

This article was downloaded by:[Loughborough University]
On: 18 December 2007
Access Details: [subscription number 768507688]
Publisher: Routledge
Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954
Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Journal of Contemporary European Studies

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713429588>

Book Reviews

Fotis Mavromatidis^a

^a Loughborough University, UK

Online Publication Date: 01 December 2007

To cite this Article: Mavromatidis, Fotis (2007) 'Book Reviews', Journal of Contemporary European Studies, 15:3, 395 - 426

To link to this article: DOI: 10.1080/14782800701683789

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14782800701683789>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.informaworld.com/terms-and-conditions-of-access.pdf>

This article maybe used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

REVIEWS SECTION

Book Reviews

Diplomacy on the Edge: Containment of Ethnic Conflict and the Minorities Working Group of the Conferences on Yugoslavia

Geert-Hinrich Ahrens

John Hopkins University Press, 2007, ISBN 978 0 8018 8557 0 (hbk)

£42.84, 672 pp.

The crises in Yugoslavia have produced a considerable amount of literature, and there is also a substantial number of works by key actors. Geert Ahrens is one of them who, as a key diplomat, carried out a series of delicate negotiations. At the start of the book the author points out that his purpose is to analyse the Minorities Working Group of the Carrington Conference on Yugoslavia in 1991–1996. In separate sections of the introduction he develops the meaning of the book's title further. Speaking four of the regional languages and having been in the region since 1956 he can indeed be seen as an expert on Yugoslavia. The chapters are full of eye witness accounts and there is a wealth of documentation and information that only an insider can give. In fact, much of the information provided is not well known, e.g. the existence of a pro-Serbian faction in the German administration (p. 512) or the fact that since 1990 the US congress was dealing with the democratization of Yugoslavia (p. 40). The author is one of the few people who know the history of this region and the idiosyncrasies of its nationalities well; he rightly maintains that the Albanian question had existed since the Berlin Treaty (ch. 14) and that a unique multiculturalism had existed in Vojvodina (ch. 13).

The book provides a clear outline of the division of responsibilities among the international community. This division reflects the cynicism and blunt realism of international relations and how ill-prepared the international community was. This can be seen, for example, in the fact that the Albanian question in Kosovo and south Serbia was abandoned because of Milosevic's importance to the peace talks. The author's direct approach to the events in Yugoslavia is welcome; he does not mind being blunt when he says that many of the foreign mediators had little knowledge of the Balkans (ch. 29) and that the media were influencing the responses of the international community, which usually came late (p. 487).

However, the argument becomes less convincing when the author puts personal blame on such political actors as Owen, who he sees as involved in a 'coup' during the international mediation process in 1993. For Ahrens the 'coup' which removed him from his position was the result of a political decision involving Germany. According to the

author it destroyed all efforts at mediation (discussed at length in the book) and finally led to a humanitarian disaster in the region. This is exemplified in his discussion of FYROM, where he says that while he came to terms with the two competing national entities in 1995, his removal meant that no progress could be achieved in the Tetovo crisis of 2001 (ch. 24). There are many similar instances in the book where his efforts and his successes are highlighted while failures are blamed on other actors, but without enough evidence being provided.

From a technical perspective the book is structured in five parts, each of them starting with an introductory chapter. In every chapter the themes are clearly outlined, which helps the reader to follow the specific arguments. In addition, the author's direct language and the historico-sociological explanations of the Balkan reality make the book accessible to readers who have no previous knowledge in this field. However, Ahrens' sometimes blunt style can appear provocative and all too personal, more fitting to a memoirs than a historical account. This is particularly true when he talks about his personal experiences, such as his farewell moments with the Yugoslav people.

To sum up, the book can be recommended to anyone who wants to learn about ethnic minorities and the general problems of the former Yugoslavia and those who want an insider's account on diplomacy in the Balkans region. However, Ahrens' critique of events must be accessed critically, particularly in relation to a certain bias which often goes with personal accounts.

Fotis Mavromatidis
Loughborough University, UK
f.mavromatidis@lboro.ac.uk

© 2007, Fotis Mavromatidis

Homecomings: Returning POWs and the Legacies of Defeat in Postwar Germany

Frank Biess

Princeton University Press, 2006, ISBN 0 691 12502 3 (hbk)

£22.95, 367 pp.

In recent years both academic and non-academic audiences have begun grappling with the vexed subject of German suffering during World War II. Frank Biess's splendid study represents a welcome and very timely intervention into this discussion, offering a sensitive and finely grained historical analysis of one group whose life stories afford much insight into post-war debates about German suffering and the larger problem of restructuring the nation following total defeat. Biess focuses principally on POWs who experienced Russian captivity—historically the group that spent the most years imprisoned and whose fates were the most subject to political wrangling within and between the two German states. His study offers important insights into the ways in which the experiences of defeat and the Cold War shaped efforts at reconstruction in East and West Germany at the most personal level.

Biess is careful to avoid endorsing revisionist views of the German Wehrmacht and, following the work of Robert Moeller (2001), emphasizes the link between post-war discourses of German suffering and victimization. Fusing social and cultural historical

approaches, Biess draws our attention to the complex position of German POWs, who, as he notes, ‘transcended the binary categories of perpetrator and victim’ (p. 5). Examining the real and represented experiences of POWs, he offers a nuanced interpretation of the returnee’s central place within both post-war Germanys—as a nexus for the negotiation of ‘memory, masculinity, and citizenship’ (p. 11).

Homecomings begins by tracking the long decline of the German army, since, as Biess astutely notes, a history of the POW experience must begin before the official conclusion of the war. Biess examines the case of POWs captured on the Eastern Front, who, in surviving rather than falling in battle, violated official narratives of ‘heroic sacrifice’ (p. 23). He shows that the home front exhibited scepticism about official reports of soldiers’ fates, which not only constituted a kind of private (although never organized) resistance, but also helped to shape the post-war reception of POWs as victims, rather than perpetrators. Biess also traces the roots of a more troubling continuity: wartime reports of POW mistreatment in Russian camps set the course for subsequent post-war comparisons, popular in West Germany, between the experiences of German soldiers and Jewish concentration camp victims.

This provides the backdrop to a powerful chapter on ‘Embodied defeat’, elucidating early post-war medical and psychological discourses on POWs’ trauma. Biess shows that, particularly in the West, National Socialist notions of a healthy ‘body politic’ continued to define discussions of war trauma, with direct consequences for the returnees: problems were ascribed to a flawed individual character, rather than wartime experiences and, accordingly, many were denied compensation. This discourse of ‘dystrophy’ shifted during the 1950s to acknowledge external sources of trauma, but Biess’ analysis of its early phase offers an important reminder of the intellectual links before and after 1945. The figure of the POW was no less important in the East, but took a vastly different form. As Biess outlines, while the East German medical community evinced a similar reluctance to countenance war trauma, when it did attempt to address POWs’ symptoms it found a very different cause: East German experts focused exclusively on the impact of Western imprisonment and blamed ‘incomplete denazification’ for their trauma, prescribing ‘not ‘psychotherapy but ... political enlightenment’ (pp. 92–93).

Homecomings then addresses both Germanys’ efforts to reincorporate POWs into their reconstruction processes and transform the defeated man into a viable post-war citizen. Biess argues that in the Federal Republic Christian notions of redemption played a key role in rewriting the narrative of total defeat, framing the camp experience as a ‘proving ground’ that reinforced soldiers’ religious values. This fostered a new understanding of the POW as a survivor, rather than victim. However, Biess makes clear that victim discourses continued to thrive, for example in the work of the powerful returnees’ association, which successfully lobbied for compensation legislation instrumental in codifying POWs as victims. In the East official rhetoric shifted from suspicion to praise as POWs who had converted to antifascism were framed as ideal pioneers of Socialism.

Neither state embraced POWs fully, however: in the West a number of returnees were tried for collaboration and betrayal of fellow prisoners, while in the East the policy of incorporation eventually turned into rejection, in part caused by the increasing paranoia accompanying Stalinization, which purged former POWs as potential fascist ‘contaminants’. Concluding with an analysis of the ‘divergent paths’ of Eastern and Western POW discourses during the Cold War, Biess once more reinforces the centrality

of POWs in the formulation of post-war national identities—at the heart of questions not only of national restoration, but also guilt, responsibility and suffering.

Part of Biess's central thesis concerns the post-war reassertion of a normative masculinity, and here I have some questions. West German culture clearly targeted the family as the centrepiece of a restored nation and, as Dagmar Herzog (2005) argued, the rhetoric of restoration often bemoaned the weakened state of the nation's defeated men and called for their 'repair'. I wonder, though, about Biess's contention that West Germans received the last returning POWs of 1955 as 'examples of masculine assertion' (p. 206). While the official discourse may have celebrated the men as survivors, as Biess notes, this argument overlooks some of the more ambivalent contemporary representations of the POWs, for example in film. Thus the dejected POW gracing the poster for *The Bells of Friedland*, while clearly juxtaposing the images of American excess, seems an improbable candidate to restore the post-war 'gender imbalance', as Biess proposes (p. 209). Instead, it seems more likely that the trajectory from 'defeated man' to 'survivor' was a messy one, with both notions often coexisting. This does not detract from the general excellence of Biess's study, however, which is illuminating, richly detailed and elegantly argued. It is certain to earn a wide and appreciative readership.

References

- Herzog, D. (2005) *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Moeller, R. G. (2001) *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press).

Jennifer M. Kapczynski
Washington University, St Louis, MO
jkapczynski@wustl.edu

© 2007, Jennifer M. Kapczynski

The Disparities of European Integration: Revisiting Neofunctionalism in Honour of Ernst B. Haas

Tanya A. Börzel (Ed.)

Routledge, 2006, ISBN 0 415 37490 1 (hbk)

£65.00, 177 pp.

It is a laudable undertaking to write a homage to Ernst Haas, the father of neo-functionalism, who passed away in 2003. The editor has chosen a model which starts out introducing neo-functionalism and then goes on with a number of contributions with different starting points: a negotiation-centred approach, a social constructivist approach, a legal approach, a comparative regional integration approach and a liberal inter-governmentalist one. It is a pity that the federal approach, the political-economic and a genuine realistic approach are missing. If the latter perspectives had been included, and a little more attention had been paid to a unified structure of individual chapters, an interesting book could have been better; this edited version began as a collection of articles printed in the *Journal of European Public Policy*, and it still feels like that.

One contribution stemming from several authors (Börzel, Rosamond and Schmitter) reminds us that the European Union (EU) of today was founded as a political project with the Paris or Schuman declaration of 1950. This fact cannot be mentioned often enough.

