

generosity of the unemployment insurance decreased, and the like. Sweden followed a strong dualization path, despite its Social Democratic welfare regime. Rathgeb also demonstrates the dismantlement of egalitarian institutions in Denmark—a feature that remains too often overlooked in his view.

The three next chapters analyze the policy reforms undertaken by different coalition governments since the 1980s in the three countries. The case studies rely on an impressive array of primary and secondary sources and more than 40 interviews with policy-making elites. The chapter on Austria underlines the role of social partners in the reforms under the grand coalition governments (1987–1999, 2006–2017). The two governing parties, which lacked unity (the case of a “weak government”), had a great deal of interest in relying on extraparliamentary consensus. The coalition between ÖVP and FPÖ did not dramatically change the situation, at least in the area of labor market policy, given the disagreements between the partners. The analysis of Sweden shows well the new ideological distance between the Social Democratic Party and the Trade Union Confederation in the 1990s and its consequences for policies. When there were center-left cabinets (1994–2006), the Social Democratic minority government was prone to promote more labor market flexibility and made fiscal consolidation a priority, thanks to parliamentary support from the bourgeois Center Party. The dualization trend was then reinforced under the new center-right governments (2006–2014) that excluded unions from policy making. The Danish case shows that center-right governments do not always prefer to exclude unions from the policy process. The center-right minority coalition (1982–1993), a weak government in the late 1980s, chose to establish a deal with the Trade Union Confederation to secure a parliamentary majority for its labor market policy reform.

There are two important lessons from this well-written and well-executed study for political science. First, the book is an important investigation of the role of trade unions in the representation of new groups of (atypical) workers. As convincingly argued and demonstrated, unions deploy important efforts to improve the social protection of outsiders. The book marks therefore a departure from the dominant view in comparative political economy that has treated labor as an increasingly heterogeneous political actor and conceived trade unions primarily as representatives of insiders' interests (e.g., David Rueda, *Social Democracy inside Out: Government Partisanship, Insiders, and Outsiders in Industrialized Democracies*, 2007). The merit of the analysis is also to show the mechanisms behind the trade union representation of outsiders' interests. In Denmark and Sweden, the presence of encompassing trade unions and the links established with unemployed workers through the Ghent system facilitate the incorporation of outsiders' interests. In Austria,

the strong concentration and centralization of unionism impede the domination of the manufacturing sector and stimulate the ÖGB's ambition to represent all workers.

Second, the innovative theoretical framework is an important step toward better treatment of the new political context in which governments operate. The variable of government strength makes it possible to integrate the growing fragmentation of party systems into the analysis of public policy. As shown by Rathgeb, divergences between governing parties—which are likely to increase with the formation of unusual coalition governments—matter for policy outcomes. Above all, these divergences can give nonstate actors in some instances more influence in the policy-making process. The conclusions on the limited but significant potential for trade unions in the conditions of weak government could well be valid in other policy domains and lead to new opportunities for some (usually weaker) actors; for example, environmental associations.

Although the variable of government strength is innovative and deserves scholarly attention, one might question it as well. Rathgeb emphasizes the types of coalition governments and the number of partners needed for parliamentary support in the case of minority governments. However, it would be more accurate to describe the variable as a combination of two elements: the type of government and the ideological willingness to engage in reforms pushing for more liberalization. This second element is sometimes slightly hidden behind the first. Moreover, the empirical analysis reveals an important variation among the types of governments described as “weak.” The explicit consideration of both elements could therefore make the analysis even more convincing.

Notwithstanding this desire for further precision, Rathgeb's excellent study engages with important and timely issues for both research and society and should be read widely by scholars and experts in the fields of welfare state politics, political economy, and employment relations.

Salafism in the Maghreb: Politics, Piety, and Militancy.

By Frederic Wehrey and Anouar Boukhars. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. 240p. \$99.00 cloth, \$29.95 paper.

doi:10.1017/S1537592720002972

— Zekeria Ahmed Salem , Northwestern University
zekeria.salem@northwestern.edu

Few scholars predicted that the Islamists who reluctantly joined the first sparks of the so-called Arab Spring would ultimately reap some of its political benefits. Even fewer anticipated that the 2011 revolutionary wave would trigger an irresistible process of formal politicization of Salafism. Yet that is precisely what happened. This outcome is paradoxical on multiple levels. Except for a minority of jihadists, the overwhelming majority of Salafi groups have long rejected political activism, democracy, and

institutional politics while remaining loyal to ruling regimes. Building on the emerging scholarly consensus around this remarkable post–Arab Spring transformation, Frederic Wehrey’s and Anouar Boukhars’s *Salafism in the Maghreb: Politics, Piety, and Militancy* surveys the rise of Salafi groups as important political forces in five North African countries: Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania, and Tunisia.

