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Book Reviews

Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation Made Real: Art and National Identity in Western Europe 1600–1850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, 213pp. £32.00 (hbk).

In this work of historical sociology and art history, Smith seeks to demonstrate how art played an important role in the development of national identity. The book is divided into six numbered chapters with an introduction and a conclusion. In the introduction, Smith gives an overview of his definitions of the nation and nationalism and outlines how he will categorise the chosen works of art. In short, there are three types that he looks at: didactic (heroic imagery); evocative (landscapes and atmosphere); and commemorative (glorifying the dead). These three types then combine with four dimensions of the nation: community, territory, history and destiny.

Chapters 1 and 2 serve almost as a prologue to the main work. Smith discusses the notion of national art in antiquity, concluding that while some of the tropes were there, it was not national art, and proceeds to focus on the Netherlands during the 1500s and the early 1600s where he argues the linkage between art and nation first emerged. Artists, such as Rembrandt, drew on imagery, both biblical and Batavian, to craft a sense of the Dutch being a ‘chosen peoples’, who had existed through time. During this period, many of the artistic motifs that would become popular were first developed. It is an ambitious opening that lays out the structure of the work ahead. Smith is impressive and engaging as he skilfully conveys the sense and atmosphere of the paintings he describes and analyses.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on two types, didactic and evocative, and examine them closely. France is used as the focus for didactic art, with the works of Jacques-Louis David and Eugene Delacroix being the main artists used. Their works would often show images of ancient heroism, and the scenes of oath swearing were recurrent during the period around the French Revolution. These paintings were crucial in shifting the sense of allegiance away from the king and towards the nation, representing the citizens. Delacroix, in particular, is shown to have used imagery and symbols that help ground the notions of liberty, virtue and honour and make them allegorical to the characteristics of the people of the nation. Smith argues that this helped to ground abstract values, in memorable images, and makes them communicable to the people. Britain, with the works of Turner and John Constable, stands as an example of evocation, with Smith looking at the portrayals of the landscapes to craft the atmosphere that would represent a distinct Englishness and help define the homeland of the people. He argues, persuasively, that the beginnings of the nation, during this period, made artists aware of their own background and identity and gave them a desire to convey that sense of identity to others.

Chapters 5 and 6 then focus on the two national dimensions of history and destiny, with the art type of commemoration getting an extended examination in the final chapter. Here, Smith makes that case that historical artists like Benjamin West, John Singleton Copley and Jacques-Louis David crafted scenes from history and contemporary events and portrayed them in a national light, imbuing them and their audience with a sense of patriotism and a notion that they belonged together as a people. Tropes

used in earlier didactic paintings were applied to contemporary battles, giving them an almost mythic quality. By doing so, they helped to craft a sense of history and destiny – that the nation had existed ('slumbered') through time and was now beginning to awake and that people had fought and died to realise this awakening.

The account is necessarily selective in the artists and works focused on. I do wonder whether it may have been better to include a wider range of artists, perhaps even a few who did not conform to the type that Smith outlines. There is also another larger flaw, present in any work like this, which Smith flags up on several occasions. The simple fact is that we cannot know how these works were perceived, or how many people saw them, during their time. Although Smith's interpretations of the works seem to fit, they are his interpretations and we sadly have no way of knowing how correct they are, or how many people at the time shared them and what influence they had. It seems intuitively correct and Smith is certainly persuasive in his writing, but it remains an unresolvable problem that unfortunately undermines some of the strength of the argument.

Despite this issue, the book is a well-written work that stakes its case and does so with confidence and insight. Smith is a clear and engaging writer who manages to draw out the links between the works and the development of nationalism very well. It is a worthy and valuable contribution to the study of nationalism and the development of national identities.

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Ilaria Porciani and Jo Tollebeek (eds.), *Setting the Standards. Institutions, Networks and Communities of National Historiography*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, 456pp. £64.00 (hbk).

The book focuses on delineating the realm of intentional and intuitive collective action that has played a pivotal role in shaping our conceptions of historical thinking. As the title suggests, the main emphasis is on exploring how developments in national historiography have been influenced and indeed brought on by the rise and fall of various institutions, networks and communities. What lies at the core is a more or less consciously recognised belief that there is a very real, almost brick-and-mortar type of structure that lies behind some of our most vague and unacknowledged patterns of historical thinking and that the development of that structure, or rather structures, can and should be acknowledged as well as historicised in order to get an idea of how the historical discipline as well as the profession was standardised on the nation-state scene during the whole of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

According to the authors, a thematic as well as a geographical expansion in the treatment of the subject-matter makes the book unique. The first one is indeed evident even by just glancing at the promising table of contents that encompasses a wide and a seemingly uncoordinated array of topics from excursions into what the editors tag scientific infrastructure (archives, source editions, historical journals, etc.) and formal, informal and non-formal spaces and places for historians to meet and share (societies, competitions, research traditions, etc.) to observations as to how various 'vectors of historical science [. . .] in the national context' (p. 22) (clergy, nobility, women, exiles, etc.) have sought and found agency and autonomy that have enabled them to make their own unique improvements on the field.

