

al's involvement with local actors in Central Eastern Europe, and of its collaboration with the Polish trade union. But in the book we also discover that the Polish town has successfully obtained the status of Special Economic Zone, granting investors huge tax advantages; and we also discover that much of Electra's philanthropic activity is nothing less than donations they can deduct from tax; and that its collaboration with Hungarian labour market agencies is to solve labour shortage problems. Why then should activities that cost nothing but produce big saving be economically irrational? Similarly, the good relations with the Polish unions might have something to do with the fact that the union is the weakest of all plants (low membership, and 20% unemployment in the area) and appears to agree with anything the company proposes: this sounds more as self-interested paternalism than enlightened or generous social partnership.

The concept of 'social interaction', and even more that of 'values', will need more analytical 'unpacking' to become operational. This book offers some suggestions on the way to proceed, by defining some typical forms of social interactions. There are two ways this promising theoretical-analytical endeavour can be advanced in the future. One is producing a systematic social interactionist 'grammar' of social relations in multinational companies, in a way similar to what ethnomethodologists do, to detect constants and structures. The other way is to look more at power, a concept often mentioned, but rarely considered in depth, by Kahancova: power asymmetries indeed seem to be have major influences on Electra's decentralised practices, and political economy might help detecting why. In either case, I would pay more attention to specific forms of social relations, for instance gender relations. I could not find any detail in the book about the gender composition of Electra's workforces and management, but on p. 132 I

found this vivid description of social partnership in the Polish plant.

In the 2004 company festivity, the (female) union leader spontaneously danced with the subsidiary's Dutch general manager with mugs of beer in their hands. Other participants stopped dancing and were clapping their hands. Such practice would be unheard of in Brugge, Dreux or Székesfehérvár.

This detail suggests that gender relations in feminised plants (such as in electronics) may explain some differences from the more frequently studied automotive ones. Yet it also exemplified how much more fine-grained this exemplary description of a multinational is, in comparison with previous studies.

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Barbara Einhorn: *Citizenship in an Enlarging Europe. From Dream to Awakening*

New York, NY, 2010: Palgrave Macmillan, 254 pp.

This book gives an informed account of how gendered difference and inequality has been produced, transformed, and challenged in the past twenty years in the countries belonging to the former 'state-socialist' part of Europe, including Russia and its western successor states.¹ Through the loosely defined and applied, yet attentively reflected conceptual lens of citizenship the study discusses developments in the areas of civil society and activism, media-representation, the labour market, social, family and population policy, nationalism, religion, and national as well as transnational governance, including gender mainstreaming and quota policies. While in this paperback edition the original introductory Chapter 1 is kept, there is also a new intro-

duction which expands on some of the themes of the original study, adds a discussion of trafficking and migration, and additional information on Bulgaria and Romania, countries which, while included in the original text, became EU-members only after the publication of the hardcover edition. Among other things the study demonstrates time and again how neoliberalism and, in Barbara Einhorn's words, the prioritisation of the market over democracy in post-socialist transition have been thoroughly gendered, i.e. how the related changes have built on and produced gendered inequalities and in this way disadvantaged women. One case in point is the labour market (Chapter 7), where hopes that restructuring might create in some sectors at least better or improved opportunities for women compared to men have largely proven illusory. The chapter on cultural representation explores in a nuanced manner unexpected continuities between various state-socialist representations of women and gender on the one hand and dominant representations emerging after 1989 on the other. Yet it also demonstrates how marketisation and the powerful promotion of consumerist individualism have produced a flood of sexualised, objectifying, and domesticated images of the 'new women'. Widespread rejection of collectivism and egalitarianism as symbols associated with the state-socialist past have also contributed, so the argument goes, to widespread tolerance for, if not outright approval of, both sexist and traditionalist images of women and gender relations.

The study is built on 'empirical and qualitative data emanating in the main from within the region itself' (p. 15). These data to a large extent are taken from a wide array of secondary literature. The book suggests that in order to further gender equitable citizenship in the European Union we on some levels need to prioritise rights-based approaches, re-invent a focus on the fates and fortunes of gender in public

governance at both the national and transnational levels, and think critically about gendered 'traps' and 'gaps' (see also p. 172–175) of civil society activism in Eastern Europe.