However, the book does not posit a unified regional Salafi movement. In fact, Wehrey and Boukhars argue exactly the opposite. Their central argument is that, contrary to received wisdom, local political contexts are instrumental in shaping the history, political makeup, and behavior of Salafi groups. “Salafism as a lived reality is determined by local dynamics,” they write (p. 17). Drawing on a vast secondary literature complemented by field visits, *Salafism in the Maghreb* is a well-researched assessment of the Salafi landscape in the Greater Maghreb (*al-Maghrib al-Kabīr*), a geographical unit seldom covered in a single volume in the otherwise massive literature on political Islam.

What Wehrey and Boukhars believe is missing from the scholarship on Salafism is a special focus on the “political practice at the hands of political parties, activists, dissidents” (p. 3). That might be a bit of an overstatement, because a growing body of scholarship, which the authors themselves duly reference, is focusing on these recent changes. Challenging the view that this conservative and literalist Islamic current is a foreign import, the authors contend that Salafism in the Maghreb is in fact “indigenous, complex, and dynamic” (p. 3). Furthermore, “the Maghreb has emerged as an arena for some of the most important debates within contemporary Salafism” (p. 4). Such “deliberations,” we are told, are not simply theological or religious but also involve increasingly sophisticated political discussions of the nature of the state, the use of violence, and related themes.

Chapter 1 summarizes the ideological nuances of Salafi currents and their transformations over time. The authors propose a reappraisal of Quintan Wiktorowicz’s influential three-legged classification of Salafists into “jihadis,” “quietists,” and “politicos.” Although they readily adopt this much-discussed typology, their findings show how such categories have become even more fluid and porous in the aftermath of the Arab Spring.

Throughout the book, the authors unveil a historical pattern across their five cases: as a fringe religious strand of Sunni Islam, Salafism has a long precolonial history in the region where it evolved in the shadow of the much more popular and dominant Sufi brotherhoods. Salafi scholars and *ulama* (religious scholars) played a central role in fighting colonialism. However, in the postcolonial period, they have mostly kept their distance from politics in the name of political stability. With the rise and defeat of Arab nationalism and the end of the Cold War, Saudi Arabia has

increasingly used its immense financial and symbolic resources to spread its version of Salafism (Wahhabism), including in the Maghreb. In the wake of the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, jihadi currents emerged across the Arab world. Most Salafis were neither jihadis nor politicians but were staunch supporters of ruling autocratic regimes, but this changed radically after the Arab Spring. The next five chapters document how this transformation played out in every one of the countries under consideration.

Chapter 2 focuses on Mauritania. Although Wehrey and Boukhars should be commended for including this little-known country, they mostly draw here on other scholars’ findings and materials, including this reviewer’s work, which is abundantly referenced. More importantly, the chapter is not a study of Salafism per se, but rather a reconstruction of state–Islam relations with a special focus on the recent history of jihadism. Although Salafi Mauritania have a marked presence as respected Islamic scholars in global Wahhabi and jihadi circles, Salafism emerged in the national public sphere only in the wake of the terror campaign that the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (known by the French acronym GSPC) and later al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) waged there between 2005 and 2011. Mauritania ultimately suppressed jihadi activism using a successful combination of conventional counterterrorism policies and formal deradicalization of AQIM detainees. Local Salafi scholars helped with the latter process, gaining the trust of the authorities. However, their modest size and lack of resources will likely prevent them from making any political breakthrough in the foreseeable future.

Chapter 3 shows how the Moroccan state permitted Salafism’s growth in the 1970s to counter other opposition groups. However, the 2003 Casablanca bombings altered the state’s decades-old relationship with the Salafis, leading to a crackdown on Salafi-jihadist groups. Ever since, the Royal Palace has shifted its response over time from marginalizing Salafis to integrating them in an attempt to keep its Islamist opposition divided. The regime has been able to maintain this approach even after it skillfully averted the impact of the Arab Spring. Mass protests in 2011 challenged Salafis’ abstinence from activism and pushed them toward political action to defend their religious interests, mainly in maintaining their Qur’anic schools and mosque-preaching networks. Unlike their counterparts in Tunisia and Egypt, the traditional leadership of Morocco’s Salafis has remained uninterested in party politics. However, they continue to court the Royal Palace while striking a limited alliance with the Party for Justice and Democracy (PJD), Morocco’s leading Islamist and ruling party. Renewed state pressure caused the Salafis to split, with the majority of their leaders moving closer to the Royal Palace and a minority of cadres being tempted to join the PJD and al-Istiqlal party.