In a very stimulating chapter Tanya Börzel addresses the disparity between the 'level' and the 'scope' of European integration. She focuses on the various ways and procedures used when policy decisions are taken at the European level (scope) and compares the result to the transfer of competencies.

Distinguishing between scope and level reveals an interesting puzzle. It is common wisdom that the integration of external and internal security has lagged seriously behind. Since the Maastricht Treaty we have witnessed a significant task expansion of the EU into these last two bastions of national sovereignty. But while the achieved *level* of integration is rather similar, the *scope* of integration differs significantly. Justice and home affairs have subsequently been brought under the supranational framework of the first pillar. Common foreign and security policy and European defence policy, by contrast, are still firmly confined to the realm of inter-governmentalism (p. 54).

One of the most fascinating chapters of the book is, in my opinion, Philippe Schmitter's, in which he both comments on his colleague Ernst Haas but also looks at neo-functionalism with loving but critical eyes. Fairly early he condenses seven neo-functional maxims or working assumptions from which neo-functionalists have derived their inspiration. Following these maxims, Schmitter lists eight developments not anticipated by the neo-functionalists: the crucial role of the heads of state and government in putting the 1992 package together; the impact of economic trends outside Europe; the role of the European Court of Justice; the indirect effects of European enlargement; the importance of informal groups (e.g. the European Round Table of Industrialists); lack of public interest in European affairs; the important role of the European Parliament; the impact of the ideological shift from prevailing social democratic to prevailing neo-liberal. There follows a six point 'balance sheet' of neo-functionalism, its strengths and its weaknesses. Schmitter looks positively on neo-functionalism's future but recognizes that it will take a lot of work to 'tune it' to today's needs.

Henry Farrell and Adrienne Héritier relate their work on endogenous dynamics as an explanation for regional integration:

in contrast to Haas we scrutinize the development of integration in terms of its weakening or deepening at the level of institutions, i.e. rules of behaviour, in this particular case the rules governing the distribution of competencies and the authority among formal European decision-making bodies (p. 66).

They argue that formal rules are usually ambiguous and thus informal rules are negotiated to facilitate the day-to-day working of the institutions. These informal rules may then be converted into formal rules, pushing integration forward. Although one may disagree with the notion that formal rules are usually ambiguous, Farrell and Héritier's approach is convincing when attempting to explain the role of existing institutions in an ongoing integration process.

Thomas Risse's contribution leans on 'moderate social constructivism', as he calls it. His starting point is Haas' definition of political integration, and especially the part on 'shifting loyalties', which is translated by Risse into a statement about collective identity formation. Risse rightly points out that Haas never argued that identification with 'Europe' was a necessary prerequisite for the integration process. 'Rather, he seems to have assumed some kind of positive feedback loop ... which leads to increasing identification with the "new center" ... resulting in further integration' (p. 77). Risse rightly regrets that Haas gave up this aspect of his theory. Risse goes on to discuss Haas' conception of multiple loyalties, and draws lines to recent survey data and social psychological experiments, suggesting that people identifying with their nation state may also identify with Europe. (This is an important, but hardly a new fact, i.e. the Federalist papers from 1788 highlight dual loyalties as normal and necessary in a federation.) And Risse concludes that, in relation to multiple loyalties, Haas had been right in the 1950s.

Andrew Moravcsik has not changed his original conception of the EU as an international organization, in spite of his introductory analysis showing the opposite, i.e. that the EU is more than just an international organization (an increasing number of authors are now arguing that the EU today possesses a statehood of its own, with or without a 'constitutional treaty'). This is no advantage for the contribution. According to Ernst Haas neo-functionalism:

is ... not a theory, ..., but a framework comprising a series of unrelated claims; ... when specific elements of neo-functionalism are defined more precisely and tested more rigorously ... they prove to be exceptional rather than central to an empirical understanding of European integration. ... neo-functionalism directs us to pose less fruitful questions about European integration than was once the case (pp. 134–135).

He then goes on to argue that the EU has reached 'a stabile political equilibrium'. Taken together, Moravcsik's analysis does not add much to his otherwise interesting arguments in *The Choice for Europe* of 1989.

A clearer structure and perhaps a conclusion would have improved the book a lot. Still, it is good, and there are many excellent contributions.

Søren Dosenrode
Aalborg University, Denmark

© 2007, Søren Dosenrode

Mission Italy. On the Front Lines of the Cold War

Richard N. GARDNER

Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005, ISBN 0 742 53998 9

\$29.90 (cloth), xxi + 349 pp.

Richard Gardner was US Ambassador in Rome between March 1977 and February 1981. The most diplomatically salient feature of this period was the strong expectation that the Italian Communist Party (PCI) would gain access to government—at the time an unprecedented event for a NATO country and, consequently, the cause of great alarm

to many. In this context Gardner's appointment by the new administration of President Jimmy Carter was also a matter of concern, since many on the right, in Italy and the USA, doubted his (and his President's) anti-communist 'credentials'—Gardner, an expert in the field of international law, which he taught at Columbia, was a liberal. Nevertheless, as Gardner himself puts it, he was a 'visceral anti-Communist' (p. 15) who, as the subtitle of this fascinating account of US diplomacy indicates, regarded himself as at war with communism, albeit the war was 'cold'. And, in fact, Gardner emphasizes the cultural dimension of his battle, for example by expanding the Fulbright scholarship programme and implementing the new policy towards the PCI. In particular, the ban which had hitherto prevented US diplomats from developing relations with communist functionaries was lifted and under Gardner a nationwide network of links was now established (p. 91). Among the figures with whom America began to develop personal relations at this time was Giorgio Napolitano, now President of the Republic, who became a personal friend of Gardner. These and other initiatives were accompanied by the formal abrogation of covert operations, including the funding of political parties, election campaigns, etc., in the name of an explicit doctrine of 'non-interference'. This was clearly a significant behavioural shift and one which, Gardner assures the reader, had the full backing of the embassy's CIA office chief, Hugh Montgomery, described as one of 'two very important members of the embassy team' and a 'gentleman' (p. 81). In total, Gardner was responsible for 368 Americans employed as embassy and consular staff in Italy.

Despite these shifts in diplomacy, Gardner's opposition to the PCI entering government was absolute and resolute. And 'interference', if not further defined (as in fact it was in the presidential memorandum of February 1977), is a slippery concept. Thus Gardner also reports how Secretary of State Cyrus Vance allowed the content of American foreign policy statements, for example regarding the newly born phenomenon of Eurocommunism, to be influenced by French socialist (Mitterrand's) views of their possible impact on public opinion, and hence elections. So, even public statements of 'fact' can be, or can be construed as, 'interference'. At first sight this can seem to depend to a significant extent on timing. Thus, in the wake of Italy's 2006 election Gardner himself described President Bush's endorsement of Berlusconi and invitation to address a joint session of Congress on the eve of the vote as 'blatant interference' (*International Herald Tribune*, 22 April). However, the notion of 'interference' arguably tends to draw attention to specific particular actions, such as particularly significant public statements or the subsidizing, to the tune of tens of millions of dollars, of sympathetic political parties—paralleled of course by the same activity by the USSR (to a later date, moreover)—and, more generally, to agency rather than any idea of structural power and its myriad influences, including cultural, which returns us to Gardner's preferred sphere of operation. Yet considering Gardner's 'cultural' activities in a structural context immediately brings into consideration the international economic context to which Gardner himself refers: America's economic might and the importance to Italy of business confidence for foreign direct investment, which Gardner did much to promote at a particularly significant time (pp. 111–112). Italy has always had a highly energy-dependent economy, so the quadrupling of oil prices in 1973 hit Italy particularly hard. Indeed, Gardner's 'educational' role extended to the trade union confederations, in all three of which, according to Gardner's labour attaché, 'A half-informed Marxism is endemic ...' (p. 113). Gardner's politics, then, are clear. Readers are likely to have their own views of the PCI's readiness for government in the 1970s,

of what the consequences would have been had the party entered government then and of what the long-term consequences were of the failure of the PCI to gain government responsibility then. They are also likely to have their own views on the weight of US influence in the decisions of the Christian Democratic Party. Gardner thinks his role in this regard was significant (see also his response to Adrian Lyttelton, *New York Review of Books*, 11 May 2006). However, it didn't constitute 'interference', as defined by President Carter. In sum, this is a fascinating book that says a lot about American diplomacy and attitudes towards Italian politics.

Mark Donovan
Cardiff University, UK
donovan@cardiff.ac.uk

© 2007, Mark Donovan

Culture and Power: A History of Cultural Studies

Mark Gibson

Berg, 2007, ISBN 978 1 8452 0117 3 (pbk)

£16.99. 229 pp.

Culture and Power is a thought provoking book, exploring past and foreseeing possible future directions of cultural studies. In this academic context the book represents a reflective history of the concept of power from the 1950s to the early 2000s. Gibson suggests a direction for moving on from the culture wars of the 1990s, reconfiguring the discipline by drawing inspiration from its own tradition.

The aim of the book, stated in chapter 1, is to 'culturalize' the concept of power, as Raymond Williams did for the concept of culture. The centrality of the concept of power is dealt with in the preface. Then Gibson interrogates the discipline about its 'fluency', its 'lack of hesitation' in speaking of power. This is seen as a result of the Foucauldian turn. According to Gibson Foucault became the new prophet. Despite Foucault's intention to 'silence the prophets' (p. 19) his thought became an explanatory theory which has been over-applied to a number of diverse situations.

In contrast, Gibson emphasizes the necessity of eventalizing the concept of power in the development of Foucault's thought. This is done in chapter 2, which represents a critical contextualization of the thought of the French philosopher. The critique is directed towards the theoretical temptation of universal claims on power which do not take into consideration the local and historical specificity of powers. This argument is further developed in the next chapter which suggests that the context for the concept of power in British cultural studies is different from the Foucauldian. This is mainly because of an absence of totalizing theories related to the institutional assets of Britain.

Exploring patterns of state formation in relation to the concept of power, chapter 3 delves deeper into this argument. It highlights the links between the institutional forms in England and the modality of conceptualizing power. Drawing on Anderson, Gibson reminds us how Britain is less organized than other societies around the state, and 'the significance of this is that there is no clear focus or centre of power' (p. 42). This is the reason why power in Britain has been theorized as plural. This argument of 'ethno

institutional specificity, has to be seen in the context of the (abandoned) debates about Englishness which are dealt with in the same chapter.