Barbara Einhorn's study is driven by an honest desire to develop research and political perspectives aimed at furthering gender-equitable societies in Eastern Europe and a West-East dialogue that is not based on nor reproduces pre-existing power inequalities or one-sided normative approaches. The book comes closest to accomplishing this task in its nuanced and multi-layered analysis of women's civil society and feminist activism in Chapter 4. The chapter makes a strong case for recognising women's activism as well as feminist theory as 'politically, culturally and historically contingent' in both West and East (p. 69). The axiomatic, and often normative, claims of Western second-wave feminism are in this way reconsidered as products of specific historical circumstances and it is argued that therefore these claims may no longer be used as lenses through which to look at 'other' women and other locals. This in turn enables a sensitive analysis of women's activism in Eastern Europe which is no longer trapped in what has been called 'the figure of lack' or assumed 'deficiency'. As a result Chapter 4 meets the challenge of going beyond inherited analytical frameworks which leave in place the assumed universality and 'theorisability' of the Western experience while relegating findings about social change in non-core world-regions either to the status of the 'particular' or, in the words of Dipesh Chakrabarty, to the status of lack, absence, or incompleteness. Yet at the same time the analysis still maintains some stereotypes inherited from the early years of the 'transition period', when scholars tried to 'explain' the absence of Western-type feminism in state-socialist Eastern Europe. One of these is the idea that due to the un-democratic structure of the public sphere the

private sphere was 'conceptualized as the sole locus of ... independence from state interference' which functioned as a space of 'gender-neutral solidarity' which in turn 'excluded any discussion of gender-based inequalities of intra-household conflict' (p. 66). How widespread were, one may ask, such 'conceptualisations' of the private? And how widespread were, in the West, more gender-critical conceptualisations of the private that were triggered by or resulted from rising feminist awareness?

The biggest strength of the approach pursued in Chapter 4 and introduced to an extent in Chapter 1 (pp. 1–4) in relation to discursive constructions is the attention to inequality and unequal relations between Western and Eastern Europe in the past and present. But this attention is lacking from the analytical framework and the narrative in most of the rest of the book. When it comes to large-scale socioeconomic development and transnational governance, Barbara Einhorn's approach strongly resembles what in international relations would be labelled an idealist perspective. This is true, for example, when she seems to set all her hopes on international human and gender rights politics (as opposed to the questionable powers of the state) (pp. 176, 180 f.). Moreover, nowhere does the study combine its gendered critique of neoliberal globalisation and market-driven politics and developments in Europe with an equally sustained and gendered critique of the ongoing production and reproduction of inequality between Western and Eastern Europe built into these same politics and developments. The study neither engages with the striking degree of intra-European polarisation (and its ongoing reproduction) nor with its gendered and other consequences (let alone driving-forces). This is true, as I will demonstrate below, even on the rare occasions when mention is made of related facts such as the low wages (p. 163 f.) or widespread material deprivation (quoted from Lynne Haney, p. 167),

that so characterised the developments in Eastern European countries. Eurostat data—something that could replace such vague and scattered information and illustrate dimensions of intra-European inequality—are easily available on the internet. In Hungary, for example, labour costs add up to an average of seven Euro per hour, while in neighbouring Austria they are quadruple that. Average life expectancy is 69 for men and 78 for women in Hungary, compared to 77 and 83, respectively, across the border. Social expenditure per capita amounts to 3500 Euro per year in Hungary and 8600 in Austria. Barbara Einhorn's study carefully stays away both from mentioning facts of this type and from putting such data in perspective and building them, as she does in Chapter 4, into an analysis that takes both Eastern and Western European circumstances as a point of reference. This absence is mirrored in how key explanatory terms are used throughout the book. 'Globalisation', the 'neoliberal model', and the transition to a 'post-industrial society' are brandished as though the terms and the socioeconomic processes to which they refer had no geography, i.e. either as if they produce basically the same outcomes everywhere in Europe (and beyond) or as if potential divergent outcomes of 'globalisation' or 'neoliberalism' were irrelevant for a gendered analysis of the Eastern European transformation and more recently EU enlargement.

The consequences for the ensuing analysis are disastrous. In Chapter 7, the study, for example, manages to talk about the shift toward the 'post-industrial economies' in the East and in the West without making any distinction (between them), except for the fact that this shift 'has ... taken place ... at a more gradual pace' in Western Europe. Consequently the argument in this connection is reduced to exploring the gendered dimension of the 'restructuring' of labour markets in Eastern Europe, where jobs disappeared in some sectors and new ones

were created in others, so that by 1999 the service sector 'accounted for the largest share of total employment in all countries of the region except Romania' (p. 149).

When exploring developments in Eastern Europe the neglect of intra-European inequality is both combined with and enables the straightforward use of concepts that naturalise the underlying, distinctly divergent characteristics of Western European societies. The analysis of the gendered dimensions of social policy is a case in point. The 'shift from universalist to residual social welfare systems', which produces pressure especially on women to do even more unpaid care work, probably bears, as Barbara Einhorn argues, some similar traits in East and West (pp. 100 f., 166 f.). Yet, in East European societies, which are (though to varying degrees) characterised by widespread material deprivation and strikingly low levels of social expenditure, welfare universalism has since the 1990s meant that many universal benefits are extremely low and of decreasing value. Consequently, the pressure on women to do unpaid care work, besides wage work, was extremely high well before residual welfare systems gained ground. No attention is paid in the book to these facts, and consequently we are left in the dark about the gendered meaning of the shift towards residualism in Eastern Europe. This lack of attention to material circumstances that crucially, and in gendered ways, inform the fate of welfare and social policy in the region is clearly related to some powerful tacit assumptions contained in Western-centric, though on the surface 'place-less', theories of gender and welfare, such as, in this case, the tacit understanding that a system of universal benefits enables survival and is likely to reduce the need for unpaid care and is thus empowering for women. Only if we undo these assumptions, and integrate, for example, as a crucial variable the material (in)adequacy of welfare benefits into theories of gender