Unfortunately, the geographical expansion is neither as rich nor as promising and subsequently does not deliver as prominently. True, there is definitely a programme to look beyond the traditional Britain-France-Germany triangle and acquire a European perspective and in many cases, also an earnestly comparative approach, but as very often happens here too, there is a certain blind eye turned to the nooks and crannies of historiography-meets-nationalism. Not surprisingly, most of the argumentation is still largely based on what happened in that very same occasionally mocked sandbox that was once built by the big three. As a result, history as well as historiography still seems to predominantly live in the UK, France and Germany. In a way, this geographical deficiency erodes the thematic performance of the book as well. For example, language nationalism as a mode of thinking gets its first of a few fleeting references no sooner than a quarter into the text, albeit it can be seen as the definitive paradigm in some European national historiography traditions.

A certain tragic undertone to this observation stems from the fact that when traditionally peripheral regions are visited, they are treated with care, analysed with rigor and provide original, levelled and valuable insights. Thus, notwithstanding some minor errors, the aspiration for geographical enrichment is in fact successful but only insofar as it is practised, leaving at least this reader hungry for more nuances across the board. Some pardon can of course be given because of the fact that some phenomena have lost their place in the book on the grounds that they have already been dealt with in the *Atlas of European Historiography: The Making of a Profession 1800–2005* (Ilaria Porciani and Lutz Raphael [eds.], 2010).

Crafting a coherent line of reasoning in a substantial and multi-authored tome such as this can be a challenge, but even with the plethora of case studies and micro- and macro-level observations, a narrative of how the historical profession as well as the historical professional has undergone vast change seems to come through effortlessly. From depicting the lifeworld of gentleman historian Edward Gibbon to demonstrating the prevalence of the historical product rather than the historian in the contemporary media-driven public sphere, the editors and authors drive most points home with elegance. One question that is left hanging in between the lines is how the past creates the historical industry – how hot and horrid topics in national pasts that are perceived to demand unraveling provide fuel for thought as well as bread for historians.

This layered narrative is suitable for a very wide audience from students to academics, offering valuable information for the first and gratifying insights for the latter. Starting with the inspiring and inviting introduction, the volume is composed in a way that there is definite tension up until the very end. Granted, some arguments and conclusions are more daring while others fall on the safe and generic spectrum, but both extremes maintain their solidity in this enjoyable read.

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Shelley E. Garrigan, *Collecting Mexico: Museums, Monuments, and the Creation of National Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012, 216pp. \$22.50 (pbk), \$67.50 (hbk).

Shelley E. Garrigan takes a unique look at the process of nation-building through public collection within Mexico during the Porfiriato period of liberal reform from

1867 to 1910. Modernisation, construction of a national consciousness and the development of a national patrimony all occurred simultaneously in Mexico during this period, creating a constant link between patrimony and consumption. The book is structured around five distinct forms of collection in Mexico during the liberal regime: fine art, archaeology, historical monuments, the World's Fair and national statistics.

The first chapter is the book's most successfully developed and organised argument of national construction in modernising México. The chapter explores the contradicting themes of Europeanisation, aesthetics and commercialisation in the collection of fine art and the creation of a painterly cannon during the liberal regime. Conservative European attitudes towards a painterly cannon argued for a traditional European patrimony that promoted the transcendental value of fine art while raising the international status of Mexican art. However, liberal art critics saw the rise in popularity of genre paintings reflecting Mexican themes as not only creating a collective national identity distinct from that of European fine art but also as highly marketable both to the growing middle class in Mexico and as exotic artwork internationally. The chapter successfully flows through these two dichotomous views while also arguing that the juncture between these liberal and conservative views lies in the simultaneously sublime and commercial aspects of landscape paintings in Mexican art.

Chapter 2 moves from fine art to archaeology and the 'nationalization of science', arguing that the archaeology in the context of an independent México merged science and progress with national patrimony and international status. Like the national paintings from the previous chapter, archaeology preferred European standards. However, within the international discourse, México effectively made claims to pre-Columbian objects and disputed European hegemony and accuracy within the scientific debate. Objects were nationalised and modernised by draining them of their previous meaning and reconstructing meaning grounded within the context of national origins while presenting them internationally within the context of a modern Mexican nation.

The 36 new historical monuments erected during the Porfiriato period are described in Chapter 3 as validating and constructing national ties to a shared past-merging progress with patriotism through the accessibility of monument viewing and contributions. The author argues that these monuments create an 'imagined nostalgia' in order to unify a diverse and fragmented nation by both cultural remembering and forgetting. National monuments were also used on an international scale of foreign relations and commodification, reflecting the book's theme of the balance between patrimony and marketability of objects.

The 1889 World's Fair as an example of these intersecting themes of patrimony and commerce is discussed in Chapter 4. However, instead of being the medium with which to view these two themes, the collection and México itself become the subject of commercial consumption and transcendent value. It is México's self-representation brought into the international sphere that becomes the focus of modernisation. This chapter touches on México overcoming the melancholy of Mexican postcolonial identity, blending and creating multiple realities of a newly independent Mexican nation that did not yet have a cohesive identity.

