry in the early nineteenth century, using iron ore mined on Elba (p. 47). But this industry did not survive competition from the mainland, and today construction is the most important industrial activity on the island. This is due to the ever rising number of tourists, for whom accommodation is built, driving up prices to levels young Corsicans cannot afford (p. 52). As if to add insult to injury, continental cement lobbies have so far prevented the building of a cement factory on Corsica.

Thanks to the Italian government's vigorous lobbying in Brussels, Sardinian agriculture has also declined less than Corsican agriculture has (p. 42); Sheep farming, in particular, is still thriving (pp. 44-45). Still, the interior regions of both islands have undergone considerable depopulation, as people have moved to the coast, where the jobs are to be found (pp. 16-17). In spite of all the differences in the two regions' economies, their per capita incomes are comparable.

Economic exchanges between the two regions have grown in the past decade, but are still far from what they might be. For instance, Sardinian cement is 40% cheaper than its French equivalent. And yet, the needs of Corsica's construction industry are met exclusively by French suppliers, illustrating the limits of the principle of comparative advantage to which the governments of the European Union pay lip service (pp. 24, 33-34).

For the two regions to have more balanced economies and take advantage of their complementarities, the author suggests that two sets of policy initiatives would have to be taken: First, central governments would have to grant them derogations from "totalitarian free trade" (p. 108) to shield their economies from outside competition and allow for a degree of import-substitution industrialization. Second, the European Union would have to enshrine a new principle of "European territorial continuity" to favour exchanges of all sorts across the Strait of Bonifacio (p. 20). None of the two is likely. While the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) recognized the need to compensate island regions for the geographic disadvantages resulting from the condition of islandness (p. 28), the later Nice and Lisbon Treaties did not follow up (p. 105), perhaps because the accession of East European countries to the EU in 2004 meant that less money was available (p. 113). The author is not optimistic about these policies ever being implemented, but seeks solace in the words of that great Sardinian, Antonio Gramsci, who famously said: "I'm a pessimist because of intelligence, but an optimist because of will" (p. 18).

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Forsyth, Miranda and Farran, Sue (2015). *Weaving intellectual property policy in small island developing states*. Cambridge: Intersentia. Pbk. xiv+280pp. ISBN: 978-1-7806-8225-9. €62.00.

This book tackles the area of intellectual property and intellectual property policy as it relates to the smaller independent Pacific Island countries. It starts with a basic definition of intellectual property and intellectual property rights, and goes on to illustrate how these relate to the customs, culture, education, business and the general development of these islands. In particular, it looks at how the global intellectual property regimes that are often imposed on these countries not only effect their economic and political development framework, but also have strong implications on the norms, realities, and intrinsic knowledge and beliefs of the populations of these islands. Arguments and criticisms made in the text are supported by empirical case studies specifically relating the patent regime to issues of health and medicine, and the copyright regime to education and access to educational material.

The authors go on to propose an alternative intellectual property regulatory approach to that pushed upon these countries as a result of their accession to the World Trade Organisation. They claim that their approach is more intimately linked to the social, cultural, economic and political dynamics of the island states and the particular realities and values of the populations. They argue that intellectual property rights need to be guided by local development strategies, and that it should be possible and beneficial to apply a hybrid approach combining international intellectual property models within an indigenous framework that takes into account local and traditional knowledge and customs.

The final three chapters of the book employ specific case studies to explore some of the issues involved in adopting such a hybrid approach. The area of technological innovation is assessed through the paradox of sea transport, whereby maritime transport services are ever more unaffordable and unsustainable in this region that is historically renowned for its boatbuilding and maritime navigational skills, and where sea transportation is so crucial to its existence and development. The practices of branding, authentication and certification are used to demonstrate how alternative mechanisms can be employed to protect and add value to indigenous products and local industries. Finally, the authors use case studies relating to traditional medicinal knowledge and medicinal plants to highlight how different regulatory approaches may assist in the fair and equitable commercialisation of such resources.

The conclusion re-examines the issues and arguments presented in the text to reaffirm the need for a more flexible approach to intellectual property policy and regulation in the region. The authors reiterate the need for alternative policies that balance international norms with local realities and customs. They advocate a bottom-up approach that starts from an understanding of the local norms and needs, and looks towards international practices and conventions to formulate a hybrid and flexible system. Such an approach would account for the established lifestyle and existing circumstances yet is able to accommodate innovative ideas and concepts.