As cultural studies is seen as a development of the English speaking academy, the book is mainly focused on the Anglophone academic world (but also in relation to its engagement with the theory of 'continental' thinkers and with its international dimension, with particular reference to Latin America and Asia). After three introductory chapters the following four chapters are organized in chronological order, following the development of theories in cultural studies. They constitute a historical account of the concept of power.

The story starts with Williams and Hoggart and the concept of power, in Gibson's words with 'defining "absence" [of the concept of power] attributed to the first generation of British Cultural Studies, an absence set against a later presence' (p. 55). This later presence is detected in Thompson's work and its 'rejection of empiricism for the universalist scope of European theory' (p. 81). Chapters six and seven focus mainly on the development of the Birmingham Centre of Cultural Studies, particularly under the direction of Stuart Hall. However, Gibson claims that it is not so much through the encounter with Marxism that a universal concept of power became the fundamental theoretical basis of cultural studies, but that this happened as an effect of the critique of Marxism and, particularly, of feminism (as illustrated in ch. 8), and 'critical work on race, sexual preferences and all the other "dimensions"' (p. 113). These perspectives fostered an epistemological approach to examining cultural practices based on the concept of power and power relations.

The origins of an all pervasive concept of power is associated with the 'Trans-Atlantic Passage' (p. 131). Power in American cultural studies is dealt with in chapter 9, which describes how the discipline was established in the 1980s. As a consequence of the relative weakness of the New Left in America, cultural studies was mainly organized around the academic traditions of women's studies or black or Afro-American studies, from which it drew a research agenda in the form of identity politics. This was also influential in the development of Marxism in the USA and in its 'ways of understanding power, particularly the "axis"—gender, race or class—which is taken to be the major theoretical focus' (p. 174). In this context the attempt was to find models of the relation between culture and power. According to Gibson this abstraction generated a 'loss of contextual reference—to specific traditions or empirical bases—in discourses around power' (p. 147).

The final three chapters deal with more recent developments, namely the lack of confidence the discipline has experienced as a result of its internal criticism, with the encounter with post-colonial theories and the alternative of an understanding of power as plural, identified by the author in the foundation of British cultural studies.

On the whole the book succeeds in presenting a complex history of the development of the discipline. However, it is far from being a clear comprehensive history. *Culture and Power* is not an introductory text discussing the major theories of power. It will be less than intelligible to readers unfamiliar with cultural studies. Scholars from different fields or beginners might find Gibson's references rather obscure. They would need a great deal of complementary reading in order to fully appreciate the main argument of this book. Gibson encourages scholars to abandon a dogmatic vision of power. He suggests that one should 'rearticulate theoretical positions to the historical contexts in which they took form' (p. 195). The argument is constructed by getting to the roots of the concept of power in the discipline: writing 'a' history of the concept of power in cultural studies.

Culture and Power retraces the development of the concept of power in the field of cultural studies and at the same time it highlights how the concept of power has shaped the

discipline cultural studies. Gibson writes ‘a’ history of power. It is a narrative very much steeped in the debates of the discipline.

Raffaella Bianchi
Loughborough University, UK
r.bianchi@lboro.ac.uk

© 2007, Raffaella Bianchi

Jugendliche und junge Erwachsene in Deutschland: Lebensverhältnisse, Werte und gesellschaftliche Beteiligung 12- bis 29-Jähriger

Martina Gille, Sabine Sardei-Biermann, Wolfgang Gaiser and Johann de Rijke

VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006, ISBN 3 531 15157 6 (pbk) €34.90, 318 pp.

The lifestyles, values and socio-political activities of young people offer an insight not only into the society in which they live, but also into its future. The most recent youth survey conducted by the German Youth Institute (DJI) in Munich does just this, providing a fascinating overview of the position of today’s young people in Germany, and pointing towards a number of longer term trends. Conducted in 2003 with over 9000 interviewees aged 12 to 29, this is the third DJI youth study, following previous surveys in 1992 and 1997. Alongside the *Shell* youth studies, this series represents one of the most significant indicators of youth behaviour and development in contemporary Germany. The most recent survey is significant for two reasons. Firstly, it includes the younger age group 12–15 years, whereas the two former surveys began at 16. This allows for the fact that the ‘youth phase’ now begins at a younger age, with young people perceiving the end of ‘childhood’ to come earlier than in previous decades. Secondly, this is the first DJI survey to include non-Germans, offering interesting data on the integration of first and second generation immigrants within Germany.

Whilst the survey is selective in its choice of questions and makes no claims to present a comprehensive portrait of today’s youth, the findings may be read in conjunction with other youth surveys for a fuller picture—and, indeed, necessary comparisons are made throughout the report. The selection is, however, broad ranging, focusing on the four main areas of ‘living conditions’ (including education, employment, living situation and lifestyle), ‘social environment and subjective perceptions’ (family relations, importance of friends, personal/financial satisfaction), ‘values, gender roles and future plans’ and ‘social and political engagement’. The findings show that this generation aspires to and is achieving higher levels of education than ever before and, in line with international trends since the 1970s, seeks increasing independence. At the same time, however, young people now consider themselves to enter adulthood at a later stage, largely because they spend longer in education and training. With ‘childhood’ ending earlier and ‘adulthood’ beginning later, the youth phase has thus expanded to cover a period of up to 18 years. Needless to say, this influences the lifestyles of young people, with fewer in employment and fewer marrying or having children by the age of 29. Alongside these lifestyle changes the survey also finds that young people are placing increasing emphasis on values labelled as ‘pro-social’ (taking others into consideration, helping other people, taking responsibility for others) and ‘conventional’ (placing importance on a high income, conformity, security,

achievement, ambition and duty). The hypothesis that post-materialist values are on the increase (Inglehart) cannot be substantiated by these findings, instead, it seems that both post-materialist and materialist values are on the increase, seeing a 'plural pattern of values' and the growth of a combination of modern and conventional values.

Within these broader trends, factors such as age, gender, education, geography and ethnicity are clearly influential. Of particular interest in Germany is the extent to which, 13 years after unification, the former eastern regions have adapted to western standards. Whilst changes in the east have been more pronounced than those in the west and differences between the two areas appear to be levelling out, the survey highlights a number of differences. Most significant is the financial situation: unemployment remains consistently higher in the east, at over double that of the west, and earnings remain lower in the east. Within the private sphere, girls from eastern regions are still more career orientated than those from western regions and levels of marriage have dropped dramatically, from well above to significantly below those of the west. Whilst some differences persist, others have thus been created anew—the 'growing together' of east and west is taking place, yet it is a slow process which will take more than one generation. Education also proves to be an important influence in forming opinions and influencing actions. Indeed, higher levels of education are shown to encourage the mobilization of young people in their social environment and in politics and to produce less hedonistic and less traditional viewpoints. This also holds true for views on gender equality, although traditional gender roles appear to be increasingly rejected by all sectors of youth. In practice, however, the survey finds that a significant gender imbalance still exists: young women are paid less than their male counterparts, start relationships and families at an earlier age, are less active in politics and typically demonstrate higher 'pro-social' values than young males. In short, traditional gender roles still persist, albeit to a lessening extent. Finally, the inclusion of non-Germans in the survey and the differentiation between 'first generation' and 'second generation' immigrants produces some interesting results concerning language practices and integration. Most notable is the fact that first generation immigrants experience a shorter youth phase, are more influenced by their families and, as a result, are more likely to hold traditional values. In contrast, however, differences between second generation immigrants and German nationals are relatively small, revealing a growing process of assimilation.

This volume provides fascinating findings regarding the status of young people in Germany today. Presenting a large quantity of data, it is clearly to be used as a reference work and a primary source for those working in the field. Due to its structure, there is an element of repetition throughout—one which could, perhaps, have been avoided with more careful editing—and the lack of index is a critical oversight for a text which will largely be used as a work of reference. It is, however, essential reading for anyone interested in the motivations and ambitions of Germany's youth, and suggests important future trends concerning regional differences, gender equality and cultural assimilation.

Anna Saunders
Bangor University, UK
a.saunders@bangor.ac.uk

Fascism Past and Present, West and East: An International Debate on Concepts and Cases in the Comparative Study of the Extreme Right

Roger Griffin, Werner Loh and Andreas Umland (Eds)

Ibidem Verlag, 2006, ISBN 3 898 21674 8 (pbk)

€34.00, 510 pp.

This edited volume of the periodical *Erwägen Wissen Ethik* [*Deliberation Knowledge Ethics*] contains the debate between Roger Griffin and 29 of his colleagues about a new approach to fascism theory. The historian Roger Griffin launches the debate with a 39 page article to which 29 pre-selected historians and social scientists reply in 27 articles. Amongst them are Roger Eatwell, A. James Gregor, Ernst Nolte, Stanley G. Payne, Sven Reichardt and Wolfgang Wippermann. Taking up points made by his colleagues in these articles, Griffin in turn replies with a further 39 page article, to which 23 of the previous debaters again respond in 21 articles. The debate, which took place in 2003 and 2004, closes with a 47 page article by Griffin. Additionally, correspondence between Andreas Umland and A. James Gregor from the years 2004 and 2005 is also included in this volume. In the latter Umland opposes Gregor's argument that the leader of the Russian Eurasia movement, Aleksandr Dugin, cannot be classified as a fascist. An afterword by Walter Laqueur and a text by Aleksandr Dugin conclude the volume.

The editors aim not to add to the already countless empirical works on fascism but to understand it as a forum of specialists for a debate to 'update comparative fascist studies' (p. 27). It is also their aim to include 'recent developments in Eastern Europe', especially Russia, and 'the question and degree of the comparability of inter-war and post-Cold-War political phenomena, and the significance of groupuscular and metapolitical forms of ultra-nationalism in contrast to the movements and regimes that dominated European history between 1918 and 1945' (p. 23). They see:

the particular value of the ... controversy ... in highlighting differences in scholarly approaches ... and revealing what practical repercussion [they] have for an evaluation of individual cases ranging from late 19th-century German ultra-nationalism to early 21st-century Russian right-wing extremism. (p. 27)

The foundation for this ambitious enterprise is Roger Griffin's main article (pp. 29–67). Equally ambitious is Griffin's attempt to formulate a universal definition of a 'fascist minimum' which he sees as inherent in all forms of fascism on the basis of Max Weber's theory of the 'ideal type'. He regards this 'core ideology' to be a revolutionary 'palingenetic form of populist ultra-nationalism' (pp. 38, 41 & 51). This 'minimum' is not the result of empirical research but its beginning—a method which will enable empirical research. Griffin sees his definition as in accord with a 'new consensus' among fascism researchers, to which his theories add. Despite its singularity, Griffin counts German National Socialism of the 1930s and 1940s amongst the fascism phenomenon (pp. 35 & 41–45).

