

BOOK REVIEWS

David Dunkerley, Lesley Hodgson, Stanislaw Konopacki, Tony Spybey and Andrew Thompson, *Changing Europe: Identities, Nations and Citizens*. London: Routledge, 2002.

This volume is intended to be a textbook for students of European politics and European societies and is also meant to engage the interest of a wide range of scholars. The book offers a clear introduction to many of the major issues confronting Europe at this time and to the changing agenda of European governance and integration. It addresses both the changes within institutions and developments relating to the identities of the citizens of the expanding EU. These changes are explored at different levels, starting with past changes that explain the present, examining the issue of contemporary change at the national and sub-national level, moving to the impact of change on the individual level and then broadening out to understand the institutions of the EU.

One central issue in the debate on the future of Europe that is addressed is: citizenship. The development of the concept of citizenship is described, beginning in Greek antiquity, continuing through the Roman Empire, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance and ending up with contemporary doctrines, which are classified as liberalism, republicanism, communitarianism and neo-republicanism. Discussion of a European citizenship with a transnational form is also included. Therefore the book is useful in its examination of the changing fortunes of the nation-state in Europe and the meaning of national identities in the European integration process.

The textbook then moves the discussion away from nations and nation-states to a more local level: the region. Pressures to devolve more executive and legislative powers to regions are growing within the EU.

Other chapters discuss the issues of migration, asylum seeking and human rights in Europe. The nature of migration is seen to be changing, but there are differences between the EU member states. The book refers mostly to the situation in France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Sweden and some Mediterranean countries. Human rights have traditionally been bound up with national sovereignty, but also in this field a tendency to strengthen supranational mechanisms can be found.

Another chapter deals with the terms 'Europe' and 'European' as ideas. It is shown how the idea of 'Europe' has changed since the Middle Ages.

Furthermore, the efforts of the EU, and particularly the European Commission, to give form to the idea of European identity are examined.

The subject of another important chapter is enlargement. Previous enlargements are compared to the forthcoming big Eastern enlargement. Political, economic and social problems regarding this enlargement are briefly discussed. And the volume ends with a discussion of the role of the EU as a global key player. The phenomenon of globalization is debated.

All in all, this textbook gives a good introduction to some major issues concerning the EU at the moment: citizenship, national identities and enlargement. The explanation of historical backgrounds makes the discussion easy to understand for students. Scholars who are familiar with the topics will not find so much inspiration in this book.

The structure of the volume is very clear. Key learning points, text boxes and summaries guarantee good readability. Guides for further reading in each chapter are meant to help students. These reading tips include mainly British authors and publications; German scholars, for example, are only poorly cited, which maybe makes the textbook less useful for German-speaking students.

Eva Steinheimer, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna.

Amy Caiazza, *Mothers and Soldiers: Gender, Citizenship, and Civil Society in Contemporary Russia*. New York and London: Routledge, 2002. ISBN: 0-415-93177-0. Hardback, 192 pp.

This book provides a broad picture of civil society and political transition in Russia through a detailed examination of the successes and failures behind four non-profit organizations' active involvement in the debate on civic obligation, citizenship and gender during 1993–7. In the 1990s, Russia needed to build new political institutions and a new system of involvement in interest groups and civic organizations. Many crucial questions concerning the role of modern citizens were discussed in Russia implicitly in the debates about policies affecting citizens' rights and obligations. This book explores how two policy arenas – military service and motherhood – became a sphere of activity for the political party Women of Russia (WR), the Moscow Centre for Gender Studies (MCGS), the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers (CSM) and the Antimilitarist Radical Association (ARA). The main focus in the analysis is on the role of ideas about gender and civic obligation in policy making.

The achievements and failures of the organizations are explored and explained by taking into consideration the ideological and institutional contexts in contemporary Russia. While motherhood was glorified in the

Soviet Union as women's main contribution to society, the major obligation for men was to serve in the army. Reinforcing or challenging these conventional assumptions about male and female civic obligation shaped the strategies and goals of the activists' groups. While WR and CSM to a larger extent drew upon traditional ideas about women's gender role, which became widely articulated during *glasnost* in the late 1980s, MCGS, on the contrary, introduced more innovative ideas, for Russia, of individualist feminism, while ARA did not focus on the gender issues at all in its efforts to influence military reform.

