
BOOK REVIEWS

Martin O'Neill and Thad Williamson (eds.), *Property-Owning Democracy: Rawls and Beyond* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012)

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Martin O'Neill and Thad Williamson's edited volume *Property Owning Democracy: Rawls and Beyond* emerged as a collaborative work after an American Political Science Association conference in Chicago in 2007. Several authors involved with the topic concluded that the Rawlsian concept of property-owning democracy had not been sufficiently developed. Williamson, O'Neill and their associates believed that it is necessary to clarify what such a social arrangement would look like. Moreover, within the context of the economic crisis and the neoliberal attack on the welfare state, the authors considered that a book on Rawlsian just institutions could provide a meaningful rally point for left-leaning parties. The book is divided in 14 individual chapters, each written by a well-known author in the field such as Stuart White, Simone Chambers, Ben Jackson, Alan Thomas, Gar Alperovitz and Nien-he Hsieh. Each chapter outlines and defends a central thesis relating to the topic of just institutions and property owning democracy.

The first chapter, authored by Simone Chambers discusses Rawls' transition from *A Theory of Justice* to *Political Liberalism* and his apparent withdrawal from a strong interpretation of the demands of justice. Chambers contrasts Rawls' seeming radicalism in his early work to his attempt to justify a conception of a fair society while taking into account the fact of opinion pluralism in a democracy. Chambers focuses especially on Rawls' refusal to demand that the difference principle be enshrined in the constitution of a just society. She interprets Rawls as accepting that egalitarianism is subject to public debate, rather than a non-negotiable part of what society should be.

In the second chapter Ben Jackson outlines a history of the term property-owning democracy, incorporating both its conservative and its egalitarian interpretations. He focuses especially on James Meade, the economist who inspired Rawls. The third chapter, authored by Corey Brettschneider, offers a normative justification of welfare rights, as the only way to defend the existence of private property. Brettschneider imagines a dialogue between the owners of private property and those who are excluded, and maintains that only something akin to property owning democracy would satisfy the excluded in an ideal situation.

The fourth chapter is a crucial one in the text. Martin O'Neill develops his previous arguments into a fully-fledged exposition in favor of property owning democracy.

He defines a property owning democracy as a regime which seeks to disperse capital among living persons, blocks the intergenerational transfer of advantage and safeguards politics from the corruption inherent in wealth disparities. Moreover, O'Neill argues that while Rawls' principles of equal liberties and fair equality of opportunity could also be satisfied by a welfare state, the difference principle can only be implemented under a property owning democracy.

Several other essays in the volume contribute significantly to the debate on just institutions. Stuart White argues that a property owning democracy would be far more stable if it would also benefit from a republican conception of citizenship. Nien-he Hsieh looks at a possible positive effect of instituting a property owning democracy. He shows that such a regime would improve workplace control and democracy and would offer more of a voice to workers in corporate management. He interprets Rawls as a supporter of democratic workplaces, a thesis he infers from Rawls' concern with the social bases of self-respect. Hsieh believes access to meaningful work is quintessential for self-respect. Since a property owning democracy would lead to more workplace democracy, Hsieh argues, it would be a better regime.

Waheed Hussain maintains that a property owning democracy would be a regime in which democratic corporatist arrangements of labor settlement would prevail. He asserts that this is supported by Rawls' desire for a society which is stable for the right reasons. Democratic corporatism would, Hussain shows, nurture a sense of justice and provide the basis for a stable society. David Schweickart contrasts a property owning democracy with his own proposal, economic democracy. Unlike Rawls' suggested arrangement, Schweickart argues economic democracy would require that firms and economic social plans be democratically controlled. Under this scheme, investment banks would be socialized and democratic firms would borrow the means of production, paying an asset tax.

Another seminal contribution of the volume is Thad Williamson's eleventh chapter. He argues that a property owning democracy would involve giving each American citizen assets worth \$100 000. These would be funded from taxing, for the next 25 years, one third of the assets of the top 1% of Americans, which would form, according to Williamson, a fund of around five trillion dollars. This fund could be used to offer each American citizen the above-mentioned sum, diversified in cash reserves, home ownership stakes and stocks and bonds.

The final three chapters outline the relationship between redistribution and human capital (Sonia Sodha), several forms of democratic ownership extant in America (Gar Alperovitz) and a possible strategy to make a property owning democracy appealing to the American public (Thad Williamson). Sodha argues that, in addition to financial capital, human capital distribution through education is quintessential to a

just society and to a true property owning democracy. Finally, Williamson concludes by offering a possible way of achieving a wide redistribution of capital through democratic means. He advocates a campaign of popularization of the wealth inequalities in America, together with an appeal to America's widely held values of equality of opportunity.