Griffin deliberately uses a definition based purely on ideology since this ‘embraces a vast range of highly diverse concrete historical permutations’ (p. 29) and has to be seen not only as an ‘anti’ ideology but as an ideology with ‘positive’ identification attributes (p. 39). Following Michael Freeden, he removes all concrete historical manifestations, such as mass movements and mass parties, charismatic leaders, the leader principle and the link to a political style, geographic region or historic era (pp. 38ff. & 44ff.). This enables Griffin to define diverse far-right movements with their distinct characteristics, ranging from Mussolini’s *Partito Nazionale Fascista* to the New Right splinter groups in contemporary Russia. Griffin argues that the phenomenon is the same, with only the form of organization having changed because of ‘extensive “groupuscularization”, namely the emergence of “rhizomic” qualities’ (pp. 29 & 46).

‘Groupuscularization’ is Griffin’s term for the split-up of the right into countless small and minute groups without a common organizational or hierarchical structure. They work together like a rhizome, consistently creating new manifestations of fascism. Similar to fascism during the inter-war period of the 1920s, this makes possible the coexistence of very different organizational structures, each with a jigsaw of ideological components under current conditions (pp. 34, 45 & 54–59). Additionally, supranational fields come into focus for these groups through ‘metapoliticization’ (pp. 34 & 51–53).

Griffin receives much praise in the replies to his article. Some authors, however, harshly criticize him, in some cases in an almost offensive way (Gregor, Payne, Pohlmann and Priester). A number of authors find fault with his ‘fascist minimum’. They argue that it is above all not a genuinely new definition, and that it is also insufficiently empirical, incomplete, conceptually ambiguous and too broad, thus making a distinction between fascist and non-fascist groups impossible. Limiting the definition to ideology, the criticism continues, neglects the historical contexts and the practical conduct of these movements. Both are factors which are imperative in a successful definition of fascism. Durham proposes a ‘fascist matrix’ (p. 106) instead of a ‘fascists minimum’. Further criticism is directed at Griffin’s key words ‘palingenesis’, ‘ultra-nationalism’ and ‘revolutionary’, which some authors regard as not specific to fascism. Furthermore, they deny that a ‘new consensus’ within fascism theory exists and that Griffin misinterprets Max Weber’s ‘ideal type’, thus himself arguing in an essentialist way. The critics also question whether it is possible to speak of fascism for the time after 1945, since it is a phenomenon which is limited to a certain era and region. Moreover, a ‘groupuscular’ organizational form of the right can be witnessed for the time prior to 1945 and is not a new phenomenon. Griffin’s warning of a new fascist danger is regarded as ‘alarmism’ (Fritzsche, p. 113). More fundamentally, Griffin’s criticism of an obsolete fascism debate in Germany is turned on its head and Griffin in turn is accused of not knowing the German fascism debate. In his reply Griffin picks up some of the criticism and modifies some of his theses. Due to the room given to replies and a further reply by Griffin, some aspects of the discussion go in circles. Some of the contributions, and this includes the discussion surrounding Aleksandr Dugin, deal extensively with the specific research areas of their authors, thus adding little to the aim of generating a generic fascism theory. Overall, this edited volume presents a contrary discussion about the term ‘fascism’ on an advanced academic level. Thanks to different focal points and points of criticism on the part of the authors this volume offers

manifold food for thought. Despite its focus on Griffin's thesis, this discussion has been a good attempt at providing an 'update on comparative fascist studies'.

Ralf Meindl

Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg, Germany

ralfmeindl@yahoo.de

© 2007, Ralf Meindl

Fragmented France: Two Centuries of Disputed Identity

Jack Hayward

Oxford University Press, 2007, ISBN 978 0 1992 1631 4 (hbk)

£60.00, 381 + ix pp.

This wide-ranging study is a summation of a lifetime's reflections by the doyen of modern French studies in the UK. Although the book's ostensible theme is identity, it ranges far beyond what most scholars normally subsume under that heading, namely the obsessive way in which the French—or French intellectuals at least, for the stuff of this book probably does not loom large in the preoccupations of villagers in Aveyron or council flat dwellers in the suburbs of the big towns—theorize about who they are, usually by attacking who they are not. Debates about the significance of Vichy or how France should relate to the USA, both dealt with at length here, are classic instances of the identity obsession. What distinguishes the author's discussion of this, however, is that unlike many ideological studies, it is rooted in a detailed historical analysis not just of ideas and intellectual traditions, but also of the socio-economic and institutional changes which were the matrix of ideological development. As such, it is a vast compendium of much recent research on France, summed up with a clarity that will be of particular benefit to non-French specialists. Hayward has always been known for his ability to dissect ideology and to marry this analysis to institutions and practices (usually pointing out the inevitable discrepancies which arise between theory and reality), and this book continues that tradition.

At its core remains, however, a general thesis about the French and their identity problems. At the risk of simplification, the author sees their essential dilemma as a tension between liberal aspirations (how widely shared across society?) and a series of inhibitions which prevent them from being truly liberal in the way that Anglo-Saxons (one may as well use their phrase) are. Conflict in French society, both socio-economic and religious-cultural, has been too strong. Perhaps they are lucky to have escaped, for the most part, the third type of conflict that really threatens social cohesion, namely that between centre and periphery. At any rate, such has been the awareness of difference that among virtually all serious actors only the centralizing state has been seen as guaranteeing stability, order or justice, or even a semblance of that unity to which all in theory aspire. Civil society has never been strong enough to develop a mature associative life, a genuinely plural political culture and, last but not least, proper political parties to forge the link between society and government. The author is kind enough, unlike many Anglo-Saxon specialists, to avoid reproaches about French failure to achieve a two party system which, as readers of many English textbooks know, is in some eyes the *nec plus ultra* of democratic politics, but he is overly severe on the party system of earlier Republics. If it is true that they provided

inadequate links between government and society (p. 184), why did voters continue to turn out in extraordinary numbers to support them? Perhaps they provided just the right kind of weak link between government and a society that still demanded very little from it, beyond the maintenance of order in return for low taxes. Government was not about heroic policy-making but keeping the ship on an even keel, and voters knew this.

French specialists will feel on familiar territory with the book's underlying argument. The author is indeed in the lineage of the great liberal critics of the modern French polity. Constant, Tocqueville, Crozier, Aron, Rosanvallon and Furet, all of whose work is considered in detail, are the heroes of the piece. Interestingly, Rocard, a man who actually did more to push public policy in the direction favoured here (unlike most of the others, he actually held office as well as writing about it), is treated slightly more harshly. Ideas belong to a world that is clearer than that of real politics.

Much of the critique of French anti-liberalism obviously raises tough questions for admirers of the French social model, if such it can be called. Today, as globalization bites more sharply, it is becoming harder for the French to stick to their protective social system, with its increasing costs, heavy public sector and reliance on statutory guarantees. President Sarkozy is about to embark on a liberal programme to make France more like other developed states, cutting out protection and allowing the market to exert more pressure. We can expect considerable conflict.

The underlying insight of this book, though, is that for all their rhetorical excesses the French have actually been quite good at managing conflict on the ground. Intellectuals may well have striven to articulate and magnify differences, but politicians were busy fudging their way around them. Reality did not always, fortunately, coincide with principle. To take some high points of tension in modern France, how many people were killed during, say, the struggles over separation of Church and state in 1906, or in May 1968? Very few, despite the attendant hype, and certainly thousands less than in Northern Ireland after 1969. The French have always known when to be pragmatic and accommodating, even though these are words which they will not use in such circumstances. Perhaps this genius will guide them through the difficult changes that the global liberal economy is imposing on them.

David Hanley
Cardiff University, UK
hanleydl@hotmail.com

© 2007, David Hanley

The Institutional Logic of Welfare Attitudes: How Welfare Regimes Influence Public Support

Christian Albrekt Larsen

Ashgate, 2006, ISBN 0 754 64857 5 (hbk)

£45.00, 184 pp.

As the title indicates, the aim of this book is to find a connection between types of welfare regime and public support for the welfare state. As stated early in the book, our present

knowledge and understanding 'leave us with a regime pattern at the aggregated level on the one hand and on the other hand demonstrate an inability to explain this pattern'.

The author is critical of existing theoretical explanations of welfare state development, including path dependency, power resource and the new politics theory, but despite this the analysis presented in the book draws on these theoretical perspectives. It appears to be mainly influenced by normative institutionalism.

The attempt to depict the influence of public support on welfare regimes is made by using as the dependent variable policies which are related to the living conditions of the poor and unemployed. The reason for such a narrow view is not clearly spelled out, but presumably data availability can be seen as a core element for this choice. However, the consequences of the choice could have been discussed in more detail. The narrow perspective employed also precludes a discussion of the view in relation to the consequences of support for the welfare state resulting from bribing the middle classes. Indeed, as the author acknowledges, the relative importance of the variable cannot be assessed.

In chapter 2 we get the classical depiction of various welfare regimes, but also more interestingly an attempt to discuss and structure the macro and micro levels of public attitudes towards the welfare state, using power resource, rational choice and values and norms as the core parameters (Fig. 2.1). This discussion ends with the conclusion that the focus should be on a 'political man theory', where attitudes are open for discussion in relation to the common good, justice, necessity and suitability. However, it is not clear how these elements enter the equation. At the same time, these elements are so broad based that one cannot say that they should not have been included.

Chapter 3 focuses on the data used in the study, which includes the world values survey, Euro-barometer, international social survey, a Nordic sample and Danish data. A clear problem is, as unfortunately is also the case in many other studies, that most data are already outdated. The world value data used is for 1990–1993, and data from the international social survey programme are mainly from 1992 and 1999. This is followed by a good discussion of the consequences of varied types of wording and also the methodological difficulties when doing surveys across countries.

The question of defining how one 'deserves' or 'merits' support by the welfare state has long been a central issue. The main analytical problem with this is that many normative values are involved in the judgement as to who deserves and who does not deserve support. Using control as a dimension of merit (as done on p. 52) is not straightforward and not well argued. This is also the case with other parameters used as criteria of merit, and thereby one can question the dimension used for the empirical analysis later on in the book.

The interesting argument is raised (p. 62) that across regimes one should expect higher support in regimes with higher levels of welfare state support, e.g. a circularity in the argumentation. Unfortunately, this is not developed further, or used more critically in Larsen's own analysis. At the same time, this kind of argument will have its limits, like the Laffer curve, as at a certain point the ability and willingness to finance more welfare will also have an impact on the median voter.

