grounding in existing literature. For instance, the chapter comparing the United States and the UK seeks to explain the Internet's role in promoting political knowledge and engagement, while the chapter about the five Latin American countries addresses the ways that the use of digital media is changing patterns of civic and political involvement among civil society organizations.

Tying together this diversity of concerns, the editors assert that the combined cases provide evidence that digital media are having a significant effect on political engagement worldwide. This political engagement, they argue, is varied and includes both attitudinal change and behavioral change. They assert that the chapters about Europe, as well as about the United States, illustrate the varying positive effects that Internet use has on political engagement in established democracies. The chapters that consider places with limited political freedoms suggest that engagement in such countries is more varied than in countries with greater political freedoms—and, interestingly, that the impact of digital media is stronger in these restrictive environments.

The editors are careful to point out that although there is evidence of an observable impact of Internet use on political engagement across cases in the volume, the effects are not uniform and context matters. For instance, they point out that the chapters show that in places that are more politically open than others, digital politics is integrated into the interactions between governments and citizens; in contrast, where Internet diffusion is low, Internet use is concentrated in certain segments of the population, namely, among more privileged classes. Even in places with similar diffusion levels, it is possible to see differences in the amount and type of online political engagement, as the chapter focused on Germany points out—illustrating the differences in the way Germans and Americans engage the political opportunities afforded by the Internet.

A strength of this volume is that the editors have carefully examined the findings in each internal chapter before extrapolating common themes and findings between chapters. That said, the chapters themselves do not necessarily speak to one another beyond having a common subject and common themes. In addition, for a volume on political engagement worldwide, this one leaves out much of the world. The three chapters (of 11 body chapters) that engage with multiple case studies from Latin America, the Islamic world, and China aside, the majority of the world remains unrepresented. While the volume is enjoyable to read, the number of chapters on the United States and Western Europe tip the scales fairly heavily to places that have already been discussed in the literature.

Both works under review purport to speak about global patterns, and both succeed in contributing to the scholarship on global Internet use. Taken together, they offer complementary approaches to an understanding of the impact of digital media on political processes. For instance, while Bailard's approach is engaged with context to some extent, her real interest appears to be on producing generalizable results. Much of the work on the impact of the Internet on global political processes has focused on single-case studies, and so her volume serves a valuable purpose in looking across countries with varying regime types.

In contrast, the editors allow their volume's findings to emerge from a diversity of case studies. For instance, the contents of their chapters would confirm, although not directly, Bailard's "mirror-holding" and "window-opening" concepts. However, the authors in the edited volume would likely argue, in return, that the extent and shape of both the mirror and the window would have everything to do with national context, so that while the concepts are generalizable, what they might look like within each context may not be. Their "messier" approach is, therefore, able to deal with the idiosyncrasies of different contexts, the differences between cases, and the "why" of outcomes more handily than can Bailard's approach. When read together, these volumes offer important insights into the connections between Internet technologies and democratic politics.

Choreographies of Shared Sacred Sites: Religion, Politics and Conflict Resolution. Edited by Elazar Barkan and Karen Barkey. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014. 440p. $50.00.
doi:10.1017/S153759271500184X

— Ron E. Hassner, *University of California Berkeley*

The literature on conflict and sacred space has grown in leaps and bounds in recent years yet continues to display significant gaps. Both cooperation optimists and pessimists (myself included) have privileged religious forces at the expense of political forces and have overemphasized stasis (be it violent or peaceful) over a more dynamic account in which conflicts at holy places ebb and flow. It is these important lacunae that *Choreographies of Shared Sacred Sites* seeks to fill, and it does so with some success.

The volume seeks to emphasize the role that politics plays at holy sites and to document the resulting flux between competition and sharing. The key concept around which this task is framed is "choreography," an implicitly defined term that seems to take on two distinct meanings, one more benign than the other. Some of the contributors to the volume take choreography to evoke a multilayered interplay among the forces acting on sacred sites, a dance of sorts in which political and religious actors, local, state and global, including small religious communities and large religious movements, government agencies, and courts, push and pull in an effort to influence these spaces. This complex interaction produces a range of outcomes, shifting from uneasy coexistence, tolerance, and submission

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to coercion. The contributors who espouse this approach draw on careful fieldwork to produce a balanced account of daily routines in sacred places.