From the philosophical point of view, two chapters deserve particular attention. O'Neill argues that the difference principle is the only one from Rawls' philosophical scaffolding which underpins his choice of a property owning democracy as the just institutional arrangement. He maintains that Rawls' demand for fair value of liberties and fair equality of opportunity could also be achieved in a welfare state. O'Neill also attempts to show that some policies, such as limiting funding for political campaigns, could insulate politics from large ownership disparities. Moreover, a reform of the educational system would ensure fair equality of opportunity.

This contention is hard to accept given the intrinsic link between family circumstances and educational outcomes. Even under a rather generous welfare state with a good public education system, the family would still represent a locus where a large part of competences is formed. A child born in a family which is chronically dependent on welfare allowances and internalizes the lack of self-worth such a situation creates will definitely not have similar opportunities as a middle class child. Even though O'Neill argues that a welfare state would mandate a wide dispersal of human capital, he does not take into account the importance of family relations on the formation of human capital.

The second chapter to be criticized is the one authored by Hsieh. The main charge to be brought against him is that he puts too much stock in the Rawlsian framework, including values which are not necessarily Rawlsian. While Rawls supports an egalitarian society and a desideratum of Aristotelian self-development of the individual, imputing a demand for access to meaningful work and workplace democracy is simply putting in too much. These are socialist values and Rawls' neutrality to conceptions of the good and his political, not comprehensive liberalism, excludes them.

The volume represents a crucial development in the debate on just institutions. Both the question of what institutions would be just and of what arrangements John Rawls would support are hotly debated within its pages. The book aims to be both a philosophical treatise and political manifesto for left-leaning intellectuals.

Loek Halman and Malina Voicu (eds.), *Mapping Value Orientations in Central and Eastern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2010)

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Since the collapse of communism the countries of Central and Eastern Europe have been undergoing the processes of democratization, marketization, and nation-building, the latter being especially visible in the countries of the former Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia. In explaining the development of different regime types and divergent transition paths in post-communist countries, scholars rely on different approaches including initial negotiations immediately after the collapse of communism, choices of actors for different forms of institutional design, legacies of the communist past, and the influence of external factors such as the EU. Also, political culture — that is the set of citizens' orientations towards the political system — is considered to be one of the key variables in the democratization of Central and Eastern European countries.

The book *Mapping Value Orientations in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Loek Halman and Malina Voicu, presents a collection of ten articles on post-communist political cultures in Central and Eastern Europe. Using as data the European Values Study surveys, the collection presents a cross-national and longitudinal analysis on cultural, religious, political and economic value patterns of citizens in the countries under investigation. By concentrating on a special set of citizens' attitudes towards political objects, most of the authors investigate the sources of support for certain value orientations in Central and Eastern European countries in comparison with Western European societies. Based on theoretical underpinnings of previous research, the individual chapters of the book are devoted to questions of the individualization of citizens' attitudes, attitudes towards economic models and social solidarity, citizens' support for political systems and political participation, the impact of democratization on citizens' attitudes towards gender equality, and pride in citizenship. Each of the contributions in the book is well-structured, providing clear research questions, theoretical frameworks and hypotheses, explanations of data, dependent and independent variables, and discussions of the findings.

After an introductory chapter, the second chapter of the book is devoted to the comparison of people's preferences for individualistic or collectivistic values in Europe. The authors of the article come to the conclusion that Central and Eastern European countries have different trajectories and that each country seems to follow its own path. Chapter three of the book concentrates on the impact of cultural changes upon the legitimacy of institutional design in the market transition debate. Trying to provide a synthesis of different theories, the author emphasizes

the importance of path dependency in the transition to market economy: different transition paths of post-communist countries have different impact on social stratification and social mobility in these countries. In chapter four, the author investigates the mechanism of people's support for two models of market economy: the free market model and the state intervention model. The author's analysis shows that support for the free market model is mostly determined by ideology and the support for the state interventionism model is determined by resources. The goal of the fifth chapter is to reveal the origins of social solidarity in the countries under investigation. The authors of this contribution conclude that social solidarity in European societies depends on social capital, social trust, and the economic performance of a country. The most significant difference between Western and Eastern European countries is constituted by social capital, whereas other factors such as concerns about others or readiness to help are more and less similar in all countries. The author of chapter six concentrates on the correspondence of political culture and political structure and identifies four political cultures in Central and Eastern Europe. Chapter seven explores determinants of citizens' political activism. In their conclusion, the authors find out that people's political activity is determined — among other factors — by mobilization and the type of a participatory act, for example, a protest or a petition signing. The main research question of chapter eight is to investigate popular satisfaction with democracy in Europe. The author of this contribution comes to the conclusion that different long- and short-term factors correlate with citizens' satisfaction with democracy: the more developed democracy is, the more satisfaction with democracy increases. At the same time, evaluations of economic performance and being a winner or a loser in the election also have an impact on satisfaction with democracy in all European countries. Chapter nine investigates the mechanism of the change of people's support for democracy based on two main theories: cohort replacement and intra-cohort change. The findings of the author indicate that in post-communist countries there is support for both theories and, therefore, there is a prospect for development of democratic political culture across Eastern and Central Europe. Chapter ten explores the impact of democratization on gender attitudes and concludes that support for gender equality depends on the level of democracy, which means that in Western European countries support for gender equality is higher than in the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Finally, chapter eleven of the book investigates attitudes towards pride in citizenship in Slovakia. The authors of the study conclude that the stagnation or prevalence of national pride in Slovakia is best explained by the country's international reputation.