The following four chapters then try to analyse the institutional logic using data from the sources mentioned above. A clear problem, also mentioned on p. 78, is that very few of the analyses are significant, due to the limited number of cases, and also that the composition of the population (and thus the electorate) might have a role. The compositional argument is dismissed without making it clear why differences in, for

example, the proportion of elderly people in a population should not have an impact on support for pensions.

The limited space for this review does not allow more detailed comments on all the chapters, however, in the final chapter which seems to sum up the analysis I was not convinced by the data, or by the argument that economic and sociological man can be replaced by political man, influenced by the 'experienced regime-dependent reality'. Although the author accepts that attitudes are also influenced by norms, self-interest and class interest, he reaches rather sweeping generalizations concerning the institutional logic.

The book has many interesting features and also ideas which could have been further analysed and elaborated on. On the whole it did not convince this reviewer that the link between attitudes and the logic of the welfare state has been found.

Bent Greve
Roskilde University, Denmark
bgr@ruc.dk

© 2007, Bent Greve

Struggling for a Social Europe: Neoliberal Globalization and the Birth of a European Social Movement

Andy Mathers

Ashgate, 2007, ISBN 978 0 7546 4580 1 (hbk)

£50.00, 224 pp.

Given my own involvement with both 'old labour' and the new 'global justice and solidarity movement' and the limited number of detailed and theoretically informed case studies of such, I responded with enthusiasm to the invitation to review this work. My interest was further awakened by Mathers' particular concern with the birth of a (or the?) European social movement.

Living one hour or so away, I happen to have been present in Amsterdam at the June 1997 Euromarch against unemployment and impoverishment, with which Mathers kicks off. He celebrates this as the beginning of his European social movement. However, at that time I was equally impressed by two problematic aspects, one within the event and one around it.

The first was the loudly and brightly expressed differences of interest and ideology between participating groups: the question arose of whether this was an expression of traditional left factionalism or new social movement pluralism. The second, and more significant problem for me, was the even larger counter-demonstration in the pedestrian side streets off the Dam Square, of happy, slappy shopaholics engaged in anticipatory commodity fetishism.

Later, in The Netherlands, I was to be impressed—though not so much as the previously restful natives—by the rise of right-wing populism and two consequent political assassinations, the first in peace time for some hundreds of years. Yet later, elections and parliaments across Europe suggested a continuing lemming-like attachment to neo-liberal globalization. Evaluation of any radical democratic European social movement has to be surely qualified by such evidence, theorized or simply observed.

There is more, however, at issue here than differences between optimism of the will (Mathers) and pessimism of the intellect (Waterman). To start with, Mathers does far more than celebrate. His is a theoretically informed, empirically detailed and systematically

analysed account, written by a self-reflective academic involved in the movement he is studying. It is also a well-written story which, whilst optimistic, is sensitive to contradictions both around and within his movement.

Mathers moves backward and forward in his book between the theorizers of 'the decline of labour and the rise of the new social movements' (ch. 2) and a lively account of a five to ten year period of campaigning and research action. Chapter 3 reflects on his research methodology. Chapters 4–6 consider three successive Euromarches, the development of a new kind of European citizenship the campaign was hopefully giving rise to and notions of a different kind of Europe that developed. Chapter 8 returns to the theorists and their impact or implications, this time for the movement observed. A postscript takes us up to 2006. Having surfed or ploughed my way through the book I was happy to discover to what extent Mathers' case is made in his introductory chapter 1. I will depend upon this, whilst making one or two excursions into the body of the book.

Mathers synthesizes and criticizes a whole series of European writers characterized as the 'New social democratic Left' (p. 3, his punctuation). These are Alain Touraine, André Gorz, Manuel Castells, Jürgen Habermas, Claus Offe, Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens, Pierre Bourdieu, Antonio Negri and me? (pp. 164–166). Under the (cautious) rubric of 'a socialist alternative?', he considers a German member of the European Parliament, André Brie, and the Trotskyists (of two competing tendencies), Ernest Mandel and Alex Callinicos. I feel that he does his syntheses with reasonable respect. (The exception might be his blind eye to the significance of computerization/informatization/cyberspace.)

The problem here may be that whilst Mathers reasonably condemns 'The Dichotomy of "Old" and "New" Social Movements' (p. 22), his whole argument depends on a Manichean dichotomy between his new social democratic left and his socialist alternative (pp. 172–179). There are two curious aspects of this decision. One is that, despite his repeated criticism of social movement 'sociology' and 'sociologists' (pp. 3, 9 & 30), he (a) makes fruitful use of, for example, Touraine (pp. 4 & 106–109) and (b) fails to substantially spell out his presumably 'political-economic' alternative to such.

So Mathers' detailed account of his new European labour movement is informed by a fundament(alist?) assumption that, given the nature of capitalism, labour must lead, and that any present decline in its presence in the new movement is merely evidence of 'specific conjunctures' (p. 4). What he, however, shows of the Euromarches and related campaigns, and even what he reveals of (a) the preferred form of movement (networking), (b) relations with the new social movements, (c) demands and even (d) a utopian horizon, all show to what extent left labour has been going to school with the new social movements, and his own implicit Marxism with new social movement theory!

Mathers promotes me (Waterman, 1998) to his cloud nine of social democratic sociologists because of my, admittedly eclectic, effort to reinvent the 19th–20th century labour movement [and internationalism?] in the light of the latest capitalist revolution and the latest social movement theory. He comes to conclusions, however, which overlap to a considerable extent with mine (Waterman, 2006). Which leaves both of us with a problem.

This is not simply because Europeans continue to define themselves overwhelmingly as nationals and individual consumers rather than as social citizens of Europe or the world. Nor is it simply the top-down strategy of the hegemonic national and European

unions (to which he makes insufficient reference). It is the failure, so far, of the spark he researches to become a flame. It is, indeed, my impression that the sparks he both followed and promoted may have ceased to glow [search the web for 'Euromarches' in general or the Other Europe Charter (Europe Solidaire sans Frontières, 2006), in particular]. In so far as we consider European elections to have at least the value of public opinion surveys, they show by summer 2007 no move toward either his virtuous socialist alternative or his vicious social democratic left! His final paragraph (p. 192) allows for the limitations of his movement so far. There is actually no alternative: struggle—and the dialogue about it—will simply have to continue.

References

- Europe Solidaire sans Frontières (2006) *The Charter of Principles of the Other Europe (Draft)*. Available online at: <http://www.europe-solidaire.org/spip.php?article1562> (accessed 6 September 2007).
- Waterman, P. (1998) *Globalisation, Social Movements and the New Internationalisms* (London: Cassell).
- Waterman, P. (2006) *Towards a Global Labour Charter Movement*. Available online at: <http://www.monthlyreview.org/mrzine/waterman100707.html> (accessed 6 September 2007).

*Peter Waterman
The Hague, The Netherlands
p.waterman@inter.nl.net*

© 2007, Peter Waterman

Bildung und soziale Ungleichheit in der DDR: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer gegenprivilegierenden Bildungspolitik

Ingrid Miethe

Barbara Budrich, 2007, ISBN 978 3 8664 9094 4 (pbk)

€36.00, 387 pp.

This study results from a larger research project into the history of the *Arbeiter-und-Bauern-Fakultät* (ABF) in Greifswald. ABFs, or 'Workers's and Peasants' Faculties', were departments of East German universities set up by the communist government in order to prepare young people without the German equivalent of A-levels, the *Abitur*, for higher education. These institutions had their heyday in the 1950s and will be familiar to many from Hermann Kant's 1965 novel *Die Aula*. The main part of the book (ch. 3) concerns itself with the biographies of those who attended ABFs, but the aim of the study as a whole is not simply to document the history of one institution. Rather, as the more generally framed title of the book suggests, the ABFs are used as a case study to explore the persistence of inequality in educational opportunities in the GDR, particularly as these affected the children of the working class, and despite the state's proclaimed aim of privileging precisely this group. In the course of this investigation Miethe also addresses a number of wider issues that will be of interest not just to scholars working in the field

of the history of education, but also to those with an interest in the workings of GDR society.

Miethe convincingly draws on a number of different theoretical approaches, particularly Bourdieu's theory of social space and theories of 'political opportunity structure', in order to show how educational opportunities and opportunities for social advancement were created in the GDR for certain groups at certain moments in time as a result of state policy, whilst also demonstrating how those opportunities were exploited in sometimes unforeseen ways by individuals, depending on the cultural, social and political capital at their disposal. The negotiations of individuals with the institutions of socialist society, and in particular with the ABFs, are illustrated using the testimony of former students. For example, Miethe shows how, in a significant number of cases, the students enrolled in the ABFs did not fit the original criteria of the group whose interests these institutions were supposed to promote. They were nevertheless able, by 'proletarizing' (pp. 115 & 272) their own biographies and demonstrating their political loyalty, to use the ABFs to enter higher education.

One of the most important insights that Miethe offers is that the eventual demise of the ABFs as a means of positive discrimination in favour of the working class was closely linked to the Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands' (SED) own political priority of maintaining its hold on power. As Miethe points out, even though a significant number of working class people did benefit from educational opportunities that they would not have enjoyed without the existence of the ABFs, because of this they were by no means as grateful and loyal as the SED expected. Nor was the standard of academic success amongst working class graduates of the ABFs regarded as sufficient to justify the investment. By the mid 1960s, Miethe demonstrates, the preferred route for students entering higher education was through the *Erweiterte Oberschule* (Extended High School), where places, as at the universities, were limited. Because of the advantages of their background these opportunities increasingly fell into the hands of the sons and daughters of the 'new intelligentsia', an educated socialist middle class that compensated for its lack of working class credentials by acquiring political capital through expressions of loyalty to the system (p. 297). The GDR's economic difficulties, Miethe points out, also made these young people a better bet in the eyes of the SED: coming from households with a tradition of higher education they were more likely to be motivated and equipped to succeed academically and more likely to become the skilled professionals the GDR economy desperately needed. Given the importance of economic success in legitimating the regime in relation to its West German counterpart, the GDR's goal of privileging the working class in terms of educational opportunities became, Miethe argues, largely a matter of rhetoric.

Miethe's analysis of these developments is clear and highly convincing. Her claims are thoroughly underpinned by a vast range of material, from her own interviews to documents in numerous archives, as well as the work of other scholars in the field. In fact, one of the other virtues of her study is that the first chapter contains a succinct and critical overview of the published literature on educational inequalities in the GDR, which provides a helpful summary for anyone unfamiliar with this topic (pp. 45–75). She also manages to provide, where necessary, wider contextual information in relation to the history of the GDR and the communist bloc more generally, whilst maintaining a clear focus on her own area of investigation. The book is written in an engaging and highly readable style. The author succeeds in combining nuanced theoretical analysis with examples from real lives that remind us of the concrete effects of political decision-making on the everyday existences of citizens, yet these examples also serve to underline the individual and

sometimes unpredictable ways in which inhabitants of the GDR carved out biographies for themselves within the structures imposed upon them.

