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both a worse health status of children and a higher degree of overall frustration, which in turn is linked with violence" (p. 194). Such assertions do not stand up as contributions to the theory of violence. The jump from correlation to causation and the neglect of such factors as the political system, the Arab–Israeli wars, the nature of negotiations toward peace in the Middle East, and other important political, economic, and social factors reduce the complexity of the situation to insignificance.

In spite of these many criticisms, the book contains some important and interesting data and information. Cem Behar's chapter on the fertility transition in Turkey, for example, shows how the transition occurred in "a social environment defined by strong economic development and weak family planning programs" (p. 36), that is, as a result of demand factors rather than supply factors; the fertility transition progressed faster than expected, while regional differences in the decline remain substantial. The chapter by Youssef Courbage on fertility transition in Egypt and Morocco offers a wealth of data on these two factors and a sound comparative analysis of the conditions underlying them. Zurayk, Nabil Younis, and Hind Khattab give detailed and informative insights on the reproductive health situation in the intensively studied district of Giza in Egypt, thereby enriching the growing literature on the subject.

Viewed as a collection of studies on fertility and family planning, the undue generalizations aside, this book provides some informative reading for demographers and social scientists interested in fertility and family planning in selected countries of the Middle East and North Africa.

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Reference

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CARL IPSEN

Dictating Demography: The Problem of Population in Fascist Italy

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. xvii + 281 p. \$54.95.

During the twentieth century various European countries on many occasions felt compelled to deal with demographic trends perceived as undesirable and, subsequently, with the need to implement measures thought to be ameliorative. This was particularly so in the aftermath of World War I in a number of countries where a decline in fertility occurred or accelerated its pace. The continual drop in births, which, apart from the long experience of France, was a relative novelty for the countries in question, and occurred at a time of economic and political crisis, placed focus on demographic policy after decades of a laissez-faire approach to population issues.

Today, although there is no longer mention of the “Decline of the West,” government concern over persisting denatalism is not fully abated, as the consequences of this trend have begun to undermine the welfare state. As in the past, the solution today differs according to the political system in question. Liberal-democratic systems, by their very nature, have to tackle broad ethical and legal questions, as well as limits to state intervention in the private sphere (in particular the family and reproductive choices); such is not the case with totalitarian systems. Academic interest in these issues has grown considerably in recent years. This is exemplified by the focus given to demographic questions during international conferences and by the copious production of articles and essays on the topic. However, popular attention has been centered on the present and what is lacking to date is a detailed analysis, with greater thought being given to the recent past. One historical example is the demographic policy pursued under Fascism in Italy—originating a few years prior to that of Nazi Germany. That experience presents a number of aspects that are still of interest today.

Carl Ipsen’s study fills a gap, but this is not its only merit. His book is the fruit of careful documentary research using official and archival sources, contemporary journals, and a wealth of literature on the various topics covered. Armed with this rich documentary evidence, Ipsen reconstructs the process underlying Fascist demographic policy, from its beginnings to its amalgamation with racist policy. The interpretation he provides, one with which I am fully in agreement, is that demographic policy of that time was an essential aspect of Italian Fascism, part and parcel of the overall design to shape a new civilization.

The first chapter analyzes the historical-demographic context wherein Mussolini, a few years after taking power, elaborated the Fascist demographic program. After dealing with general questions of Fascist historiography, Ipsen provides an outline of demographic evolution in Europe in the aftermath of World War I and illustrates the concerned reactions on the part of certain countries to the fall in fertility. He also devotes several pages to population questions in Liberal Italy—the period preceding the ascendancy of Fascism—both at a doctrinaire level and regarding political attitudes, particularly to emigration trends, which had become a source for concern during that period.

The second chapter looks at the genesis of demographic totalitarianism. Ipsen shows how Mussolini changed course in policy toward migration and how an anti-urbanist and pronatalist attitude came to the fore. This can be clearly seen in Mussolini’s so-called Ascension Day speech to the Chamber of Deputies, 26 May 1927, marking the founding of Fascist demographic policy. Ipsen then outlines the gradual steps toward the realization of legislative and institutional structures to carry out the “demographic battle.”

Ipsen also comments on the pivotal role Mussolini attributed to gathering and interpreting statistics. This aspect has been largely ignored in the literature and deserves greater consideration, as it is closely linked to the role played by propaganda in the management of the demographic campaign. As Ipsen comments, “a controlled economy requires more statistical information than one based on a freer market economy” (p. 78). If this is true for the economy, then it is even more true for the incessant propaganda campaign that was mounted to ensure the success of the demographic program. The reorganization of the state statistics office in 1926,

with the setting up of the Istituto centrale di statistica (ISTAT), was an important factor in this. Thanks to the availability of a wealth of statistics, particularly on fertility, the press became almost obsessively interested in demographic trends, and from 1928 on the newspapers printed monthly figures on the number of marriages, births, and deaths, accompanied by details and commentary, almost as if they were dealing with a sporting event. Statistics, thus, besides helping to shape government policy on demographic issues, encouraged greater involvement and consensus on the part of the general public in the creation of the new Fascist society in Italy.

