

he does not offer them as his reason for writing the book. The book is clearly critical of the influence that American Zionists had on successive administrations and on Congress, leading to unquestioned American support for Zionist Jews in Palestine and a lack of support for the indigenous Palestinian Arabs. The result of the latter partly led, Davidson surmises, to the ultimate destruction of Palestinian society in Palestine in 1948, yet the author never informs the reader that this might explain his need to write this book. One can only speculate that Davidson might be compelled by more recent American political history, in which American presidents have backed the Zionist Israelis with little to no thought to the indigenous Arab population of Palestine or to the positions of the oil-producing Arab states, and thus set out to examine the roots of this support.

Davidson's *America's Palestine* comes as part of a group of books published recently—Obenzinger (1999), Christison (2000), and Little (2002), which have considered American literature, presidential administrations, and U.S. Middle East foreign policy, respectively—examining American attitudes toward Palestine during the last 100 years. It seems clear that there is rising interest in the role that America has played in this conflict. Scholars examining both the official and popular records on the subject of Palestine perceive deception and injustice in the ways that successive administrations and popular writers, among others, have presented and represented the conflict and its primary opponents. Although methodologically problematic, readers will welcome the archival material that Davidson has uncovered and perhaps turn to it to substantiate their own arguments, positions, and scholarship on the question of Palestine.

DOI: 10.1017.S0020743806381172

JENNY B. WHITE, *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics*, Studies in Modernity and National Identity (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002). Pp. 315. \$35.00 cloth.

REVIEWED BY FATMA MÜGE GÖÇEK AND MÜCAHIT BİLİCİ, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; e-mail: gocek@umich.edu, mbilici@umich.edu

Islamist Mobilization in Turkey studies the political mobilization of the Islamist movement in urban Turkey during the past decade. In order to explain the success of the movement in the 1990s, Jenny White explores its microdynamics. In so doing, however, unlike the dominant approaches in the study of Islam in Turkey that often privilege elite and party-level practices and discourses, White focuses instead on the everyday experiences of ordinary Islamist activists with special emphasis on their family and class background. She thus contextualizes political mobilization within a cultural framework and investigates the link between political discourse and the deep cultural and religious currents in people's daily lives.

White bases this very well-written book on an extended ethnographic study she conducted between 1995 and 1998 in Ümraniye, one of the poor yet developing neighborhoods of Istanbul. She primarily employs data from her interviews and experiences with ordinary women and men as well as various political figures from different social strata. The introductory chapter lays out the main thesis of the study and discusses the implications of "vernacular politics." The following chapters focus on several aspects of Islam and politics in Turkey, such as the historical background of the current Turkish politicocultural landscape, the convergence in the lives of ordinary citizens of the Islamic discourse with civic appropriations of democracy, the fragmented nature of Islam as a movement, and the debates on the question of women's headscarves. In understanding the contemporary deployments of Islamism in Turkey, White perceptively highlights the significance of the connection between Islamism and the Ottoman

past and neo-Ottoman trends. It is this emphasis on the historical process of change that enables White to perceive, for instance, in relation to the question of women's covering (*tesettür*) that it "is part of an internal national dialogue between people who choose to emphasize one aspect of Turkish history and culture over another. One is Ottoman-inspired, the other Western-inspired, but both are Republican discourses. It is an intensely national conversation" (p. 53).

White argues that the Islamist movement in Turkey can best be approached within a new conceptual framework, that she terms "vernacular politics." It is the failure of conventional approaches to grasp the way Islamism garners support simultaneously at the levels of local culture, civil society, and political party organizations that leads her to generate this framework. White argues that vernacular politics captures the discrete and even contradictory forms of organization and bases of solidarity that exist in the Islamist movement in Turkey today; this framework also illuminates the dynamics behind the puzzling practical gap between the relatively short life spans of Islamist political parties and the durability of their social movement bases. As White notes, "vernacular politics was a political process that linked the Islamist social movement with the Welfare Party in such a way that activists ultimately were independent of the party, although party and movement reinforced and strengthened one another" (p. 122).

As White formulates her argument on the nature of Islamist mobilization through the lens of vernacular politics, she notes that this mobilization "may not really be about religion, despite the high decibel rhetoric. Instead, Islamist mobilization may be part of a process of indigenous modernization that reshapes culturally distinct lifestyles and ideals, institutionalizing and commercializing them and linking their everyday practice to new forms of public life and political practice. Rather than a homogenous religious movement, Islamist mobilization can be a political process that brings together new coalitions of people with varied and often highly practical goals" (p. 271). Hence, according to White, it is the struggle with modernization that leads ordinary people to employ Islam as their conceptual tool; the ensuing Islamist movement is not, however, uniform in that, in spite of the projected unity of the ideological rhetoric, it incorporates many elements with different motivations and positions.