David Clarke
University of Bath, UK
mlsdc@bath.ac.uk

© 2007, David Clarke

Global Youth? Hybrid Identities, Plural Worlds

Pam Nilan and Carles Feixia (Eds)

Routledge, 2006, ISBN 0 415 37071 X (pbk)

£23.99, 218 pp.

This book serves two purposes. The first of these is to provide empirically rich illustrations of different forms of youth cultures, ranging from the British Asian underground music scene, over the youth culture of devout Muslim youth in Indonesia, to identifications among contemporary skinheads in France. Its second purpose is conceptual and is captured in the book title's question mark: considering the global variety of youth cultures analysed in the different chapters, does it make sense to speak of a 'global youth' at all?

The answer to this conceptual question is developed in the excellent introductory chapter by the editors. And this answer is ambivalent: youth cultures are 'always emphatically local' (p. 8), yet they draw on 'globally-derived details' (p. 8). The lifestyles of young people in different youth cultures differ extremely. Yet what all share is that they constitute a form of global hybridity by actualizing global scripts in local contexts (sometimes even through the explicit resistance towards such global scripts). This ambivalence indeed forms the most prominent theme running through almost all of the book's chapters. It is interesting to see in this context that hybridity is not necessarily a result of unconscious processes of identity construction, but can also, as Christine Dallaire shows in the chapter on Francophone youth hybridities in Canada, be a result of deliberate constructions of mixed identities. Most chapters support the basic diagnosis that youth cultures are 'global' in the formal sense of drawing on global technologies and symbols, as Todd Joseph Miles Holden exemplifies regarding the various links between the micro-macro and global-local in the use of technology by Japanese 'adolechnics'. However, even when global standards are actively resisted as 'Western', as Pam Nilan shows to be the case with devout Muslim youth in Indonesia, this can result in a 'curious mix of distance from much of the specific micro content of global popular culture core products and practices, combined with an apparent copying of macro forms and genres of those products and practices' (p. 94).

In what is one of the most thought-provoking chapters of this volume, Mahmood Shahabi provides an intriguing analysis of youth subcultures in post-revolution Iran. While, in accordance with the main theme of the book, it is shown that 'globally derived subcultures carry little of their original political or social content in Iran' (p. 120), Shahabi convincingly argues that representing Iranian youth culture as inherently politicized represents a gross misreading of the majority of the different youth cultures in Iran.

In an equally thought-provoking piece on multi-level identifications among contemporary skinheads in France Youra Petrova elaborates how skinheads in France form a highly ambivalent youth culture: 'skinhead culture in France is the site of a very real conflict between anti-racist youth and white race partisans' (p. 189). The chapter concludes with the quite provocative thesis that 'we may glimpse a kind of residual "punk" heritage in contemporary French skinhead subculture' (p. 202).

'Global youth' is and is not 'global' youth. It is not a global youth in a substantial sense of a shared global youth culture. It is a global youth in a formal and symbolic sense: it is the hybridity of youth cultures itself and it is the use of globally available scripts and technologies which are global. However, in the concluding chapter the editors point to the phenomenon that in a certain sense there are some structures of a global youth in a substantial sense as well. In the forms of both terrorism and global gangs lies 'a worrying presence, a spectre: new forms of mediated youth sociability that cross geographical and time borders to reconstruct *exclusive* global identities' (p. 206; italics original). Yet still, and given the insights provided by the various chapters of this highly recommendable book, this kind of 'homogenized' global youth is—and probably will remain—the exception rather than the rule.

Mathias Albert
Bielefeld University, Germany
malbert1@uni-bielefeld.de

© 2007, Mathias Albert

The Endurance of Nationalism

Aviel Roshwald

Cambridge University Press, 2007, ISBN 0 521 60364 1 (pbk)

£17.99, 349 pp.

Here is a book that challenges orthodoxy and for that reason alone should be read by all who would comprehend the fractured modern world. Professor Roshwald acknowledges that the contradictions and dilemmas that lie at the heart of nationalism are further complicated by the religious and secular, the personal and political, the individual and collective—indeed, the particular and universal forces released by the globalized existential tensions of the 21st century world.

He argues that nationalism's enduring power to shape the world we live in arises directly out of its position at the heart of inescapable paradoxes that are not only fundamental to the modern experience but many of whose roots can be traced back into ancient history.

Deploying an array of historical and contemporary case studies the author defines his terms at the outset and explores the way the notion of nationalism has played out in a number of significant situations, ranging from the Israeli–Palestine conflicts and the tensions in Northern Ireland to the Alamo and the recent wars in the Balkan states. These examples, together with an opening essay on nationalism in antiquity, serve to support his conviction that not only is the conventional view that sees nationalism as a post-1945 concept mistaken, but that a responsible politics of nationalism depends upon a forthright acknowledgement of the deep-seated, insoluble dilemmas that are inherent in it.

The discussion of the implosion of the Hapsburg Empire leads one to suggest that fruitful lessons might be learned by the European Union in its drive towards a new European national identity as a cohesive federation with a common foreign and defence policy and a clearly defined *persona* on the world stage. The author is right to say that unless it can find a way of gaining acceptance by Spanish and Catalan, English and Scottish, French and Corsican and a myriad of other 'sub-national' identities it is hard to see how it could ever command the loyalty of its ever-widening populations.

Nationalism becomes destructive when its exponents convince themselves that they hold the key to doing away with the existential tensions that lie at its heart, rather than accepting and embracing its paradoxical qualities, and, as the late Isaiah Berlin pointed out, any principle interpreted in a simplistic manner or implemented with no regard to conflicting considerations will lead to abusive behaviour. This volume abounds in examples of the truth of that assertion.

However, I am not sure the author has fully explicated the role of another great shaping force that, in a sense, undermines the 'naturalistic' forces he is examining. I mean religious fundamentalism and, in particular, Islamic radicalism. His discussion of Jewish zealotry is quite properly used to explore the intense nationalism that sustains the state of Israel, but Islamic radicals are as likely to pop up in the back streets of Blackburn as in the mountain caves of East Pakistan or the mosques of Baghdad. Nor has Professor Roshwald found a place for that equally nebulous but interesting phenomenon, national character. Is there such a thing? How do we pin it down, and is it important in our understanding of the salience of national identity?

In his concluding chapter the author provides a concise round-up of all the competing forces which help us to understand the importance of finding a new formula for nationhood in the 21st century and, as the world gets smaller and communication more instantaneous, he stresses the importance of supra-national institutions and international law and their roles in 'containing nationalism's abusive potential'. I fear they will have to be bolder than that if we are to survive into another century.

Derek Hawes

University of Bristol, UK

derek.hawes@ukgateway.net

© 2007, Derek Hawes

Honecker's Children: Youth and Patriotism in East(ern) Germany, 1972–2002

Anna Saunders

Manchester University Press, 2007, ISBN 978 0 7190 7411 0 (hbk) £55.00, 252 pp.

The title of the book is a rather suggestive advertisement of a differentiated and subtle study. As in Jillian Becker's book *Hitler's Children* (Becker, 1977), it relates the socio-political context of German youth cohorts to the name of their respective head of state, as if they were 'possessed' by him. However, despite the totalitarian character of the two German regimes, the GDR 'Staatsratsvorsitzender' Honecker (1912–1994) cannot be compared with Hitler, neither in his mission nor in his charisma nor in his defeat.

Anna Saunders, a young lecturer in German at the University of Wales, Bangor, starts her book with a critical review of the educational endeavours of the last decade

of Honecker's rule (1979–1989). She focuses on the East German youth cohorts who were socialized in this era, following them through the 'Wende' months up to the unification with the FRG and, 11 years later, taking stock of their re-orientations as citizens of a 'unified Germany' and a 'united Europe'. The author thus presents a longitudinal perspective on the mental and emotional transitions involved. Her fundamental concern is to find answers to the following two questions (p. 3):

Firstly, to what extent has GDR socialization and socialist patriotic education influenced the formation (or rejection) of loyalty to, and identification with, unified Germany?

Secondly, how do the young generation's loyalties help explain the (in)stability and the demise of the GDR?

Although similar questions have been dealt with by numerous German youth studies after unification, be it in terms of comparative empirical surveys or of socio-historical analyses of relevant documents and/or biographies, Saunders' approach is specifically interesting as she is a young British 'outsider' of this intra-German process. Her book has grown out of her Ph.D. thesis and is based on her post-graduate research, which she carried out in GDR-related archives as well as in the East German town of Magdeburg, where she interviewed young people (aged 17–21 and 27–31) in clubs and as members of local subcultures and organizations.

Remarkably, the author's methods for unravelling the various aspects of her topic do not follow any ideological pattern or any single professional line. Her approach is interdisciplinary and inspired by her investigative curiosity. It seems that Saunders' fascination with the unique dimensions of her topic has carried her through the (formerly secret) archival documents and has structured her selection and presentation of the facts. Her status as a young British 'participant observer' who cares for the mental and emotional transformations of the collective identity of East German youth qualifies her report as impartial, although empathetic.

Saunders' book contrasts (in ch. 2) the manifold ideological and practical endeavours of the GDR in the field of patriotic education—from Marxist-Leninist '*Staatsbürger*' education and early military training to 'proletarian internationalism' and hatred of the 'imperialist West'—with the turmoil of the 'Wende' phase (in ch. 3), during which the East German grass root movements asked for fundamental reforms of their socialist state.

Chapter 4 presents the essential insights which the author has collected by interviewing Magdeburg youth cohorts (in the years 2001 and 2002) and relating them to the overwhelming Western biases within the everyday culture of the five East German '*Länder*'. In this central chapter observations are discussed which deserve to be followed up more closely in the future. One of them, for example, says 'that pride in the GDR past is incompatible with the values of present-day society' (p. 155). Another one states 'that it was possible to lead a private life in the GDR which was, in essence, far removed from party politics' (p. 158). According to Saunders this demonstrates the highly problematic nature of patriotism in Eastern Germany today. She diagnoses a growing scepticism and reticence in youth which cannot be compensated for by, for example, a supra-national identification with the European Union.