The second implied meaning of the term "choreography" is darker by far. It reduces choreography to the nefarious machinations of a choreographer exclusively responsible for producing conflict, namely, the modern state. Contrary to the initial promise, "to understand whether sharing and contestation are politically or religiously motivated" (p. 1), proponents of this approach reach a quick and simple conclusion: "Conflict depends less on the religious centrality of the site and more on political choreography. . . . Religion is a political ideology and religious violence is a byproduct of politics" (pp. 14, 236). The emphasis of these chapters thus turns to identifying the political culprits who orchestrate conflicts to suit their purposes. Insofar as choreography ought to require an interaction between choreographer and dancers, the political malefactors identified in these chapters are not choreographers at all but puppeteers, holding all the strings.

The resulting finger pointing at some of the most religiously pluralistic and inclusive democracies in the Mediterranean space (France, Israel and Turkey) is unpersuasive. The decision, in Karen Barkey's first chapter of the book, to hold the Ottoman Empire up as an alternative model of religious toleration is surprising given that empire's record of desecration, destruction, or expropriation of Christian sacred sites, which eclipses by far any contemporary efforts by states to influence their sacred sites. The decision to focus blame on specific states is also less helpful, for if particular state policies drive conflict, it is not clear why religious sites deserve particular attention or how these findings can be generalized to other parts of the globe. Indeed, the editors exclude some of the most violent conflicts over sacred places worldwide, including conflicts in Saudi Arabia, the former Yugoslavia, India, or East Asia, that have religious underpinnings that simply cannot be squared with a power-politics model. Several of these omitted conflicts dwarf in impact and destructiveness all the incidents of tense sharing explored in this volume put together.

In sum, this second interpretation takes the important task of the volume a step too far: Rather than supplement existing accounts with a crucial layer of political interest that was heretofore absent, *Choreographies* drops religion out of these chapters altogether: "Religion is . . . not doctrinally driven but politically shaped" (p. 11). The case studies that espouse this approach place little emphasis on religious ideas, practices, rhetoric, or experiences. Terms like "ritual," "prayer," "devotion," or "faith," let alone "healing," "miracle," "blessing," or "epiphany"—in other words, the very essence that makes a place sacred to those who hold it to be sacred—are absent from these analyses.

For example, a chapter by Dionigi Albera on a Catholic sanctuary in Algeria at which Muslims and Christians pray together misses an opportunity to explore the fascinating conundrums posed (and overcome) by this syncretism. Instead, it takes a cynical stance, exposes the "fictitious" pedigree of the church that was produced by French "ecclesiastical entrepreneurs" as a colonial tool of domination and conversion (pp. 100–106). A chapter by Wendy Pullan on a street market and archaeological site in Jerusalem identifies "radical Jewish settlers" as the sole instigators of conflict in the city. This involves discredited claims, like the suggestion that the archaeological exploration along the Western Wall were designed to undermine the Haram (p. 183), or the notion that access to sacred sites in Jerusalem is "restricted to their own religious adherents" (p. 164). In actuality, there are only two sacred sites in Jerusalem at which such religious discrimination is practiced, the Dome of the Rock and the Al Aqsa Mosque, due to a Palestinian refusal to admit non-Muslims. Elazar Barkan's chapter takes the theme of state-as-villain to its extreme by accusing Israel of benefiting from religious strife (p. 235), requiring a tortured interpretation of events. This approach, exemplified by the unsubstantiated claim that the deadly Palestinian desecration of the Tomb of Joseph, its destruction, and conversion into a mosque "may well have been in the Israeli interest" (p. 259) adds little to the substance of the volume.

Other chapters manage to avoid such political prejudice by balancing the influence of the state against a gamut of other actors, secular and religious. Glenn Bowman is critical of Israeli policies in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem but is equally cognizant of the corrupt priests and powerful church movements outside the region that vie for influence in this space. In Rassem Khamaisi's chapter on Muslim—Christian conflicts in Nazareth, the state is joined by local religious communities, Arab states, the Vatican, and the United States as significant stakeholders. This allows the author to investigate economic and class interests alongside political interests. More importantly, it permits the author to display a sensitivity toward religious history, narrative, and faith that is missing from the politicized segments of the volume. David Henig notes the Bosnian state's efforts to politicize sacred sites yet shows how religious communities resist efforts at state regulation by designing innovative rituals. The results are multivocal and contradictory practices in which intracommunal strife, such as tensions between worshippers and their imams, are just as significant as top-down interference by the state.

The most compelling chapters in this collection are the most faithful to the primary thesis of the volume, the interplay between religion and politics. Naturally, they lack an obvious malefactor. Mete Hatay unveils the many different forms that coexistence has assumed at religious sites in Cyprus, demonstrating that not all "sharing" is equal, principled, or enduring. Instead, Hatay exposes

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a grassroots coexistence that is often pragmatic, adaptive, and constrained. Rabia Harmansah, Tugba Tanyeri-Erdemir, and Robert M. Hayden defy the editors' claim that political power can shape sacred space at will by showcasing the failure of Turkish efforts at the "museumification" of heterodox Muslim shrines. Through a fascinating exploration of rites in all their minutiae, the authors demonstrate how believers resist state efforts at "secularizing the unsecularizeable" (p. 339).

