

BOOK REVIEWS

Bruce K. Rutherford, *Egypt after Mubarak: Liberalism, Islam, and Democracy in the Arab World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008)

Author: Kira D. Baiasu
The American University in Cairo

Democratization in the Middle East has preoccupied scholars for decades, but the 2002 U.S. invasion of Iraq and President George W. Bush's subsequent announcement of an initiative to spread democracy in the region brought the issue to the forefront of public debate. *Egypt after Mubarak* explores the ideological platforms of political reform deriving from Egypt's major oppositional forces, primarily the judiciary, the Muslim Brotherhood, and the business sector. Bruce Rutherford assays the prospects of this liberal agenda leading to democracy. The wealth of information presented and insightful analysis makes this book an essential read for anyone interested in Egyptian politics or democratization in the Middle East.

Tackling the question of Egypt's future post-Mubarak, the book aims to conjecture on the political prospects of the country through a study of secular and Islamist opposition groups whose reform agendas converge around diverse manifestations of liberalism. In addition, Rutherford seeks to decipher the differences between Egyptian forms of liberalism and classical liberalism as well as demonstrate that liberalism and democracy are two autonomous concepts. Citing scholars such as Peter Hall and Theda Skocpol, Rutherford takes a historical institutionalist approach to understanding the hybrid nature of the Egyptian regime and the political change that "occurs as a result of critical junctures that weaken old institutions and strengthen others" (p.25).

Relying on an array of solid sources in both English and Arabic, the book effectively outlines the evolution of liberal constitutionalism within the judiciary in chapter two and the

emergence of Islamic constitutionalism within the Muslim Brotherhood's doctrine in chapter three. Utilizing court rulings, legal journals, political documents, and interviews with key players, the book determines that both the Muslim Brotherhood and the Egyptian judiciary hold a view of politics and law that is liberal. However, the judges are more comfortable with a powerful and invasive state than the classically liberal ideal, believing the role of the state is to defend the public interest through fostering economic growth, maintaining order, and protecting citizens' rights. Islamic constitutionalists also diverge from the classically liberal model, regarding the state's purpose as enforcer of Islamic law. The Muslim Brotherhood pictures a more intrusive state to ensure the construction of a pious community.

The book demonstrates that while liberal constitutionalism is grounded in secularism and Islamic constitutionalism is based on divine revelation, their differences in practice are not so great. Both believe in constraints on the state, strengthening the rule of law, and protecting some civil and political rights, while emphasizing the interest of the community over the individual. Rutherford's strength lies in his ability to not only uncover the features that distinguish one form of liberalism from another but also to identify the ways in which their similarities coalesce to contribute to the greater movement toward political liberalism.

Continuing its examination of the principal forces advocating for liberal reform, the book canvasses the causal effects of Mubarak's privatization program, in response to pressures from the World Trade Organization and International Monetary Fund. The program led the business sector and the Egyptian Center for Economic Studies (ECES) to champion political reform in the area of laws and procedures pertaining to the economy and the functioning of businesses, calling for trade liberalization, the rule of law, and a dispersal of power amongst the three branches of government. Rutherford astutely ascertains that while the government may not be moving toward democratization, it does recognize the benefits of liberalization, particularly in the economic sphere. The National Democratic Party, the governing political party, has assumed many aspects of the ECES' policy

agenda appointing Gamal Mubarak, the president's son, to the Guidance Committee of the General Secretariat, which has worked to decrease the role of the state in the economy and expand the private sector.

One of Rutherford's shortcomings is his failure to clearly apply theory to his analysis. The book places economic transformation within a historical context discussing how Nasser's state control over the public sector, subsidy system, and bureaucracy permitted the autocracy to persist. Eventually, this system that left little money for economic development was impossible to uphold and Sadat's *infitah* policies, which were advanced by Mubarak, turned away from statism and toward privatization and free trade. According to Rutherford, "By abandoning any pretense of upholding the basic premises of statism, the regime created an opportunity for alternative conceptions of the polity to develop and gain broader support" (p.140), which gave rise to liberal constitutionalism and Islamic constitutionalism. At this crux in the discussion it would have been helpful for the author to identify the connection between the fall of the Egyptian statist system and the historical institutionalist concept, articulated in the introduction, that opportunities for political change rise out of critical junctures, such as economic decline, that weaken old institutions. Unfortunately, Rutherford forgoes the chance to place the economic transformation within his stated analytical framework.

The ingenuity of Rutherford's assessment lies in his distinction between liberalism and democracy. Western nations are most familiar with the concept of liberal democracy, yet the book illustrates that liberalism and democracy are separate concepts deriving from separate processes. While liberalism is a set of institutions and relationships between institutions that protect citizens' basic rights and constrain state power, democracy denotes decision makers being selected through fair and honest elections. Aversion to advocating for democratic reform and broad public participation in politics is reflected in the stance of the Muslim Brotherhood, the business sector, the NDP, and the Judges' Club. Judges support limiting state power and holding the

state accountable to the rule of law, but they distrust mass public participation in politics believing it may lead to disorder.

While Egyptian liberalism is progressing, Rutherford argues that prospects for Egyptian democratization are poor, particularly after amendments to the constitution adopted in 2007 that show signs of deepening authoritarianism. However, Rutherford remains optimistic, outlining the ways that liberalism may facilitate the development of an autonomous private sector, thus, aiding in the democratization process. Egypt will most probably remain a hybrid state, but the separation of liberalism and democracy may provide an alternative path for the country.

Again overlooking the occasion to place ideas within the theoretical framework constructed in the introduction, the author is unsuccessful in applying the hybrid regime concept to his findings. It appears that his intention was to adduce the development of liberalism separate from democracy as an indication that Egypt is a hybrid regime not necessarily transitioning toward democratization. While the introduction delineates the features of hybrid regimes at length, the writing does not make mention of hybrid states again until the conclusion, and even then the author desists from connecting the concept to his analysis of the emergence of a liberal reform agenda that shies away from promoting mass participation in the political process.

Overall, *Egypt after Mubarak* is a perceptive and informative achievement. Rutherford should be lauded for his progressive approach to political science. Rather than being constrained by a particular methodology, he skillfully uses history as an analytical tool to deduce the manner in which institutions shape political outcomes. Through an investigation that incorporates the multifarious, interdependent elements that affect institutions and political decision making, the author successfully identifies the factors that may lead to political change in Egypt.

Stefania Baroncelli, Carlo Spagnolo and Leila Simona Talani (ed.), *Back to Maastricht: Obstacles to Constitutional Reform within the EU Treaty (1991-2007)* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008)

Author: Martino Bianchi

The Maastricht Treaty as a milestone in European integration is a topic that after almost 20 years is still important to understand the nature of EU. As the main literature about Maastricht point out, it has not only hugely reformed the institutional framework and the competences of EU, but it has also set a benchmark, if not the boundaries, for the following reforms: the European Monetary Union, the subsidiary principle, an expanded role for the European Parliament, and the "pillar structure" are just the most discussed ones. For these reasons scholars that try to analyse recent evolution of EU with a path-dependent and diachronic point of view are able to give important insights, avoiding rough simplifications of such a complex topic.

