

experiences in dying and that these types provoke similar substantive experiences. Do all dying persons unequivocally experience Review and Remembrance, Anger and Transformation? And qualitatively, does the category Suffering rightfully capture and speak to the diverse hardship of dying experienced by a hospice patient and a death row inmate as he implies it does? There is considerable evidence that individual subjectivities are powerfully formed by social, political, and economic forces—for example, nursing homes that use numbing pharmaceuticals that curb Suffering's potential to transform, or prisons mandating Aloneness as penalty and structuring such isolation to preclude joy or spiritual awakening. Kellehear therefore needs to demonstrate further that regardless of context and contingencies, the universal psychological structures of dying emerge similarly in humans and at times positively so.

Nevertheless, Kellehear's insistence that individuals' subjectivities have, for too long, been collapsible into what institutions make them to be is an excellent critique and a persuasive one. Those working with or studying the dying, Kellehear insists, must open up the possibility of the dying as complexly agentive, feeling and thinking in their final months, days, and minutes. With such an insight, future studies may emerge to question further the negative tropes of dying and to explore the particularities of the extent to which, and ways in which, our impending mortality does indeed uniquely affect our selves and our experiences. And perhaps more importantly, this book will help practitioners working with the dying be watchful for the diversity and wealth in dying experiences. Now more than ever, as modern forces push dying further out of sight, we need a roadmap on how to attend to the dying in new and sensitive ways. Not only has Kellehear provided such a roadmap, he has also given reason why such a practice is so mean-

ingful: in acknowledging the dying other's transformation, he insists over and again, we may ourselves be transformed.

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Swen Hutter: *Protesting Culture and Economics in Western Europe: New Cleavages in Left and Right Politics*
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Swen Hutter has written an excellent book about protests and political cleavages in Western Europe, focusing primarily on protest events and political process in six countries (Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Netherlands, and Switzerland) from the 1970s to 2005. The book takes as its starting point the growing literature on the political effects of globalisation and notes that such studies often have a narrow focus on electoral politics or protest politics. By neglecting protests, which have become an important part of the political process in Western Europe and beyond, one could get a misleading picture about important societal actors such as radical right parties. On the other hand, research centred only on social movements or focusing only on protest politics tends to miss important political and economic processes that can facilitate or hinder mobilisation and affect the political consequences of such actions. Hutter's book makes important theoretical and empirical contributions by combining cleavage studies, electoral studies, and studies about protest events to improve our understanding of the consequences of globalisation.

The book starts by discussing the development of political cleavages, particularly the two central transformations of Western European politics since the early 1970s and the rise of the integration-de-

marcation cleavage since the 1990s. Hutter uses European Social Survey data to analyse how the winners and losers in globalisation differ in their attitudes. He demonstrates the clear presence of the two-dimensional cleavage structure. He claims that these new cleavages not only affect electoral politics, as noted by other scholars, but also play a role in protest mobilisation, and the effect is different for right- and left-wing actors: 'the more successful the radical right is in electoral terms, the more it abstains from protest activities; the more voters the left attracts, the more present it is in protest politics' (p. xxv).

The book is divided into three major parts: discussing first the development of the integration-demarcation cleavage, then developing and testing empirically the relationship between electoral and protest politics, and finally presenting and discussing cross-country differences, which are crucial for understanding how the political structure relates to protest and electoral mobilisation. Hutter discusses the relevant recent literature on all three fields of study – cleavages, electoral politics, and protest mobilisation. He also provides very detailed appendixes that describe the choices made during the data collection and empirical analysis.

The part of the book devoted to the development of cleavage structures introduces the topic and also shows how Hutter's own theoretical framework is strongly based on the one presented by Kriesi et al [2008]. While Western Europe was previously characterised by rural-urban or owner-worker cleavages, the rising integration-demarcation cleavage is mainly defined by the conflict over immigration. The winners and losers of globalisation have very different views here. The issue of immigration has gained more importance since the publication of Hutter's book. The recent financial crisis, the refugee crisis, the growing number of terrorist attacks in Western Europe, and the results of the recent 'Brex-

it' referendum have intensified discussions about globalisation and immigration. It is likely that the integration-demarcation cleavage has become even more important in Western Europe, but one also wonders how such processes take place outside the six countries covered by the analysis—for example, in Greece or Iceland, or in East European countries, which have probably not seen the equal rise of the integration-demarcation cleavage.

The second part of the book turns to the relationship between political structure, electoral politics, and political protests. Hutter follows the well-known political opportunity structure approach, which relates the level and forms of protest mobilisation to the character of state structures. The framework has been tested in Western Europe before [e.g. Kriesi et al. 1995], but Hutter contributes by introducing a new quantitative index for measuring institutional state strength. The index covers all important characteristics needed for measuring state strength: general structural parameters, parliamentary arena, administrative arena, and the direct democratic arena. It allows Hutter to categorize the selected six countries into more and less protest-prone countries, but Hutter provides measures even for the other Western European countries that are not included in his study (p. 48). Scholars who have data about protest events for other countries could test Hutter's arguments with relatively little effort.