Chapters 3 and 4 detail the implementation of the ambitious population program that began in 1929, when the regime was already well established and the organizing phase had been completed. These pages highlight the comprehensive nature of the government's action in this area, which aimed to control, through positive incentives on the one hand, and restrictive measures on the other, all demographic variables. Chapter 3 describes the migration policy enacted, centered on severe restrictions on migration to non-Italian destinations and strict control over internal migration, directing population movements toward designated areas (e.g., those needing labor for public works projects or previously unused lands) and discouraging the tendency to migrate from rural to urban areas. Programs of demographic colonization of Italy's African colonies, carried out along with domestic colonization, are also noted.

The policy for qualitative population management (Chapter 4) focused on maternal and infant care, together with a series of pronuptialist and pronatalist measures. A highly rhetorical propaganda campaign accompanied these programs, particularly exalting the role assigned to women, subordinate in their role as mothers and wives, but also active, public figures called on to perform voluntary tasks for the national cause.

The final section of this chapter deals with the integration of demographic and racist policies, also realized at the institutional level. A clear indication of this association was the transformation in 1938 of the Ufficio centrale demografico (Central demographic office), responsible for coordinating and promoting demographic policy, into the Direzione generale della demografia e della razza (General directorship of demography and race). The interpretation offered by Ipsen of this degeneration seems indefinite. While underlining that the racist policy was a more general version of the one introduced in the colonies to prevent the formation of a mixed race, Ipsen appears to support the theory that the policy in this area tended to imitate that introduced by the Nazis in Germany. In my opinion, while there are some Nazi suggestions, Fascist racism evolved independently and under Mussolini's personal initiative. Racism in Italian demographic policy emerged only in the final stages of its implementation, whereas in Germany racism was an integral part of Nazi ideology and permeated from the very beginning its demographic policy.

In the last chapter, perhaps the least structured, the author takes a look at the influence of demographic policy on the work carried out by ISTAT and at developments in population theory during those years. The regime's interest in statistical information and the official support enjoyed by ISTAT led to a perceptible improvement in the quality of the statistics collected and the surveys conducted by

that institute. Being a vital tool in assessing the success of both demographic policy and the propaganda campaign, ISTAT publications reflected this role. In suggesting a link that is a little tenuous, the author emphasizes how Fascist population theorists, like their counterparts during the Liberal period, focused on issues deemed to be of major political importance. In reality, in the paragraphs covering this, Ipsen mainly deals with doctrinaire aspects, which as a conclusion to the book seems somewhat out of place.

This book has recently been published in Italy as well, under the title *Demografia totalitaria: Il problema della popolazione nell'Italia fascista* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997, 393 p.). The outline and topics covered in the Italian edition are the same as in the English version reviewed here. Although there are few major differences, the latter has a stronger historical approach, in particular by laying greater emphasis on the general questions of Fascist historiography. The issuing of the book by a major Italian publisher shows the great interest in Italy regarding this topic, not only by academics but also by the lay reader. This topic has been neglected for years, and only recently has it become possible to address these issues with greater objectivity. For those who grew up during the years of Fascism or are keenly aware of events of the time, the memory persists of the more hateful aspects of racist policies, particularly of the legalized persecution of the Jewish minority.

Dictating Demography, which is strictly scientific in tone, is primarily aimed at academics, students, and policymakers. Nevertheless, it should also prove of interest to the general public as it covers a theme of such topical interest as the drawing up and implementing of demographic policies.

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DAVID JACOBSON

Rights Across Borders: Immigration and the Decline of Citizenship

Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. x + 181 p. \$33.50.

The central contention of this book is that since the 1970s there has been a change in the character of nation-states, at least in what Jacobson calls the "Euro-Atlantic core." This has been brought about by two distinct forces. The first is a reduction in sovereignty resulting from a growing acceptance of international human rights, reflected in adherence to various international conventions or in membership of particular organizations. The second is the increasing inability of states to control who resides within their borders. Since residents can as readily as citizens look to states to uphold their internationally established rights, critical distinctions between citizens and aliens have been eroded, and citizenship has become devalued. Theories of the state and international relations—whether by neorealists, structuralists, structuationalists, poststructuralists, or institutionalists—are therefore to a greater or lesser extent defective. (Readers who do not belong to the particular fraternity that finds significance in the distinctions among these groups will probably be un-