The new volume "Back to Maastricht: Obstacles to Constitutional Reform within the EU Treaty (1991-2007)" is clearly oriented toward this kind of analysis: it is a collective contribution, edited by Stefania Baroncelli, Carlo Spagnolo and Leila Simona Talani and published by Cambridge Scholars Publishing, whose aim is to give a crosscut on various issues of European integration. The focus is not set on a single topic, but it's set on a broad bunch of themes related to Maastricht Treaty. Indeed, the analysis goes far beyond the intended timeline (1991-2007) and, obviously, beyond a simple analysis of the treaty itself. Hence, the contributions cover many crucial areas of European integration: from the institutional framework of the new European polity, to the critical issue of European citizenship, but the wider part of the book covers the historical roots of the monetary union and its development, as well as on the interactions between the monetary union and the main economical policies enforced by the EU and by the member states.

In this respect, the book is an outstanding contribution for all scholars broadly interested in European politics and policies, but it

lacks a precise focus. The eclectic range of topic addressed in the book is mirrored in the number and expertise of the authors. In fact, the book is a collection of eighteen articles, written scholars with different academic background: law, history, economics, political sciences and sociology.

While the topics addressed and the methodologies employed are hugely diverse, the common link between all articles is given by the underlying approach used in describing the recent developments of EU: what all the authors do is to produce a dynamic explanation of EU integration, rather than a static description. As a consequence, each article tend to look at the consequential changes occurred in EU polity and its policies, to find the roots of any major change in the previous situation and to disclose the political or scientific dialectic that led the evolution. Generally they try to show how the actual reforms enforced in the past were the result of a mediation between different standing points in a changing environment, rather than a conflict in a static structure of power. It's important to note that this approach overcome the traditional division between intergovernmentalist and federalist approaches, in order to give wider and more comprehensive assessments of the "state of art" in European integration. There is a systematic attempt to break the classic divisions in the scientific literature and to produce an innovative theoretical framework.

Particularly significant, in this respect, is Serena Giusti's article "What have the implications of Maastricht criteria in the 2004 Enlargement been? The point of view of Central European Countries". This contribution gives an overview of the interactions between EU and new member states in each stage of the accession process (pre-accession, accession, post-accession) and, at the same time, describes the internal dynamics of new members' politics. The result highlights the huge merits of the dynamic approach adopted in this book: moving from a single issue (i.e. 2004 enlargement) it manage to produce an in depth analysis of the variable interactions between different actors in a long period and to link this changing environment to the changes occurred in power-relations and in the legal framework. Despite the length, this contribution is one of the most interesting

analysis of EU 2004 enlargement that can be found in the literature, and, in our opinion, this is specifically due to the theoretical approach chosen.

Similarly, Francisco Torres' "The Long Road to EMU: The Economic and Political Reasoning behind Maastricht", gives an outstanding insight in the long process that links the decline of Bretton Woods system to the introduction of the European Monetary System and the European Monetary Union. The analysis carried out by the author connects the slow convergence that occurred between policy preferences of the member states and the political bargaining that took place between them to overcome the differences and to reach a compromise that could absorb both the monetarist's standing-point and the economist's one: "rather than distinguishing between the EMS and EMU in terms of their Keynesian or monetarist [...] theoretical foundations, the different [...] successful political compromises [...] can be explained in terms of convergence of preferences over time, tempered of course by [...] the corresponding bargaining power of each camp" (p. 204). Interestingly, the editors of the book present also a paper that directly opposes to this claim, thus giving to the reader a good overview of different theories: "The long road to EMU: Determinants and Theoretical Foundations of the EMS and EMU", written by Pompeo Della Posta.

As we have seen, the main criticism that can be raised to this contribution is the lack of a precise focus: in fact, this is neither a systematic study of Maastricht treaty, neither an in depth analysis of a specific area of EU intervention. On the contrary, it's a collection of interesting papers on various themes loosely connected with Maastricht Treaty: as a consequence, it's not really clear which is the aim of this book, and probably it was more appropriate to publish each paper in a specific academic journal, in order to improve the visibility of each single contributions. This impression is strengthened observing that some of the most interesting papers are those covering not big issues of EU integration, on which a vast literature is already available, but some more recent development (and hence less closely related to Maastricht Treaty), and topics generally not central in the literature. In this respect, the title of the book is

slightly misleading because explicitly covers just one of the topics of the book and, hence, the book seems to give an insight only into political issues related to EU institutions.

Moreover, the academic disciplines related to the inquiry of the different topics covered by the book are diverse and there is no clear methodological approach. Each author chooses its own methodology: we move from the historical constructivist of Carlo Spagnolo's introduction, to the refined legal analysis of Julio Baquero Cruz and Bruno de Witte, from the analysis strictly rooted in political science's methodology of Philippe Schmitter, to the macroeconomical and financial analysis of Paul De Grauwe. Hence, the final result is jeopardized by this lack of coherence: the book doesn't flow consequentially from a topic to another, but it's more a collection of pictures, whose intrinsic value is, indeed, particularly high.

Olav F. Knudsen (ed.), *Security strategies, power disparity and identity: the Baltic Sea region* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007)

Author: Monika Dąbrowska
University of St Andrews

In spite of the changed zeitgeist of European international relations in the 21st century the lingering perception of existential uncertainty remains topical and one can safely assume that more than twenty years of peaceful coexistence is needed to eradicate it totally. Thus, even though the scope of security studies had changed, and the deepened and broadened agenda acquired a new and complex significance, the role of power, the nature of security relations and the conceptions of identity still constitute the fulcrum for researchers wishing to advance our understanding of the dilemmas of regional security studies. Exploring whether the power differentials are of little importance or are they still politically significant, *Security Strategies, Power disparity, and Identity: The Baltic Sea Region* invites the reader to an insightful journey to learn more about unequal power relations between the countries of the Baltic Sea region.

Security, power, and identity, the three intrinsically interwoven phenomena, stand at the focal point in this insightful analysis of security relations in the Baltic Sea region. Acknowledging that power influences both the security choice and the identity choice, the authors set an ambitious task of researching under what conditions unequal power may prevent or encumber the emergence of cooperative security understood not as the lateral relations between respective countries of the region, but rather as the actions undertaken by group of states with various power, security needs and conceptions of identity. Wishing to explore the possible effects of power disparity on cooperative security and integration, the authors tackle the issues of progress towards cooperative security versus the threat perceptions often enhanced by power disparity; the influence of strong group identities, and the role of concrete conflicts and specific interests in security context.