The book takes a shift in Chapter 5 from cultural consumption and collection towards statistics and 'collecting numbers'. Garrigan argues that it is possible to view statistics as a form of national construction, unification and modernisation through science. The visual elements of statistical data allowed a new form of national images that were never possible before, creating a unified image of the fragmented Mexican nation.

The author presents an innovative way in which to examine national representation within the Porfiriato period of México. The book engages the broader and expanding discipline of cultural studies to explain nationalism, a task that has yet to be fully explored within the field of nations and nationalism. While the book is unique in its approach and thorough in its analysis, it does not go far enough to explain the creation of national identity. Garrigan purposely focuses on the context of national representations; however, the book may benefit from more balance between the context and the contents of Mexican identity. The book explains how the collections were used to construct a national consciousness; however, it lacks an explanation of what they were constructing. Although this is an innovative, interesting and informative topic for scholars of nations and nationalism, it may be more useful to those interested in studying material culture or Latin American studies.

NICHOLE M. FERNÁNDEZ
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Saliha Belmessous, *Assimilation and Empire: Uniformity in French and British Colonies, 1541–1954*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, 248pp. £36.00 (hbk).

It is often said that the emergence of a global village will gradually erase cultural diversity. *Assimilation and Empire*, however, dismisses such possibility with its historical accounts on assimilation at three different stages of European colonisation. Using the examples of seventeenth-century French America, British Australia and French Algeria, Belmessous skillfully presents how the colonists' failure to assimilate the colonised peoples contributed to the racial understanding of difference and how the notion of assimilation survived empire.

The choice of colonial experiments in distinctive times and spaces allows readers to recognise that the central and recurrent ideology of empire, assimilation, was a discourse that has shown remarkable continuity, regardless of the context. When the colonisers attempted to convert colonised people to Christianity and change their manners to no avail, lawyers and politicians emphasised the role of the rule of law as a civilising engine. As the second approach was also unsuccessful, Europeans resorted to attributing their failure to the indigenous peoples' inability to improve. Belmessous shows with great consistency and clarity that the focus of assimilation changed over time, and the methodological suppleness employed to suit the needs of this *longue durée* study adds a wealth of richness and credibility to her arguments.

The book is divided into three parts. Part 1 narrates the French experiment emphasising religion and civility as the ends of the assimilation policy in French Canada in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and how Francisation turned to racialism. The French aimed at perfecting the native Americans by converting them to both Catholicism and French civility, but the natives rejected the French language, customs and laws as they did not feel inferior to the French. French officials therefore became convinced that miscegenation, a central aspect of Francisation, corrupted the French settlers instead of improving them and the natives. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the word 'blood' carried the meaning of an entire people, and the natives were called 'bad blood'. The relationship between the biological and the social was constructed, reproducing racial thinking.

Part 2 focuses on the civilising power of the rule of law to overcome native resistance to assimilation in the nineteenth-century British Australia. The life of a British lawyer, Saxe Bannister, is discussed in detail as he was one of the most intellectually innovative, although not always acknowledged, British colonisers. He believed in universal human ideals and advocated the founding of self-governed indigenous societies under the guidance of the rule of law and justice through assimilation. He insisted on respect for native property rights and for the social and cultural benefit of the indigenous peoples, arguing for government's strong intervention in colonial matters. Despite his painstaking efforts, the British government refused to adopt policies allowing the power of law. Instead, Aboriginal people became confined to reservations where they were expected to die slowly and British opinion generally blamed the natives for their inability to improve in the second half of the nineteenth century, hoping that the natives would disappear and clear the path for white settlers.

Part 3 provides a detailed account of the indigenous Muslims' call for assimilation in twentieth-century French Algeria. In the nineteenth century, the imposition of the French legal system was actively promoted by the civilian government in Algeria, part of the French territory, but the emphasis on the rule of law and education shifted to repression as the régime de l'indigénat was enacted in 1881, subjecting the natives to offences that would be perfectly legal acts in France but were defined as crimes because they took place in the colonial context. Such racial politics proved convenient in justifying the French inability to assimilate the Muslims. After the First World War, a large majority of French-educated graduates supported assimilation, which they understood as a gateway to obtain equal rights and live a better life. They aimed at reforming indigenous education and acquiring French citizenship, but their voices were repeatedly ignored by the colonial offices. The occupation of France by the Nazis undermined natives' admiration for its genius and it allowed them to act upon their long-felt resentment and grievances. Eventually, they decided to break away from France and established an independent Algeria in 1958.

Although attention is only paid to the British and French empires while other European colonial powers' assimilation policies are not examined, the selected experiments in this short book are nonetheless representative and provide the readers with insights into the motivation and nature of assimilation, as well as the rise of racialism throughout four centuries, drawing appropriately on a wide range of quotations of crucial players and relevant facts.

Assimilation and Empire is an invaluable addition to the bookshelf of anyone who is interested in European colonisation, or history in general.

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Joanne McEvoy and Brendan O'Leary (eds.), *Power Sharing in Deeply Divided Places*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013, 448pp. £55.50 (hbk).

Power-sharing is a key component of many peace settlements in divided societies. Scholarship on power-sharing is heavily influenced by Arend Lijphart's pioneering work on consociational theory. Advocates of consociational power-sharing argue that it is a pragmatic means of dealing with competing ethnic identities, which are durable (as opposed to primordial) rather than malleable – a proposition not without its critics.

