

Friedan's fear that feminism might have to "start over". Her book ends by asserting that "the richness of the global feminist past suggests otherwise" (p. 346).

Note:

- 1 Quoted in B. S. Anderson, *Joyous Greetings, The First International Women's Movement, 1830–1860*, New York 2000, p. 22.

Marian Burchardt: *Regulating Difference: Religious Diversity and Nationhood in the Secular West*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2020, 241 pp.

Reviewed by
Pier-Luc Dupont, Bristol

Over the last couple of decades, the repoliticization of religion in the secularized societies of Europe and North America has been the object of a fast-growing literature in sociology, political science, and law. While the sites and forms of this repoliticization have varied from one country to the next due to differing institutional configurations and national ideologies, there is a wide agreement that one of its main drivers has been the new religious diversity brought about by international migration. The presence and assertiveness of Muslims in particular has triggered widespread popular anxieties and reactive defences of religiously inflected national identities, leading national and local administrations to rethink long-established modes of religious governance.

Starting from these premises, *Regulating Difference: Religious Diversity and Nationhood in the Secular West* masterfully unpacks the cultural issues at stake in debates around religious diversity in Quebec and Catalonia, two traditionally Catholic but highly secularized minority nations whose politics have been strongly shaped by a desire to distinguish themselves from the states they are a part of. Drawing on a combination of legal and policy analysis, participant observation, and interviews with key stakeholders, Marian Burchardt identifies the main areas of contrast between these two a priori similar settings and attempts to explain them in terms of such factors as the dominant conceptions of secularism (or, to use the author's preferred term, secularity), the desire to maintain cultural hierarchies, and concerns about conviviality and gender equality. Importantly, the book refrains from drawing any normative conclusions about laws and policies, limiting itself to relaying the perspective of politicians, lawyers, journalists, intellectuals, religious leaders, activists, and concerned citizens. The book's five chapters, plus an introduction and a conclusion, are organized around a series of case studies addressing specific controversies or (proposed) policy measures. These range from the debate over reasonable accommodations to the adoption of a charter on Quebec values, the regulation and maintenance of places of worship, the prohibition of the face veil, and the representation of religion in museum exhibitions. Each case study is used to explore particular aspects of the cultural politics of religion as it plays out both at the national and local levels.

The detailed description of cases, backed up with a wealth of qualitative evidence and carefully selected quotes, yields a number of fascinating empirical insights. For instance, we learn that Muslim communities in Catalonia are less numerous but generally much larger than evangelical ones and that this helps explain why they have struggled to find adequate prayer space in the city centres. However evangelical rituals often feature high-volume musical performances, leading nearby residents to complain about the noise. To address this, a significant proportion of the financial aid to religious communities provided by the Catalan government from the mid-2000s onwards has gone into noise prevention. We also learn how in Quebec widespread disaffection from the Catholic Church and a strong desire to enshrine secularism as a fundamental principle of the legal system have gone hand in hand with a revival of popular mobilizations against the selling or demolition of underused church buildings. In one case, such mobilization succeeded in securing the sale of a Montreal church to a cash-strapped Guatemalan Protestant congregation rather than a rich supermarket chain, thereby preserving the building's form and religious character but at considerable financial cost to the parish. One of the book's main theses is that divergent approaches to religious diversity in Canada and Spain have engendered equally divergent political ideals in Quebec and Catalonia. Whereas Canada's multiculturalism policy framework has encouraged the Quebecois to reactively restrict the rights of religious minorities, the perceived connection between Spanish nationalism and the primacy of the Catholic Church has spurred the Catalans to equate secu-

larism with respect for religious diversity. Yet the case studies themselves suggest that these broad generalizations need qualification in light of the considerable internal contestation of Quebec's homogenizing strand of nationalism. Making highly effective use of participant observation, the book describes a demonstration held against the Quebec Values Charter, where one poster featuring two female Catholic figures donning the traditional headscarf proclaimed that "the hijab is part of Quebec's heritage". Similarly, the debate on reasonable accommodation deeply divided public opinion, with a coalition of politicians, businesses, academics, anglophone media, and human rights lawyers favouring more diversity-friendly interpretations of secularism. Leaving aside this caveat, the contrast between state and substate approaches to religious diversity generally appears more convincing in the case of Quebec than Catalonia. Whereas Canadian multiculturalism is enshrined in law and upheld by the courts, as the judicialization of many controversies has shown, the notion that contemporary Spain is inhospitable to religious diversity sits uneasily with the fact that the Spanish government has extended official recognition to a wide variety of faiths and that its strategy of signing cooperation agreements with representatives of religious communities is one that has been followed by Catalan authorities themselves.

While the book does a good job at intercalating theoretical analyses throughout the case studies, the partial conclusions are not always easy to relate to the rich theoretical framework presented in chapter 1 and to the overall conclusions. In this sense, one drawback is the difficulty of

detecting an overarching narrative weaving together all the argumentative threads that run through the substantive chapters. Some theoretical avenues are opened but not actively pursued, such as the intriguing hypothesis that the governance of religion has provided incentives for people to understand themselves as religious beings and may have marginalized the religiously indifferent in the politics of freedom of religion, equality, and non-discrimination. Overall, however, the book offers many penetrating comments on the intertwining of nationalism, secularism, and the contestation of religious diversity, based on a detailed, Foucault-inspired exploration of the governmentality of religious subjectivities. The case studies are vividly described in a sharp, energetic style that dispenses with most academic jargon, and the sociological references purposefully dispersed throughout the discussion are a stimulating invitation to explore the arguments in greater depth. Tracing some of the most meaningful developments in the recent history of Quebec and Catalonia while simultaneously speaking to broader international trends, the volume will be of great interest to students of religion, migration, nationalism, and intercultural relations.

Fredrik Albritton Jonsson / John Brewer / Neil Fromer / Frank Trentmann (eds.): Scarcity in the Modern World: History, Politics, Society and Sustainability, 1800–2075, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020 (2019), 312 pp.

Reviewed by
Corinna R. Unger, Florence

This volume aims to show “how scarcity has evolved in history” (p. 1). The editors argue that “[r]esources are limited and never enough to fulfill all needs and wants” (p. 1). Against this background, they want to investigate how individuals and societies have dealt with such limitations in the past and how they are dealing with them at a time that is characterized by discussions about the nexus between resource use and climate change. The time period covered ranges from the late seventeenth century to the early twenty-first century, with the majority of the chapters focusing on the twentieth century and on the present. The subtitle’s promise that the volume leads up to the year 2075 seems a bit overambitious, given that this year relates to a forecast on the global consumption of fossil fuels, renewable energy, and water use. While the future might be somewhat out of reach, the strength of the volume is in bringing together contemporary and historical perspectives, conceptual considerations and case studies, and a variety of regions and actors. Furthermore, the contributors represent a large number of disci-