This volume edited by Olav F. Knudsen constitutes a collection of papers by distinguish scholars: fine examples of considered thought, careful yet innovative theoretical approaches, meticulous empirical analyses, and sound knowledge of the field. Chapter 3 traces the development of events and ideas relating to security in the Baltic Sea region and although it says little of the origins or possible reasons for its specificity and is, at best, succinct on Russia's role, it provides the reader with much needed factual overview. Chapter 4 offers a brilliant account of "an identity dimension to security choice and a security dimension to identity choice" (p. 51). The author explains the politic of 'having a cookie and eating it too' and explores the strategy of balancing between remaining Finnish and Swedish and institutionalizing national security. The emphasis on identity aspect might not be satisfying for everyone however for the question why these two strategies differ from the policies of the other states in the region does not appear; especially lacking is the comparison with Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, so different in their security approach. Another focal point of analyses presented in the book is the possible change of state structures relative to integration processes and other transnational phenomena, like international cooperation of expert groups: Chapter 5 focuses on the role and impact of epistemic

communities, while Chapter 6 brings into a view the societal factor and via discourse analysis examines how and to what extent identities mediate power disparity. These findings are particularly interesting when one compares them with Chapter 3 propositions. Finally, Chapter 7 broadens the security context of the volume by approaching the debate from the perspective of information technologies as an additional power resource through the case studies and Chapter 8 surveys the Baltic Sea region security landscape using the game theory as an analytical tool. The abundance of games makes this somewhat pick-and-choose chapter slightly overwhelming, especially for those not too well familiarized with the game theory, particularly if they read the chapter first and the appendix explaining the arcana of the applied methodology second. The concluding chapter revisits the working hypothesis and earlier theoretical assumptions and scrutinizes them in the view of empirical findings from the volume.

Just mere description of what the book offers highlights its greatest strength and simultaneously its greatest weakness. Since it is a collection of essays, on the one hand it offers extremely broad perspective when it comes to topics and methodology, yet at the same time, the reader might be under impression that the authors of respective chapters talk together but too rarely to each other. The book endeavours to be a comparative study, however it needs to be emphasized that the study cases are not evenly distributed. Although the regional breadth is impressive, some areas are not covered. While a reader will find a lot of information about Finland or Sweden (also Estonia has its fair share), those wishing to know more about Latvia or Lithuania will be left wanting. Similarly, it would have been useful to have concluded some other aspects of security, for instance its economic or environmental dimensions. Also, some political scientists will be perhaps irritated because mainly statist approach prevails in the volume. However, on the other hand, this contributes to methodological integrity and keeps the level of analysis stable. It needs to be underlined that the book is directed to a more mature reader – it assumes certain level of knowledge not only in political science (for instance the table of abbreviations is nowhere to be found: too bad if the reader does not remember what the PfP

stands for!) but also when it comes to the general knowledge about the region in question. The history is covered in Chapter 3, however, it is understandably a constrained and simplified version, and therefore there are cases of historical facts not accounted for in the short overview (because they are either too detailed or too old). Besides the conscientious considerations of various theoretical approaches, one of the unequivocal strengths of the volume is its interconnectedness: It goes beyond the sheer assortment of articles that happen to have similar topics or share the area of interests. This trait is especially visible in Chapter 8 where the theoretical propositions are tested against the empirical findings from other chapters.

With the demise of the Soviet Union and the majority of the countries in the region firmly socialized within the Western structures, be the European Union or NATO, is power as a threat concept the ghost of the past? By bringing forth many issues of an utmost importance for security studies on both regional and European levels, the book successfully examines these issues as they pertain to the countries in this geographical location. This brilliant composition of essays covers a wide variety of important topics. As an imaginative inquiry, clearly written and soundly organised, the book is a valuable contribution to our understanding of a security issues, identity transformations and a power play in the region. Overall, this well written and highly readable book is a perfect proposition for all students of security studies as well as for those interested in the recent developments in the Baltic Sea region.

Ananda Das Gupta, *Corporate Citizenship: Perspectives in the New Century* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008)

Author: Konstantin Kilibarda
York University

Ananda Das Gupta's *Corporate Citizenship: Perspectives in the New Century* is best classified as a general survey of corporate social responsibility's (CSR) increasing relevance in an era of

290

globalization. Along these lines, Das Gupta offers readers a general introduction to CSR, including basic definitions of key terms and a general overview of its conceptual precepts. The book is therefore useful for those seeking a very quick introduction into themes broached by CSR-practice and particularly for those interested in the specific impediments to implementing CSR policies in developing countries (in general) and in India (in particular).

As the succinct introduction by Prof. David Crowther (editor of the *Social Responsibility Journal*) underlines, CSR can be traced to social contract theorists like Jean Jacques Rousseau and the related rights and responsibilities that individuals have with respect to the social whole. In a suggestive passage that resonates in the current context of a worldwide economic downturn, Crowther argues that at its best CSR can provide: "a way forward which negates the negative effects of an unregulated free global market" (Das Gupta 2008: x).

Although Das Gupta traces the origins of CSR practice to David Owen's model communities established at New Lanark (Scotland) and the Quaker owned businesses of the 19th century, he argues that recent attention to CSR by larger corporate players is symptomatic of a growing shift in values among top executives and managers since the 1960s and 1970s. As a result, Das Gupta notes that corporations are increasingly less interested in 'maximizing' their profits as they are in 'optimizing' them, which is reflected by the shift away from a more narrow focus on 'shareholder' to a broader emphasis on 'stakeholder' interests.

CSR is thus marked by a relational and interactive approach to stakeholder interests that sets it apart from the unidirectional and non-participatory 'charity' of earlier philanthropic endeavors, according to Das Gupta. He highlights three distinct approaches to CSR that have emerged in recent years and that have influenced its popularity, including: (1) the advertising, or public relations approach, that sees CSR as fundamental to a firm's 'branding' practice; (2) the socio-economic approach, which he attributes to 'new economy' entrepreneurs and their sensitivity to and understanding of the market's limits if capitalism is to survive

in the longer term; and (3) the rights based approach positing that key stakeholders have “a right to know about corporations and their business” (Ibid: 139-140).

In the Indian context, Das Gupta traces CSR’s antecedents to the late-19th century philanthropic initiatives of the great Indian industrial houses tied to the Tata, Birla and Shriram families. For Das Gupta, CSR in the Indian context didn’t really come into its own until the 1990s – though earlier initiatives by J.R.D. Tata in the 1960s are noted - and is still often conflated with simply following government regulations. It’s translation into a more universal business practice on the sub-continent, argues Das Gupta, is impeded by the widespread corruption that exists as a result of a still expansive Indian bureaucracy (despite increasing liberalization), the instability created by ‘swadeshi fervor’ common during electoral cycles and a tendency to avoid initiatives unless the threat of strict penalties or sanctions is imminent.

The main impediment that confronts readers wishing to learn about CSR, however, is the poorly edited quality of *Corporate Citizenship*. Many sentences and paragraphs are repeated, transitions are sometimes far from smooth, headings don’t always correspond with the contents that follow, and formatting errors abound. The book consistently shifts from overly general overviews of broader social problems in a globalizing world (including discussions of ecological, socio-economic and spiritual issues) – not that these aren’t relevant to the complex environments in which enterprises increasingly operate in – to highly technical and extensive discussions of the recommendations, for example, of the 1999 Kumar Mangalam Committee Report on Corporate Governance prepared for the Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI).