Due to the broad overview of the patterns of citizens' attitudes towards a wide range of political objects in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the volume has some weak points. The contributions in the volume often do not provide justification for the case selection, and one is frequently left with the impression that the countries are chosen randomly, probably merely to use data from the

survey. Therefore, it comes at no surprise that the common conclusion for all contributions presented in the book points to the heterogeneity of popular orientations and peculiarities of the countries across Europe. Further, with this collection of articles, the book does not add much innovation to the research on political culture. Most of the contributions of the volume would benefit significantly from discussing the role of political culture in the democratization processes of the countries under investigation. Ultimately, the reason for studying political culture in this context lies in its importance for the democratization of transition countries and for the sustainability of democracy in developed countries.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, some of the contributions in the volume present interesting findings, which can be used in further research on political culture. For example, in the investigation of citizens' support for a market economy in chapter four, the author argues that support for a market economy is a multi-dimensional phenomenon as people have different understandings of how the economy should work in their own country. It is indeed well-observed that people attach different meanings to a particular notion, be it a market economy, democracy or something else. The increasing number of qualitative studies on political culture poses a challenge to the quantitative methods of measuring people's attitudes towards political objects. Quantitative studies become vulnerable to such issues. Also, chapter seven provides interesting insights into the nature of political culture in Europe. According to the findings of the authors, both Western and Eastern European countries present a high level of unconventional political activism, which depends, however, on different practices in the democratic political cultures in different countries across Europe. In this way, the authors of the chapter question common assumptions about the convergence of Western and Eastern European political cultures, and their thesis underlines the importance of studying social practices in the investigation of the political culture of a certain country. In this way the book is enlightening and thought-provoking and in general, it is an interesting collection of articles devoted to the study of a wide spectrum of people's attitudes towards political objects. The book would be valuable for students of political culture and transition studies.

Mechthild Baumann, Astrid Lorenz and Kerstin Rosenow (eds.), *Crossing and Controlling Borders. Immigration Policies and their Impact on Migrants' Journeys* (Opladen & Farmington Hills: Budrich Unipress, 2011)

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Comparative works on irregular migration policies are still few, so anyone interested in the subject will welcome this book authored by an international team of scholars.

In past years the immigration debate has been heating up on both sides of the Atlantic, pitting advocates for legalizing irregular migrants against those who support stronger anti-immigration measures. Irregular immigrants criticize the attempts by governments to stop them from gaining entry to and building a life in countries with more successful economies. They contend that such practices are unfair and cruel and that they have a human right to stay and try to earn a living.

In their introductory note the editors emphasize the fact that irregular migrants are not a uniform mass but are foremost persons who have decided to leave their country for individual and very different reasons (p. 12). Some migrants consider themselves refugees fleeing corrupt governments; others are moving from poorer nations in search of better opportunities or a higher standard of living. Others only want to join their family members. On the basis of an examination of European and US policies, the authors of this edited volume discuss the impact of migration policies on migrant journeys and verify if the migration control measures implemented by governments deliver what they promise or whether these policies “produce unintended effects rather than achieving the objectives of the policy designers” (p. 17). The overarching research question of this volume is whether the current control policies pursued in the EU and the US are suitable for tackling the problem of irregular migration or not. The book is the result of a joint effort bringing together researchers from various disciplines with a focus on expertise in the areas of political science and ethnology.

This inter-disciplinary approach permits addressing issues from different perspectives and viewpoints. The book is structured along three main pillars: the first part deals with the impact of European migration policies on migrant journeys. In her chapter Araujo sheds light on the historical background of European migration policies by documenting the increasing outplacement of EU migration control to third countries. She concludes that “borders do not disappear, but are displaced, mutate and multiply” (p. 49). In his contribution Kreienbrink takes a closer look at the dynamics of the regularization policy of the Spanish government and challenges the view that regularization has not met the expectations of the stakeholders. In her field research report Heck explores the journeys of transit migrants in Morocco. She takes a critical look at international organizations such as IOM who lend a hand to governments in the area of repatriation. Next, Assopgoum offers a very personal account of a Senegalese migrant forced through the power of unfortunate circumstances to go to Austria. She holds European neocolonial trading practices and bad governance in Senegal equally responsible for the current migration crisis.

