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Erin McElroy M.A.

Affiliated Scholar, Center for Justice and Security, erinmcel@gmail.com

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Martin Kahl's *The Transnationalisation of Risks of Violence* compiles a series of pieces focused on an emerging theme in contemporary security studies: how threats of violence become transnationalized in the context of globalization—a context that several contributors to this work refer to as a “postnational constellation.”¹ Kahl and selected authors, including Bernhard Zangl, Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Edwin Bakker, Marietta S. König, Monika Heupel, Jörg Monar, and Wolfgang Zellner, presume a context in which, as a result of globalization, formations of international governance are replacing national rule. Through this process of globalization, as Zangl thoughtfully articulates, national domestic problems become internationalized, while external conflicts, once caused by states, become privatized. In part, this compilation presents this supersession of transnational governance as having also occurred in response to the transnationalization of risks of violence, whereby security threats imperil peace beyond the geopolitical boundary of the nation-state. At the same time, that which shapes contemporary manifestations of transnational security threats (such as, for instance, the Al-Qaeda terrorism network) is also characterized by transnationalism. In other words, although state actors themselves remain possible sources of insecurity in cross-border conflict, non-state actors have been playing an increased role. The effects of these non-state actors often translate into transnational risks, most notably in the forms of terrorism, illegal immigration, ethnic conflicts, and organized crime. Sometimes a multi-state region is affected by these threats; at other times, a single region's economic and/or political interests are threatened. On still other occasions, it is an international institution or supranational governing body that is threatened. To prevent such perils from actualizing, Kahl and others recommend international collaboration and coordination between states, international governmental organizations, and international non-governmental organizations. Such coordination could effectually institute new forms of international “security governance.”

The book not only serves to better define transnational risks of violence in a postnational constellation, it also sets out to devise new conceptual frameworks to better differentiate complexities of the contemporary security landscape and to scrutinize the strategies that international organizations are already using to curb transnational threats. Toward this end, the book is divided into three sections: “Transnational Risks of Violence in a Postnational Constellation,” “Forms of Transnational Risks and their Entanglements,” and “The Management of Transnational Risks by International Organizations.”

The first section sees Zangl and Ehrhart offering and arguing for new conceptual frameworks within which to consider security shifts in the contemporary postnational world. In his “The Transformation of Global Security – From the National to Postnational Constellation,” Zangl analyzes the recent development of what he calls “the new terrorism” and “the new civil wars” and the ways in which international organizations, such as the UN Security Council, have responded militaristically to such threats. He also delineates how supranational governance, in

¹ The neologism “postnational constellation” was introduced by Jürgen Habermas in 1998, referring to the challenges of governance imposed by trajectories of globalization, whereby political rule transudes the borders of the nation state. In this compilation, Zangl (2011) also suggests the terms “post-Westfalian” and “postmodern” state systems.

part regulated by international monetary organizations, remains dependent upon national resources yet accountable to a transnational public.

Ehrhart's "Whither Security Governance? Conceptual and Practical Challenges" compliments Zangl's chapter by offering the heuristic of "security governance" as a framework of analysis in which to consider security threats in a "world risk society." He suggests that non-hierarchical collaboration between state and non-state actors is necessary to achieve successful governance. Also integral are procedures to establish the legitimacy of the plurality of the actors involved.

In the second section, "Forms of Transnational Risks and their Entanglements," Bakker and König offer empirical cases of how transnational risks find expression by looking at Al-Qaeda network conflicts and the ethnic conflicts of South Ossetia respectively. In "Transnational Risks: The Case of Jihadi Terrorism and the Al-Qaeda Network," Bakkar outlines shifts in terrorist networks over recent decades. He concludes that in recent years, terrorism, particularly terrorism among jihadi groups, has escalated in its transnationalization. Al-Qaeda, he explains, is the ultimate transnational terrorist network, due to both its cellular structure and its collaboration with other transnational actors across the globe. Also significant are its links with growing diasporic communities, connected by means of the utilization of cyberspace. To combat the threats that Al-Qaeda poses, Bakkar calls for a global approach that would make use of both active public diplomacy and apparatuses that would employ methods of prevention, repression, and detection.

In "South: Ossetia: The Role of Transnational Actors in the Perpetuation of Structures of Violence," König, in describing recent conflict between South Ossetia and Georgia, remains ambivalent as to whether or not the notion of "transnationalization of risks of violence" serves as a useful framework in studying ethnic conflict in the region. She looks at relationships between criminal non-state actors and state leaders that have resulted in illegal armed borders crossings from North Caucasus. She questions the degree of transnationalization of such entanglements and wonders whether utilizing the framework does in fact aid in better understanding recent formations of the interstate conflict. She questions contemporary delineations between certain state and non-state actors while pointing out that such actors are only some of those involved.