Furthermore, bloc quotations from corporate websites and blogs without much commentary and analysis, not to mention the scant index and literature review, do little to help the overall flow of the author’s arguments or enhance the texts usefulness to researchers. This is not to say that the book has no strong points. In particular Das Gupta’s contention that modern accounting

methods need to be seriously revised is interesting. Taking his cue from the scandals at Arthur Andersen and other high-profile accounting firms, Das Gupta argues that business practice needs to become more accountable, transparent and democratic in the face of increasingly knowledgeable and demanding publics and consumers.

The normative dimensions of CSR, at their best, should be embedded all along the supply chain, from initial supply of goods to the ultimate end users according to Das Gupta. The overly narrow focus on the black and red ink of financial accounting models tends to obscure both the costs and benefits of corporate activity on social, environmental, human and political processes. It is along these lines that Das Gupta argues that Indian business can gain from a greater integration of CSR values into its practices, making it both more competitive within India and globally (he cites the proactive changes made in the Indian carpet industry with respect to the use of child labour and toxic dyes to meet global consumer demand as an example).

Where Das Gupta falters, besides the aforementioned shortcomings of the book, is in the overly utopian and at times contradictory prescriptions he suggests. While on the one hand, he offers a number of practical considerations for business, the text is too burdened by a repetitive and disjointed narrative to allow for such insights to be quickly internalized by the reader. The foray into visionary arguments for a global 'civilization' mediated by scientific 'truth' and spiritual values has a tinge of science fiction to it, while the nods to the market and then subsequent resort to a sudden quotation from a 'Youth for Social Action' geocities website which claims that: "Capitalism isn't the best we've got. A system that gears to meet the needs of the people – a socialist system – is the much decent [*sic*] and viable alternative" (Ibid: 79) is a bit too eclectic of a sampling of perspectives to provide a coherent narrative for some of the important issues Das Gupta raises.

In short, *Corporate Citizenship* is best read as an introductory text for those interested in new perspectives on Indian business and its approaches to CSR (a discussion mainly to be found in

Chapter Three), while it fails as a coherent general introduction to CSR. Nonetheless, for scholars working on Central and Eastern European politics, the book does offer some interesting discussions – from a comparative angle – of the political economy of corruption, foreign aid, and the transmission of global corporate values to new contexts that might be interesting to think about in more detail. Das Gupta should be commended for broaching some important themes worth thinking about, though readers should beware of the book's somewhat halting readability and disjointed flow.

Gerd Meyer (ed.), *Formal Institutions and Informal Politics in Central and Eastern Europe Hungary, Poland, Russia and Ukraine*. 2nd revised and updated edition, (Opladen & Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich Publishers, 2008)

Author: Ana Dinescu
University of Bucharest

The fall of communism increased the interest of the political scientists in the formation and functioning of totalitarian regimes. But, despite an impressive number of books, studies, direct interviews with main political actors, there are still many gaps regarding the level of transformation of those systems and the old patterns of behaviour resumed in the nascent democracies. Through a series of studies outlining the theoretical framework as well as the specific cases of Hungary, Poland, Russia and Ukraine, Gerd Meyer is making in elucidating the relation between formal institutions and informal politics in Central and Eastern Europe between 1989 and 2005.

The four countries took aftermath different democratic paths and the degree of communist heritage differs significantly. But, for the political science by the exploratory and pioneering character of the analysis, the diversity of the cases is contributing in a significant way to clarifying the concepts as well as the practical implications as a step forward in understanding the current situation. Meyer delineates the concepts and their contextual translations, while the other authors are centred on the relation

between formal institutions and informal politics in Hungary (Andras Bozoki and Eszter Simon), Poland (Aleksandra Wyromzumaska and Gerd Meyer), Russia (Aitalina Azarova, case-study with information at the level of 2005, before the Putin's new political position) and Ukraine (Kerstin Zimmer, until 2004/2005, mostly focused on the situation during Kuchma's term in office).

Starting from the character and main mechanisms of informal politics as enacted by power elites, the authors are evaluating the degree of personalization in the daily politics, for documenting the ways in which national political cultures succeeded – or not – in establishing the minimum degree of legitimacy, required in democracies.

One important asset of the book relies in the use of the extensive qualitative researches. The opinion polls and the extended country-wide studies are not only a rich basis for designing future evolutions, but are also extremely resourceful in providing suggestions concerning the past behaviours. The data offered in the communist times were at least defective in offering accurate answers and evaluations.

Meyer is cautioning from the very beginning (p.15) the study exclusive focus on the political elite level, less attention being paid to actors as civil society or NGO and other interest groups. But civil society, in its various local translations, played an important role in the new political representations of the post-communist societies. Even if its voice is not always taken into full consideration or, as in the Russian case, doing it could involve various – informal and formal - political retaliations, the networks of trust designed by the civil society as the role of reservoir for political leadership in many post-communist regimes, are of great importance. For the accuracy of the whole evaluation, not addressing this aspect could be the missing link.

The analysis is following four main hypotheses (pp.16-17): First, the political process follows both formal and informal patterns. Second, the state institution and formal rules are "moulded" or even "privatized" by leaders and elites groups. Third, old and new

patterns persists and are to be found in the constitutional building, institutions and ways in which the political actors are using the resources and opportunities. Last, it is a big difference between the popular support for "democracy" claimed by the leaders and the use and composition of democratic institutions and the current practices.

If the formal dimension of the political processes are mostly easy to define, analyse and with measurable effects – rules and stable norms (mostly written as laws, constitutional provisions etc.), officially defined and publicly declared as basic values (p.18), the informal dimension (pp.18-19) is dealing with patterns of interest formation and degree of influencing political decisions, being more fluid and not easy to catch in a universal formula. In this respect, the quantitative evaluation is the most useful tool in order to have a clear picture of the functioning of the informal networks in a given society. The informal level of politics is having a pendant in the process of personalization of politics, a phenomenon very much visible in the first post-communist decade and still present in the non-EU and NATO countries analyzed in the book – Russia and Ukraine. According to Meyer (pp.42-43) the specific conditions encouraging the personalization are: presidential systems or with a strong prime-minister, few restrictions for party financing; replacement of the top layer of nomenklatura with new individuals; new, but at least in the beginning, weak institutions; authoritarian and paternalist traditions of strong leadership; slow development of strong and stable political parties, unclear, weak or absent regulations for political parties. In addition, the Western import of political marketing and American style-television focused politics weakened considerably the substance of the already weak political systems from the post-communist countries.

