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Book Review: Aziz Al-Azmeh and Effie Fokas (eds) *Islam in Europe: Diversity, Identity and Influence* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, £45.00 hbk, £17.99 pbk (ISBN: 9780521860116), xi + 223 pp

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book also argues that all these examples seem to highlight obvious similarities, some confluence of 'possibilities' or recurrences that must be fully taken into account if we want to analyse the recent appearance of film-induced tourist industries. Because of its multidisciplinary approach, which draws upon historical studies, social theory, moral economy, critical and cultural geography, anthropology and media studies, the book will surely interest different audiences. Students and scholars willing to explore the intricacies of late modernity will find in *The Cinematic Tourist* a wealth of stimulating theoretical insights and empirical data.

Aziz Al-Azmeh and Effie Fokas (eds)

Islam in Europe: Diversity, Identity and Influence

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, £45.00 hbk, £17.99 pbk (ISBN: 9780521860116), xi + 223 pp.

■ Reviewed by Daniel Faas, *Trinity College Dublin*

Against the backdrop of recent tensions between national majorities and Muslim minorities, this volume sets out to counter 'cultural differentialism' and 'monist conceptions of identity' (p. 2). The authors aim to 'shed light on the multifaceted nature of individual and collective identities' (p. 5), to argue against some of the generalizations about Muslims in Europe, and to examine how the Muslim presence challenges conceptualizations of a European identity.

The book begins with a historical overview of the relationships between Christians and Muslims in Europe. Tarek Mitri argues that 'in the Muslim world, ideological thought patterns represent the West as selfish, materialistic and dominating. In the West, the equivalent thought patterns perceive Islam as irrational, fanatical and expansionist' (p. 27), fostering antagonism. Confrontations, he maintains, are no longer the result of clashes between individual countries but of region-specific events rooted in historical memories. Following the Danish 'cartoon crisis', it is thus important 'to de-globalise Christian-Muslim tensions' (p. 33).

The next two chapters argue that Muslim identity in Europe should be understood as multidimensional and fluid rather than static. In Chapter three, Jorgen Nielsen usefully critiques the term 'Euro-Islam' because there are 'more ways than one for Muslims to become European' (p. 37). Drawing mainly on Denmark and Britain, he argues that the histories, policies and legal structures of various European countries impose varying constraints on the way Muslims orient themselves. This, in turn, results in different local and nationally situated identities, ranging from assimilation to collective visibility and public participation. Jocelyne Cesari unconvincingly differentiates the concepts of identity and identification. Arguably, the concept of identity refers to the communities people belong to, whereas identification refers more to the reasons and discourses people employ to identify with particular communities. Cesari then examines the gaps between the racialization of national discourses, the meta-discourse on Islam as an enemy, and the diversity and fluid nature of Muslims' attitudes (p. 52).

The focus of the volume then shifts to diversity. In Chapter five, Werner Schiffauer differentiates between 'Islam in exile' (p. 69) among the first-generation of Turkish Sunnites in Europe for whom Europe was foreign, and 'diaspora Islam' among second-generation immigrants. This experience of 'foreignness' has several facets including a fear of self-loss, a crisis of meaning, and the beginning of family reunion from the mid-1970s. In contrast, second-generation Muslims are born in Europe and 'must situate themselves in the given society and develop an understanding of themselves in that situation' (p. 77). Similarly, in Chapter six, Xavier Bougarel vividly explores the multiple voices within European Islam. He focuses on the autochthonous group of Bosnian Muslims and discusses three definitions of Islam in Bosnia: as individual faith reconciling Islam with western modernity; as a common culture bringing together all members of the Muslim community; and as a discriminatory political ideology which perceives Islam and the West in terms of a structural opposition (p. 100).

