

alism experiment, which enabled the Jewish and Muslim populations of France to develop a new type of political rhetoric and led them to express communal politics (p. 125).

According to Mandel, a new political culture emerged during the 1980s, and there were two competing approaches, particularism and pluriculturalism, towards the participation of ethno-religious diversity in France. She interprets the emergence of these two approaches, and implementation of the latter as a part of a multiculturalism experiment, though interestingly she locates pluriculturalism opposite to multiculturalism and integration. Nevertheless, and this should be underlined, Mandel fails to clarify what she understands by “multiculturalism.” It remains ambiguous, since many scholars of multiculturalism have argued that multiculturalism was never expe-

rienced in France. The 1989 “foulard controversy” is one of the most salient examples that clearly indicates that France did not recognize (and still doesn’t recognize) cultural-religious differences, rather “French republicanism” has always aimed to assimilate its difference via implementing a citizenship policy based on *jus soli*.

Overall, Mandel successfully traces the local and national origins of the ambivalent relations of Jews and Muslims in France; and she vigorously demonstrates that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not the only factor that shapes their relations. *Muslims and Jews in France* is a significant contribution, I would recommend the book to those who are interested in contemporary French history and politics, in general, Muslim-Jewish relations, in particular.

Depicting the Veil: Transnational Sexism and the War on Terror

By Robin Lee Riley

London and New York: Zed Books, 2013, 182 pages, £17.99, ISBN: 9781780321288.

Reviewed by Sarah Fischer

IN *DEPICTING THE VEIL*, Robin Lee Riley examines a critical and often overlooked effect of September 11th, 2001: the Western media’s portrayal of Afghan and Iraqi women. Riley argues that U.S. policy and, consequently, the media, portray Afghan and Iraqi “women (and indeed all women believed correctly or incorrectly by the Western media to be Muslim) as weak and in need of rescuing, and simultaneously as mysterious, dangerous, and evil” through transnational sexism. This form of



sexism, Riley claims, is unique in its “deployment, use, and propagation of ideas about Muslim women to Western audiences...through popular culture” (p. 2).

Riley analyzes stories and “cultural artifacts” produced by Western journalists and entertainment companies over a ten-year period. Her evidence ranges from articles that ran in *The New York Times* to the plot and characters of *Sex and the City 2*. Riley’s initial chapters address

the media's portrayal of Afghan society and women's veiling in it and the representation of Osama bin Laden's wives. In later chapters, she examines the portrayal of Saddam Hussein's female family members and high-ranking female politicians in Iraq. Here, Riley further emphasizes that, absent stereotypical tropes, Middle Eastern women are essentially absent from the media. The final chapter questions the predominant understanding in the West of women's liberation.

One of the most notable strengths of Riley's analysis is her emphasis on how women were used as pawns in the invasions. She states that prior to the invasion of Afghanistan, politicians portrayed Afghan and Iraqi women as meek, "a handy excuse" to justify war, but post-invasion, politicians and journalists portrayed the same women as "dangerous, the creators of baby terrorists--or as screens for male bloodthirsty terrorists" (p. 39). Furthermore, media failed the public by promoting such images while repeating "the Bush and Obama administration's [sic] ostensible concern for Afghan women without question, and... portray[ing] Islam as primitive and archaic" (p. 39).

Later, Riley argues that the media also failed by not investigating the dangers to women that the occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq brought: the death and injury of family members, loss of income, and increasing hazards of "double patriarchy," as women may experience violence at the hands of both local men and occupying forces. Riley notes that few media outlets have linked the deaths of males due to the invasions to the precarious predicament that comes with women being left as the sole providers for themselves and their families. Riley argues this leads women to turn to prostitution to compensate for loss of income, inadequate wages, and limited job opportuni-

ties. Such insight is just one instance of Riley's refreshing ability to succinctly demonstrate how transnational sexism harms women.

However, Riley's strong voice obscures some issues with her manuscript. One of these issues is lumping together different parts of the media, particularly journalism and the entertainment industry, without discussing their differing purposes. Furthermore, the discussion of the entertainment industry's biases is limited to examples from a few television shows and movies. Because Riley has such a vast collection of examples from which to pull, this discussion of how the entertainment industry portrays Muslim women on the large and small screens leaves readers wanting.

More problematic are the double standards present in Riley's analysis. For instance, Riley interprets that by refusing to remove the veil, women are refusing to be colonized. Yet, she offers no evidence to back up her interpretation of Afghan women's actions as such. Thus, although the author criticizes journalists for portraying women as "victims of the burqa" and "patriarchy" and not thoroughly investigating Afghan and Iraqi women's lives through first-hand accounts, Riley appears to do the same. She merely seems more comfortable with the meanings that she ascribes to women's actions than the meanings that journalists do.

Riley's book discusses the coverage of Afghan and Iraqi women in the Western media, but it also serves as an indictment of the Bush and Obama administrations' policies and against those who see (or seek) Western values as universal values. Few of Riley's readers would argue that such actions are acceptable. However, while Riley seems to argue for cultural relativism regarding gender norms in the Middle East, she also seems to hold certain

American women in particular disdain. For example, Riley states, “Bin Laden’s wives are always placed in opposition to the Western liberated model of femininity, but here they are also depicted as practicing femininity in a manner reminiscent of the least admirable Western women, *such as the Kardashians*” (emphasis added) (p. 44). In short, the book denounces certain Western women for failing to adhere to Riley’s standards of propriety for female behavior.

Depicting the Veil: Transnational Sexism and the War on Terror provides an interesting investigation of the biases in media’s portrayal of Afghan and Iraqi women post-September 11. The book is aimed at academics, but may also be appropriate reading for upper-level undergraduate courses examining women in the Middle East or media biases. Policymakers and journalists would also be able to craft better policies and coverage of the effects of said policies after reading Riley’s monograph.

Ottomans Imagining Japan: East, Middle East, and Non-Western Modernity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

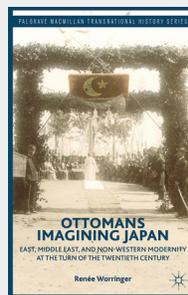
By Renée Worringer

Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, 350 pages, \$110.00, ISBN: 9781137384591.

Reviewed by Atsuko Ichijo

The division of the world into the “West and the “East” continues to exert substantial influence on the way we see, understand, and talk about the world even in the twenty-first century when globalization has certainly pulled different parts of the world closer than ever. Renée Worringer’s *Ottomans Imagining Japan* contextualizes this puzzle in a historical context; that the origin of the binary of the “West” vs. “East” goes back, at least, to the nineteenth century and that there was a lot of flows of ideas between the “West” and “East” and within the “East” itself in the twentieth century, although the speed and intensity of exchange was less than now.

This is certainly a *tour de force*. In this impressive transnational history of ideas, Worringer carefully traces how Meiji Japan was seen, understood, and represented by those in the



Ottoman Empire. A wide range of sources are culled together: archival sources in Cairo, Damascus, Istanbul, and Washington (the US government’s analysis of Japan’s relationship with Muslims in the Middle East during World War II); Arabic and Ottoman Turkish newspapers and journals; a variety of memoirs, papers, and diaries as well as secondary sources. These diverse sources are then arranged to describe a variety of images of Japan, most of them positive, put forward by Ottomans of different regions, classes, religious faiths, and ethnic communities. The variety of images of Japan was naturally a reflection of different concerns and interests held by various groups in the Ottoman Empire. Some members of the Ottoman elite, for example, tended to present Japan as a model for an oligarchical and centralized government with some provision for civic participation. The Young Turks saw Meiji