Joanne McEvoy and Brendan O'Leary's collection seeks to highlight the merits of power-sharing and how it can be used to foster a spirit of accommodation in zones of conflict. The volume consists of fourteen chapters that analyse variants of power-sharing systems, past and present, and critically engages with the role of electoral and judicial systems in underpinning these arrangements. The collection is book-ended by lengthy introductory and concluding chapters by O'Leary.

The book's subject-matter is a timely one, given the proliferation of contemporary ethno-religious conflicts from Africa to the Middle East, and beyond. The book is aimed at policymakers and scholars alike. O'Leary's introduction argues that the book contains ideas that both governments and guerrillas 'would do well to ponder as alternatives to the costs of repression and revolution' (p. 51). The book will be of greatest interest to political scientists, however.

The book is structured in three parts. Part 1 examines the role of electoral systems in the promotion or inhibition of interethnic accommodation. Chapters in this section comprise an analysis of electoral rules for ethnic accommodation (Grofman), a well-researched critique (contra Horowitz) of the application of centripetalist electoral systems (the Alternative Vote) in deeply divided places (McCulloch) and a proposal for the creation of a countrywide electoral district to ameliorate the historic ethno-linguistic divisions that have often led to political deadlock in Belgium in an excellent contribution by Deschouwer and Van Parijs.

The book's second part concerns 'historical and conceptual forays into power-sharing'. The section is impressive both in terms of the geographical range of the case studies covered (from Israel-Palestine to South Africa) and its use of historical as well as contemporary examples. A recurring motif in this section is the contribution that political institutions can make to promoting accommodation and preventing conflict.

The book's final section explores 'contemporary power-sharing questions'. The chapters deal with the legacy of violent conflict and processes of conflict resolution. There is a strong emphasis, throughout, on institutions and procedures, such as McEvoy's chapter, which considers how veto powers in power-sharing arrangements can 'respond to the political challenges in deeply divided places' (p. 235).

This section includes innovative work on governing polarised cities both in comparative perspective (Bollens) and through a detailed single case study of Kirkuk in Northern Iraq (Anderson). Unsurprisingly, Northern Ireland also features prominently here. Recent failures by that region's politicians to reach agreement on flags, parades and dealing with the past suggest that Ed Cairns's (Chapter 11) hoped-for emergence of 'a shared identity between Catholics and Protestants' (p. 290) is unlikely in the short-to medium-term future, if at all. This reality tends to reinforce the notion, advanced by consociationalists, that identity is more durable than malleable.

The book is rounded off with an essay entitled 'Power Sharing: An Advocate's Conclusion' by O'Leary. Here, he discusses power-sharing in action with reference to the European Union (EU). The EU's current problems, he argues, remind us that 'power sharing is neither a panacea nor easy' (p. 395). The application of power-sharing has obvious limits, particularly if it is imposed where electoral outcomes are disputed, for example in Zimbabwe (pp. 402–3).

Concluding, O'Leary argues for further research on power-sharing. In the course of this research, 'social scientists [will] need to work with (or indeed as) historians to provide detailed knowledge of why some cases of power sharing have proven successful while others have failed' (p. 411). While few would question the benefits of historically informed research, a note of caution might be sounded here. Political arrangements

based on consociational principles may offer successful institutional bases for the regulation of conflict. However, there is a risk that a fixation on power-sharing could lead to the presumption that the absence of or reluctance to impose such a system is a factor in explaining why conflict emerges or persists when it may not necessarily be so.

Stylistically, the book sometimes suffers from O'Leary's penchant for comic asides (with mixed results) that occasionally seem out of place. However, this collection makes a persuasive case for power-sharing arrangements as a tool in conflict regulation and provides pertinent suggestions for how such arrangements can be improved. Despite the diversity of the chapters, to which a review of this length cannot do justice, the book displays a remarkable intellectual coherence. It is a timely and valuable addition to the literature on a subject that will feature prominently in future debates concerning the resolution of conflict in deeply divided places throughout the world.

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Willem Maas (ed.), *Multilevel Citizenship*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013, viii + 280pp. £42.50 (hbk).

Edited by Willem Maas, an authoritative voice on European Union (EU) citizenship, the book's goal is to transcend the often dreary discussions of European supranationality, examining instead multilevel citizenship in a wide geographical and historical framework.

Contributors to the eleven chapters of the volume agree that 'citizenship literature has overlooked the fact that debates on political participation, membership, and nationality happen at multiple levels of decision making' (Pedroza, p. 40), and that 'multiple, overlapping sovereignties, the defining feature of multilevel citizenship, are as common in history as they are rare in political theory' (Hanley, p. 90).