State structure itself is not enough to explain how the new integration-demarcation cleavage affects protest mobilisation. Therefore, Hutter goes on to describe the change in cleavages and to measure the strength of old traditional class cleavages and new left-libertarian versus right-populist cleavages. While the survey data in Chapter 1 was used to show the presence of the cleavages by social groups, Chapter 3 focuses on the strength of these cleavages using other data. Hutter carefully

combines a set of empirical measures that allow him to investigate the transformation of cleavages in the selected six countries. Here one could question the selection of some of the measures used. For example, the measure of the non-institutionalised strength of class cleavage uses only the ILO's information about working days lost because of strikes per 1000 workers (1960–1979). Strikes and lost working days are often reactions to some state policy such as a plan for retrenchment. Thus, this particular measure seems to be more affected by situational factors than the measure for the institutionalised strength of cleavages, which is comprised of three different measures. Still, the author's aim is to create a general classification of countries up to the 1980s, and his results mainly confirm the findings of previous studies. Great Britain is shown to have an above-average traditional class cleavage and a below-average left-libertarian and right-populist cleavage, while Germany is revealed to have a below-average traditional class cleavage and above-average left-libertarian cleavage.

While the state structure and cleavages have been of interest to many studies in the past, Hutter makes an important contribution by connecting this information to data on protest events. Here the students and scholars of contentious politics should pay particular attention to the detailed and careful discussion of data collection in Appendix A. Collecting protest event data is very demanding and the choice of newspapers to use, keywords to search for, and ways to aggregate data are much discussed in the literature. Hutter uses and improves the protest event dataset introduced by Kriesi et. al [1995] and shows how protest intensity and scope changed in the selected six countries from 1975 to 2005. While one might criticise the idea of collecting information about protest events only from the Monday editions of the selected newspapers, Hutter did several tests to show that there is no systematic bias in his data

as a result of this decision. Moreover, the book does not aim to give a detailed picture of every protest event, but to demonstrate the long-term trends of protest mobilisation at the national level. There are clear cross-national variations in protest waves (see Figure 14, p. 71) that could be related to specific state structures and political processes. But there are also some more general trends: while globalisation relates to increasing transnational collective action, such events are still significantly less frequent than protests that target national-level actors.

The analysis of conflict intensity and scope are not sufficient for relating cleavage structure to protest mobilisation. This requires further investigation of protest issues, particularly the salience of various issues and the position of activists on the issues. Hutter focuses on two general issues—economic and cultural. He shows that left-libertarian positions, such as support for cultural globalisation, dominated protest politics in Western Europe until the 1990s. However, the recent decade has been dominated by the increasing importance of immigration and the marginal resurgence of cultural liberation issues, which declined dramatically between the 1980s and the 1990s. This might not be a very novel finding, but there are not many comparative studies that can show the same processes up to 2005. Thanks to the focus on issue positions, Hutter is not just saying that immigration has become a more salient issue for political protests. He is also able to show that protests by and on behalf of immigrants outweighed protests against immigration in Western Europe in the early 2000s.

The final analysis (Chapter 7) shows that protest mobilisation is not fully explained by the decreasing class cleavages or by the increasing integration-demarcation cleavages. Rather, an important role is played by electoral politics and the rising cleavages are far more important for con-

flicts in the electoral than in the protest arena. This is an important finding for understanding electoral and protest politics, especially if the integration-demarcation cleavage becomes even more important and wins ground also in other regions than the examined six West European countries.

The current political situation differs from that in 2005. This should encourage more studies to pursue similarly comparative and well-grained analysis combining data about protest events, party manifestos, individuals' attitudes, and state structures. Particularly important would be to enlarge the scope of protest event research to Eastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America, where the analysis of protest mobilisation and its relationship to political processes is still relatively scarce. Scholars also need to move beyond linear relationships and focus more on the causal mechanisms behind the described processes. In sum, the book does not give a detailed picture of protests or electoral politics in the examined countries, but rather provides a great theoretically grounded comparative analysis of changing cleavage structures and protest waves in Western Europe. I would highly recommend it to anyone interested in comparative politics in general and in electoral and protest politics in particular. It is well written and should be easily understood by students at the graduate and undergraduate level.

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Maurits Berger (ed.): *Applying Sharia in the West. Facts, Fears and the Future of Islamic Rules on Family Relations in the West*

Leiden 2013: Leiden University Press, 291 pp.

Sharia is usually considered the domain of legal sciences and Middle Eastern or Islamic studies. To date, there have been few sociological treatises on the subject. The monolithic divide between secular Western law and religious Eastern customs is still a significant tool for sweeping the topic off the table. Sometimes it is understood in terms of the long-standing divergence between modern societies, with their separation of church and state, and the Muslim world and its resistance to such secularisation. Besides being outdated, these views also provide only one limited part of the picture. A new book edited by Maurits Berger presents competing visions of sharia as imagined in modern Western societies today. It opens with contradictory quotations from two leading European authorities: the European Court for Human Rights, which has postulated sharia's incompatibility with human rights, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who claims the opposite. These opinions seem to represent the two main approaches to sharia in the West today. There is a clear trend towards confrontation between the inclinations to declare sharia different in absolute terms as an embodiment of 'otherness' and the acceptance of a practical adaptive approach. This subtle shift in perspective, which involves not only theoretical thinking but also practical encounters, would appear to be a crucible for a radically new analytical conceptualisation of the issue and of the facts that are filtered through it. As readers of the book could learn, Western legal frameworks do not recognise sharia as law in the strict sense of the term but as a very different and much broader phenomenon. In addition, once re-contextualised in a new envi-