Each of the case-studies is offering interesting food for thought. The analyses are far of being complete, but the opportunities for ulterior researches are impressive. In all the cases, the politics should be identified with a name: Putin, or the "Man is the program" in Russia (p.84); Orban Viktor, the former Hungarian charismatic prime-minister fuelling the nations' dreams with "a vision of the future instead of entirely looking backward" (even, in

fact, most part of his visions were based on millenary historical and religious myths) (pp.170-1); the Polish president, as the individual currently in office, enjoyed always much higher popular than the legislative branches (p.196); or the Ukrainian system where the directions of change are given by the "constellation of actors at the time of independence", with a high profile and a well managed structure of influence and support (p.269). Probably, the Polish case would need a broader evaluation, mostly in relation with the influence of non-political actors, as the Catholic Church, as informal and pressure group. As for Ukraine, a study regarding the current unfinished battle – in fact a never ending cycle of steps forward and backward, almost impossible to be predicted rationally – between various political groups and their ideological and geopolitical affiliations, will need a more in-depth and multi-level evaluation.

In various degrees, all over the world, the presence of the informal level of politics is a constant in all the political systems and institutions – as the EU and UN. The analysis of the Central and Eastern European systems is offering new elements of knowledge regarding the remaking of the political and institutional puzzle in post-communist, transition systems. They are enormous choices, based on the structures of the political elites and the historical and cultural profiles of the political systems and of the main actors.

The book is among first complete guides of the relation between informal and formal politics in this region and represents a valuable source of information and reference for all those interested in this area of study – from political scientists, economists, sociologists and journalists. The scholars in the area of post-communist studies are offered not only a new challenging theoretical background, but also an impressive amount of data and biographical references, opening an impressive number of ways of any further researches.

Michael L. Mezey, *Representative Democracy: Legislators and their constituents* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008)

Author: Mihail Chiru
Central European University

Michael Mezey's book is a tripartite look at the American Congress, Representation Theory and Comparative Legislative Studies. Indeed these three factors constitute a broad scope of political discourse, though the book does lend primary focus to the model of the US Congress and thus speaks directly of the normative variables of representation found in a modern democracy. Mezey's work is both representative and a good propaganda for the half-a-century-old subfield of congressional studies, which had first flourished after the Second World War, inspired by the behavioral movement in political science.

The author indicates in the preface that the goal of 'Representative Democracy' is to make such an important subject accessible to college level students. It has the feel of a textbook, with an appendix that includes a list of 30 questions to be debated in class. But going beyond the two elements, Mezey's synthesis is highly valuable for legislative scholars, for those who want to understand US politics and nonetheless for the actors themselves. The book deals comprehensively with the real and perceived shortages of the American representation system and as such is a valuable resource for politicians and constituents.

The first three chapters are mainly theoretical, discussing concepts like 'anticipatory' and 'surrogate representation', 'expressive voting' or 'descriptive representation'. The advantages and disadvantages that come along with understanding the representation relationship in the light of principal-agent theory or of Hanna Pitkin's theory of 'responsiveness' are also weighed and compared. The last chapter closes by presenting criticisms brought against representative institutions from both left and right oriented scholars. In doing so, Mezey analyzes potential solutions to a global trend of decreasing trust in legislatures - 'more direct democracy' measures, strengthening the executive,

term limits, 'deliberative polling' or 'campaign spending caps'.

The three remaining chapters are more empirical in their approach. They document the link between constituents' opinion and Congressional voting behavior, the values and perverted effects associated with constituency service and finally, the influence of moneyed interests on Members of Parliament (MPs, henceforth) and the reality, or impression of corruption that it conveys. Each of these chapters has a comparative section looking at the same phenomena in other political and geographical contexts; focusing on Europe and Latin America mainly, but references are also made to Australian and African legislatures.

What is most interesting in Mezey's deconstruction of the American representation mechanisms is his sharp manner of judging their equity and fairness against the 'national interest' and minority concerns. Thus, the author illustrates with numerous telling cases, the way in which MPs' individual responsiveness to constituency interests can and does often lead to collective irresponsibility (p. 194). This is a particularly strong argument because of the outburst of earmarks or allocational responsiveness, which induced negative effects on budget deficits and diverted money from the projects where they were needed.

The chapters on public policy and interest groups add to the image of systemic flaws of the US model of representation. Not surprisingly, the core defect in Mezey's eyes is the 'permanent campaign atmosphere within which the Congress operates' (196). He is convincing in portraying the fund-raising pressure for MPs, which amounts to \$30,000 a week for an average Senator. This framework explains their appetite for more and more campaign contributions coming from interest groups and lobbyists. In effect, this produces a dramatic loss in institutional credibility due to several corruption scandals and also frustrates the interests that do not dispose of large amounts of resources. Moreover, reelection concerns makes Congressmen risk averse since almost every vote is cast fearing the challenger's 30 second negative commercial in the next election (p. 133). Of course, this aversion becomes easily damaging when unpopular policies are needed but

the MPs prefer not to act.

Despite the author's vivid descriptions it may be difficult for a European legislative scholar to grasp such reelection fears while keeping in mind that the turnover rate is constantly around 5% for the House and less than 20% for the Senate. Mezey points out that, in the absence of any realistic possibility of limiting the influence of moneyed interests on MPs, the alternative solution would be to 'broaden the spectrum of interest groups that have financial resources, so that politicians will not be beholden to only one side of a policy issue' (p. 191). The author's hopes in this perspective are related, idealistically or not, to a proliferation of mass membership organizations that will use their members' fees to counterbalance the lobby made by the small but wealthy groups. Nevertheless, this seems quite an unrealistic and feeble expectation in an era of increasing citizen alienation.

On the other hand, Mezey proposes compelling answers to the question of how to reduce the pressure of campaign funding and the subsequent scandals associated with it. The first would be the excessively disliked policy of public funding for congressional campaigns, while the second would imply the creation of a congressional independent office that would 'monitor the behavior of its members and deal with ethical issues' (p.197).

Mezey's book is important also because it acknowledges one of the most significant crisis symptoms of modern representative democracies, i.e. more and more citizens reject the very essence of what the legislative branch is supposed to do – deliberate and argue between alternatives, make compromises and even keep the status quo if no solution is reasonable (p.181 and p.193). Although Mezey does not mention it, this is even more a case in those political systems, often found in Latin America and Eastern Europe, where the above mentioned collective mood is incited by populist presidents having an anti-institutional stance, which demonizes first and foremost the legislative and its members. Under these conditions, should the whole representation scheme be rethought? Probably here the author takes the most radical posture of the entire book, since he seems ready to accept an almost complete change in the Congress' role, meaning giving up to the executive some of the public policy competencies while

strengthening its oversight role (p. 196).

'Representative Democracy' can be read as the synthesis of more than fifty years of research on the American Congress and of the major findings coming from the comparative literature. One can not overlook the immense amount of work implied in reviewing the Congressional Record or the Congressional Quarterly, which allows Mezey to bring telling examples in support of his arguments and, more important, allows him to present the most up-to-date/ complete 'state of the art' in legislative scholarship. This does not make the book a dry or overloaded piece, as the writing style is very reader-friendly. The author quotes, when discussing the impression of corruption brought by various earmarks or by some campaign donations made by lobby firms, the Democrat Congresswoman, Nancy Boyda, who said 'Democracy is a contact sport' (p. 119). With scholarly work like that of Professor Michael Mezey one can have the refreshing feeling that the honest, attentive referees have not completely disappeared from the game.

