

historians. The former is used in the book for describing the Ottoman expansion in the pre-modern period though the use of the term from the nineteenth century onwards is subject to a discussion. The latter, “imperial decline,” has engendered a litany of responses, especially in the last thirty years. Ottoman historians have been trying to provide better models than the decline paradigm. Additionally, Pippidi lists what he thinks the reasons are for “Ottoman imperialism,” without any convincing and detailed explanation and references (p. 7). Lastly, the writing style of the

book sometimes leaves the reader confused about whether some expressions such as “Turkish vandalism” (p. 58), or “the Sultan’s merciless authority” (p. 62) are the views of the European writers in question or the author himself.

In conclusion, detailed and generally clear account of the rich primary and secondary sources are used and therefore, the book is a beneficial read for both European and Ottoman studies and may help to establish a more integrated historical approach.

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## Islamophobia in America

### The Anatomy of Intolerance

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*Edited by* Carl W. Ernst

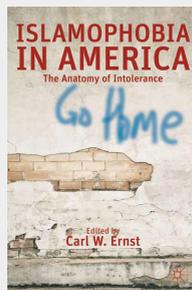
New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 205 pages, ISBN 9781137321886.

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*Reviewed by* Selen Artan-Bayhan

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THIS EDITED VOLUME is a collection of essays dealing with the issue of Islamophobia in the United States from various perspectives, such as race relations, gender, state, and history. There are five chapters preceded by an introduction by Ernst, welcoming the reader and briefly mentioning each chapter’s lined up.



cate that representations of Islam as violent and fraud was actually used by social commentators to criticize and warn about internal issues unrelated to Islam. Feelings of fear and threat from Islam, as a competitor to Christianity, also contributed to Anglo-American Islamophobia.

In Chapter 1, Gottschalk and Greenberg follow traces of Anglo-American Islamophobia by exploring the literature that was produced in both geographies between the late 17th and mid-20th centuries. The authors underline the role of imperial Britain spreading the seeds of Islamophobia to the United States and examine both the similarities and differences between these two versions. Drawing on works by Prideaux, Voltaire, and Locke, they indi-

Chapter 2, written by Ghanea Bassiri, explores the reasons why the attacks of 9/11 were framed as religious violence by the U.S. media, many political elites, and the American public. He argues that while the media tends to simplify issues when explaining them, the state gains from this association by expanding its authority over U.S. citizens. The author indicates that the historical role of religion in the construction of American national identity explicates why Americans resort to reli-

religious differences in times of political crisis. Acknowledging religion's strong influence on assimilation that has worked for Jews and Catholics in the past, GhaneaBassiri is skeptical when it comes to Muslims, as their integration is complicated by their ethnic and racial characteristics. He also criticizes the narrow definition of Islamophobia as fear of Islam, which he asserts does not capture the racial and political processes on which it is based.

In Chapter 3, Curtis provides a racial and historical perspective on the rise of Islamophobia in the United States within the context of the emergence of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and the pan-African political movement in the 1930s. The adoption of Islam by many African Americans, as part of their struggle against white supremacy, renders state institutions, such as the FBI suspicious of their real intentions and puts them under the government radar. Curtis indicates that the making of Islamophobia in the U.S. coincides with state policies put into practice to deal with the perceived Muslim threat in the early-to-mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. While not challenging the notion of Islamophobia as social anxiety, Curtis extends this definition by emphasizing state's role in its production through the measures of control, discipline, and punishment of Muslims.

Chapter 4 by Hammer introduces gender as an analytical category back into the debate of Islamophobia. Rejecting the notion of Islamophobia, as merely fear of Islam, Hammer defines it as a complicated social construct with various levels and processes at interplay with each other. Since different combinations of these levels are at work in diverse settings, a case specific rather than a holistic approach is required for analysis. She discusses two different aspects of gendered Islamophobia when it comes to Muslim women: First, women become objects of hate crimes and discrimina-

tion due to the visibility of their Muslim identity through their hijab, and second, they become objects of anti-Islamic discourse by being portrayed as victims of Muslim men and repressive culture. Hammer underlines this double standard, where alleged victimhood of Muslim women becomes a concern for the Western world, whereas the hate crimes and discrimination they experience at the hands of their Western counterparts never do.