The contribution of Haase demonstrates how the Europeanization of Ukrainian migration policy has transformed the country into an “immigration country of second choice” (p. 128) for many transit migrants wishing to move to EU territory.

The chapter of Bilecen-Sueoglu defines the "Europeanization of migration policies in Turkey" as a "top down process of member states' adaptation to the EU (p. 137). He concludes that Turkey uses migration issues as a leverage to obtain better guarantees from the EU against becoming a "shelter" (p. 150) for unwanted migrants.

The second part highlights the experiences of irregular migrants in the US. Unlike the EU, fear of tighter immigration has sparked massive protests in the US. Since US homeland security measures have tightened measures against undocumented immigration, more and more migrants are reported to have died trying to cross borders as people are forced to take more dangerous routes. Bloch and Silva describe the many challenges Mexicans trying to cross borders to California face. There is no easy or quick fix to resolve the problems migrants face.

The strict anti-immigration laws of Arizona, the ambivalent role of civil society actors who take pride in denouncing irregular migrants, established regular Mexicans who look down on irregular Mexican newcomers on one side, and the pro-human rights stance of immigrant grassroots associations on the other side show how deeply divided the US population is over this issue. In his chapter Cornelius argues that "migrant networks...ties with friends or family in the destination country" (p. 196) are the major root cause for irregular migration and not economic reasons, as widely assumed. He then lashes out against irregular migrants by voicing what seems to be his personal opinion: "If migrants cannot be discouraged from coming here in the first place then our immigration control policies should be crafted in ways that diminish incentives for settling permanently" (p. 196). How does this blunt political statement fit into the scientific context of the book? The editors would have well done to review this sentence carefully as it might easily fuel controversy.

What are the lessons to be learned from these experiences? There are three major unintended migration policy effects that can be observed according to the editors in their conclusive remarks at the end of the volume. First, it is the sending governments economic behavior that worsens exit migration (276); second, increased border control is not likely to deter migrants away from crossing borders now or in the future (p. 278); third clandestine migration leads to the formation of new networks among migrants and strengthens their human rights claims (281). With a critical undertone the study suggests that "inconsistent EU and US policies are policies which aggravate the living conditions in potential emigration regions rather than improving them" (p. 278).

Only a few points from the discussions presented can be highlighted here. One of the strengths of the book is the wealth and variety of information presented. Unfortunately only two contributions (Heck, Assopgoum) trace the individual

journeys and personal accounts of migrants in detail. All the other contributions focus on official policies, political and legal frameworks, and technical procedures. That being said, the chapter by Assopgoum is of particular interest because it stresses the personal challenges migrants face such as family pressure to succeed abroad (p. 92) or the pressure of an education system which puts too much focus on producing academic elites (p. 93).

One would have wished for a more in-depth discussion of the central migrant claim for human rights. The study mentions the human rights dimension of irregular migration only briefly on the sidelines (p. 12, p. 282). There can, for example, be no doubt that despite tighter laws and higher deportation and casualty numbers, the legal position of irregular migrants in the US has seen legal improvements over time. Despite a poor US economy, President Obama has decided to make lives easier for separated family members of irregular migrants by giving them green cards according to a news report¹. The institutionalization of human rights for undocumented workers in the international UN migration convention is another example for the international efforts to strengthen the rights and position of irregular migrants. Finally, one should also not forget to mention the recent moves to make public school education for irregular migrants mandatory in some European countries and regions.

Crossing and Controlling Borders has some limitations. First, it does not fully live up to what the book title promises: tracing the impact of migration policies on the personal lives and difficult choices of migrants. Only two of the twelve contributions seek to elucidate the real life journeys of migrants. Second, it is questionable from a scientific point of view that some arguments and conclusive remarks made in the book are not supported by proof and empirical data. Third, it seems that regular and irregular migration are treated as overlapping topics in the book, an approach that is rather misleading.

Daniel Branch, Nic Cheeseman, and Leigh Gardner (eds.) *Our Turn to Eat: Politics in Kenya Since 1950* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2010)

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Our turn to Eat is an edited volume of eleven chapters including an introduction and a conclusion. Its central theme is the nation-building project in the post-colonial Kenya and the major assumption is that colonialism was destructive socially, politically as well as economically. Hence, the post-independence governments had

1 *Time Magazine*, January 2012, vol. 179, no. 3, 12.

a noble responsibility to address the long standing problems left by the outgoing colonial masters. It should be kept in mind that colonialism did not intend to develop Kenya. Instead, its grand objective was to exploit resources. In order to achieve its mission, colonialists devised several strategies among which was the "divide and rule system." This simply meant that colonialism divided Africans using ethnicity for smooth exploitation of resources.

When struggling for independence, the elites promised that after decolonization every problem could be fixed. All Kenyans should enjoy the fruits of *Uhuru* (i.e. independence). Contrary to this expectation, the post-independence leaders failed to address the problems of unity and economy thereby questioning the entire logic of national-building project. The book argues that the post-independence governments inherited the same colonial behavior and coercive apparatuses to effect consolidation of their power. In turn, this exacerbated inequality in terms of resource and power distribution. The effect of this was the politics of exclusion and division "them and us".