Vasile Boari and Sergiu Gherghina (eds.), *Weighting Differences: Romanian Identity in the Wider European Context* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009)

Author: Monica Andriescu
University of Bucharest

The configuration of *identity* resides in a complex linkage of socio-political mechanisms and processes, as well as historical contingencies. The analyses encompassed in the volume under review address the origins, dynamics, role and function of various levels of identity: individual, ethnic, national, and supranational. Underlying in most of the approaches is the investigation of a distinct dimension of identity: the political one. The manifestations of cultural identities on the political arena are essential to the study of power relations configuration, especially in ethnically mixed states or in the relationship between state and supra-state structures. In this line of logic, the importance of

political elites in enhancing or reducing intergroup boundaries deserves scholarly investigation. By marking out belonging and identity, identity discourse contributes significantly to the positioning of social performers (individual and/or collective) that it describes antagonistically. It consequently shapes social and political relations, and has the capacity to influence the structure of the society itself. It provides a significant aid in endorsing social distance, but it can also prove a most powerful means to engender the cooperation of two or more groups in a society. *Elites* construct the *political identity* of those they represent by using this power tool. Identity becomes a political issue, and is no longer simply a cultural, private one. It becomes the mover of claims to political power.

Weighting Differences generously covers the political undertones of identity through a series of articles that symmetrically address multi-level and national identities, as well as provide an in depth analysis of the Romanian case. Apart from the political dimensions, the volume also ably explores economic, sociological and historical factors that describe the dynamics of identity. By narrowing down the range of analysis from the transnational (Daniel Dăianu, Vasile Boari, Mihai Spariosu, and Andrei Marga) to the national level (Adrian-Paul Iliescu, Aziliz Gouez, Toader and Simona Nicoară, Virgil Ciomoș, Sergiu Bălțătescu), and to the dilemmas of identity as part of the migration phenomenon (Andrada Costoiu, Ioan-Aurel Pop), the volume in fact pertinently illustrates the sheer complexity of the topic it addresses. More empirical than theoretical, the volume hints in fact at the scarcity of theoretical approaches to identity formation (Gabriel Andreescu's article investigates this issue at length).

In what concerns Romania, as is swiftly highlighted in the volume, the emphasis unavoidably falls on minority-majority relations when it comes to identity issues, the epitome being Romanian-Hungarian relations. It is already a truism to state that during the past twenty years (1990-2009), there has been a remarkable progress in Romanian-Hungarian relations, especially when looked at from the viewpoint of the extension of the minorities' rights framework. The deadlock can be succinctly portrayed as the *unitary state vision* versus the cultural and

territorial *autonomy seeking vision* of Romanian-Hungarian relations. In the former vision, Romanians view Hungarians as challenging the authority of the state whose citizens they are, while in the latter, the Hungarians express (a more or less symbolic solution to) their malaise concerning their perceived inferior status. Framed as either anti-Romanian or anti-Hungarian attitudes, these arguments can only strengthen the existing inter-community separating lines. This logic of conflict has been pursued by both parties almost unrelentingly since 1918. It's needless to say that neither party's interests are genuinely served. In this respect, Adrian-Paul Iliescu's article is relevant since it tackles the components of the Romanian historical "identity obsession". Although there is no article that analyzes the same issue from the Hungarian perspective, one may still reasonably argue that similar errors exist and persist.

The question that deserves analysis considering the present situation is "What happens after *recognition*¹ has occurred?". Since identity politics is a dynamic phenomenon that thrives on a constant presence in the public life, political parties or movements that make use of it cannot abandon its claims without risking of losing a significant part of their public support. As follows, contending debates rather than compromising dialogues are more appealing and mobilizing. The Romanian political identity has been fixed through political and cultural elite discourse starting with the beginning of the twentieth century in a pattern of control or supremacy. Continued even after 1989, this model of domination is also obvious as an underlying theme of the attitude towards Hungarian claims for the institutionalization of their political identity. Rejecting any demands that challenge the political-institutional control of the majority, the discourse of the minority containing outcomes perceived as potentially threatening has been constantly invalidated as being hostile to state integrity and social cohesion.

Neither the Romanian, nor the Hungarian project, however, displays the elements of congruence needed to sustain an

¹ I use the concept in the meaning ascribed to it by Charles TAYLOR et al., in *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ, 1994.

emerging *political community*² in a more encompassing meaning: one that recognizes the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious differences between the ethnic majority and national minorities, and also provides the elements that cultivate common objectives and actions. This issue is profoundly linked with the emergence of the conditions that favor the consolidation of democracy, a genuine integration in the European Union and the construction of a European identity.

Preserving past-oriented visions of legitimacy, both Romanian and Hungarian elites have overemphasized symbolic elements and cast off the need to redefine their relations for the benefit of the communities themselves. The stake of a mutual commitment to pursue these objectives (and others) of *identity redefinition* is the creation of a genuine dialogue, one that goes beyond vested political interests and permeates the social interaction level. It is also critical that debates on the academic level between Romanian and Hungarians intellectuals be part of this identity-restructuring attempt. Presently, they are almost extinct. Their task is to nurture the departure from historicism and ethnocentricity to a constructive dialogue that would propose the guiding principles of this long-duration process. Although references to the past which are self-critical and raise awareness concerning one's own errors and mystifications could be beneficial for a readjusting of identity, the preservation of stances which cast guilt on the "others" can only be self-defeating in the long term.

To conclude, once constructed, *identity* can also be deconstructed and also be given new directions. In its collective, public dimensions – those particularly explored by the volume under review – identity is inevitably interlinked with politics and

² Elizabeth Frazer, *The Problems of Communitarian Politics: Unity and Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 220. Frazer defines a political community as representing "[...] a political settlement [that] is forged—by violent conquest, by the gradual centralization of power and the accrual of legitimacy, by the dispossession of kings in favour of the commons—a political community, in the present sense, might be said to be the upshot at the point when individuals share allegiance to a particular set of institutions and procedures".

therefore vulnerable to its influence. However, the multitude of affiliations that can be pursued (local, regional, national, transnational) acts as a catalyst against the monopoly that has long been detained by ethnicity. The significance of *Weighting Differences* therefore lies in the competent illustration of broad areas of research in identity-related fields, its multifaceted perspective being of considerable help to both students and scholars interested in this particular field.

Cemil Aydin, *The politics of anti-Westernism in Asia: Vision of world order in pan-Islamic and pan-Asian thought* (New York: Columbia University Press. 2007)

Author: Dmitry Shlapentokh
Indiana University South Bend

This book deals with the problem of the perception of the West by Asians, mostly Turks and Japanese, and purports to explain the reason why anti-Westernism had spread among Asians from approximately the middle of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century. The problem of the perception of one country/culture by another is one of the most popular subjects in modern historiography and is related to the popularity of postmodernism in Western thought, at least in the American variation of it, for the last several decades. In the context of postmodernist paradigms—mostly existing in its leftist version—it is assumed that the construction of identities, the prevailing ideological trends, what is usually called “discourse,” by Michel Foucault (one of the most influential leftist philosophers from this school), is not an abstraction. It is intimately related with political reality; and those who control “discourse” control reality. As a matter of fact, quite a few postmodernists, with their postmodernist playfulness, often imply that reality does not exist as an objective fixed entity but that it is changing “discourse” that is the reality.