The volume proposes a variety of remedies to the above diagnosis. The first three chapters following the introduction focus on 'migrants and migrations'. In Chapter 2, Luicy Pedroza looks at denizen enfranchisement by examining primary and secondary sources from 46 countries, and thus expanding the limited data generated so far by studies employing 'the fashionable three-case comparison' (p. 30). Chapters 3 and 4 both reflect the US experience. First, Rogers M. Smith reviews the recent history of state-level 'attrition through enforcement' policies, concluding that while such 'bottom-up' measures are legitimate, they bring to surface a conflict between the multiple levels on which citizenship is constructed in the United States, its resolution requiring the acceptance of 'semi-sovereignty' and 'moderate' forms of political peoplehood. Kinney and Cohen's subsequent chapter places Smith's observations within a wider framework. Their analysis of state-level, immigration-related legislation between 2005 and 2011 confirms that along the federal government, US states are increasingly involved in matters of immigration enforcement, and that their approach towards immigration is heavily divided. As a result, 'it is more desirable for noncitizens to live in some states rather than others' (p. 84).

The second part of the book deals with 'empires and indigeneity'. In Chapter 5, Will Hanley looks at 'Ottoman-Egyptian nationality', highlighting the deficiency of 'conventional descriptive vocabularies' (p. 90). He also emphasises that in order to capture

the complexity of citizenship in historical and extra-European contexts, one must focus on 'legal, economic, and even cultural practices' instead of political rights (p. 90). A similar argument is put forward in Chapter 6, where Elizabeth Dale scrutinises 'everyday citizenship' in China at the turn of the twentieth century. From a constitutional perspective, the author calls into question that citizenship is dependent on the existence of sovereignty, showing that even in 'hypo-colonial' settings, 'historical subjects could act in ways that helped define their citizenship and expand the possibilities of citizenship for others' (pp. 125–6). In Chapter 7, Sheryl Lightfoot invites readers back to North America, comparing indigenous citizenship in Canada and the United States, in light of the emerging international indigenous rights discourse. In line with the previous two chapters, Lightfoot sees multilevel citizenship arrangements as negotiated, evolving in time and acquiring their special functions through practice.

The four chapters making up the third part of the book examine 'local, multinational and postnational' forms of citizenship. Following the presentation of the Swiss case, characterised by extreme decentralisation (Marc Helbling, Chapter 8), and that of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a former Yugoslavian state (Eldar Sarajlić, Chapter 9), Türküler Isiksel draws a disquieting picture of 'market citizenship' as 'a creeping takeover of the possibilities for democratic politics by market logic' (p. 202). Finally, in the closing chapter, Catherine Neveu revisits the 'local' from a French perspective, arguing that instead of focusing on 'scales' of citizenship, scholars should rather study 'the "politics of scales" that underlie political mobilizations and projects' (p. 212).

Collectively, the chapters offer powerful support to the concept of multilevel citizenship as a perennial form of political and legal membership, making the book a valuable reading especially for citizenship scholars already familiar with the basic tenets of the research field.

Besides advancing a novel point of view in the analysis of multilevel citizenship, the volume offers several examples of how yet unexplored empirical data sources can prove highly useful (in this respect, Chapters 2, 4, 5 and 6 deserve singling out). However, the aim of the volume to broaden our understanding of the topic necessarily involves that the data and arguments of each chapter could only be fully explored in lengthier separate studies.

The editorial mastery deserves special mention, as despite the sheer variety of case studies, the core question has not once become secondary. As noted in the preface, one motivation behind the book was to 'demonstrate . . . that EU citizenship is not sui generis and incomparable with other forms of citizenship but rather the most compelling recent example of a form of multilevel citizenship that has historical precursors and is likely to develop further' (p. vii). Indeed, this steady comparative frame is recurrently invoked in the individual chapters, and the full potential of the volume will be recognised by those readers genuinely intrigued by, yet sceptical of, EU citizenship.

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Laura Nader, *Culture and Dignity: Dialogues between the Middle East and the West*. Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013, 264pp. \$39.95 (pbk), \$89.95 (hbk).

This collection of essays by the distinguished Berkeley anthropologist Laura Nader ranges over a broad swath of intellectual terrain, from early nineteenth-century travel

narratives to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 and contemporary global capitalism's impact on family structures. Drawn from two lecture series delivered at the American University in Cairo in 1985 and 2005, and supplemented with commentaries in response to current events, the essays gathered here reflect their diverse academic settings as well as Nader's own commitment to engaged scholarship that speaks to a broad audience. The result is an uneven but thought-provoking set of reflections on how the power differentials between East and West continue to shape contemporary global society, from academia to activism and foreign policy.

Nader is at her most insightful when observing developments in her own field. In a pair of essays on 'Ethnography as Theory' and 'Breaking the Silence: Politics and Professional Autonomy', Nader takes up the question of whether and how to create 'an anthropology free of central dogmas' that recreate the 'dominant hegemonies' of geopolitics (p. 197). About her graduate training in anthropology at Harvard in the 1950s, she writes, 'the unstated rules were clear: we were to work in non-Western societies, write about them as if they were bounded entities [. . .], deplore nineteenth-century unilineal evolutionism and exceptionalism but still practice it' (p. 53). This mid-century status quo served as the background for Nader's own scholarly interventions, which emphasised the centrality of global power differentials in shaping both the societies' anthropologists study and the scholarship they produce.