As can be noted, the theme of the book is simply that the national building project was by and large a failure. It observes that at the independence celebrations of 1963, most Kenyans cheered the rising of the black, red and green flag of the new Kenya nation. It really gave them hopes of a nation based on equality and peace. This was not to be the case, however, since Kenya has remained for many years a country with high levels of inequality, rampant corruption, as well as ethnic issues which culminated in the 2008 political violence. Hence the authors of this volume stress that Kenya has witnessed continuity rather than change (p. 7).

However, the book slips in a number of ways: First, it places the problems of Kenya solely on the shoulders of the internal leadership failure by the post-independence governments. This is despite the fact that the authors argue for continuity rather than change. To be sure, the book argues that:-

The reasons for shallowness of Kenyan nationalism can be identified in the final two decades of colonial rule. Then, the need to create a loyal African "middle-class" led the colonial regime to manipulate the distribution of lands, jobs, and political opportunities, to co-opt an African elite that quickly developed a distinctive interest in the preservation of the status quo (p. 6).

While I partly share this view with regards to the problem of leadership in Kenya, it is wrong to fail to question the entire essence of independence. Had the authors of this volume read works such as *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* by Walter Rodney (1972), *Third World Politics: An Introduction* by Christopher Clapham (1985) or *Imperialism and Global Political Economy* by Alex Callinicos (2009) they would have questioned, in the first place, whether Kenya and Africa at large were at some point actually independent. The clear theme in these works is that capitalism

at the phase of imperialism was and remains a driving engine of exploiting the less developed parts of the world. Thus, what actually happened at independence was simply a change in the form of domination while the content of colonialism has persisted. It is for that reason some scholars would argue that it was simply "flag independence." A balanced view is therefore to analyze Kenya from both internal and external perspectives of continuity.

Second, the book links the occurrences of ethnic problems to multiparty politics. It contends "At the same time, the localized development of political parties fostered inter-group competition and increased the salience of ethnic identities (p.6-7)." I find this strange. Tanzania, unlike Kenya, has about 123 tribes. The country practices multiparty democracy and yet it has the least ethnic issues in Africa. The Afrobarometer survey of 2009 indicates that about 88% of Tanzanians identify themselves first as Tanzanians before any other attributes such as tribal affiliation. Based on this case, I find ethnicity is not an outcome of multiparty politics.

Third, throughout this volume, the term "democracy" is treated as given and that every society should abide with its principles. There is an agreement among scholars that this term is elusive. I know that this omission is informed by the Western domination of the understanding of democracy and that some scholars, such as Juan Linz, have gone so far to suggest that "liberal democracy is the only game in town" (Juan Linz 1990). Hence, the use of democracy needs to be specified. It is by doing so that one would be in a position to assess its feasibility in Africa. On the other hand, it raises an important question as to whether democracy is exportable. If yes, then one would like to know the interests of the exporters; how the recipients react; and how it is sustainable. It is interesting to note that the introduction of liberal democracy in Africa by the Western countries and institutions like in any other countries in the so called the Third World, was compounded by double standards; in some cases aid to those countries was attached with conditions to democratize while in others authoritarian regimes were allowed to exist so long they served the interests of the West (p. 237-9). The military invasions and sanctioning of Iraq, Zimbabwe, Libya and the like is grounded on the quest by the Western powers of resources such as oil and land. All these are justified under the name of "democracy."

Fourth, the book lacks a guiding theory. This is also the case with all chapters. Theoretical and conceptual framework for a volume like this is important in order to situate the case into wider knowledge; in this way it makes the book solid and scholarly. As it stands now, the book is so specific to the extent that it is limited to understand other cases in Africa or beyond with the same experiences. Despite the mentioned shortcomings, this volume may be useful to students of politics, corruption, as well as African studies.

Brad K. Blitz and Maureen Lynch (eds.), *Statelessness and Citizenship. A Comparative Study on the Benefits of Nationality* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2011)

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Imagine being denied access to primary and secondary education. Imagine being unable to ever work legally, to own property or get married. Imagine having difficulties entering a hospital and getting treatment. Imagine it being impossible for you to open a bank account and having no chance of receiving a pension. Imagine being unable to lodge a complaint if robbed or raped, and furthermore, sometimes being the victim at the hands of the police. This is the harsh reality for more than 12 million people around the world who are stateless². Although prohibited under international instruments, statelessness continues to be a corrosive condition that affects almost every aspect of many people's lives. Caused by political restructuring, various forms of discrimination, technical failings such as conflicting laws, lack of documentation such as birth certificates, and/or the ceasing of statehood, statelessness is an important issue that affects and challenges some of the central aspects of international law and human rights discourse.