The importance of this general framework in present-day historiography/social thought explains why the image of others has become such a popular subject and is usually connected with

the prevailing political mood. The increasing conflicts in the Middle East, mostly the Arab–Israeli conflict, is the backdrop of Edward Saïde’s seminal work, *Orientalism*, which holds that the “discourse”/image of the Orient constructed by Europeans was a way through which they could control and actually conquer the Orient.

After September 11, there was a certain counterattack against the image of the West as being responsible for all the problems of the East. It was also implied that the Orient could have a negative and wrong image of the West, which it might employ to justify terrorism against the West. Finally, for some researchers, the image of foreign countries or civilizations is indeed related with real-life experience, which could also lead to serious frustrations and even hostilities. This was the point of departure of Aydin, who focused on the image of the West by the Japanese and by the Ottoman Turks from approximately the late nineteenth century to approximately the middle of the twentieth century.

According to the author, the Asian elite had become increasingly fascinated with the West by the beginning/middle of the twentieth century. It was the humanistic and, in a way, democratic traditions of the West that excited them the most. Contact with the West had encouraged them to re-evaluate their native cultures, and they found that Western and Eastern values were not as opposed to each other as one would assume. Turkish intellectuals, for example, found that Islam is not actually contradictory to the basic premises of Western liberalism. Consequently, they were eager to promote liberal/humanitarian Western ideas in the Ottoman Empire and emphasized the necessity of rapprochement between West and East on the grounds of common shared values.

The Japanese elite also shared the same ideals and were anxious both to develop liberal principles in Japan and to push Japan closer to the West in order to build a commonwealth of humanity. Still, both the Ottoman/Turkish and Japanese intellectual/elite became pretty much disappointed by the end of the nineteenth century.

To start with, the West had no desire to reciprocate and to accept Asians as equals. They emphasized that their ideological framework, e.g., Islam, not only was incompatible with Western values but actually treated those who professed the Asian creeds inferior to the people of the West. Not only did Asians' philosophical/religious doctrines make them inferior to the West, but Western ideologists also started to emphasize racial/biological differences. In the context of the social-Darwinism framework, so popular in the West by the end of the nineteenth century,

Europeans were incompatible with and superior to Asians not just because of their culture but also because of their biological attributes. These new ideological changes went along with the increasing popularity of the war and militarism in Western ideology and practice. This created additional problems. Indeed, the Asian intellectuals/elite, as the author suggests, were taken aback by such a betrayal by the West of their own principles and, in a way, decided to teach the West a lesson. The Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) was such a lesson. Russia's stunning defeat was hailed not just in Japan but all over the Asian world. It indicated, as the author emphasized, to Asian nations that arrogant European imperialists could be defeated and the road to a free and democratic Asia be opened.

Here, as the author implies, it is Asia that became the flag bearer of the democratic values abandoned by the West. While the Russo-Japanese War should have been a lesson for European imperialists, it was not. And this exacerbated tensions, leading to WWI and, finally, to WWII. Yet, even during these events, Asians, such as the Turks and the Japanese, at least some of the visible members of their elite, had humanitarian and 81 universalistic views and, from this perspective, were better, as the author of the book implies, than quite a few Europeans. After WWII, these benign traditions continued to be carried on by Asian intellectuals who patiently waited, wondering when the West would understand that Western and Asian values are pretty much compatible and both the West and East could pursue the establishment of human rights together.

One could raise the question as to what degree this relationship between the East and West was related to the facts. Of course, no one should challenge the author's basic data. Indeed, there were liberal Asian intellectuals who really believed in the universality of Western human rights and who believed that both West and East should follow their dictums. There is no doubt that they were appalled by the facts of Western imperialism and disregarded those very principles that Western politicians had preached publicly. Still, the problem was the degree of influence of these people in the actual shaping of Asian countries' policies. And it is clear that these people, or at least, liberal views, were marginal and that it was quite different principles that shaped the policies of those Asian countries.

Japan could be a good example. The Meiji Restoration was motivated not by the desire to be democratic and humane but by the desire to be a good match to European powers and to acquire an empire of their own. Consequently, the major result of the Meiji Restoration—inspired by the West—was not a Western-type parliament but by the Japanese conquest of Korea and war with China, where the populace was treated savagely, not much differently from the way the Europeans treated their conquered people.

While the author's vision of the past could well be questioned, the book could be interesting from another perspective. It could inform readers about the views of the visible segment of the elite in some non-Western countries, such as the Turks, for example, who insist that their culture and cultural traditions are quite compatible with those of the West and who wonder why, despite all their efforts, they are not accepted fully in the concert of Western powers. Turkey, for example, has knocked on the door of the European Union for quite a long time.

Esra Demirci Akyol, *The Role of Memory in the Historiography of Hatay: Strategies of Identity Formation through Memory and History* (Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2009)

Author: Zeynep Selen Artan
Graduate Center, CUNY

Interdisciplinary influences on history, especially those coming from anthropology, paved the way for the emergence of a recent interest and emphasis on the role of agency. Accordingly, a new understanding that perceives history not only as a series of chronological events but also a collection of personal accounts, understandings and observations came to light. With the increase in the number of studies based on oral history, memories of ordinary people came to be a generous source for historians. Although this relatively new aspect of historiography did not escape the attention of Turkish scholars, it is safe to argue that conducting studies based on oral history is a recent trend. In this sense, *The Role of Memory in Historiography of Hatay: Strategies of Identity Formation through Memory and History* is a significant attempt aiming to produce knowledge by resorting to oral history in Turkey.

The major question that the study puts through is the ways in which the annexation of Hatay to Turkey in 1939, which took place sixteen years after the establishment of the Republic, is remembered and transmitted to next generations by the residents of the region coming from different ethnic, religious and socio-economic backgrounds. One of the objectives of the study, as Esra Demirci Akyol indicates, is to "show that it is not possible to talk about a single history" as the official history suggests (5). Rather than one, stagnant explanation, past events may have multiple accounts based on who is remembering that particular event. Group membership is a significant determinant of identity which influences the way people remember certain incidents. Therefore, people from different ethnic, religious, socio-economic groups may have a tendency to remember historical events differently.

The book is organized in five chapters. The first chapter provides the reader with a comprehensive review of the existing theories and approaches regarding memory and oral history. An overview of theories and a discussion over how memory came to be an important source in contemporary historiography is followed by a small section on how different oral history is from other approaches. According to the author, oral history captures meanings attached to a particular historical event which is not possible to understand by studying written documents only. Next chapter explores the methodology of the study. The study is mainly based on in-depth interviews with nine residents of Hatay coming from different parts of it. The interviewees also diverge in terms of their ethnic and religious identities as well as their socio-economic statuses and education levels. The third chapter provides the reader with a chronological order of events in Hatay and Antioch region that spans a period from Roman Empire to the annexation process.