In the final chapter of the book, Chapter 5, Shryock dismisses the idea that Islamophobia is based on fear or hatred of Islam alone. He asserts that Islamophobia is rather based on the widespread belief that Islam is essentially different and therefore can never be part of the American culture. Shryock warns his readers about the dangers of Islamophilia, which he sees as the opposite of Islamophobia and defines as "generalized affection for Islam and Muslims" (p. 161). Elaborating on the case of Detroit, he asserts that Islamophilia paves the way for the emergence of good vs. bad Muslim dichotomy, where good Muslims are invited to join the American society through the mechanisms of which he describes as disciplinary inclusion. As being critical of the processes of incorporation of Muslims in Detroit and elsewhere, Shryock offers a more dialectical relationship through mutual respect as an alternative.

This edited volume presents a vibrant debate on the issue of Islamophobia in the United States and makes the reader realize that there is no singular, comprehensive description of the term Islamophobia. The authors seem not to be satisfied with the definition of the term as fear of Islam and hence offer their alternative, complicated understandings of it. What I believe is missing in this volume is a conclusion chapter that debates these different definitions of Islamophobia and maybe

questions the widespread use of the term in academia and in other outlets. If the term can employ different meanings in different settings, should we stick to using it? Should we come up with new terminologies that are case specific and therefore more nuanced? Aside from this issue, the book offers readers engag-

ing articles on Islamophobia from historical, racial, and gendered perspectives. It would be quite useful for students, academics, and activists working in the field and/or on questions regarding Islamophobia to better understand the complicated nature of the issue they are dealing with.

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## The Young Atatürk

### From Ottoman Soldier to Statesman of Turkey

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By George W. Gawrych

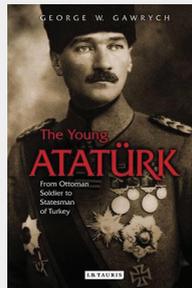
London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2013, xiv+267 pages, \$35.00, ISBN 9781780763224.

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Reviewed by Roger A. Deal

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IN *THE YOUNG ATATÜRK*, George Gawrych examines the intellectual development of Mustafa Kemal as a soldier, and looks at how he applied what he had learned about soldiering to the problems of statesmanship. He traces Mustafa Kemal's intellectual development primarily through his own writings. With access to Atatürk's personal notebooks, in addition to his published writings, as well as drawing on a vast array of other primary sources and secondary literature, Gawrych is able to follow the ideas Mustafa Kemal was exposed to in his classes and in his personal readings, and see which of those ideas are adopted and expanded upon. Rather than a biography of Atatürk, this is an examination of his characteristics as a leader, explicated through his intellectual journey. Gawrych focuses on three concepts, which he argues were central to Atatürk's philosophy of life and of leadership: "*his*, *dimağ*, and *vicdan*," which he translates as feeling/sentiment, mind (cognitive activities), and conscience (pp. xii-xiii). Previous analyses of Atatürk's leadership, he argues,



have focused almost exclusively on the intellectual component, which is too narrow to explain Atatürk's successes.

The book is organized chronologically, beginning with Mustafa Kemal's early education, and ending with the end of the War of Liberation. Chapter 1, "The Making of an Ottoman Soldier," covers his military education, as well as his early military and diplomatic experiences in Libya and Bulgaria. Chapter 2, "The Great War and an Imperialist Peace," covers World War One. The remaining five chapters ("Developing a Resistance," "The Grand National Assembly," "A Crisis in Battle," "Commander in Chief," and "From Lightning Campaign to Peace") cover the War of Liberation and the nation-building program that went along with it. It is in these later chapters that Gawrych uses the concepts of "*his*, *dimağ*, and *vicdan*," which he has introduced, explored, and developed earlier, to analyze Atatürk's leadership style and explain the military and political successes of Mustafa Kemal.