This disengagement obviously stems from the specific discontinuities of the planned and unplanned transformations of East German society. However, it is also based on the fact that young people in general do not like to be involved in party politics as they feel estranged from their public presentations and frustrated by their social output. This disenchantment with politics (*Politikverdrossenheit*) is quite widespread amongst the young in (post-)modern democracies. Some minorities, however, tend to cling to their old (fascist or socialist) ideals or to radical collectivist missions and thus endanger the legitimization of democratic cultures.

Anna Saunders concludes her book with some grim perspectives. She diagnoses, for example, alienation and a lack of responsibility, apathy and protest within the younger generation, based on two major facts (pp. 223 & 225):

Following unification, politicians still failed to elicit the trust of young citizens.

The death of the GDR clearly did not imply the death of young people's loyalty to an eastern set of values, but in many ways its rebirth.

Political administration, not only in dictatorships but in democracies as well, obviously has major problems in understanding 'what makes youth tick'. In order to describe this mode of 'ticking' the author quotes the old German notion of '*Eigensinn*' [obstinacy] (p. 228) and stresses that it should be taken more into account in politics.

Reference

Becker, J. (1977) *Hitler's Children* (London, Panther).

Sibylle Hübner-Funk
Bernried, Germany
huebnerfunk@t-online.de

© 2007, Sibylle Hübner-Funk

Between Marx and Coca-Cola: Youth Cultures in Changing European Societies, 1960–1980

Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried (Eds)
Berghahn Books, 2006, ISBN 1 845 45009 4 (hbk)
£70, 424 pp.

Between Marx and Coca-Cola is not just a cute title. It aptly stands for the field of tension existing between consumerism and politicization/the critique of consumption, in which Western European youth cultures during the 'Golden Age' of the 'Long 1960s'—the period from the last third of the 1950s until the oil crisis of 1973/74—played themselves out. This collection, which assembles papers presented at a 2002 conference and which is skewed towards West Germany and Scandinavia, takes that tension as its point of analytical departure and adds to the sociological literature on youth cultures of this period by extending the time-frame and complementing it with a number of important qualitative

studies. Those studies are usefully assembled into parts, including ones devoted to leisure time (various contributors rightly draw the consumption and distribution of popular music into focus), political protest, gender and a final part which focuses on the souring and splintering of youth cultures in the early 1970s.

As one has come to expect, consumption is not understood by the authors in a manipulative sense. Rather, it covers the myriad and often creative responses by individuals to industrial offerings in an era in which leisure time and the opportunities for putting that leisure time to use increased significantly. Consumption was therefore quite nuanced. As one contributor observes of the situation in 1960s France: ‘consumerism scarcely connotes luxurious self-indulgence and shows only faint elements of servitude to “the capitalist system”’ (p. 50). Even those young people who adopted a critique of consumption still consumed: ‘there was no easy return to asceticism, but rather a differentiation of consumption’ (p. 16).

These observations reflect an important aspect common to many of the authors. The aim is to historicize and differentiate the period, to move away from treating ‘1968’—a label ‘which means so much but explains so little’ (p. 75)—as an ‘event to [treating it as] an object of historical science’ (p. 357). Several authors identify, for example, the ways in which, despite the polemics and appearance of intergenerational antagonism, there was also common ground. Taking a broad view, Arthur Marwick argues that the youth ‘cultural revolution’ involved no overthrow of one type of society by another, but rather the permeation of society with new ideas and practises. Rather than being characterized by broad antagonism, this process was assisted by a liberal ‘measured judgement’ on the part of the older generation (p. 56). In a valuable and thoroughly contextualized contribution Thomas Etzmueller draws into focus the neglected history of the Swedish student movement to make a similar point. Despite the rhetoric and symbolic acts of confrontation, it was relatively peaceful: ‘no one really went outside the Swedish framework of appropriate behaviour’ (p. 251).

Among the other contributions, of particular note on the theoretical front is Rob Kroes’ analysis of how American mass culture (in the form of American advertising) has affected European attitudes. In his approach, the ideology of freedom which is inherent in American advertising has been internationalized to an extent that western Europeans are fluent in that language. In that sense they have been ‘Americanized’. As he observes however, ‘What they actually say in it, is a different story altogether’ (p. 105). This attention to the creolization of European culture in the face of external influences represents an important field of research: ‘it has been hardly studied to what extent specifically Western European and national cultural trends blended with this impetus for “Americanisation”’ (p. 28).

Konrad Dussel provides an excellent account of developments in the West German radio media between the 1950s and 1970s and the driving forces behind those changes (including the changes in young people’s consumption of music). In this process protest music became mainstreamed. Dagmar Herzog contributes a comprehensive analysis of the changes in (West) German attitudes to sexuality between the National Socialist era and the 1980s. In particular she explores how the freer talk about sex in general (associated with the so-called ‘sex wave’ of the 1960s and 1970s) and the space opened up by the contraceptive pill created circumstances in which it was possible for women to go public about their dissatisfaction with heterosexual relations.

Particularly valuable are those contributions which examine the demise or radicalization of aspects of youth culture in the early 1970s. These include Thomas Ekman Joergenson's analysis of the 'implosion' of the Danish 'Freak [aka Lifestyle] Left' around 1970, as a result of the inbuilt inability of a 'culture of spontaneity' to have a safety net, and its supplanting on the left by the 'keepers of the Comintern tradition' (p. 350), who could take account of setbacks but still retain a Utopian vision. Franz-Werner Kersting advances a series of useful perspectives from which to historicize West Germany's 'Red Decade 1967–1977'. These include attention to: the evolution of political commitment; the reactions of the establishment, continuities between 1968 and the 'German Autumn' of 1977; positive outcomes despite the social fracturing; a comparison with developments elsewhere. Klaus Weinbauer turns attention to the West German drop-outs and the ways in which their appearance and practices 'questioned patterns of consumption, bourgeois virtues and moral codes as well as ideals of masculinity' (p. 381). The 'drug wave' of the early 1970s brought with it two important developments: hard drug use and the increasing opposition of political activists to drug use. Delinquency (now represented by the 'folk devils' of lower class rockers and junkies) thereby became proletarianized again.

One of the most important dimensions of the collection, however, is the range of questions which its authors pose as ripe for future research: what influence did 'anti-psychiatry' exert on the left scene (p. 367); why were women over-represented in terrorist groups such as the Red Army Faction (p. 368); how did the expanding youth travel of the 1960s and 1970s, of which Axel Schildt gives an insightful sketch, 'mediate the transmission of new youth culture and practices' (p. 156); given, for example, that Vietnam figured in critiques of consumption, how did 'understandings of consumption relate to the understanding and obscuring of international relations and inequalities' (p. 169)?

Andrew W. Hurley
University of Technology, Sydney, Australia
andrew.hurley@uts.edu.au

© 2007, Andrew W. Hurley

EU Enlargement, Region Building and Shifting Borders of Inclusion and Exclusion

Border Regions Series, James Wesley Scott (Ed.)

Ashgate, 2006, ISBN 978 0 7546 4542 9 (hbk)

£55.00, 260 pp.

For more than three thousand years of human history, starting with great writers such as Pytheas, Herodotus and Strabo to Marco Polo and Patrick Leigh Fermor, there have been people who have been fascinated by borders and have been driven to cross them, to explore different lands and strange peoples, to find out about 'the other'. For historians and philosophers, motivated by indefatigable curiosity and the need to probe alien cultures, geopolitical borders have always represented the acute point of tension in human affairs. Wars occur there, walls are constructed there, trade develops there and international relations of all kinds are negotiated across the metaphysical divides that borders represent. For the Greeks, barbarians lurked there.

Was it perhaps some dim awareness within the European Union (EU) of the significance of borders (and the importance of barbarians!) that after Maastricht and the stress given to 'deepening and widening' the EU serious attention began to be paid to the changing shape of its own borders and to the effects of expansion across those divides? In 1999 the Commission spoke of the 'ring of friends' outside EU domains and in 2004 a strategy paper proposed concrete ideas for a European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), underscoring the extent to which enlargement is transforming relationships with neighbouring states and regions. Cross border cooperation (CBC) became fashionable.

With each round of expansion the status of relationships between the EU and its 'new' neighbours intensifies. Socio-economic and political transformations are taking place that not only offer new opportunities but create potential new dangers as ancient conflicts threaten to re-emerge.

In response, Brussels has expressed a will to avoid divisions through an agenda that transcends political, economic and cultural divides; to confront the processes of inclusion and exclusion. However, as the authors of this book demonstrate, whilst some elements of EU policy work towards enhancing cooperation and cross-border cooperation, others work against it.

It is on these problems that this volume seeks to throw light. Can new, expanded borders act as laboratories of cooperation and political region building or will mass immigration, visa restrictions and ideological and other historical antipathies simply emphasize 'fortress Europe'? For these authors at least, borders are now largely understood to be 'multi-faceted social institutions' rather than mere markers of state sovereignty. A team of eighteen contributors, many of them from the newest border regions in Central and Eastern Europe, pose the key questions that need resolution: what are the principle political and socio-economic challenges that require collective action; how are policies that regulate the permeability of borders to be made compatible with the wish to promote cross-border cooperation; what have been the local responses to EU border policies at the new external limits; what strategies have been developed by local actors to promote region building and both formal and informal integration processes?

Apart from a mild complaint of sloppy editing (the editor sometimes writes in the future tense and sometimes the present and writes of 'Moldavia' and of Moldova!) the book brings valuable new insights to important aspects of EU expansion. It is structured into four thematic sections, the first dealing with the bordering and geopolitics of EU enlargement, taking the Moldovan–Romanian interface as the basis for examining a range of initiatives and demonstrating that the locals do better at interacting than the national governments. However, one senses, as always where Brussels is involved, it is all too much 'top-down' when it comes to distributing the economic spoils. In the second part of the book EU enlargement and its impact at new external boundaries are examined with particular reference to Hungary and its post-socialist neighbours, hugely complicated by the existence of sizeable Hungarian speaking minorities on both sides of the new borders and the fact that joining the EU brings with it membership of NATO. In Ukraine, which has traditionally been divided into a 'west', oriented towards central and western Europe, and an 'east', leaning strongly towards Russia, the political and cultural tensions are more acute. This allows a fascinating discussion of the possibilities and weaknesses of cross-border cooperation, to which a number of the authors contribute.

Part three focuses primarily on everyday practices of cooperation and the research which has informed the book, based upon activities at the new borders and emphasizing

how important historical factors are in the process of cross-border interaction. Is it the initiatives of local people or is it institutions which will be the main engine of cooperative activities? Here the history of Polish–Ukrainian and Polish–German relationships form a basis for discussing the problems to be overcome where both countries are now within the EU and where historically state boundaries have altered many times throughout modern history, often as a result of bloody conflict. The last part of the book takes this latter issue as the basis for a more detailed look at EU border policies and the deep cultural and historical divides that must be overcome if successful integration is to occur.