The analysis of the interviews starts to unfold in the fourth chapter. The author groups the issues discussed during the interviews under five common themes: notables and local elites; land ownership; memories of the local heroes; taking sides in the voting process and migration. All these themes present the fact that national history only tells one aspect of a particular historical event where the situation is much more complicated. Moreover, individuals' multiple identities interfere when they remember a particular event in the past. The author does an excellent job in describing and uncovering the ways in which people's religious and ethnic identities as well as their socio-economic status affect the way they remember historical events. However, an important issue that is underlined throughout the interviews escapes from her attention: the issue of citizenship.

Citizenship is a recurring theme that reveals itself in various cases throughout the interviews. Almost all of the non-Sunni Turk interviewees feel the need to underline their Turkish citizenship either referring to their current attachments or their ancestors' royalty to Turkey in the past. The major reason for this preponderant need is that "Turkishness," although defined by citizenship and claimed to embrace people from all ethnic and

religious groups who happen to be tied to Turkey as citizens, is only reserved for Sunni Turks in practice. Therefore, Sunni and Alawite Arab interviewees keep mentioning their Turkish citizenship in a way to tell the author and hence the reader that they are not traitors, or in other words, they are not the "other". They stress their attachment to Turkey as citizens in order to claim equal treatment with the rest of the population, especially with those who are Sunni Turk. As a result, they mention how their ancestors' fought against the enemy during the World War I or claim that Arabs in Hatay would ally with Turkey if any dispute with Syria emerges. Although citizenship is a recurrent and central issue that comes up frequently during the interviews, the author does not explicitly address the link between "citizenship claims" and the feeling of "otherness" and the way past events are remembered.

While it is a well researched study, providing a comprehensive historical account of Hatay, the book fails to address a noteworthy issue; the current political and social structure in the city and region. This is important especially because the author, throughout the analysis section, claims that present political and social context of Hatay influence interviewees' memory considerably. However, she does not indicate the current structure, i.e. power politics, groups involved in power struggle and also does not elucidate the ways in which they affect the way people remember past events.

The book has a strong and well designed methodology, explaining each and every step of the research. However, there is a minor weakness regarding sampling. Although the author indicates that her "motivation was not to represent what each ethnic and religious group tell about history of Hatay (25-26)" it would make the analyses richer if Armenians whose presence, both during the World War I and the annexation process, influenced other groups' remembrance of past were included in the study. Although the author mentions that she has conducted an informal interview with the daughter of a converted Armenian living in Izmir, there is no single reference to her throughout the book.

On the whole, *The Role of Memory in the Historiography of Hatay: Strategies of Identity Formation through Memory and History* is a well designed and researched study. It focuses on a significant aspect of historiography; oral history, which is a relatively new methodology used in historical research in Turkey. The author successfully defends the argument that explaining historical events is not an easy task because there is no single history but multiple historical accounts that may overlap and also contradict each other. She also clearly displays, with in-depth interviews, the ways in which memory is influenced by identities a person harbors. The author convinces the reader about the necessity of complementing historical research based on written documents with oral history studies. This is a rich, well researched and insightful book making a significant contribution to oral history literature in general, and to the one in Turkey, in particular.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Marinella Belluati is lecturer at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Torino, where she teaches "Sociology of the Media" and "Communication Research". Her research and theoretical interests are focusing about Political and Intercultural Communication fields. She is a member of Osservatorio sulla Comunicazione Politica of Torino.

E-mail: marinella.belluati@unito.it

Giuliano Bobba, doctor in political science from University of Torino and University of Rennes, is currently a research fellow at the Department of Political Studies of Torino. He teaches Political Communication and Political Sociology at the Faculty of Political Sciences. His scientific interests are focused on relationships between government and media, on election campaigns and role of political journalism in Western democracies.

E-mail: giuliano.bobba@unito.it

Fouad Touzani is currently the director of Ibn Ghazi EL Fassi, a post-secondary school in Morocco. He holds a BA in Communication and Peace and Conflict Studies from Juniata College (USA) and an MA in Political Science from the Central European University (Budapest; Hungary).

E-mail: fouadtouzani2001@yahoo.com

Agnieszka Stępińska is an Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism at the University of Adam Mickiewicz in Poznan, Poland.

E-Mails: agnieszka.stepinska@amu.edu.pl;

astepinska@wnpid.amu.edu.pl

Giovanna Mascheroni PhD in Sociology, is Research Fellow at the Department of Political Studies of the University of Torino, where she teaches "New Media and Communication".

E-mail: giovanna.mascheroni@unito.it

Sara Minucci is a PhD Candidate in Political Science and International Relations at the Department of Political Studies of the University of Torino.

E-mail: sara.minucci@unito.it

Prodromos Yannas is Professor of International and European Relations at the Technological Educational Institution (TEI) of Western Macedonia in Kastoria, Greece. His research interests focus on Greek-Turkish Relations, IR Theory and Political Communication. He is a Senior Editor of the "Journal of Political Marketing".

E-mail: yannas@kastoria.teikoz.gr

Kira D. Baiasu holds an MA in Middle East Studies from the American University in Cairo.

E-mail: kjumet@aucegypt.edu

Martino Bianchi worked as policy analyst in Lombardy regional Parliament and as external researcher for Milan University on democratic accountability, policy analysis, and e-governance. He currently studies Public Policy at Bristol University.

E-mail: tino_bianchi@yahoo.it

Monika Dąbrowska is a doctoral candidate in International Relations at the University of St Andrews where she received her MLitt in International Security Studies. Her research focuses on radicalisation of European converts to Islam.

E-mail: mgdabrowska@gmail.com

Konstantin Kilibarda is a PhD candidate at the Department of Political Science at York University and a Graduate Researcher at the York Center for International and Security Studies (YCISS) in Toronto (Canada).

E-mail: koliya.k@gmail.com

Ana Dinescu holds an MA in History at the Faculty of History, University of Bucharest and is currently PhD candidate at the same faculty.

E-mail: anadinescu@yahoo.com

Mihail Chiru is MA student at the Department of Political Science, Central European University.

E-mail: mihail_chiru@yahoo.com

Monica Andriescu holds an B.A. in Political Science at the University of Bucharest, M.A. in Nationalism Studies at Central European University, Budapest, M.A. in Comparative Politics at the Department of Political Science, University of Bucharest; PhD candidate in Political Science, University of Bucharest. Research interests: identity politics in the context of Romanian-Hungarian relations in the 20th century, fascism and antisemitism, EU integration, contentious politics.

E-mail: monica_andriescu@yahoo.com

Dmitry Shlapentokh, is Associate Professor of History at Indiana University South Bend.

E-mail: dshlapen@iusb.edu

Zeynep Selen Artan is a doctoral student of sociology at the Graduate Center, City University of New York. Her research interest includes immigration, citizenship, gender, media and crime.

E-mail: zartan@gc.cuny.edu