Miranda Forsyth and Sue Farran are highly qualified, knowledgeable and well published in the subject matter they tackle in the book. They have an empirically grounded understanding of the complex intellectual property regimes and practices within the Pacific island states they write about as well as in other developing regions that face similar challenges and issues. They also understand well the various international organisations, conventions,

agreements and treaties relating to intellectual property, and how these impact on the ecosystems of these islands.

The book is extensively researched. It is strongly grounded in prior work, including numerous references to the academic literature, regulations, treaties, and other relevant material. The case studies are meticulously investigated, with interviews and fieldwork supported by comprehensive desk research. In all of this, the reader is not required to have a detailed understanding of intellectual property and other complex subjects tackled by the book, or of the cultures and realities of small Pacific island countries. The authors explain matters from first principles and provide the necessary background to enable a good understanding of the narrative and the issues covered. The book is outstanding in its use of examples and case studies to demonstrate in practical terms the repercussions from the adoption of measures not necessarily aligned to the best interests of the region, as well as positive outcomes from the adoption of policies and regulations that are. The case studies develop an understanding in real terms of the consequences of choices and decisions made in the often detached world of bureaucrats, politicians and diplomats.

The scope of the book is broad: it covers conventional intellectual property rights such as patents, copyright and trademarks, but also rights relating to the softer forms of intellectual property such as know-how, trade secrets, as well as the inherent knowledge, practices and values embedded “within the biological, cultural and spiritual context from which they emerge” (p. 233).

Although the book focuses primarily on Pacific Island states and their peoples, the problems and experiences presented are common to many developing regions and communities. The proposals and solutions suggested by the authors should be applicable in a variety of contexts and locations, particularly where indigenous intellectual property needs to be protected, and where external pressures for conformity are not necessarily beneficial to its long-term sustainability.

The book makes recommended reading for anyone involved in intellectual property policy and legislation, both at local and international level. It is also highly relevant to international law students and practitioners, NGOs supporting developing countries and working with indigenous communities, and anyone interested in new approaches to promote global equity and to conserve the customs, values and indigenous knowledge of the plurality of communities around the world.

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Bernal, Richard L. (2015). *The influence of small states on superpowers: Jamaica and U.S. foreign policy*. New York: Lexington Books. xiv+439pp. ISBN: 978-1-4985-0816-2. US\$113.00.

For scholars of small states and their foreign policies, this book is a must read. The text is theoretically, empirically and bibliographically rich. Bernal's primary aim is to challenge the received wisdom of international relations theory that small states cannot effectively influence the foreign policies of superpowers like the United States. To mount this challenge, Bernal provides an in-depth examination of what he claims were successful attempts by Jamaica to influencing US foreign policy in the areas of foreign aid, debt relief, narcotics cooperation, and trade related to expanding the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI).

Bernal opens his text with an extensive review of the literature on international relations theory and its claims regarding small states. He takes his readers through the state-centred realist, neo-realist, structuralist and other paradigms in the field of international relations theory. These theories, he concludes, are unable to explain the success of Jamaica's efforts at influencing US foreign policy.

Given this inability, Bernal suggests interest group theory as the latter has the theoretical space for incorporating domestic factors in the determination of foreign policy. With this theoretical supplement, Bernal is convinced that he has a framework that can account for the Jamaica case.

With this supplement in place, Bernal outlines a general model of lobbying efforts to influence the various domestic channels through which a policy is likely to pass. These sites of lobbying include: affected US business sectors, media, think tanks, Congress, the executive and the sub-committees in and around these established centres of decision-making. To get through this complex foreign policy maze, Bernal argues that small states need to engage lobbying and public relations firms.

Given the resources of these firms, the key to the successful influencing US foreign policy by a small state is the convincing of key figures in these centres of decision-making that their particular interests or those of the US will be served by supporting the proposed policy. This is where the lobbyists, many of whom are ex-government officials, know their way around the key channels that the proposal must go through before becoming reality. This is the strategic service that lobbyist sell to their clients – this first-hand knowledge of the inner workings of the machinery of the U.S. government.

An example of this in action is Bernal's account of Jamaica's efforts to upgrade the CBI between late 1980s and 2000. These efforts had two main goals: the expansion of the list of items that would enter the US duty free, and parity with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). In Chapter 7, Bernal outlines the specific set of arguments made by the CBI countries: 1) that the CBI stimulated trade growth in both the U.S. and member states; 2) that CBI resulted in increased purchases of US goods and services; 3) that as sites of outsourcing for US companies, the CBI enabled them to compete with rising Asian firms; and 4) the CBI "encouraged economic reform and liberalization of economic policies in the region, and particularly Jamaica" (p. 254). There, we "have had the incentive of the market access provided by the CBI to embrace the policies of privatization and economic deregulation that promote export driven, private sector-led development and growth". These were the winning arguments that resulted in the passage CBI 3 in 2000.