It should be noted that White's formulation of vernacular politics appears to be not much different from the Gramscian theory of hegemony and civil society. The book would have benefited from the articulation of this theoretical lineage, especially because White makes some allusions to the Marxian approaches to culture (for instance, in chap. 1, which is entitled "The Political Economy of Culture") and rightfully highlights the significance in her analysis of social class. It is specifically White's emphasis on class that enables her to criticize the neglect in current scholarship of the differentiation between the roles and locations of educational and economic elites. She is also able to capture how the Islamist movement in Turkey has appropriated the discourse of the left to its own advantage. Furthermore, White manages to identify how the politics of Islamism is not a simple "politics of the poor," but rather a vernacular politics that incorporates both the elites and the masses at different levels of autonomy.

While examining the vernacular politics of the Islamist movement in Ümraniye from the standpoint of the activists, White also compares the *modus operandi* of the Islamist activists to that of the Kemalists. The former emerge successful in achieving personalization (face to face contact) and popularization (embedding ideas within local norms and values) whereas the latter fail to situate their message in local cultural values and norms. This comparison is immensely useful in that it reveals how and why the Kemalists who initially attempted to lead the modernization of the populace eventually lost steam. Extending this Kemalist-Islamist comparison to the rest of the book would have greatly increased its analytical significance. Hopefully the author will further develop this comparative approach in her future work.

It should be noted that the book contains a few conceptual errors. In her overview of the Islamic movements and groups in Turkey, White mentions among current Islamic movements the Ticani along with the Nurcu. Yet, the Ticani presence in Turkey was always limited in scope and did not survive after the 1950s, whereas the Nurcu movement was and still is the most powerful civic movement in Turkey. One can also take issue with White's categorization of the Süleymançı and Nakşibendi groups as "fundamentalist" because, given their alliances with center-right political parties, these Islamist groups are generally characterized in the literature as "conservative and nationalist."

There are several minor spelling errors as well. For instance, "Cahit Zaferoğlu," "Davut Dursun," and "Fethullaçılar" that are mentioned in the text should be, respectively, "C. Zarifoğlu," "Davut Dursun" and "Fethullahçılar." The author also refers to the Turkey Volunteer Organizations Foundation and the Journalists and Writers Foundation as examples of "Nurcu Fethullahçı" organizations. It should be noted, however, that the former is not a Fethullahçı organization but a platform for various Islamic and conservative nongovernmental organizations.

In summary, this ethnographically rich work presents a powerful and meticulous examination of the Islamist "vernacular politics" in the 1990s that is able to provide a plausible explanation for the success of the Welfare Party. It approaches the complexities of the Islamic politicocultural currents in contemporary Turkey from the perspective of modernization and social class to argue that the Islamist success in Turkey was a consequence of the particular cultural strategy the ordinary people from different classes in Turkey employed in their struggles with modernization. Hence, in all, even though theoretical elements of the book could have been further articulated, it still makes a major contribution to the study of politics and Islam in contemporary Turkey.

DOI: 10.1017/S0020743806381184

H. IBRAHIM SALIH, *Cyprus: Ethnic Political Counterpoints* (Baltimore, Md.: University Press of America, 2004). Pp. 364. \$75 cloth; \$45 paper.

REVIEWED BY ANNA M. AGATHANGELOU, Department of Political Science, York University; e-mail: agathang@yorku.ca

This book investigates the current political challenges confronting the two ethnic communities, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot, in their attempt to resolve the tensions separating them. Layer by layer, Salih makes apparent the various counterpoints and locates them in the social relations and strategic interests of regional powers such as Greece, Turkey, the United States, the European Union, and the former Soviet Union. These power contestations have played a major role in the body politic of Cyprus' sovereignty, security, role in the Middle East and the Balkans, and indeed its entry into the European Union. Salih argues that the concept of a "unified Cypriot identity was eroded as each community articulated the ethnic and national priorities of their motherlands, Greece and Turkey" (back cover; chap. 1).

The book is divided into nine chapters. It first historicizes these political counterpoints by showing the concrete effects of the failure of the partnership (chap. 1), that is, the Turkish invasion (chaps. 2–3), ethnic conflict resolution (chap. 4), attempts to reassess the failure and the unfinished business of invasion and secession (chap. 5), the process of further militarizing the island (chap. 6), and how seismic diplomacy between Greece and Turkey informed and forged possibilities for rapprochement (chap. 7). Chapters 8 and 9 contain the conclusion and epilogue. Salih allows us to move through the difficult terrain of negotiating peripheral states'