Yitzhak Reiter beautifully describes the tensions among interest groups, with crosscutting religious and political interests, over the misguided construction of a Museum of Tolerance on an old Muslim cemetery in Jerusalem. The result of this interplay among architects, religious leaders, the courts (secular and religious alike), scholars, business entrepreneurs, and local community members is best described as a tragedy: None of these parties seek conflict, none benefit from it, yet the religious, legal, and political implications of their actions in this sacred site produce a waxing and waning friction. This chapter and others like it offer the most authentic tribute to the concept of choreography that underpins this significant collection.

Expect Us: Online Communities and Political Mobilization. By Jessica L. Beyer. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. 192p. $99.00 cloth, $27.95 paper.
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— Seva Gunitsky, *University of Toronto*

For scholars of social behavior, the internet has remained a vast and largely unexplored continent—full of unusual and isolated tribes with their own languages, customs, and rituals. Jessica Beyer's *Expect Us* is a voyage into this strange land, with the author acting as a sort of online anthropologist—exploring the true meaning of "lulz," decamping on dragon raids with *World of Warcraft* guilds, and deciphering profanity-laden, barely-intelligible message boards like ancient hieroglyphics. (It is certainly refreshing to read a book that explicates "The Internet Fuckwad Theory" in its opening pages.)

Like any good ethnographer, Beyer wants to explain what motivates these groups. The book examines four popular online communities, seeking to explain why two of them (Anonymous and The Pirate Bay) became real-world political actors, while two others (*World of Warcraft* and IGN.com) remained politically aloof despite their potential for mass mobilization. Member anonymity, she argues, was the main factor in shaping the level of political engagement. Namely, the ability to remain anonymous increased political mobilization by promoting openness, collaboration, and creativity. Having a persistent online identity, on the other hand, creates interpersonal relationships and social hierarchies, which "thwart political organizing in online spaces" (p. 9).

Two factors shape the level of anonymity—the number of formal rules for participation, and the availability of small-group interaction. Communities bound by formal rules are less anonymous and more constrained in their ability to mobilize politically. Similarly, online spaces that foster small-scale interaction decrease anonymity and thus discourage political involvement. When online communities cannot fragment into smaller groups, the result is a more cohesive overall group identity, which encourages political engagement.

Unfortunately, the central argument is not especially persuasive. According to the book, anonymity and the absence of rules promotes political participation. But if so, we would expect sites like Facebook or Twitter—where participation is rarely anonymous—to perform poorly at political engagement. In fact, these two platforms have been a focal point of political mobilization over the previous few years. And precisely those features that Beyer sees as inimical to political organization—the ability to form small tightly-knit groups, and to develop reputations linked to real-life identities—have been crucial in making them into successful political actors. In fact, there are good reasons to suspect that personal relationships and social hierarchies are integral for mass political engagement. (The conscious lack of such hierarchies in the Occupy movement, for example, has been posited as one cause of its demise). Likewise, it's not clear that anonymous interaction aids collaboration. The lack of small-group interaction is said to produce group cohesion by preventing fragmentation—yet as Beyer herself shows, Anonymous was far from a cohesive group, splitting into factions that fiercely debated both the group's goals and the methods used to achieve them.

Moreover, the characterization of anonymity within these groups seems at odds with the author's own conceptual framework. Beyer (rightly) laments that anonymity is too often portrayed as a binary concept, when there are in fact shades of anonymity, defined by factors such as the presence of IP tracking or a website's requirement to use static names. Sites like Facebook, which require participants to use their legal names, have a low level of anonymity. Sites like Reddit or IGN.com have a medium level of anonymity—users don't have to use their real names but they do register a persistent handle, allowing them to develop a reputation in the site's community. Sites like 4chan, on the other hand, consciously opt for a high level of anonymity—users are not tracked and do not have a static nickname. It is, strange, therefore, that her two non-mobilizing cases—*World of Warcraft* and IGN.com—are classified as having a "low" level of anonymity, since they do not require legal real-world names, and thus fall squarely into the "medium" category. This is a minor mistake, but it's symptomatic of the book's general lack of conceptual clarity.

The book's parsimonious conceptual framework—emphasizing anonymity, rule-making, and small-scale interaction—quickly grows more complicated in the case studies. In the case of Anonymous, other important factors for its politicization seem to be media coverage

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