In spite of these impressive and detailed examples, I was left with the feeling of a much more ambivalent outcome than Bernal's success suggested. First, it is extremely important to note that it was not Jamaica alone that undertook this effort, but also the other English-speaking Caribbean territories and a number of Central American ones. Bernal is very short on the contributions of these other states, yet they have definite implications for his Jamaica specific claims, and thus his broader thesis about small states.

Second, as he observes the proposal for CBI enhancement going through the various policy-forming and decision-making centres, we cannot escape the progressive Americanisation of the supporting arguments for this enhancement. Particularly as it passed through Congress, the considerations were in terms of American balance of power issues with the Soviet Union. Thus, Bernal notes that Congress passed the CBI in 1983 "in the context of what was perceived to be a communist threat in Central America and the Caribbean" (p. 259). By the late 1980s, this threat was seen as passed and thus the primary reason for passage of the CBI. Getting it enhanced would therefore require coming up with new American interests to justify that move. These were the interests of senators and congressmen whose districts benefitted directly from an enhanced CBI.

When we look at Bernal's account of the case for foreign aid and debt relief in Chapter 5, the manner in which Caribbean politicians became persuaded by an American agenda is even more dramatic, as it describes in detail Michael Manley's attempts to reinvent himself into a neoliberal after being such a prominent democratic socialist. In short, this process of Americanisation in both cases forces one to ask the question: who influenced who more? From Bernal's evidence, I can only conclude that the US influenced Jamaica much more than Jamaica influenced the US. Furthermore, from this perspective, the greater relevance of the realist and neo-realist theories to the Jamaican case emerges unmistakably.

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Corbett, Jack and Veenendaal, Wouter (2018). *Democracy in small states: Persisting against all odds*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. London: Routledge. ISBN: 978-0-1987-9671-8. 256pp. hbk. £65.00stg.

Editor's Note: The three reviews of this book appearing here were presented at its launch, held at the Centre for Small State Studies, Queen Mary's University of London, UK, on 18th October 2018.

The book provides a thorough analysis of a neglected field in political science, small state studies and international relations. I purposefully include international relations due to the wide scope of this research encompassing all parts of the world.

This book is theoretically rich. The authors provide a comprehensive overview of the established literature and use it to examine their cases. At the same time, they engage in theory-building.

I would also argue that the book is radical. It offers a powerful challenge to the existing precepts of democratisation theory. The authors do so by arguing that small states are exceptional and that is not enough to study or collect information about formal institutional setups and rules. They challenge the standard theoretical explanations that economic growth, cultural diversity, colonial legacy and institutional design, the presence of an institutionalized party system and geographic location have explanatory power when it comes to explaining why small states are more democratic than large states. These variables, according to the authors, explain neither the democratic successes nor failures, according to the findings.

The traditional small state literature generally claims that small states face inherent structural problems in relation to their size. Small states are not able to overcome these structural problems but they can compensate for them. If they acknowledge their limitations, they can adopt particular measures to compensate for their weaknesses and can actually become quite successful. The authors challenge previous findings that structure, formal structure, determines democracy. At the same time, they are in line with an argument of traditional small state literature that a structural variable, size, is an important factor in explaining policy-making in small states.

They engage in theory-building by asking: *How do domestic politics actually work in small states?* and by providing a thorough and empirically based answer to this question. The authors present relevant data, both old and new, within their area of study, while combining it with their own findings. Their empirical work is very impressive. We are talking about 39 cases (39 small states) and more than 250 interviews from 29 of these states.

The book also challenges the relevance of some existing datasets. Datasets often do not include small states and if they include small states they often only scrape the surface, and, for instance, do not provide sufficient evidence for claims on the state of corruption in small states.

I also find the emphasis on everyday politics in small states particularly relevant. Most of previous studies have not focused on everyday political practices in small states. The authors demonstrate that everyday political practices in small states can be remarkably similar and highly reliant on informal dynamics and the personal characteristics of elites. They show that informal, personality-driven politics is the key to understanding how small states' function.

The outcome is a detailed study on how intensely informal, localized, and personality-driven politics works in practice.