The activities of all these groups were constrained by the unresponsive structure of Russian political institutions, that is, weak legislature and the lack of checks on the power of the president and the bureaucracy (Chapter 2). Personalized and corrupted relationships rather than the rule of law commanded the processes of economic decisions. Not only were legal provisions for civic organizations underdeveloped, the majority of Russians also distrusted political institutions and were sceptical about active involvement in voluntary organizations. However, the fact that the state is not a monolithic entity, but contradictory and permeable, allowed the activists to find opportunities to influence policy making. In addition, the organizations' members were skilful in building their networks and finding points of access to institutions.

Ami Caiazza compares how WR and MCGS used as resources a relational and an individualist version of feminism, respectively, either defining women's interests from the viewpoint of their role in the family or promoting gender equality (Chapters 4 and 5). WR, with its strong institutional roots in the Soviet era and its popular way of perceiving woman's rights as closely interrelated with motherhood, was able to build grassroots support and successfully get elected to parliament (Duma) in 1993. As a result of WR's coalition work, policy for women has been advanced in parliament, for example, by adoption of a new and more modern Family Code. Nonetheless, male politicians were able to use the same ideas of traditional gender ideology in order to diminish WR's status as a political party, which resulted in its electoral failure in 1995.

MCGS, on the contrary, benefited from its well-established international contacts, the new concepts about gender, such as personal autonomy and an egalitarian social structure, as well as the new political skills, such as PR, marketing, image making, lobbying and press conferences. Although its short-term achievements in policy making were limited, and ideas about gender equality were not heard in the Duma's Committee on the Affairs of Women, Family and Youth, MCGS's ability to adopt the professional manner of an interest group enhanced its relations with deputies in the legislature and influenced the language of the official agenda, which could prove valuable for future attempts. But, in

general, the idea of childcare being women's but not men's civic role has been more reinforced than challenged within the policy arena of motherhood in the mid-1990s.

In a similar manner, Amy Caiazza compares CSM and ARA, which both aim at influencing military policy, but draw upon different ideological resources (Chapters 7 and 8). CSM has been successful in its strategy of politicizing maternal instinct, which fits with popular ideas about good women and good mothers. Although political institutions have been particularly unresponsive within the military policy arena (Chapter 6), grassroots solidarity, international financial support, a strategy of non-violence and a professional interest group manner allow CSM to work on many policy issues. It has expanded exemptions from the military draft, ended or shortened the term of mandatory service, implemented the Constitutional right to alternative service and pressured military leaders to make cuts in the size of the military. Nevertheless, there are limits to the power of gender ideologies as a resource. The activists' role had been misinterpreted and demeaned by politicians who describe them as 'unpatriotic' or as naive women.

ARA, on the other hand, has failed to identify military service as a male gender issue, and has continued to see it as citizen's – not men's – duty, which in its turn means that women have implicitly been seen as excluded from the public sphere. Even if the activists have tried to enhance a male consciousness, it is doubtful that such a strategy would be successful, because men usually are not encouraged to perceive themselves as a group along gender lines. As a result, the political capital of ARA, its public support and membership, are insignificant, though the activists have to certain extent been successful in lobbying the members of legislature.

In her conclusions (Chapter 9) Amy Caiazza underlines the importance of further examining the role of the ideological resources, and particularly of gender ideologies, in the struggles to make undemocratic institutions more responsive in transitional Russia. Female consciousness and other kinds of gender consciousness could be a potential resource for democracy, and therefore the experiences of a wider variety of women's and men's organizations should be taken into account, even in the countries with a stable democratic system. As for the future of Russia's democracy, it is stressed that civic organizations need to have more guarantees that their voices will be heard and taken into consideration in policy making.

This book, with its innovative approach and thorough analysis, is a valuable source for social science students and researchers interested in contemporary Russian politics, political activism and civil society. The only regrettable point is that such important elements of the political system and civil society as the legal institutions and the mass media, which

also are very central for the activists' strategies, did not receive more space in the study.

Zaira Jagudina, PhD student, Department of Sociology, Göteborgs University.