

Islamic politics, Muslim states, and counterterrorism tensions. By Peter S. Henne. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2016. 238pp. £64.99. ISBN 978 1 10714 322 7. Available as e-book.

Peter S. Henne examines how tensions and cooperation in international security policy between the United States and Muslim countries are shaped by religion–state relationships, differing objectives and Islamic politics. Employing a quantitative analysis of data from 1996 to 2009, he explores US relations with Pakistan, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates in order to understand varying state support for the US global ‘war on terror’. Henne argues that religion–state relationships are ‘inextricably’ tied to security policy on religious issues, and where governments have ‘close ties to religion’ they find it ‘difficult to cooperate extensively’ with US counterterrorism policy (p. 13). Moreover, he presents a theory that religion serves as a ‘transformative force in politics’ and a regime’s main goal is to ‘survive’, which means ‘religion will only influence a regime’s behavior if it affects regime elite’s survival calculations’ (p. 14). His data support the argument that nations with closer religion–state ties are more likely to be less cooperative with counterterrorism.

The first half of the book explores Henne’s theory and the outcomes of his quantitative analysis. Opening with a survey of earlier work on religion and international relations, he discusses how his approach builds on studies about institutions and religious politics, in that institutions structure issues while religion and politics are a discourse that helps shape ‘political contention’. Explaining the importance of religion in international relations through state institutions, Henne describes how religious groups can get governments to act. He argues that ‘religion–state relationships vary according to the extent of religion–state ties and the size of the winning coalition, with the strongest religious effects on international relations occurring in states with large winning coalitions and extensive religion–state ties’ (pp. 35–6). Next, Henne provides an overview of US–Muslim state counterterrorism cooperation since the 1980s and religious politics in Muslim countries generally. He writes that the ‘closest religion–state relationships are in states with relatively open political systems and extensive connections to religion’ which have governing coalitions that include Islamic parties and have official roles for Islamic scholars and groups (p. 52). On the other hand, a closed political system allows the state to have more control over society and cooperate with the US under diplomatic pressure.

Turning to his large-*n* statistical analysis, Henne explains the variables he uses to measure cooperation and religion–state relations. He then goes on to explore how individual countries’ responses to counterterrorism changed during the 1990s, characterized by uncooperativeness with the US; the immediate period after 9/11 which witnessed a growth in cooperation; and during the later 2000s, when this slowly decreased. He uses a dataset from 1996 to 2009, based on the US Department of State’s Country Reports on Terrorism, to create an original ‘counterterrorism cooperation scale’ and uses various publicly available sources to measure the closeness of religion–state relationships. Henne finds that, on average, close religion–state relationships had a negative impact on counterterrorism cooperation, due to leaders’ concerns that they would lose power, but ‘Islamist activity did not appear to affect counterterrorism cooperation at all’ (p. 78).

In the book’s second half, Henne provides chapter-length discussions on specific countries’ religion–state relationships, including a historical overview and qualitative analyses. First exploring Pakistan, he notes how its religion–state relationship allowed for some cooperation with the US, for example on drone activity, but led to non-cooperation in other areas like educational reforms or links with militant groups. He finds that the pressure from

Islamic groups not to cooperate with the US 'was the product of the decades-long interaction between religion and state that produced a state with numerous Islamic laws, intermittent support for Islamic groups, and Islamic groups capable of crippling the government through protests and coordination with the military' (p. 117). In contrast, the United Arab Emirates is officially Islamic, but the government's 'control over society' created distance from religious groups that allowed its policy to align with US counterterrorism initiatives. Henne describes the United Arab Emirates as having 'moderate' cooperation with the US and, after 9/11, the state maintained 'distance' from Islamic groups. Last, Turkey's domestic dynamic created distance between religion and the state, despite a conservative, religiously affiliated party in power, that has allowed the US and Turkey to cooperate more closely on counterterrorism. Henne finds that 'religion can thus explain Turkey's counterterrorism cooperation, although it was the institutional distance between religion and state, not the lack of religious contention or the nature of Turkish Islam' (p. 184). The author concludes by describing how the case-studies represent a 'broader trend', and other countries not included in the analysis, like Azerbaijan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, also confirm that religion-state relationships have an impact on counterterrorism cooperation. Moreover, he explains how the study could help understand responses to the Arab Spring and the Islamic State, and outlines the work's implications for US foreign policy, including the limits of US influence.

Islamic politics, Muslim states, and counterterrorism tensions is a solid comparative analysis of counterterrorism tensions between the United States and Muslim countries. The quantitative data reveal that opposition to cooperating with the US on counterterrorism is not ideological, but a rational strategy rooted in domestic pressure beyond international politics. Henne writes that 'when the United States encounters resistance or hostility from Muslim states over its future international actions relating to contentious religious issues, these reactions arise from such domestic dynamics' (p. 208). The author acknowledges that factors, like aid, also shape cooperation, but not to the degree that religion-state relationships impact leaders' concerns. But, although he touches on geopolitics in the qualitative sections, a further examination of such factors would have been useful for understanding how rivalries, such as Russian relations with Iran and Syria, affect US cooperation with Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Moreover, Henne's approach raises the question of whether one component of a bilateral relationship can be looked at in isolation. However, scholars can build on Henne's general framework to explore other domestic influences that shape international relations, and academics and government officials will find this a useful study for understanding why religious contention alone does not cause Muslim countries to decline cooperation with US counterterrorism policy.

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Sub-Saharan Africa

Ivory: power and poaching in Africa. By Keith Somerville. London: Hurst. 2016. 368pp. Index. £20.00. ISBN 978 1 84904 676 3. Available as e-book.

Keith Somerville's *Ivory* tackles the emotive topic of elephant poaching in sub-Saharan Africa with a journalistic rigour. The book presents readers with clear-eyed analysis, examining and debunking the powerful western narratives permeating the history of the ivory trade and the contemporary conservation debate.

Somerville brings together a comprehensive array of sources to untangle the politics at the heart of the ivory trade, showing how corruption, conflict and crime have perpetuated