I think that it is fair to say that the key word of the book is ‘personalism’. I find the authors’ definition or the framework of analysis of personalism to be very useful. They identify six types of hyper-personalistic politics. These six types provide a solid theoretical framework to study domestic politics in small states. They show how formal decision-making channels are often sidestepped in small states and replaced by informal decision-making or political processes politics. I find them very relevant in the cases of the small states which I have studied over the years.

In order to continue in this direction and take small state studies even further, to yet another level, it would be very interesting to combine the new theory presented in this book and its findings with the work of Peter Katzenstein on democratic corporatism in seven small European states. Katzenstein’s concept of domestic corporatism lays out how small European states have internally limited economic, political and social instability in order to respond to changes in the international economy. Katzenstein argues that small states need two things: They have a need for fast-paced change and flexible adaption (which is secured through short decision-making chains and corporatist, consensual decision-making); and they have a need to socialize risk by developing a comprehensive welfare state and active labour market policies. In other words, Katzenstein convincingly makes the case for how small states can buffer from within. I think that combining this personalism approach to Katzenstein’s concept of democratic corporatism would make another interesting study.

It would also be highly interesting to combine the personalism approach to the more recent work on the special characteristics of small public administrations. Small public administrations are often said to be characterised by informality, flexibility and the autonomy of officials operating according to guidelines rather than fixed instructions. The small size of the bureaucracy is said to allow for smooth and efficient decision-making. Officials tend to know each other and a certain trust seem to be built within a small public administration. Decisions are often taken in informal meetings or over the telephone. I think that the personalism framework presented in this book and its findings provide an ideal opportunity to examine how small public administrations work in practice and it highlights their impact on democracy and good governance in small states.

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Jack Corbett and Wouter Veenendaal's book has two general and interconnected questions at its core: (1) Why are small states more democratic than large ones?; and (2) How does domestic politics actually work in small states? (p. 4). Readers who are familiar with the theories of democracy might question whether there is still something new to be said about democracy, while readers who are unfamiliar with the idiosyncrasies of small state politics may begin with the question: why small states, and what can they teach us about democratisation? However, Corbett and Veenendaal's book offers plenty of good arguments as to why small states matter and how they lend themselves to being near-perfect laboratories for examining the main theories of democratisation. For one, these small states are far less studied: much of what we know (in terms of the origins, the causes, and the persistence of democracy) derives from the democratic experiences of larger states. Small states are often left out of the dominant narratives; however, including them brings important empirical and theoretical gains. Small states tend to be more democratic than larger states, and this fact helps countervail the narratives of democratic reversal and authoritarian endurance worldwide. Furthermore, it seems to be case, as the authors argue and try to demonstrate, that the standard theoretical explanations for democratisation – economic growth, cultural diversity, colonial legacy and institutional design, the presence of an institutionalized party system, and geographic location – do not appear to have explanatory power in small state units.

The book is purposefully written so that each chapter tackles one of the main theories from the democratisation canon and then the final chapter proposes a new theory of democratisation based on the empirical analysis made in the preceding pages. The analytical strategy employed throughout the chapters is clear and straightforward, and the methodological caveats are thoroughly discussed. Seeking to tackle the two central questions of the book, the authors proceed in two steps. First, they perform a statistical analysis to explore the correlation between the key factors put forward by the literature and the likelihood of democracy in both larger states and smaller states. Second, they discuss the statistical results, demonstrate why each of the statistically tested theoretical accounts fails to explain the propensity for democracy in small states, and finally, sort out the main features of functioning democracy in small states. The authors draw on data from more than 250 interviews conducted in 28 countries spanning across Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Europe and the Pacific; these are complemented by a wide range of documents, such as newspaper articles, diaries, biographies and autobiographies and records of parliamentary debates.

The book is ground-breaking and opens research avenues in at least two directions. On the one hand, it advances a theory of small state personalism (pp. 9-10, chapter 8) that can be tested in other geographies. Pushing this exercise forward would require testing where each of the cases included in the book fit in terms of the proposed theory of personalism. On the other hand, the authors implicitly treat smallness as a mediating or intervening factor. For instance, they argue that it is not institutional design that matters for democratisation in small states, but rather the interaction between size and democratic norms and traditions (p. 85). They also state that it is not economic performance that matters, but rather how elites use economic resources and narrate the stories of their performance and craft internal cohesion (p. 121). These are illustrations of other, similar arguments used in the book; and they underline how smallness interacts with key factors expected to explain democratisation. The nature and implications of this interaction is something that perhaps could have been theorised further in the concluding chapter. This is one of the book's most interesting findings.

