Because the critical variables, as we are informed, are military resistance to change and national policy maker attention and determination, what does it mean to say "peacekeeping" succeeded or failed? Is the link between peacekeeping and these supposed effects more correlative than causal? Admittedly these overlapping issues are largely semantic, but semantics can bedevil clarity and, as with this book, lessen the strength of one's arguments, especially supposedly causal arguments. Finally, how exactly does democratization per se affect outcomes? How does it really fit in beyond the fact that many new peacekeepers were democratizing states? Is a political leadership's desire, for instance, to undertake international signaling or to change its military organically linked to the democratization process? Would it make a difference if a mature democracy or an autocracy also resorted to peacekeeping deployments to further its prestige or change its military? This writer would venture to say no.

None of the issues raised above lessen this book's heuristic value. Sotomayor performs a valuable service by looking at peacekeeping through civil–military and IR lenses. Decision makers need to mull his conclusions. So too should IR and civil–military relations theorists since Sotomayor points out the limits of their theories when exposed to peacekeeping practices.

Lisa Leitz. (2014). *Fighting for Peace: Veterans and Military Families in the Anti-Iraq War Movement*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 312 pp. $22.95 (Paperback). ISBN 978-0-8166-8046-7.

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A young man or woman joins the military. He or she goes to war. Soldiers are trained and expected to follow orders and support the war effort. Likewise, military families are expected to support the military and, therefore, also support the war. As C. Wright Mills put it, "In the military world, debate is no more at a premium than persuasion: one obeys and one commands."[1] But what happens when military veterans and their families turn toward antiwar political activism?

In *Fighting for Peace: Veterans and Military Families in the Anti-Iraq War Movement*, Lisa Leitz has produced a superb in-depth study of the military peace movement, offering new insight into arguably the most compelling subsection of the modern peace movement. She challenges the seeming contradiction between belonging to the military and participating in peace protests by exploring the context in which members of the Iraq War military peace movement navigate their military/peace identities both within the movement and across broader audiences. How did the military peace movement emerge, and what are the tactics and strategies of this movement? How do members' identities and emotions shape both the internal workings of the movement and its external actions and consequences? Is

there a divide between the military community and civilians in the United States, and what is the relationship between warfare and peace activism? These core questions animate this richly textured ethnography of a fascinating social movement.

Leitz explores the seeming paradoxes of the military peace protestor. She notes that "an examination of military community members who take on identities as protesters, especially peace protestors, is a study in contradictions" (p. xi). But rather than examining such individuals as strange anomalies, the book shows how military members and their families weave together cultural and structural elements of both the military community and the American peace movement. In addition, Leitz examines the role of identity and emotions in movement segments, or the "cultures of action" shaping internal processes (those between participants), and external processes (those aimed at wider audiences). She shows how identity and emotions influence not only activists themselves but also the relationships between social movement organizations, and the movement's connections to broader audiences. Ultimately, she argues convincingly that, for veterans and military families, the relationship between the military and peace activism is not as dichotomous as we may imagine.

Leitz begins by documenting how her own positionality as both the spouse of a naval aviator and a peace protestor herself led her to study members of the military community who questioned the Iraq War. The military community within the peace movement operates in social movement organizations such as Veterans for Peace (VFP), Iraq Veterans Against the War (IVAW), Military Families Speak Out (MFSO), Gold Star Families for Peace (GSFP), Gold Star Families Speak Out (GSFSO), and Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW)—an acronym soup indicative of military jargon, which is used throughout the book, and may frustrate some readers. The body of the study is based on Leitz's ethnographic research, tracing the "context" in which military members navigate their military/peace identities: participant observation from 2006 to 2008, attendance at major events and online observations through 2012, thirty in-depth interviews, fifty-six follow-up survey questionnaires, and content analysis of organizational and media material of the military peace movement.

The five empirical chapters begin with the development of the military peace movement and the enormous legal, social, and psychological risks members of the military community encounter when deciding to participate in antiwar peace protests. Nonetheless, these same risks foment solidarity and distinguish those directly connected to the military from the broader peace movement, facilitating their development of a collective identity. Chapters 2 and 3, the empirical heart of the book, dissect the internal processes of identity and emotions in the military peace movement. How activists adopt identities based on their shared status as both insiders and outsiders within the military and the peace movement. Moreover, Leitz describes how the family structure of the military peace movement empowers resistance among activists, thus sustaining and enabling movement participation. Chapters 4 and 5 extend the significance of identity and emotions to the external processes and

consequences of social movements and their broader goals. The peace movement makes use of military activists by exploiting their peace/war identities to demonstrate legitimacy and undermine pro-war rhetoric. At the same time, military peace activists deploy their consolidated military/peace identities through tactics (such as constructing memorials to honor the dead) that elicit emotions such as grief and sadness from people outside of the movement, particularly those who continue to support the war.

The book's contributions to both sociology and to the study of armed forces and society are significant. Leitz traces how identity and emotions are fundamental to the internal and external emergence, maintenance, and tactics of a state-focused social movement, moving beyond conventional studies of identity and emotions that typically focus on identity-based movements. The seeming incompatible identity of military/peace protester, along with strong negative emotions tied to experiences of warfare, operate as mechanisms that generate collective identity among activists within the military peace movement, and for strategic identity deployment to a wider audience. In the conclusion, Leitz returns to the theoretical questions she poses at the outset to explain how identity and emotions operate as mechanisms for maintaining collective identity and draw public attention to the human costs of war. This argument leads into a refreshing structural and cultural analysis of the civilian/military divide that has developed since the implementation of an all-volunteer force (AVF). Leitz moves beyond traditional studies of the civilian/military gap that focus, for the most part, on political attitudes, and instead traces the unfolding of experiences and sacrifices of service members and their families during extended wartime. She argues that the gap in sacrifice between the military community and civilians has alienated most Americans from the human costs of war while fostering resentment among the fewer than 2 percent of American families who belong to the military community. Meanwhile, the majority of the American population reports little if any impact of the war on their own lives and remains apathetic regarding the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The book contains provocative ethnographic data alongside a brilliant synthesis of how activists negotiate their identities, emotions, and networks of relationships at the micromobilization level of social movements. It provides social movement scholars with a thorough example of ethnographic theorizing about the mundane relationships within social movements and delivers an invigorating argument about the role of culture and structure for analyzing the current state of debate over a civilian/military divide in America. This book might also allow scholars in the classroom to talk with students about the relationship between the armed forces and society and the unique culture of the American military community.

Note

1. C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), 196.