The third set of chapters examines the Muslim influence in Europe. Through the Forward Studies Unit and the Group of Policy Advisors, the EU has dealt directly with religious issues. Bérengère Massignon highlights the ambiguity of the various Commission initiatives. At the same time, 'the Muslim activities towards the European Union institutions, seeking to place Islamic culture in the European heritage, have been relatively limited in terms of impact, scope and content' (p. 145). In contrast, focusing on the Muslims in Western Thrace and the Turkish and Slav-speaking (Pomaks) in southern Bulgaria, Dia Anagnostou powerfully shows that:

...by providing an array of resources and incentives to national governments but also credible assurances for cultural protection to minorities, the EU has indirectly helped to contain ethnic crises with the frame of the state and avert broader destabilisation in Southeast Europe. (p. 177)

Finally, Valérie Amiraux tackles the issue of whether or not Islam is of importance in the discussion on accepting Turkey as an EU member. 'What seems to have been developing (in Turkey)', she argues, 'is a representation of the EU as a political space based on common universal values working as common goods (democracy, pluralism, human rights), rather than as a closed Christian club' (p. 191).

The volume is easily accessible and well structured into themes on identity, diversity and influence. Another major strength lies in the discussion of immigrant and historical (autochthonous) Muslim communities in Europe. Amiraux's point that 'Islam intervenes indeed in cultural terms rather than in terms of religion or worship' (p. 204) is also interesting but could have been explored further. Arguably, Muslimophobia targets the lifestyles, socio-cultural practices and attitudes of Muslims as the 'other' whereas Islamophobia is a fear not only of a cultural tradition but also of a legal political system where the *Sharia* law prevails. To what extent is the current climate in Europe one of Islamophobia, Muslimophobia or both? The fact that identities are multidimensional and fluid is nothing new and 'boring' as Schiffauer rightly states (p. 69). It therefore remains unclear why Cesari, in particular, discusses this point at great length instead of engaging more with the factors affecting

identity formations among Muslim communities in Europe, such as governmental policies, schooling or migration histories.

This book makes a very good contribution to the sociology of religion and European studies. I would recommend it to scholars and postgraduates specializing on Muslims in Europe.

Teela Sanders

Paying for Pleasure: Men Who Buy Sex

Devon: Willan Publishing, 2008, £20.99 pbk (ISBN: 9781843923213), x + 242 pp.

■ Reviewed by Heather M. Morgan, *University of Aberdeen*

From the outset, it is apparent that Sanders' approach to representing trade in sex is different from those commonly found among feminist scholars. Immediately, she attempts to dispel the stereotypes of seediness and misogyny surrounding men who, as she terms it, pay for pleasure. She presents and analyses their engagements with and reflections on buying sex. Importantly, she does so prudently, that is to say without rejecting the plethora of important feminist scholarship that has tackled the so-called problem before now. Sanders frames her rationale in negotiating this transgression particularly well within the preface. She points out that 'there is a fundamental flaw in sex work research', it having, to date, considered 'the sex industry only from the position of the female sex worker'. This, she claims, 'denies the reciprocal relationship of any "supply and demand" chain to be exposed in its entirety' (p. vii). As such, she comfortably markets her work as novel rather than controversial.

Sanders' intention is towards greater exposure, the offer of a deeper, more comprehensive, account of prostitution. This is rather refreshing. She deals with scarcely contemplated aspects of participation in the industry and so her text is useful for our better understanding of some additional nuances in purchased intimacy. Her chosen structure works well: the themes are well categorized and quite simple, and her writing is both fluent and accessible. Nevertheless, Sanders properly acknowledges the complexities of her chosen subject area and also the theoretical and methodological frameworks available. She satisfactorily discusses her own angle, reflecting carefully, but without fear of reproach, on both. She does, however, appear to complicate her generally unbiased perspective. She sometimes draws allusions, I feel, to Mulvey's (1975) male gaze, thus identifying in places with a so-called feminist standpoint. This seems to work, though; she makes known her critical gender scholarship, whilst simultaneously, perhaps contradictorily, eliminating the cynicism and often defensive nature of gender studies. For instance: 'In the radical view of commercial sex, the basic premise is that sex work is an act of violence against women whether there is consent between adults or not' (p. 6). Her consideration, then, goes beyond conceptions of total cruelty in an attempt to represent various attitudes inside the industry more openly. For example, she considers matters of emotions and identity. Most importantly, she does so without prejudice towards the