A book as innovative and provocative as this one also raises important questions. First, given the huge variation that exists in the universe of small states, there are some challenges for theory-building, as some arguments seem to apply better to some cases than others (e.g.

geographic location factors have stronger explanatory power in small states situated in Europe and the Caribbean than in Africa or Asia; personalism has helped some democracies prosper while others have experienced undemocratic developments). Second, though informal politics seems to prevail in smaller jurisdictions, formal institutions remain relevant. In fact, even though world democratic indexes have their imperfections and fail to capture more informal political dynamics, they actually suggest that small states have more democratic formal institutions when compared to larger states. Therefore, this somehow suggests that maybe there is something distinct about the origins and development of formal political institutions in small states, and inspecting this further can potentially give us new insights on the prospects of democratisation in small states and beyond.

Overall, this book represents a major contribution to knowledge, as it is the first global analysis of politics and democracy in small states. Moreover, it brings together a wide variety of data that is beautifully related and integrated into an original and coherent work. The book is thus of interest not only to scholars and students of democratisation and small state politics, but also to a larger audience interested in the dynamics of politics in small states in more practical terms.

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I am very pleased to see this book in print, and for multiple reasons. It is a comprehensive assessment of democratisation practices in small states, reviewing no less than 39 countries with a cut off population of one million residents. It has taken eight years to produce, and is based not just on quantitative statistics (which are often hard to find) but also on some 250 interviews with key respondents (who are often not that hard to find). Regression analysis is accompanied by juicy quotations from politicians and academics: a rare treat in the literature. And the writing style is reader-friendly and attractive: academic and solid without being either arcane or jingoistic.

The authors look closely at cultural diversity, institutional design, political parties, geography and small size – with a focus on each of these per chapter – and essentially conclude that none of these parameters really explains why small states tend to be democratic, or to maintain democratic institutions. Additionally, the authors suggest that the one dominant characteristic of small states that impacts on democratic practice and processes is the “ultra-personal” and excessive personalisation of politics.

This book is inspiring, and although self-admitted ‘outsiders’ to the realm of small state politics, the two authors are to be thanked wholeheartedly for doing a great service to scholars of small states by exposing still more of the goings on of small jurisdictions through their research endeavour. I am confident that there is yet so much more to understand: Corbett and Veenendaal confirm that small states are hardly the simple and quaint units that they are sometimes claimed to be.

The book is provocative, and I would like to suggest five questions that emerge directly from a close reading of the text.

First, most small states operate as two-party democracies. At any point in time, one political party enjoys majority representation in the legislature. This situation is different from larger democratic states (with the exception of the United States) where coalitions and alliance building are essential to form a government and pass legislation. The situation is also quite different from what pertains in the very smallest polities where an absolute monarchy or tribal chieftainship trump political parties, if the latter exist at all. In two-party, ‘winner-takes-all’ situations, there is no separation between executive and legislature; and the judiciary is typically appointed by the same majoritarian government. Hence, the canon of the ‘division of powers’ cannot operate.

Second, majoritarian party rule breeds ‘the power of incumbency’: with a tight control of and over the apparatus of government and the distribution of any ensuing state largesse, political parties, and their leaders, can remain in power in small states for very long periods. And yet, sooner or later, such governments lose power: the erstwhile opposition becomes the government, and vice versa. How can one explain such altercations?

Third, in an age of globalisation and the largest ever recorded migrations of human beings across borders and regions, what is the impact of pluri-culturalism on the fabric of small societies and polities? Will small jurisdictions converge with the more rational and bureaucratic practices of their larger cousins? Or will an inner circle stick resolutely to the principles and processes of the small scale syndrome?

Fourth, the book makes a lot of the power of patronage and the difficult of withholding public goods, not just from those who would vote for you, but also those who the politician

would know from multiple role contexts: school, church, sport, neighbourhood, work. If such is the case, it is always worth asking: is the extent and depth of patronage any different in small states than larger ones? Would the practice be simply more difficult to hide in small jurisdictions?

Fifth and lastly, with near autocratic governments in place, and the resulting stifled role of oppositions, should we be surprised to find out that one expression of resistance to state rule becomes the pursuit of secession and the escape from the clutches of the state itself? From Bougainville to Chuuk, from New Caledonia to Nevis, components of larger states hope to emulate the successful breakaways of Anguilla (from St Kitts-Nevis) and Tuvalu (from Kiribati) and continue to explore this 'ultimate' and tantalising option.

Democracy in small states is the latest addition to the comparative small state literature by the young and formidable duo of Corbett and Veenendaal. I am expecting more and similarly exciting small state scholarship from these academics.

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