Statelessness and Citizenship edited by Brad K. Blitz and Maureen Lynch presents itself as an important addition to this topic. It embraces the topic of statelessness from a historical perspective and presents it on a very personal level, incorporating numerous individual accounts, as opposed to the majority of related works, which have treated the issue abstractly, as part of international human rights law. The authors of the book fill in a gap in literature with their work by exploring not only the issue of statelessness, but of the importance of having a nationality and in such a way having access to identification documents and their importance in the every day life. They question whether having a citizenship truly makes a difference and to what degree basic human rights are currently enjoyed by the formerly stateless people.

It is possible to divide the volume into three thematic sections, with Chapter One serving as an introduction to the topic and the book itself. What can be identified as the book's first section, composed of Chapter Two, is a "critical review of the development of international law and the establishment of human rights instruments to prevent and reduce statelessness, followed by an analysis of the gaps in the international legal framework relating to the protection of stateless people" (pp.20). The second section is formed of the volume's eight country case studies – Kenya, Slovenia, Sri Lanka, Ukraine, Bangladesh, Mauritania, Estonia and Kuwait

(and neighboring Gulf countries) – in Chapters Three through Ten respectively. The chapters in this section are largely based on semi-structured interviews conducted with formerly stateless people, with a small number of policy and human rights experts, and with representatives of social services organizations in the respective countries. The selection of the eight countries for the case studies was based on a “set of diverse illustrations of the sites where both domestic and geo-political considerations have shaped national policies regarding the granting of citizenship to non-citizens” (p.19). The book’s final section can be read as an evaluation of the benefits of citizenship. Chapter Eleven offers a summary, comparison and evaluation of the eight country cases, drawing parallels between them. Chapter Twelve, the Epilogue, however, offers concrete recommendations to combat the ill treatment of non-citizens, arbitrary citizenship deprivation and denial, and statelessness, so as to ensure that the basic human right to nationality and the associated social and economic rights are enjoyed by all.

It is the last chapter that distinguishes the book amongst others, making it not merely a volume outlining the hardships faced by the formerly stateless, but providing steps that must be taken to end the ongoing situation. In such a way the book effectively seizes being only a manual for students or researchers of the topic, and broadens the spectrum of potential readers to include professionals working in the field of human rights, both in governmental and non governmental sectors. Through case studies of countries taking steps to deal with the issues of statelessness the authors provide an example of what to (not) do when dealing with the problem, and uncover that sometimes the ‘success stories’ are not always successful in every aspect and have yet a number of issues to deal with. However, it is important to keep in mind that this book’s central focus is not on describing the pressing needs of the stateless and their daily struggles; its purpose is not to raise awareness. It sets as its goal to focus on nationality and the potential benefits of gaining it, as well as its problems. As all these are overlapping issues, the author’s rarely make a clear distinction between the two and on occasion the focus shifts between them, albeit unintentionally. The work is also entirely qualitative. It lacks statistics and their consequent analysis. Although the presented case studies are valuable as they are, it would be beneficial to incorporate a few tables or graphs to help the reader visualize the greater scope of the issues at hand.

The authors’ threefold solution is perhaps one of the book’s most outstanding merits. The authors do not merely point to a problem, they also suggest a way of solving it. It includes firstly, the improvement of documentation and an increase in public awareness; secondly, institutional reform; thirdly, the clarification of legal norms related to citizenship; and finally, the enforcement of legal norms. The goal and the central objective of these steps is to “transform public understanding so as to render politically unacceptable the abuse of non-citizens and arbitrary denial and deprivation of citizenship” (p. 211).

These steps are more than welcome in today's world as the legal action previously taken has continued to fall short of what is needed to fully implement the Universal Declaration of Human Right of 1948, which states that every human being is entitled to a nationality. Statelessness still leaves them, albeit to varying degrees, excluded. They are the people who must struggle everyday for their voices to be heard, for their rights to be granted. They are more often than not unable to claim the services that only states can provide. They, by definition, belong to no state at all, yet if they all belonged to one nation, it would be one as large as Greece. They are our world's growing population of stateless people with no citizenship rights. One must hope that the world hears more and more about them and that their struggles end with the receiving of formal citizenship in the near future. *Statelessness and Citizenship* truly is a book that takes us a step closer to a possible solution. It is an important, well written and memorable read for anyone concerned with current global problems.

Graeme R. Robertson, *The Politics of Protest in Hybrid Regimes: Managing Dissent in Post-Communist Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

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Is it possible to call a regime that features political campaigns or the ritual of succession through election as democratic? Ever since the collapse of the Soviet Union the world is seeing arrangements that are between "liberal" and "authoritarian" systems. Whether or not election suffices in democracy the answers will be negative. When a political landscape is saturated by interest people will protest and there would be counter protest. These are the issues Graeme R. Robertson's *The Politics of Protest in Hybrid Regimes* purport to analyze in Russian politics.

