

critique of the scholarship on Islam: How have so many scholars for so many years missed or misunderstood the role of Islamism in the public sphere? How did this revolution come to pass quietly under constant political and scholarly scrutiny? One wishes that in her conclusion this eminent scholar of women and gender in Islam would lay out her methodology in a way that could be emulated by others in order to prevent future misunderstandings of religion in public life. She is, however, too much of a humanist for that. In place of a methodological discussion, Ahmed leaves her reader with a telltale postulate: Religions enable change by appearing as though they don't change. As Islamists adopted veiling as an essential, or unchanging, Islamic practice, they objectified Islam while simultaneously and surreptitiously adapting it and making it manifestly relevant to changing social and political circumstances. ✂

DOI:[10.1017/rms.2016.43](https://doi.org/10.1017/rms.2016.43)

Kambiz GhaneaBassiri  
Reed College

İSMET AKÇA, AHMET BEKMEN & BARIŞ ALP ÖZDEN, EDs. *Turkey Reframed: Constituting Neoliberal Hegemony*. London: Pluto Press, 2014. vi + 292 pages. Cloth US\$33.00 ISBN 978-0-7453-3384-7.

*Turkey Reframed: Constituting Neoliberal Hegemony* is the latest foray into the growing body of scholarship that examines contemporary Turkish politics in relation to neoliberalism. Following a quasi-Gramscian framework, the editors understand neoliberalism as a hegemonic force that explains the economic, cultural and political transformations of Turkey simultaneously. This useful new collection creatively examines the multiple trajectories of neoliberalism in Turkey in the post-1980 period by paying specific attention to the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) era (2002–2015). *Turkey Reframed* explores three major themes: (i) a consideration of how neoliberal hegemony has been consolidated; (ii) the entanglements of neoliberalism with authoritarianism, conservatism and populism; and (iii) the reconfiguration of religious, ethnic, gender and class-based cleavages during Turkey's neoliberal transformation. The ways in which the AKP has played a role in the constitution of neoliberal hegemony and the reconfiguration of the relationship between state, capitalism and politics is the book's central concern.

*Turkey Reframed* is divided into two parts: "Politics of Hegemony" and the "Re-orientation(s) of the Social Questions(s)." The emergence and consolidation of the AKP's neoliberal hegemony is examined through the

book's series of analyses of a variety of issues, including the state, capitalism, labor and class relations as well as new directions in nationalism, social policy and the transformation of the Kurdish and Islamic movements. The first chapter on changing forms of authoritarianism in post-1980 Turkey contains an excellent discussion of new manifestations of state power in a period generally assumed to be one marked by democratization. The material on media, urban politics and reconfigurations of class is less well known and is worth reading carefully (Chapters 6, 7, 10 and 11). The discussion on the Davutoğlu Doctrine (Chapter 4) is particularly interesting. Readers interested in changing features of Turkish capitalism and the rise of the Islamic bourgeoisie will especially enjoy Chapters 2 and 12. These 13 chapters are followed by a postscript in which the editors discuss the 2013 #resistturkey (#direngezi) social movement in terms of its potential for destabilizing the AKP's neoliberal hegemony. As such, this book provides a comprehensive overview of neoliberal Turkey and would be a valuable read for those who are interested in the changing features of Turkish politics and economics from the post-1980 era to the most recent political developments and social mobilizations.

The most problematic aspect of this book is its theoretical treatment of neoliberalism. Some of the chapters do a better job of explaining why certain developments can be considered as "neoliberal," but overall the authors assume the existence of neoliberalism in Turkey instead of explaining the mechanisms, linkages and practices more explicitly. Thus, readers might find themselves wondering, for example, how exactly the AKP's new Kurdish policy relates to neoliberalism (Chapter 5) or might be confused about the exact relationship between neoliberalism and neo-conservatism when it comes to the AKP's gender politics (Chapter 9). This disorganized treatment of neoliberalism is exacerbated by a lack of clarity about hegemony: the authors often refer to "neoliberal hegemony," "AKP's neoliberal hegemony" or "AKP's hegemony" as if these were part of the same phenomenon. Although these shortcomings partly stem from the difficulties of sharing a theoretical framework across individual chapters within the scope of an edited book, I think the main problem lies in the treatment of neoliberalism as a singular, monolithic and homogeneous force that is seen as imposed upon Turkey by the AKP. In the introductory chapter, the editors mention that "the construction of the hegemonic project ... is replete with open-ended struggles whose outcomes are uncertain" (5) but the bulk of the discussion disproportionately focuses on the formation of the AKP's neoliberal hegemony instead of examining neoliberalism as a set of contradictory, malleable and dynamic set of practices.

Yet anyone interested in thinking more carefully about neoliberalism in Turkey will find much to gain from *Turkey Reframed*. One of the key contributions of this book is that it complicates conventional frameworks that have hitherto dominated the study of Turkish politics such as state vs. society, center vs. periphery and Kemalism vs. Islamism. By highlighting the class-based and political economic origins of Turkey's neoliberal transformation, the book illustrates how Turkey has been "reframed," and thereby demonstrates the urgency of developing new analytical and theoretical tools to understand Turkish politics in a new light. ✦

DOI:[10.1017/rms.2016.44](https://doi.org/10.1017/rms.2016.44)

Gizem Zencirci  
Providence College

**ROHAM ALVANDI.** *Nixon, Kissinger, and the Shah: The United States and Iran in the Cold War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. xii + 255 pages, acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth US\$55.00 ISBN: 978-0199375691.

**A**s the excavation of the foreign policy of Richard Nixon's presidency continues, Roham Alvandi's ambitious new volume makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the era. Alvandi convincingly shows that Mohammad Reza Shah was not just a bystander trapped between Cold War superpowers, but a figure of outsized influence among third world leaders. This was largely due, as the author points out, to the position of U.S.-Iranian relations within the framework of the Nixon Doctrine, which gave more autonomy to the shah and stunningly revised the longstanding American strategy of containment in the Middle East.

The shah became a true Cold War partner of President Richard Nixon and National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, and Iran was able to shape American policy towards, not just Iran and the Middle East, but other regions such as South Asia. This arrangement continued for as long as Nixon and Kissinger retained a strong grasp on American foreign policy, and for as long as the shah could be helpful in restraining Soviet actions in the Middle East. That is to say, the apogee of U.S.-Iranian relations during the entire postwar period was reached in the early 1970s, until Nixon became embroiled in Watergate and his ability to wage an unfettered foreign policy abated due to greater Congressional oversight.

The author's four chapters nearly stand alone as case studies, and it is the latter three where the most original contributions can be found. The