The book also has broad conceptual width. Krieg and Rickli are concerned with the legal implications of surrogacy (there is a whole chapter encompassing the ethical "just war" implications of outsourced war fighting), as well as the emergence of new security actors and the shifting nature of global norms and international order. It is hard not to nod along with their catchy conclusion that modern conflicts have become "more globalized, privatized, securitized, and mediatized" (p. 195).

Like all good practicing Clausewitzians, albeit it of a revisionist branch, the authors make their offering at the altar of the Holy Trinity, stating that modern surrogate warfare is the product of sociopolitical relationships between the people, the army, and the government. Indeed, there is an entire chapter devoted to what they label the "neotrinitarian" ideals that they see embedded in patron-client relations around the world today, which allows for some important assessment of the effect of new technology and globalization as drivers of the outsourcing of war.

Ultimately, readers' views of this book will be determined by their willingness to opt in to the notion that surrogate warfare is the lodestone from which all variants of outsourced forms of conflict stem. I remain unconvinced, but Krieg and Rickli do an impressive job of painting a picture of increasing burden sharing in modern conflict. At a time when increasing levels of "security force assistance" and "partner capacity building" are defining Western engagement with states around the globe, this book is an important reminder of the opportunities and threats posed by outsourcing war to others.

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Winning Hearts and Votes: Social Services and the Islamist Political Advantage by Steven Brooke. Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2019. 234 pp. $39.95.

This is a book that scholars of the Middle East have been waiting for. We have long known that the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's political success owes something to its social service activities, but until now, the exact nature of the connection remained unclear. Steven Brooke takes the available data as far as it will go to show how the Brotherhood's social services—specifically those of its Islamic Medical Association (IMA)—translate into electoral support. *Winning Hearts and Votes* poses and answers three long-overdue questions: Why do authoritarian rulers allow nonstate service provision in

the first place? Under what circumstances do social services help a party at the ballot box? And when services do translate into votes, why?

Brooke leverages qualitative and quantitative data to provide compelling answers to all three questions. He shows that Egyptian presidents permitted nonstate service provision during economic crises as a way of offloading the expensive social safety net onto civil society actors. This argument is a prime example of Brooke's ability to take something scholars have long suspected and provide the hard historical evidence to show it.

The book's most novel contribution comes in answer to the second question: why the Brotherhood's service activities have produced an electoral dividend while those of other groups have not. The Brotherhood's organizational weakness in the 1970s, when the IMA was formed, forced it to choose a fee-for-service model rather than opening free clinics with volunteer doctors. By charging for their services, the IMA could provide reliable, professional, high-quality care—something nearly impossible for an all-volunteer charity organization. This model also required the IMA to focus on (and locate its clinics near) middle-class customers who could afford to pay. Luckily for the Brotherhood, middle-class families were also less enmeshed than poor ones in the ruling party's clientelist machine. Freer to vote based on conviction, Brooke argues, middle-class voters chose the Brotherhood's candidates not as a quid pro quo—they had already paid for their care, after all—but because of the reputation for compassion and competence that the IMA engendered.

Relying on IMA and government documents, interviews, and survey and census data, Brooke turns speculation into empirically supported theory. His overarching argument that IMA services are neither presented nor received as a classic clientelist exchange is persuasive and should push the entire literature on clientelism forward. Yet the centrality of the "middle class" to the argument leaves the reader hungry for more conceptual, empirical, and theoretical detail: who *is* the Egyptian middle class, exactly, and what sets them apart from the poor? Brooke uses a number of measures to capture household wealth, but there is little discussion of how wealth categories translate into the lived experiences that drive electoral preferences. Middle-*income* Egyptians, for example, may well value the professionalism of fee-for-service providers—but they may also be objectively poor enough to need ruling party clientelism. Are they the middle class under examination here, or is the Egyptian middle class in fact located toward the higher end of the country's wealth scale?

Like all good historical work, *Winning Hearts and Votes* makes us wonder what we might find if all our social scientific conventions were subjected to careful on-the-ground scrutiny. Unfortunately, the

authoritarian turn that menaces this volume has now made meaningful research in Egypt impossible. It will be some time before we have such detailed work on the country's politics again.

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Israel's National Identity: The Changing Ethos of Conflict by Neta Oren. Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner, 2019. 291 pp. $78.50.

The debate on Israel's ethos of conflict in shaping its national identity is never-ending. To be precise, there is nothing odd in the fact that national identities evolve out of an ethos of conflict in most countries. However, the persistence and intensity of the ethos of conflict in determining Israel's political life makes Israel an interesting case study—thus Neta Oren's discussion in this book is of theoretical relevance.

An ethos can be defined as a configuration of central societal beliefs, not limited to a collective memory, but also a factor in determining political actions in the future. If a social belief is recognized as important for all during a long period of time, if political actions are justified through it, and if new generations are educated though them, then we may be talking about an ethos.

Neta Oren makes use of D. Bar Tal's definition of the central elements composing Israel's ethos, namely, security beliefs, victimization, and siege beliefs; the perception of Israel as a villa in a jungle; the necessity of maintaining national unity; and the idea that at the end of the day, Israel needs peace. However, what Oren adds in this interesting and well-written book is an analysis of how the central ethos of conflict in Israel has changed and evolved during different periods of time. This analysis of interaction and ethos change certainly contributes to the understanding of how, at different periods, contrasting themes of the ethos can coexist and thrive (p. 5).

The cornerstone of what could be defined as an Israeli ethos is Moshe Dayan's 1956 eulogy for Roi Rotberg, a kibbutz member near Gaza who was murdered by Palestinians. The murder of Roi, a man of peace, illustrates firsthand that Israel lives in a jungle and should always be ready to fight. However, as Oren stresses, one of the striking pieces of the text is Dayan's understanding of Palestinian hatred toward Israel. All in all, a Jewish state was established in Palestinian land. However, understanding Palestinian claims does not imply that Jews should sense culpability. The next part of the ethos is precisely based on the assumption that the land is Jewish, and Jews are natives. Thus, the ensuing conclusion is that if Palestinians and