Robertson is concerned with "hybrid regimes," and he presents a "field work" on Russia. He attempts to tackle the question of protest in Russia especially in recent memory. Will it be that elections are manipulated by elites just "to stay in office"? People have learned to declare their views openly since the end of the Cold War. To Robertson, "protest in the street" has been at least as important as elections in determining the fate of governments" (p. 1). Governments have been brought down and leaders made to change tactics and policies. There is politics behind protest and that is what the author wants his readers to accept.

This is the crux of Robertson's reflections in Russia under Putin. What justifies his assertion is his case study of repressive Russia even though it is seen speaking the

"language of liberal democracy," albeit "without adopting its practices" (p. 4). For Robertson, to guide their legitimacy against protest by aggrieved citizens which, if left unchecked, will undermine their thrones, politicians in hybrid regimes "experiment with new institutional and organisational strategies to manage and contain competition" (p. 4). This, the author adds is what makes distinction between Yeltsin and Putin's "weak democracy".

Much of the book is devoted to making readers understand protest in politics. It is interesting the author sees protest in democracy as "integral part"; hence, this is why autocracies try always to ban it citing Burma where it is often criminalised (p. 20). This has also been the case in the former Soviet Union as Robertson asserts (p. 21). He indicates that protest in hybrid regimes should be seen as "opportunity" when the democratisation process in the post-Communist states of Europe began to take shape (p. 23). But still they do not open up to allow democracy to become entrenched (p. 26). When people are pushed to the wall they react. So Robertson argues that Russians are not "patient" (p. 41). Why do they react? They protest as a result of bad economy in the second half of the 1990s. No doubt the very reason why Russians began protesting due to new freedoms found with the death of Soviet. It should be agreed that they did so out of frustration. Interestingly Robertson provides the connection between Russians' frustrations with freedoms that have failed to advance "lives" (p. 41).

Another interesting thing about the book is that Robertson talks about the role played by miners in the protest which led to the "disintegration" of the USSR. It was the same miners that are reacting to checkmate Russia's excesses nowadays (p. 73). This is not an empty assertion as workers still play a significant role toward the betterment of the Russian society though not under any ideology. Robertson elaborates on the reason why Yeltsin's second term saw numerous protests under the premiership of Evgenii Primakov (p. 101). Many companies were closed down due to the bad economic climate in Russia. This will obviously threatens livelihood to make people protest (p. 105).

Robertson also offers explanations as to why protests declined in the later part of Yeltsin's years. This is the tactic the author says leaders adopt through "incentives" to support or limit protest. The author never offers reason as to the elevation of Putin to the presidency. It is arguably the case of having someone with knowledge of power shaped by an intelligence capability. This is what Putin still employs, as Robertson cites as the brain behind Putin's ability to control Russia. Readers will agree with the author here that Putin has been lucky to effectively use the regional governors who have to flocked to support his bid for leadership when they realised Putin would become the next president after Yeltsin (p. 125). This is perhaps the greatest analysis Robertson tendered in his book. It is not surprising that governors would wield influence in the polity of a federal state like Russia. We see how Putin

brought his assets from the former KGB to play the politics of his time (p. 133). This is likely to bring any opposition into submission as it has been the main weapon in the hands of leaders who struggle to survive. No doubt Putin's strategy works well. However the author left a vacuum on what the opposition may use to survive this onslaught from Putin. Robertson offers a point why "Putin became a household name". This is seen when opposition is neutralized (p. 147).

In the last chapters, Robertson argues that, due to legitimacy problems, hybrids are "at risk from changes in the streets" because they are at least more "open" than authoritarian states and they have methods for channelling discontent (p. 172). Robertson says that this regime uses censorship and restrictions but tactfully through social networks and independent media. They may even draw from the old methods where necessary as he brings Putin's use of "special units," such as the OSMON, to repress discontent (p. 174). The media is seen as collaborators who make distinction between trouble makers and instigators (p. 179). Robertson should have informed readers unequivocally about the influence of Putin's government on Russian media.

The Kremlin, for Robertson, has worked to create a system that gives the administration "broad discretion" over groups to allow them to operate on the political landscape. On this, the author provides a sound proof in the Federal Law No. 18-F2 that came to "clean-up" the NGOs (p. 192). But the problem here, if any, is what of other laws that are being used to improve support for the regime?

Robertson explores the factors that might have helped Putin to preside over "apparent social peace," supported by submissive organisations and economic expansion despite the "opposition" (p. 198). Here the author tells of Putin's survival tactics. Robertson claims that the regime has avoided "censorship and political restrictions," what you may call divide and rule (p. 199). But would this solve the problem in the streets? The author hints, negatively, as "unrest in the streets" lingers on (p. 199).

