

cross-border cooperation are assumed to have had a positive influence on underlying social processes. Germany has also based its post-war kin-state policy on inter-governmental agreements secured, nevertheless, by Germany's "moderation" and its central position in the process of European integration.

What the well-chosen case studies ultimately show is that the positive outcomes of European integration for divided nations were achieved unevenly across Europe. In their Conclusion McGarry and O'Leary go beyond merely evaluating the contributions, and outline a "tentative" explanatory framework of the "variations in state policy toward 'internal' and 'external' minorities, one that does not rely on a misleading dichotomous contrast between west and east" (p. 366). Backed by the previous chapters, it is a very convincing comparative analysis, which shall necessarily constitute a starting point for any further investigation. Nevertheless, the ana-

lytical contrast between "European factors" and endogenous political and historical variables in explaining the impact of European institutions on divided nations also has the shortcoming of neglecting the various ways in which global actors and extra-European political-economic processes are more directly involved. Such a perspective could provide a more nuanced understanding of the exogenous factors evading European mediation.

While the main achievements of the volume lie in its coherence and comparative gaze, the detailed case studies—hardly any of which could be singled out as faltering in analytical depth and quality—will surely become staples on the bibliographies of researchers working on the respective geographical areas. The volume, therefore, is of value not only to scholars of nationalism, peace and security studies or international politics, but also to students searching for an entry point into political and area studies.

Extremism in America

Edited by George Michael

USA: University Press of Florida, 2013, 356 pages, \$74.95, ISBN ??????????????.

Reviewed by Caroline Lancaster

ONE DOES NOT have to look far to be reminded that the most feared form of extremism among Americans today is that of radical Islamists. However, George Michael's edited volume, *Extremism in America*, unveils a more colorful and diverse reality, one in which far-right anti-abortion activists operate under similar guises as extreme left radical environmentalists; where the Christian Identity Movement



allies itself with "jihadists," as a result of fanatical anti-Semitism and anti-Americanism; and where one well-known group – extremist to some – the Tea Party, attempts to infiltrate American society not with bombs but with votes. *Extremism in America* reminds us not of the sheer differences between extremisms but rather of their remarkable similarities. While their ideologies are undoubtedly heteroge-

neous, their rhetoric, tactics, and goals are nearly indistinguishable, demonstrating an utter lack of belief that their agendas can be realized within the system.

Michael's introduction to the book overviews the "long tradition" of political extremism in the United States, suggesting even that the nation itself was borne out of extremist ideology, with the colonists' violent rebellion against the British. Michael likewise argues that the "ethnic cleansing" campaigns against the Native Americans, of the post-independence era, is comparable, in some fashion to white-supremacist extremism today, although I would argue that this is little more than an extension of the colonial mindset. An attempt at defining "extremism" follows, borrowing from the social deviance literature, followed by a consensus that extremist ideology is "beyond the pale" and "non-mainstream." Finally, Michael takes a look at a rather puzzling phenomenon. While extremism is not – and never has been – uncommon in the American context, it nonetheless has never taken hold and garnered any significant support, which, according to Michael, is due in part to the form of the American political system: two-party, single member district plurality (SMDP).

A gamut of case studies follows, demonstrating the sheer breadth of American extremisms today and in the recent past. A piece on the Tea Party opens this examination, with Michael convincingly suggesting that this group, although only in its infantile stages, had roots not only back into the 1980s, but even to the 1830s, with the Anti-Masonic movement. Facilitated by recent innovations such as Fox News and the Internet, and influenced by the election of Barack Obama, many wonder if the Tea Party is "neo-Klansmen." However, Michael falls back on his previous argument, that the American political system will stifle

this divergent bunch, as well as noting that the country's demographics are constantly shifting. Although thorough, this piece fails to provide any real theory as to how – and why – the Tea Party is still, in 2014, infiltrating the US political system through the electoral arena. As we see in the following pieces, this electoral participation is almost unheard of among American extremist groups.

A few less-than-stellar pieces follow. Zuquete's work on anarchism attempts to draw parallels between revolutionary anarchists in America and those all over time and space. Mullroy writes of the New Black Panther Party, while Trivett explains the struggles of the little-known Chicano separatist movement in the American Southwest. Lutz and Lutz overview the current American preoccupation with Islamist extremism, illustrating a past reaching further back than 9/11, which is one often eluding common stereotypes. While innocent Arabs and Sikhs are victimized by racial and ethnic hatred and discrimination, the writers remind us that converts to Islam are oftentimes especially vulnerable to extremist tendencies and thus that radical Islamists might actually not look all that threatening – they may in fact look like ordinary Americans. This piece is particularly compelling for its evidence of an actual poverty of Islamist extremist activity in the United States, contrary to popular belief, as well as for its comprehensive overview of the history of American Islamist extremism.

While Lutz and Lutz show that the fear of Islamist extremism is relatively overblown, Winter demonstrates that anti-abortion extremism is not only rampant in the United States, but even condoned, or at times supported, by politicians. In this also-compelling piece, we find the rise of the Christian Right in the post-*Roe v. Wade* era

coinciding with the somewhat perplexing phenomenon of self-proclaimed “pro-life” individuals committing violent acts against abortion providers and activists in the form of murders, arsons, and vandalism. In a complementary piece, Liddick writes of the equally-perplexing issue of radical environmentalism and animal rights activism, of individuals who commit “ecoterror” and send envelopes full of razorblades to scientists who experiment on animals. In a sense, this ecoterrorism can be seen as the liberal equivalent of anti-abortion violence, having arisen during the same time period and utilizing analogous rhetoric. Hence, the juxtaposition of Winter’s piece with Liddick’s makes for yet another high point in this edited volume.

Michael concludes his volume by echoing yet again his dictum – that although extremism in America is common, varied, and visible, there is no risk of any of these groups taking hold

of American society in the near future. Yet, he does leave us with a warning – as American demographics continue to change, extremism could become a greater threat if historic socioeconomic disparities, discrimination, and disenfranchisement are not alleviated.

If the goal of *Extremism in America* was to provide an introductory overview of the varying strains of extremist ideology in the United States, then this edition was successful in its intent. I believe that this book would be ideal for individuals interested in familiarizing themselves with the myriad of strains of American extremism. Yet, *Extremism in America* is certainly more of a casual read than an intensely scholarly one. Hence, for academics, it can provide a starting point for further research into any of these various movements, thus being of particular interest to sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists, as well as historians.

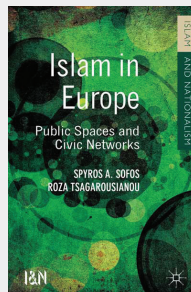
Islam in Europe: Public Spaces and Civic Networks

By Spyros A. Sofos and Roza Tsagarousianou

Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 205 pages + xi, £68, ISBN 9781137357779.

Reviewed by Atsuko Ichijo

TOWARDS the end of Chapter 7 “Is there a space for European Muslims?” which is a concluding chapter of the volume, Spyros Sofos and Roza Tsagarousianou quote from E. P. Thompson’s *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963): “... class itself is not a thing, it is a happening” (p. 167). After an extensive literature review and after speaking to 735 interviewees from Belgium, France, Ger-



many, the Netherlands, and the UK in search for the answer to the question “what does it mean to be a European Muslim today?” Sofos and Tsagarousianou have settled with what can be seen as a classical sociological insight: European Muslims do exist but there is no overarching identity to define them; they are a happening. European Muslims are those who are engaged with a variety of collective action