Chapter 4 explores how, given its role in the fight against colonial rule, Salafism became part and parcel of the nationalist narrative, which is a key feature of Algerian politics. Salafis have increased their influence by supporting the state since the civil war of the 1990s and throughout the 2011 Arab Spring protests, thereby providing an alternative to Islamist and Salafi-jihadi currents alike. Algerian Salafism is split between an apolitical majority and an aggressive reformist minority, which is causing increasing discontent within an Algerian society already divided along linguistic, socioeconomic, and cultural lines. The failure of both mainstream political Islam (or rather its systematic co-optation by the regime) and Salafi-jihadism in Algeria allowed a grassroots quietist Salafi movement to take control of mosques and preaching circuits, filling the religious and political void left by both state institutions and moderate Islamist parties.

Chapter 5 describes how the Bourguiba regime hijacked the Salafi project and, later on, how Ben Ali's repression of Salafi currents empowered Salafi-jihadi recruitment networks throughout the early 2000s. Ben Ali's fall in 2011 enabled more Salafis to quickly emerge as a social and religious force in the first days of Tunisia's democratic transition. The 2011 formation of Ansar al Sharia reflected the oversized influence of jihadi groups. The group paid lip service to democracy but pursued violence, leaving the government no choice but to dismantle it. Today, while jihadis have gone underground after several deadly attacks, the Salafi Reform Front Party and other smaller comparable parties seem to have embraced pluralistic democracy while still espousing the Salafist goal of an Islamic state.

Chapter 6 details how the "Madkhalis Salafi," a quietist current following a famous Saudi cleric, has emerged as a powerful force in Libya. Salafis in general benefited greatly from their sustained relationship with the previous regime, especially in the last months of Qaddafi's long tenure. After the revolution, the same "quietists," who had long eschewed political activity and advocated support of the sitting ruler, formed police forces and militias, playing a useful counterterrorism role. These armed groups later became ubiquitous, infiltrating both the "legitimate" government in Tripoli and a number of competing rebel groups, including General Haftar's ambitious "army." Libyan Madkhalis today inspire fear, particularly for their antidemocratic agenda and record of violence. While continuing to threaten liberal activists, and mainstream Islamists, Madkhalis have become even stronger in the context of the civil war.

The book concludes that Salafis have become autonomous political forces in the majority of concerned countries. As they were thrown into the political melee, the doctrinal lines between Salafis and other competing groups became blurred in the post-Arab Spring era.

Despite their obvious passion for detailed accounts and analysis, Wehrey and Boukhars left a few stones unturned.

First, they rightly show how after moderate Islamists went mainstream, Salafis of all hues stepped in to champion the popular demands for more Islamic politics and fill the void of religious and social conservatism. Yet, the authors do not probe further whether the politicization of quietists and of their interest in party politics could potentially have a moderating effect. Second, for a book seeking to document the politicization of Salafism, its focus on elite politics and major figures is only fitting. It comes, however, at the cost of a more complete picture of the spread of Salafism in Maghrebi societies. Grassroots diffusion of Salafism is mentioned but not systematically documented. Third, some readers might take issue with the causal connection between "social dislocation, poverty" and "conversion" to Salafism that the authors take for granted without addressing head-on. The explanation of Salafism as an expression of frustration and marginalization does not account for other key factors such as history and religion. Finally, although its core argument is neither entirely original nor counterintuitive, *Salafism in the Maghreb* succeeds nevertheless in conveying a considerable amount of information and insight in concise fashion. The book is indeed a welcome addition to the ever-growing scholarship on Muslim politics.

Business & Politics in India. Edited by Christophe Jaffrelot, Atul Kohli, and Kanta Murali. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019. 334p. \$99.00 cloth, \$34.95 paper.
doi:10.1017/S1537592720003114

— John Echeverri-Gent , University of Virginia
johnneg@virginia.edu

Ever since Atul Kohli's (2004) *State-Directed Development* first argued that Indian politics has taken a pro-business turn, the literature on business and politics in India has grown. Nevertheless, there remains considerable room for improving our understanding of the scope of Indian business's increasing power and impact on public policy and of how this research should be integrated with the broader literature on comparative political economy. By collecting essays from leading experts in the field and synthesizing them into a provocative analytical framework, *Business & Politics in India* provides a major contribution that advances our analysis in these areas.

After an introductory overview, the volume begins with two chapters that provide a theoretical framework illuminating the mechanisms through which business has achieved its growing power. Next, it investigates the impact of business's growing power on important issues: labor relations, land acquisition, urban development, and the changing role of the media. Then, it examines variation in business power across three states with diverse socioeconomic contexts: Gujarat, which has a relatively advanced economy and a history of probusiness policies;