The last section, "The Management of Transnational Risks by International Organisations," looks at the successes and failures of international organizations in managing transnational threats. This section sees Heupel investigating responses to transnational security challenges made by the UN Security Council, Monar's examination of the European Union's recent focus and limitations on combating terrorism, and Zellner's description of the ways in which the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) could formulate an effective method to curtail new transnational security threats. In "The Management of Transnational Security Problems by the United Nations Security Council" Heupel describes how the Security Council has responded to contemporary threats, including recent developments made by rebel groups, the September 11 terrorist attacks, and the nuclear proliferation network led by Abdul Qadeer Khan. Heupel investigates the Security Council's responses of adopting the use of targeted sanctions and of imposing quasi-legislative resolutions upon all of its member States. She finds targeted sanctions partially effective, though negligibly so in the case of the Taliban. She finds quasi-legislative resolutions even more ineffective, due largely to the fact that such resolutions lack legitimacy, especially with respect to managing matters of human rights violations and other forms of "collateral damage" typically caused by the Taliban.

In “The Role of the European Union in Transnational Violence Risk Management,” Monar posits that the EU, in addressing terrorism, illegal immigration, and international organized crime, has, since 1999, risen to the global forefront as a transnational risk manager. However, because the governing body is structurally ancillary to member States in its ability to implement and enforce judgments, it faces severe limitations. It also faces coordination problems across its second and third pillars, inhibiting decision-making. Nevertheless, and despite its lack of operational capabilities, he finds that the EU has been successful in managing transnational risks by means of EU collaboration with international organizations and third country parties. Increased success, he believes, is contingent upon political leverage. Interestingly, this leverage often takes the form of promises of “mobility” across EU state borders.

Looking at OSCE, Zellner does not see the organization as impeded by the limitations that Monar finds in the EU. In “The Management of Transnational Risks by the OSCE,” Zellner sees the OSCE’s 2003 “Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the Twenty-First Century” as a significant measure in confronting terrorism, organized crime, and illegal immigration. However, much work remains to be done in order to actualize the framework, wherein lies Zellner’s critique. He argues that the organization needs to augment its mechanisms for curtailing transnational threats. He sees the OSCE’s strengths as lying within its field operations and its election-observing missions. Building upon these strengths, Zellner recommends that the organization develop “thematic missions” to confront new transnational risks of violence.

Undoubtedly, the authors contributing to this compilation focus upon combating what the West defines as transnational risks of violence for the safety and security of Western Europe and the United States. However, neither the editor nor the contributors to the compilation qualify the decision to presume which entities pose transnational risks. While in many ways, a focus on combating risks reflects the discipline of security studies itself (and perhaps international relations as a whole), some contextualization of the book’s ultimate purpose and qualification of what (or who) should be considered a transnational security threat would, I imagine, only strengthen the complex portrait the work attempts to portray. While Zangl and Ehrhart do offer contextual background, I would have appreciated more contextualization from the volume as a whole. Why, for instance, are terrorism, organized crime, and illegal immigration the top three transnational security threats, according to most Western international organizations? How do structural inequities of race, class, nation, and faith tradition collide in informing how Western discourse defines what the West finds menacing in a postnational constellation? While a thorough review these questions was not necessarily the intended focus of this volume, I still wish some qualification of the compilation’s limitations had been provided, including the ways in which the text categorizes transnational risks.

Transnationalisation of Risks of Violence presumes a context in which myriad effects of globalization have already transpired to create a postnational constellation, a formation in which international security governance is becoming necessary in combating new transnational risks, i.e. Al-Qaeda. While Zangl and Ehrhart do offer a historical and theoretical context, a context that I much appreciate, there is still little written about other forces of globalization that are also responsible for engendering and defining contemporary security threats. I am not asking for this compilation to read as postcolonial or poststructural, nor am I asking it be an encyclopedia of all actors involved in conflicts within the postnational constellation, but unless one is already focused on a narrow scope of realist or neorealist international relations, certain omissions of context appear presumptuous.

In its essence, this book seeks to question how international organizations can better curb transnational risks of violence. Toward this end, I find the chapters provoking and well composed—though I find the text to be tailored to those already immersed in the field of security studies. Nonetheless, I appreciate the book’s contribution to the burgeoning field of transnational peace and conflict studies and only hope that it is read in conjunction with volumes that enrich the understanding of its parameters.

Erin McElroy, M.A.

Affiliated Scholar, Center for Justice and Security

erinmcel@gmail.com