

post-conflict peacebuilding, supported by a wealth of concrete examples from the ground. Scholars and practitioners unfamiliar with the literature on women and peacebuilding will find it an accessible yet detailed introduction to the topic. However, readers with a background in gender studies or social theory may find the dominant conceptual framework reductionist. Most chapters focus on experiences of women as victims, peace activists, and mothers. This may come across to some as obscuring the experiences of women that do not fit these dominant representations of post-war femininity (e.g. female perpetrators of violence), and those of men that might (e.g. male victims of sexual violence). By drawing on their lived experiences as researchers and practitioners in various post-conflict contexts, the several contributors nonetheless succeed at opening new outlooks on the deeply human—and gendered—experiences that make up contemporary dynamics of (in)security. ■

Sharon Pickering. *Women, Borders and, Violence—Current Issues in Asylum, Forced Migration, and Trafficking.*

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This book analyzes experiences of flight, persecution, and conflict as a starting point to chart ways in which violence and criminality control extra-legal border crossing. In *Women, Borders and Violence*, Sharon Pickering criticizes the dearth of scholarship on women's border crossing and aims at broadening existing theorizations of the relationship between women, security, and violence. She challenges the traditional understanding of "border," shifting the meaning beyond the physical territorial border into "a range of functional border policing moments" (p. 3). Pickering argues that extra-legal border crossing is a "segment of continuum of border crossing that has no beginning and no end" (p. 4).

The book is organized in six chapters along a migration continuum: starting after introductory words with the description of journeys to the

border (from Somalia to Europe), the author continues with the analyses of the borderlands with case studies of politically active women at the Thai-Burma border. This is followed by a discussion of difficulties experienced with the determination of refugee status on the ground of gender-based persecution. Finally, Pickering explores how the border itself is policed by analyzing the contemporary discourse about trafficking in Australia. She closes with a summary of her views.

Throughout the book Pickering makes three assertions:

1. Border crossings neither begin nor end with the physical crossing of a territorial border;
2. Border crossings occur in the context of unchecked violence, and;
3. Border policing occurs within and beyond territorial borders and is enacted by state and non-state actors.

The author explores the process of journeying to a border by using examples of women who flee from Somalia towards Europe. She shows how opportunistic elements of organized crime shape the conditions of exit, transit, and reception. If women faced by these circumstances survive all the dangers and arrive in Malta (or another European port), the violence they experience is often perpetrated in a different context, "within the European system of warehousing asylum seekers" (p. 28).

Next, Pickering analyzes borderland policing by state and non-state actors at the Thai-Burma border. In order to succeed in crossing the border, women must negotiate various layers of relationships with Thai authorities. Using Soguk and Whitehall's concept of transversality,¹ "which takes the voices of the migrants as the starting point, in disrupting state-centric narratives of sovereignty and borders," (p. 41) Pickering emphasizes borderlands as ambivalent spaces. "[B]orders are not only marked as lines on maps but are played out in social, gendered and racial contests which are often violent and are often played out on the bodies of individuals" (p. 54). She argues that the policing of transversal individuals helps to define state borders. An example of this is the trafficking individuals helps to define state borders. The trafficking of women demonstrates how borders have become mutable and have become attached to individuals rather than to specific places. Those who are trafficked have become another target of the complex border-inscription practices. "Thus, the border that requires policing morphs into a person that requires policing" (p. 106).

In sum, this book advances the debate surrounding tensions among developments in globalization, security, violence, and mobility by analyzing

ated "the unending act of border crossing," (p. 110) the book produces non-state-based views of violence, migration and security. It questions conventional understandings of borders and the state that permeate the International Relations literature. The author pays particular attention to the use of borders and migration status as a means of exclusion, realized through processes of criminalization. Pickering suggests introducing more ethical regulations of borders to overcome these paradigms of securitization. Yet, the promise that the book would be based on interviews with women is not fully fulfilled, since only one chapter directly cites interviews, and it proceeds without an informed discussion of methodology. Nevertheless, Pickering's book represents a valuable contribution to critiques of state-centric views and confirms the importance to include women's voices. ■

Notes

¹ Soguk, Nevzat and Whitehall, Geoffrey (1999). Wandering Grounds. *Transversality, Identity, Territoriality, and Movement. Millennium, Journal of International Studies* 28, 675-698.

Alexander Betts (ed.). *Global Migration Governance*.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. 368 pp. £61 (hbk). ISBN: 9780199600458.

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Lifestyle migrants, refugees, and ethnic and religious diasporas all represent "the most obvious contemporary manifestation of globalisation" (p. 1): international migration. These diverse groups are also the protagonists of Alexander Betts' edited volume *Global Migration Governance*, a book that discusses a broad range of policy categories in an attempt to expose how they are governed at the global level. The book is based on the findings of a workshop held in 2008; the majority of the authors are academics from the University of Oxford.

In the opening lines of this comprehensive and meticulous study, the editor recognizes the "inherently political" and "trans-boundary" character that international migration shares with other global issues like climate change and international trade (p. 3). Despite these common features, Betts observes that "there is no formal or coherent multilateral institutional framework regulating states' responses to international migration" (p. 1).

The book has twelve chapters, each dedicated to a distinct policy field, including refugees, remittances, and root causes of migration. The chapters revolve around four broad categories: labour migration, "voluntary" mobility, forced migration and new and emerging areas of global migration governance. Each chapter deals with three transversal questions: which institutions exist in this policy category? What are the politics behind these institutions? Which arguments support reform of the existing systems of governance?

This tripartite structure—though slightly artificial—allows the reader to easily distinguish facts, analysis and policy advice. Another advantage is that each chapter provides a "stand-alone introduction" that addresses its particular policy category. The inconvenience of this approach is that, in aggregate, the book fails to underscore common features that link many of the policy areas discussed. Other authors, such as Tim Coles and David Timothy in *Tourism, Diasporas and Space* (2004), have demonstrated this important aspect of migration governance.

Readers concerned with the first question will find the meticulous compilation of information on the institutions governing each policy category very handy. They will particularly appreciate the remarkable chapter by Rey Kostowski on international travel (chapter four), which provides insight into the institutional structure of this under-studied policy field. Caroline Oliver's findings are also of particular interest: she illustrates the aspects of lifestyle migration to which policy makers have paid little attention so far (chapter five).

Readers looking for answers to the second question—the politics of it all—will first discover that the incoherence of migration governance, described as a paradox in Betts' introduction, entails no contradiction at all. Reluctance to yield control over migration has curtailed international cooperation on these issues, and North-South power imbalances have shaped global governance of migration to serve the interests of the global North. The concept of global public goods and game theory are handily applied by the authors and elucidate states' bargaining strategies. However, as the authors recognize, these methods account for only a "narrowly state-centric perspective" (p. 313).

The text could have addressed the role played by perceptions and ideology in shaping states' international posture on migration politics.