and welfare will we be able to paint an adequate picture of gendered social policy in both East and West, and this in turn will change our inherited theories about (for example) gendered dimensions and implications of welfare universalism or residualism.

The lack of attention to intra-European material and social inequality has straightforward consequences for the more directly political dimensions of the analysis presented in Einhorn's book too, for example in the section on gendered migration and trafficking in the newly added introduction. There is a sound argument here against the victimisation of trafficked women through public discourse and policy, highlighting the key role of the lack of formal citizenship and legal status of migrant women in sustaining systems of trafficking and the exploitation of migrant labour. Einhorn sees legal change in this regard as a precondition for 'empowering women to undertake labour migration in an informed manner' and 'assisting them on the route to active and participatory European citizenship' (p. xxxv f.). How is it possible, I asked myself reading this section, that a vision of intra-European feminist cooperation and of all-European women's empowerment as presented here completely obliterates the foundational insight that, without economic equality within Europe, or at least economically sustainable lives in the Eastern half of the continent, there will be no empowerment of women from the East to make informed choices about whether or not, and on which terms, they are willing to migrate? Why is it that in Western-dominated academic circles even those who, like Barbara Einhorn, pursue a vision of social and feminist solidarity, largely ignore, at least on the conceptual level, intra-European material inequality and polarisation? Why does research uncovering the intersections of the inequalities of gender, 'race', class, and other vectors of inequality, which today is blossoming in the Euro-

pean context, largely forget about intra-European material inequality and polarisation as a potential key variable? To me it seems quite possible that much gender research going on in the European context has difficulties tackling the most obvious and pressing political question of intra-European inequality, in which, as European citizens, we are all directly involved on many levels. It is perhaps indeed 'easier' to prioritise the category of gender over this one particular intersecting category, even as the intersectionality perspective, with its conceptual openness to include all dimensions of inequality, is 'mainstreamed' into gender research with a focus on present-day Europe. Yet *Citizenship in an Enlarging Europe* convincingly demonstrates, notwithstanding its scholarly achievements, that the inevitable weaknesses of such gender analysis considerably outweigh the questionable pleasures of such avoidance.

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Notes:

¹ In the following I use the terms Western and Eastern Europe as a simplifying shorthand for two internally highly differentiated yet, in comparison to each other, in many aspects distinctly different European regions.

**Lucia Tunkrova and Pavel Saradin (eds.):
*The Politics of EU Accession: Turkish
Challenges and Central European
Experiences***

London, New York 2010: Routledge
Chapman & Hall, 183 pp.

Turkey's relationship with the European Union has been on a roll for more than forty years, and while Turkey was unanimously accepted as a candidate country in 1999, the membership negotiations only took off in 2005. Since then not much progress has been achieved, and compared to other can-

didate countries the Turkish experience can be described as sluggish. This highly problematic relationship between Turkey and the EU has raised heated public debates and has become one of the most contentious issues in European politics. The scholarly literature on the subject has boomed in recent years, but most of these studies either weigh the pros and cons of Turkey's membership from both perspectives or look at the impact of the EU on particular policy areas. Relatively less work has concentrated on the issue of enlargement-led change in Turkey, and under what conditions it can endure.

Lucia Tunkrova and Pavel Saradin examine this question through the lens of social constructivism, which supposes that the candidate countries' willingness to embrace EU norms and values mainly emanates from the belief in their legitimacy and from viewing them as viable solutions to domestic problems that are nearly impossible to solve without the adoption of these norms and values. The second aim of the volume is to draw parallels between the four new EU member states of East Central European Countries (ECECs)—the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia—and Turkey by highlighting the political and social circumstances that were present before the countries joined the EU. Among the many similarities, the domination of the state over society, corrupt politics, imperfect judicial systems, and a lack of independent media are listed. Nevertheless, the volume comes short of meeting both of its central foci, as the choice of theoretical framework, social constructivism, is not fully substantiated, and the attempt to compare the Europeanisation of the ECECs with the Turkish experience is not done thoroughly and systematically.

Kemalist reforms construct the ideological basis of modern Turkey and contemporary politics cannot be evaluated without a reference to Kemalism's ambition to Westernise Turkish identity. Even