Taken as a whole, Nader's book makes a compelling case for ethnography as both a symptom of imperialism and a tool for reversing the damage it has caused. It is essential, she writes, for helping us reach 'an understanding of another human dignity in relation to ours' (p. xiii). She is generous in her admiration of authors outside her own field – travel writers, historians and cultural critics – as models of the kind of 'comparative consciousness' that seeks to bring a common human dignity to the fore. She particularly celebrates world historians for their capacity to deflate short-sighted cultural arrogance and highlight 'points of convergence and commonality' (p. 95) across civilisations. Her call for scholars to 'link their subjects to larger processes of change' (p. 219) resounds across disciplines.

Occasionally, one wishes Nader's own essays displayed more historical consciousness. On the topic of the Gulf War, her suggestion that 'perhaps the Crusades have never ended' (p. 208) shows a bracing disdain for historicism. An essay comparing the nineteenth-century Egyptian scholar Rifa'ah al-Tahtawi to the twentieth-century Palestinian-American cultural theorist Edward Said takes similar liberties with its subjects. Nader sees cultural continuity as a crucial source of human dignity, and she points out that Tahtawi's generosity and openness towards the peculiar lifeways of 1820s Paris arose from 'standing firmly within his own Arab-Islamic tradition' (p. 29). Yet in failing to highlight Said's very different relationship to this same tradition, Nader misses the chance to draw more nuanced insights from her study of two Arab writers as remote in time and place as Tahtawi and Said. Instead, she goes as far as to count Nassim Taleb, the Lebanese-American author of the *The Black Swan*, as part of a broad intellectual tradition of scepticism native to the 'Levantine area' (p. 45). Taleb fits awkwardly within this tradition, particularly given Nader's fierce critique of global capitalism as a source of Western hegemony elsewhere in the book.

In her preface, Nader writes of her dislike for the terms 'East' and 'West', given that 'culture spreads by continuous contact of peoples' (pp. xv–xvi). Yet this dubious dichotomy anchors most of the essays in the book. Sometimes, she deploys it critically to powerful effect, as when drawing on Said's idea of East and West as a pair of mutually constitutive identities, to highlight the reciprocally buttressing effects of

patriarchal power in its Eastern and Western varieties, each with a tendency to draw self-flattering comparisons regarding the status of women in its own culture. Elsewhere, she deploys these same terms and their synonyms uncritically, leaving the reader confused as to which cultures and traditions she is referring to.

Not only 'East' and 'West', but 'culture', 'dignity' and 'humanity' are terms that have been subject to decades of productive interrogation, historicisation and critique, by many of the same scholars Nader cites with approval. It is frustrating to reach the end of Nader's book without encountering a sustained discussion of the concepts that undergird her argument. Several of the essays have an unfinished feel, a symptom of a broader editorial neglect also reflected in the book's numerous typos and spelling inconsistencies. Nader's considerable legacy as a scholar and thinker would have been better served with a more carefully edited and coherent collection. Nevertheless, this book serves as an accessible overview of a half-century of ground-breaking scholarship and broad intellectual engagement.

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Eyal Chowers, *The Political Philosophy of Zionism: Trading Jewish Words for a Hebraic Land*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 274pp. £17.99 (pbk).

Eyal Chowers' book focuses on three major themes of early Zionist political thought: the imagination of temporality, the metaphor of building and the problem of language. Throughout, Chowers relates the second and third of these, although not the first, to the question of democratic politics, arguing that both contribute to and are largely constitutive of a democratic deficit in today's Israel.

To begin, Chowers distinguishes three ways of imagining the character of time (which he calls 'temporal imaginations'), in use, and available to Zionists to draw on for their political project at the turn of the twentieth century: the linear time of inevitable progress, which Chowers associates mainly with Kant and neo-Kantians, but also with 'Condorcet, Hegel, Comte, Marx, and Spencer' (p. 22); semi-cyclical time, in which the present connects with and redeems the past (Chowers mentions Freud, Proust and Benjamin as its main representatives) (pp. 37–8); and 'Present-centeredness', by which Chowers means excessive focus, over the course of a lifetime, on material needs and interests (p. 62). Although traditional Judaism had its own ideas about the character of time, as they became more and more integrated into the modern world, Jews encountered these three temporal imaginations and 'even came to exemplify certain aspects of each' of them (p. 70). The discussion of how early Zionists exemplified the semi-cyclical temporal imagination is especially impressive and instructive.

The key idea that emerges from the discussion of temporality is that Zionists eventually came to see time not as something that limits or determines action but as something subject to human action. Zionist Jews no longer waited for the Messiah, like traditional Jews, or for a progressively brighter future, like liberal Jews; nor did they operate fully in any of the other temporal modes. Instead, a 'revolutionary temporal consciousness' facilitated a 'break with history' and constituted 'an exemplary attempt at fulfilling a modernist dream through a postmodern temporal insight' (p. 109): the

insight that history is open-ended. Chowers calls this ‘sundered history’ (p. 74) and demonstrates its role in Zionist thought through an analysis of the works of Berdyczewski and Borochoy.