Taken as a whole this volume suffers from some lack of coherent theoretical understandings on which to base the contributions, thus producing a little loss of clarity. However, it should not need a modern day Herodotus to understand that the border, by definition, creates difference, constituting the identities of ‘us’ and ‘the other’. Hence the progress of cross-border institutions involves the reimagining of the self versus the other. These are the deeper levels of meaning into which we need to dip a theoretical and ontological toe.

Therefore, although it is a considerable feat to bring together such a large and multinational team of knowledgeable researchers and the book will add considerably to our understanding of the politics of the newest EU borders, those students who would wish to pursue the more theoretical aspects of the debate a little further may wish refer to a recent paper by Boman & Berg (2007) and to a paper by Perkmann (1999).

References

- Boman, J. & Berg, E. (2007) Identity and institutions shaping cross-border co-operation at the margins of the European Union, *Regional and Federal Studies*, 17(2), pp. 195–215.
 Perkmann, M. (1999) Building governance institutions across the European borders, *Regional Studies*, 33(7), pp. 657–667.

Derek Hawes
 University of Bristol, UK
 derek.hawes@ukgateway.net

© 2007, Derek Hawes

The European Union and the Member States (2nd edn)

Eleanor E. Zeff and Ellen B. Pirro (Eds)

Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006, ISBN 1 588 26479 3 (pbk)
 £15.50, 498 pp.

The European Union and the Member States is the second edition of this publication on the process of Europeanization of legislation and policy taking place in each member state of the European Union (EU). The most important update in comparison with the first edition (published in 2001) concerns the 10 newcomers who entered the Community on 1 May 2004. The biggest wave of EU enlargement was a substantial structural change to the EU, and this is reflected in the content of the volume.

The book begins with a brief introduction by the editors presenting the idea of the volume and its purposeful and well-considered structure. It is followed by a substantial chapter on 'Policymaking in the European Union', containing a detailed overview of the European integration process and describing significant institutions, procedures and practices which contribute to Europeanization of policies in particular countries. This chapter sets the scene for the rest of the book. Subsequent comprehensive chapters follow the same format, recounting and assessing the state of the art in 25 EU member states. The book is divided into five parts, each of them containing chapters on countries belonging to different waves of EU enlargement, with a concluding sixth part giving a general comparative summary of the whole volume.

Every chapter in this book is structured around several core questions:

- How and in what ways does EU policy influence, and how is it influenced by, the member states?
- What mechanisms do the member states use to implement EU policies?
- What is each state's compliance record?
- What are the future trends and prospects for a given country in the context of its EU membership?

This kind of bottom-up approach allows comparisons between the states and at the same illustrates the impressive diversity among EU member states, which is even more visible because of the fact that no common theoretical scheme of analysis has been imposed. This has allowed the authors to concentrate on the specific themes according to their own assessment of the importance of particular issues. Consequently, a wide and diverse spectrum of topics is covered: international relations, social policy, economics, national security, home affairs and justice, diplomacy, human rights, legislation and governance procedures. It provides useful reviews of key areas subjected to the process of Europeanization. The articles are of high quality, with broad perspectives on the European dimension of political life in each of the states; their titles illustrate and underline the peculiarity of the given country. Thus, the chapter on Poland has the title 'Reluctant member', while that on Denmark speaks of 'Euro-pragmatism in practice', while Finland is addressed under the title of 'Consensual politics, effective implementation' and the Baltic States are discussed under 'Determined Euro-Atlanticists'.

Each chapter also contains a country-specific account of unique and important issues concerning relations between the given state and the EU. Thus, we can learn, for example, about the role of Polish diplomacy in solving the Ukrainian crisis during the so-called Orange Revolution and its attempts to set up a new agenda in EU eastern policy, ongoing perturbations in Finland concerning ecological legislation and the protection of their flying squirrels or long-lasting negotiations between Brussels and Tallinn regarding the citizenship rights of the Russian speaking minority in Estonia in the course of pre-accession consultations. These and many more case studies illuminate the scope and extent of issues covered by EU level policy.

There are just two general critical points which should be raised. The first refers to the general assumption that each member state deserves a separate chapter in the volume, which is not the case, as some of them are aggregated. And if, for example, it seems understandable that the Benelux countries or the Baltic States are each covered by a single chapter, considering that there is relative homogeneity among these countries in many spheres, then the common chapter for Slovenia and Slovakia is hardly justifiable, taking

into account the completely different contexts in which these countries functioned on their pathway towards integration into EU structures. Besides, as the chapter concedes in its introduction, the similarity between the two states is rather superficial, apart from their alliterating names (which, as we know, can cause embarrassment even to world leaders). Another thing concerns the date of release of this book, which was published in July 2006. It needs to be mentioned that less than half a year later another two countries joined the European club. Unfortunately, we are unable to learn anything about the state of affairs in Bulgaria and Romania and their road to accession, the topic being omitted from Zeff and Pirro's publication. In my opinion these two countries deserve more attention, as this wave of enlargement has ended the process for some time, the next candidates (Croatia and Turkey) being at the beginning of negotiations.

However, these minor remarks and some small editorial errors do not change the general judgement that the book is invaluable to all specialists, students and academics working in the field of European studies and international relations and those working on research projects or dealing with any social sphere subject to the impact of the EU. The book should be of particular interest to those involved in the policy-making process at each level of governance, as it provides solid evidence of potential problems and concrete efforts to overcome them. It is essential reading for all those who want to understand recent political processes taking place within the EU.

Wojciech Woźniak
University of Lodz, Poland

© 2007, Wojciech Woźniak

Books Received

Clive ARCHER (Ed.), *New Security Issues in Northern Europe: The Nordic and Baltic States and the ESDP*, Contemporary European Studies Series, Routledge, 2008, 238 pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 4153 9340 9 (hbk).

Peter J. ATKINS, Peter LUMMEL and Derek J. ODDY (Eds), *Food and the City in Europe Since 1800*, Ashgate, 2007, 260 pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 4989 2 (hbk).

Veit BADER, *Secularism or Democracy? Associational Governance of Religious Diversity*, Amsterdam University Press, 2007, 384 pp., €45.00, ISBN 978 9 053 56999 3 (pbk).

Zoltan BARANY, *Democratic Breakdown and the Decline of the Russian Military*, Princeton University Press, 2007, 247 pp., £13.90, ISBN 978 0 6911 2896 2 (hbk).

Janusz BUGAJSKI and Ilona TELEKI, *Atlantic Bridges: America's New European Allies*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007, 285 pp., ISBN 978 0 7425 4911 1 (pbk).

Paul COOKE (Ed.), *World Cinema's 'Dialogues' with Hollywood*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, 266 pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 1 4039 9895 8 (hbk).

Zsuzsa CSERGO, *Talk of the Nation: Language and Conflict in Romania and Slovakia*, Cornell University Press, 2007, 228 pp., £26.50, ISBN 978 0 8014 4537 8 (hbk).

- David J. GALBREATH, *The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe*, Global Institutions Series, Routledge, 2007, 151 pp., £13.50, ISBN 978 0 4154 0764 9 (pbk).
- Evlyn GOULD and George J. SHERIDAN Jr (Eds), *Engaging Europe: Rethinking a Changing Continent*, Rowland & Littlefield, 2007, 253 pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 0 7425 3781 1 (pbk).
- Dominic HEANEY (Ed.), *Central and South Eastern Europe 2008*, European Regional Survey of the World, 8th edn, Routledge, 2007, 819 pp., £365.00, ISBN 978 1 8574 3422 4 (hbk).
- Manfred HILDERMEIER (Ed.), *Historical Concepts between Eastern and Western Europe*, New German Historical Perspectives Series, Berghahn Books, 2007, 123 pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 8454 5273 5 (hbk).
- Paul HODKINSON and Wolfgang DEICKE (Eds), *Youth Cultures: Scenes, Subcultures and Tribes*, Routledge, 2007, 265 pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 4153 7612 9 (hbk).
- Sibylle HÜBNER-FUNK, *Hitlers Garanten der Zukunft. Biographische Brüche. Historische Lektionen*, Potsdamer Studien, Band 10, Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2005, 425 pp., €30.00, ISBN 3 935 03567 5 (pbk).
- Hermann KURTHEN, Antonio V. MENÉNDEZ-ALARCÓN and Stefan IMMERFALL (Eds), *Safeguarding German–American Relations in the New Century: Understanding and Accepting Mutual Differences*, Lexington books, 2006, 277 pp., £45.00, ISBN 978 0 7391 1599 2 (hbk).
- Andy MATHERS, *Struggling for a Social Europe: Neoliberal Globalization and the Birth of a European Social Movement*, Ashgate, 2007, 224 pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 4580 1 (hbk).
- Ingrid MIETHE, *Bildung und soziale Ungleichheit in der DDR: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer gegenprivilegierenden Bildungspolitik*, Barbara Budrich, 2007, 387 pp., €36.00, ISBN 978 3 8664 9094 4 (pbk).
- Emanuel RICHTER, *20 Fragen an Europa: Anleitung zu einer demokratischen Selbstbefragung*, Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2007, 80 pp., €7.90, ISBN 978 3 8664 9099 4 (pbk).
- Chris RUMFORD (Ed.), *Cosmopolitanism and Europe*, Liverpool University Press, 2007, 272 pp., £20.00, ISBN 978 1 8463 1047 8 (pbk).
- Joanne SAYNER, *Women without a Past? German Autobiographical Writings and Fascism*, Radopi, 2007, 381 pp., £55.38, ISBN 978 9 0420 2228 7 (pbk).
- Renata SIEMIENSKA and Annette ZIMMER (Eds), *Gendered Career Trajectories in Academia in Cross-National Perspective*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2007, 383 pp., €24.90, ISBN 978-3-86649-138-0 (pbk).
- Dominic THOMAS, *Black France: Colonialism, Immigration, and Transnationalism*, Indiana University Press, 2007, 305 pp., \$27.95, ISBN 978 0 2532 1881 0 (pbk).
- Mino VIANELLO and Elena CARAMAZZA, *Gender, Raum und Macht: Auf dem Weg zu einer postmaskulinen Gesellschaft. Ein Essay*, Barbara Budrich, 2007, 135 pp., €14.90, ISBN 978 3 9380 9445 7 (pbk).

Reviews Editor: Martha Wörsching
m.m.worsching@lboro.ac.uk