This case study includes only a few research subjects in a nascent spiritual movement, but the conceptual tools introduced in chapter 1 are French-style generalizing terms such as ontological individualism and cosmological attunement. “Generally speaking, American spiritual seekers can be said to begin their quest and practice within a framework of ‘ontological individualism,’ in which spirituality consists in discovering, nurturing, and expressing one’s own ‘deep self’; Daoist cultivation, on the other hand, is based on a process of ‘cosmological attunement’ in which spirituality consists in the harmonization of the dynamic structure and forces of the body/mind with the corresponding dynamic structure and forces of society and of the cosmos” (pp. 8–9). The authors ask, “To what extent, if at all, do the Dream Trippers shift, in their self-cultivation, from ontological individualism to cosmological attunement?” (p. 9). The authors answer this research question with thick ethnographic description that is fascinating to read and philosophical reflection that is full of delightful insights.

Chapter 2 explains the spiritual, cultural, and historical significance of the mountains of Huashan in the Daoist sacred landscape. Chapter 3 depicts the Dream Trippers and profiles some key practitioners. Chapter 4 follows some Daoist monks in Huashan and elsewhere and explicates their social, political, and institutional contexts in China today. Chapter 5 describes anxious encounters of the Dream Trippers, the Daoist monks, and the academics of Daoist studies. Chapter 6 elaborates on the academics’ reflections of the popular Daoism and their efforts to transpose Daoism in the United States. Chapter 7 returns to the theoretical question raised in the beginning and deliberates the predicament of modern spirituality that seems to be common among many self-conscious individuals in the modern or postmodern world. While modern spiritual seekers have struggled in their pursuit for spiritual liberation from conventional religions, some have turned to the ancient religion of Daoism for authenticity of their individual spirituality. The spiritual journeys of various kinds of seekers intersected in the sacred mountains of Huashan, but the authenticity and authority of their spirituality remains to be seen.

A Social Revolution: Politics and the Welfare State in Iran. By Kevan Harris. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017. Pp. xiii + 316. \$85.00 (cloth); \$29.95 (paper).

Erdem Yörük
Koc University

A Social Revolution by Kevan Harris is a vivid analysis of the politics of welfare provision in Iran. By putting together various dimensions of political contention, including elite competition, social mobilization, war, and geopolitical tensions, Harris manages to provide a coherent and convincing analytical narrative. This is a refreshing take, as it moves beyond the cliché

rentier and populism theories of welfare in the Global South, pointing out the welfare effect of the interaction between social mobilization and elite competition.

A Social Revolution makes an important contribution to the welfare studies literature, which currently suffers from the domination of structuralist arguments and perspectives. An older generation of welfare scholars provided a combination of structuralist (demographic and economic) and political explanations for the rise of mid-20th-century welfare systems in the Western world. They referred to structural trends such as industrialization and aging as well as political factors, such as the threat from militant working classes, electoral competition, and warfare, as drivers of welfare state expansion. Yet, compared to this rich and diverse tradition, contemporary analysis of welfare states mostly focuses on economic and demographic factors that characterize the neoliberal world, such as deindustrialization, aging, poverty, and the rise of services. Thus, this recent literature tends to overlook political contentions by representing welfare policy changes as if they are automatic responses to structural trends. This tendency is even more striking in the smaller volume of studies that analyze welfare in the Global South. Poverty alleviation programs, for example, have been mostly portrayed and evaluated as measures only aimed at helping the poor, instead of governing/regulating/disciplining/containing/mobilizing the poor. With its politics-centered analysis of the welfare state in Iran, *A Social Revolution* proves to be a very timely and substantive contribution to this problematic contemporary welfare state literature.

The book begins with two puzzles: First, despite grave challenges from inside and outside, how did the Islamic regime in Iran manage to survive? Harris argues that, contrary to most accounts, ideology and repression did not suffice and redistribution through welfare was entailed. Second, despite similar objective conditions of welfare development, how did the welfare states of Pahlavi and the Islamic Republic diverge? The level of elite competition is the explanatory factor here. Thus, besides presenting the only systematic analysis of the Iranian welfare state in English, the book brings forward a neat central argument about welfare politics in Iran: the intertwining of elite competition and social mobilization generated a welfare-warfare complex (a martyrs' welfare state) within the double exigency of revolution and war, which, as an unintended consequence, resulted in the empowerment of an enlarged middle class eager to challenge the antisystemic developmentalist state with escalated material expectations.

Chapter 1 provides a rich and analytical discussion of the existing literature, which portray Middle Eastern welfare states either as rentier institutions that provide welfare as a bribe in return for obedience to authoritarianism or as venues of populism based on clientelism and patronage in an effort to mobilize lower classes. Indeed, Iran has rarely been examined as a developmental or welfare state, and the book therefore makes an important conceptual contribution. Not satisfied with these accounts, Harris invites a sociological account of the Iranian welfare state, focusing on theories

of welfare in the Global North, as well as the Global South to a lesser extent. Here, I may note that a discussion of which welfare regime typology Iran would fit in would have been nice.

Chapter 2 tells us how a limited corporatist welfare regime was established during the Pahlavi era by providing a detailed historical account of the period. In chapter 3, Harris gives a detailed account of how revolution and war created the conditions of a dual welfare state regime in Iran, which was built by expanding novel and more inclusionary social policies on top of Pahlavi-era corporatist institutions. Elite contention led to social mobilization, and these two, according to Harris, became the driving forces of this bifurcation. Chapters 4 and 5 provide descriptions of the institutional settings of this dual welfare structure. Finally, in chapter 6, Harris examines the 2009 Green Movement by analyzing the composition and motivations of protestors and by linking the cause and effects of the movement to welfare politics. Here Harris comes close to the popular argument that the new middle classes with enhanced material resources and expectations are the new actor of global social movements. The Green Movement, for Harris, was not unrest against a backward-looking state but an outcome of state-making processes that involved development and welfare.

In Harris's account, the grassroots bottom-up pressures that led to welfare expansion have resulted from elite-led popular mobilizations occasioned by battles for state power. There is also a strand of grassroots mobilization, which is maybe even more central to welfare outcomes, that comes into existence independently of elite contention. These are antisystemic social movements that mobilize and radicalize independently on various ideological, class-based, ethnic, political, and religious grounds. Welfare provision is used not only to mobilize people for elite contentions, but also, and perhaps more importantly, to contain social unrest that challenges the status quo. Therefore, in many cases, welfare outcomes of social movements are unintended, rather than intended, consequences—people struggle for one thing and receive welfare benefits instead. This point seems to be neglected to a large extent. In Iran there are many movements other than the analyzed middle-class movements whose challenge to the powers-that-be might have led to welfare expansion as a containment strategy. This might include the Kurdish movement, the poor people's movement, student movements, other ethnic-religious minorities, and so on. After reading the book, whether welfare has been used by the Iranian state as a counterinsurgency strategy against such grassroots mobilizations and whether such mobilizations have a permanent effect on the Iranian welfare state remain as questions. Another question that could have been answered by the author is how, compared to multiparty competition in liberal democracies, elite competition in Iran affects, qualitatively and quantitatively, welfare state development.

Overall, *A Social Revolution* shows that the Islamic Republic relied on welfare provision as the main source of state making, and this is a remarkable finding. I contend that this book is a must read for students of welfare studies, the Middle East, and social movements.