Next, Chowers argues that by emphasising building and the metaphor of building, Zionists trapped themselves in a language of doing, to their detriment. Drawing on Aristotle, Chowers contrasts the Zionist idea of building as inherently good with the classical idea of building as instrumental and secondary to civic activity. ‘Aristotle’, Chowers remarks, ‘insists that the practical skills required by builders and craftsmen have little to do with the virtues required of the citizen’ (p. 127), the most important of which are speaking and reasoning about political ends. Chowers illustrates how an emphasis on building occluded the importance of these activities, becoming an obstacle to the development of robust public dialogue about the ends of the Zionist project.

The argument that Zionist practices did not support the emergence of the robust public dialogue required for democracy is continued in the next section. There, Chowers adeptly sets forward the problem of the Hebrew language in Zionist thought from Gershom Scholem, to Ahad Ha’am and Nachman Bialak (pp. 153–215), to Hannah Arendt (pp. 215–26). That problem is how to envision ‘in the public sphere, a language that is neither holy nor artificial and instrumental, a language that is neither hostage to transcendental truths nor a diminisher of human-made truths and the status of the individuals articulating these truths’ (p. 213).

Chowers does not, as one might fear, resolve this problem in favour of a completely immanent democratic language, lacking all holiness. In this, he shows greater respect for and sensitivity towards religious Zionism than one might expect – all the more so, given his explicitly democratic commitments. For instance, after remarking that ‘[i]t is, of course, essential that the State of Israel becomes a bilingual state’ (p. 239), he adds that ‘on a more profound level’, the ‘mode of living with others’ that is ‘based on the assumption that there should be “more of us”, culturally speaking, is “vastly preferable” to the mode “based on the narrowest common denominator”’ (pp. 239–40). He himself thus tries to walk the tightrope between the traditional and holy on one hand, and the secular, modern and democratic on the other.

Chowers’ book is appealing not only because it highlights certain philosophical aspects of early Zionist thought, but also because it sheds light on numerous key themes of modernity more generally. As Chowers puts it, his study ‘seeks to go beyond Zionism, or rather to reflect on certain aspects of modernity by virtue of understanding Zionism’ (p. 3). The title of this book is slightly misleading, however. Those looking for a study of the idea of Zionism in light of the tradition of political philosophy proper will not find it here. Such readers should therefore supplement this book with Leo Strauss’s writings on Spinoza, Cohen, Mendelssohn, and others, including Michael Zank’s volume of Strauss’s early writings on Zionism. Indeed, the principal shortcoming of this otherwise fine book is the conspicuous absence of Strauss and his studies, reflecting Chowers’ narrow use of the undefined term ‘political philosophy’.

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Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (3rd edn). Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012, 268pp. £17.99 (pbk), £55.00 (hbk).

Kaldor's book, now in its third edition, has made an important contribution to the study of political violence after the Cold War. The book's structure is generally consistent with the previous two versions. This version couples Afghanistan with Iraq in discussing of the perseverance of the old war approach under the guise of technology in the post-9/11 world. An afterword, where Kaldor defends the concept of new wars against four counterarguments, is also new to this edition.

The book's main arguments revolve around the idea that a new form of conflict has developed in response to globalisation. Globalisation, defined by Kaldor (p. 4) as 'the intensification of global interconnectedness,' presents a set of challenges – political and economic, but also cultural and martial – to the state in the modern era. Political entrepreneurs, a motley crew of actors representing interests in the name of nation, tribe or religion, have used appeals to particularism to maintain their influence and power. This argument is developed in Chapter 4, on the politics of new wars as rooted in a novel form of identity politics associated with the reframing of the traditional in an era of increased interconnectedness. In Chapter 5, Kaldor discusses the political economy of new wars. Actors involved in these conflicts act rationally, but outside of a normative framework; in turn, these actors have little interest in conflict resolution, which would foreclose access to resources and power.

Preceding this argument, Kaldor first reviews the concept of old wars, drawing heavily from Clausewitz and the tension between reason and emotion present in his work (Chapter 2). The 1992–1995 war in Bosnia serves as a foundational case study of a new war (Chapter 3). Faced with the crisis of the modern state, political leaders turned to particularism to rally support for their specific aims. The failure of the international community to understand the new nationalism resulted in a political solution that condoned ethnic cleansing and left the Bosnian state economically and politically weak.

Chapter 6 offers a framework rooted in cosmopolitanism for countering the discourses of particularism used by prosecutors of new wars. Kaldor argues that the international community should work in consonance with local actors to establish the legitimacy of the cosmopolitan approach; international military assistance should perform a policing, rather than strictly peacekeeping, function. Moreover, this should be a global project that is cognisant of local and regional particularities. This course of action has not, however, been adopted in Iraq and Afghanistan. Rather, the prosecution of these wars rests on the key assumption of old wars: that the process of rebuilding the state could occur only after defeating the enemy.

This third edition has two main aims: to update the concept of new wars in light of the Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts and to position the new wars concept in the broader literature on political violence. Iraq and Afghanistan are hybrid conflicts in that they blend elements of new and old wars; only after the surge in Iraq did coalition forces adopt a more humanitarian approach to conflict resolution and management (a similar strategy was adopted with less effectiveness in Afghanistan). The comparative between these two wars and the archetypal example of a new war – Bosnia – could be more extensively developed; Kaldor (p. 169) writes that the tactics of 'sectarian violence and ethnic cleansing' in Iraq were 'reminiscent' of the former Yugoslavia. There are other opportunities to link the concept of new wars across cases (specifically, the interest of

parties in all three wars to maintain the war economy associated with the conflict), but the connection is not explicitly made.

The concept of new wars has resonance in the wider academic literature on conflict. Kaldor includes an afterword that defends the policy implications of the new war concept, specifically the continuing need for cosmopolitan responses to political violence. This chapter is more effective as a conclusion than what the concluding chapter is (Chapter 8), which invokes the now passé political visions of Samuel Huntington and Robert Kaplan in establishing the contrast with the cosmopolitan approach. What is still lacking, despite increased recognition, for example, by organisations such as the World Bank, of the consequences of violence for economic development 'is the demand for a cosmopolitan political response' (p. 221); Kaldor's frustration on this point comes through in her afterword.

Other points of critique are minor in what is a well-written, coherent work. There are artefacts of earlier editions that should be addressed; on page 65, Kaldor writes of the Serbs and Croats that 'it is now extremely hard . . . to dislodge the nationalists and war criminals from power, making long-term peace or normality a distant prospect'. With the capture of Ratko Mladic in May 2011, the key war criminals in the Bosnian conflict have been arrested and brought to trial at The Hague.

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Eleonora Narvselius, *Ukrainian Intelligentsia in Post-Soviet L'viv: Narratives, Identity, and Power*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2012, 432pp. £51.95 (hbk).

Whether during the Orange Revolution protests in 2004 or the pro-European Union (EU) protests in 2013–2014, Ukraine continues to find itself in the gap between the EU and Russia. This is in large part due to the rifts among society across Ukraine's diverse regions regarding what it means to be Ukrainian, in relation to being Russian and European and the Soviet legacy. Narvselius situates her study in her hometown of L'viv, a city in western Ukraine that claims itself as the 'most Ukrainian, least Sovietised' and most European city in post-Soviet Ukraine. On the surface, this is a book that deals with how L'viv functions as a space of intelligentsia and the role the intelligentsia ('intelihtnist') of L'viv have played in the city's role in contemporary Ukraine. However, Narvselius is able to take this further by showing how her analysis of L'viv and intelligentsia is related to the much broader struggles of class, nation, Europeanisation and dealing with the Soviet legacy.

The book examines the narratives of the intelligentsia in L'viv gathered through ethnography and interviews conducted with local intelligentsia. Narvselius uses these data to discuss the framing of the intelligentsia in terms of generational divides, social and cultural hierarchies, and the place-making discourses. She shows how these narratives allow the L'viv intelligentsia to emphasise their 'cultural authority' and 'moral superiority' not just within western Ukraine but across the whole state, as a counter-narrative against Soviet rule and later because of their claim to be the most 'genuinely' Ukrainian and in turn the least Russified.

In Chapters 7 and 8, Narvselius takes these themes further by examining the intelligentsia role in post-Soviet 'place making discourses' underpinning L'viv, in particular

the discourses of centrality vs. peripherality and the relationship between L'viv and other Ukrainian cities. Here, the cultural superiority of L'viv exercised by local intelligentsia to project the city to be the 'Ukrainian piedmont' is contrasted with its provinciality, as a western and Galician region but also an impoverished periphery of post-Soviet Ukraine. L'viv's intelligentsia have become the 'exporter' of the 'national idea' by projecting their 'cultural essence' of the city to the rest of Ukraine, but have lacked the financial resources to project this idea beyond the region.

Hence, as Narvselius discusses in Chapter 8, when she compares L'viv with Kyiv, the 'business/nomenklatura capital', and Donetsk, the 'proletarian/mafia' capital, which is only nominally Ukrainian, this project of exporting L'viv's discourse outside of western Europe is paradoxical. The power of L'viv's intelligentsia, and the power of western Ukraine, remains largely symbolic because in comparison with central and eastern regions of Ukraine, L'viv's cultural capital is undermined by its lack of economic capital. Moreover, L'viv is seen by other regions as not only Ukraine's cultural capital but also as a capital of 'militant Ukrainian nationalism' and Svoboda, a far-right Ukrainian nationalist party.

The strengths of this book lie in how it is able to interweave the diverse discourses, such as Ukrainian, Galician and European, which frame L'viv, to show their contemporary cultural, political and economic relevance for the ongoing project of consolidating Ukraine as a post-Soviet nation-state. Narvselius is able to discuss the role of an intelligentsia in this discursive process and normative project about what Ukraine should be as an integral component of central Europe. The author is able to show the continuity in the role of the intelligentsia in L'viv and how it consistently has framed and resisted its appropriation into a Ukraine, whether Soviet and post-Soviet, because of its sense of peculiarity and superiority as the only true Ukrainian region. In the political sphere, L'viv remains a site of concern, given the rapid expansion in support of Svoboda and the western Ukraine's relative economic backwardness.

While this is a book about intelligentsia, Narvselius is able to show that her case study has a significant relevance for the ongoing political and cultural contentions in Ukraine. This is most stark in her discussion of Ukraine's regional divides, which continue to play an important role in the diverse opinions about what Ukraine is and where it should position itself geopolitically.

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