If protest is seen as important as elections to democracy or any change of government, as Robertson would want readers to accept, it can be understood that protesters are influenced by "intra-elite politics" (p. 208). We might add a comment the author failed to raise. It is easy to see clear who else is behind the destabilisation of Russia. Fingers of course are being pinpointed at agents from other foreign countries. Whatever maybe the case if there is any weakness in Robertson's book, this is it. Is there external influence in protests in Russia? Robertson should have said so. One thing that I agree is the claim by Robertson that "electoral revolutions" cannot democratise countries and it will not happen soon in Russia either (p. 212). Both election and protest are birds of a feather. It may sound bizarre but realistically elections are manipulated by the same elites that manoeuvre to see people in the

streets. Roberson has analysed contemporary Russian politics and the men behind the power play as such his book is a must read for its exposition of Russia's "hybrid regime".

Ursula van Beek and Edmund Wnuk-Lipinski (eds.), *Democracy under Stress: The Global Crisis and Beyond* (Berlin & Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich, 2012)

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Every regime is based on some form of redistribution and its very existence is somehow determined by its ability to cope with the developments of its economical base. In many cases the establishment of non-democratic regimes early in the first part of the last century was determined by the great crisis of 1929 followed by a combination of an inability of the structure of the state and its actors to resist the authoritarian prospective.

In the last year researchers in the field of democratization have undertaken efforts to cope with the emergency of the recent economic crisis and its effect on democracy, democratic regimes and new democracies. Part of evidence on democratic theory and democratization has stressed particularly on the direct link between economic condition and the solidity/fragility of democratic regimes (Berg-Schlosser 2002; Huntington 1992 Linz and Stephan 1996). Political scientists who have dealt with the transition to and consolidation of democratic regimes have argued that consolidated democratic regimes are more prone to resist to economic distress (Berg-Schlosser 2002) than authoritarian or totalitarian ones, not considering the fact that economic crisis has been also one of the key determinants to transition (Huntington 1992).

This book offers a perspective on how economic crisis and economic development can affect political regimes and how they respond to the economic and social challenges posed. The authors of the volume explain the necessity of such reflections in the light of not only of the economic crisis but also in the light of turmoil and the political consequences that follow. The volume gathers contribution based on various experiences, each describing regional or local contexts during an economic crisis. The first part offers two general perspectives, one concentrating on the history of financial crisis and its consequences on policy making authored by Stan du Plessis, and the other on the historical aspect of the crisis and the impact of the Great Depression on democracy.

The article from Berg-Schlosser tries to compare the current crisis with the Great Depression. The author suggests that consolidated democracies are less threatened

by the current crisis because the effects produced in 1929 were far more deeper than the ones produced after 2008 (p. 57). Their consolidation provides the internal strength to resist any other attempt to transfer the crisis to a political level, calling into question the nature of democratic regimes. According to Berg-Schlosser, on the other hand, there are similarities between the economic situation of the interwar period and that of new democracies but with a substantial difference. The international situation today is such that it does not put democracies to risk. The author provides another argument by which, due to the confinement of the crisis to the Western World, autocratic and economically successful countries like China or Russia might provide a valid economic and political model for emerging countries.

The third part of the book contains three contributions from Van Beek, Wnuk-Lipinski and a co-authored article from Han Sang-Jin and Lü Peng. All the authors focus on probably the most relevant case, that of China, while analyzing regime-economy performance. Van Beek offers a historical perspective on China and its global economic weight prior to the full blossom of industrial age. Rather than trying to analyze the country as a case of an autocratic regime with a free market economy, the author tends to consider the historical past of China as a formidable tool of legitimacy for the current regime. Van Beek stresses not only the missing variable of accountability (typical of a democratic regime) as an explanatory factor for China's economic success but also the general philosophy and tradition of the country's ruling class, based in practice rather than in ideological dogmatism (p. 132). In the conclusion, the author picks up the idea of China's aim to become a more regional player rather than a global one. To the author, the Chinese model might become an alternative for those countries dissatisfied with the liberal democratic model. This, however, does not necessarily imply that China will take a more prominent international role apart the regional one dictated by cultural similarities shared by the countries in the area. Wnuk-Lipinski's contribution depicts a rather gloomy situation, taking into account the reformulation of a new world order based on the economic weight of two leading economies like China and the U.S. He suggests, in the same fashion as Van Beek, but with a more global perspective (p. 149), that China might become a trend setter not only in economic terms but also in providing a sort of political model for other countries.

The contribution from Sang Jing and Peng focuses on the salient characteristics of crisis management by the Chinese government. This contribution explores the neo-Keynesian approach undertaken by the Chinese government in order to cope with the economic crisis. The article stresses on the idea that authoritarian governments are more susceptible to economic crisis and their performance is closely linked with economic success. According to the authors the threat to the current Chinese regime lies in its very success: the booming economy. Sang Jing and Peng maintain that there will be a point when China's growth cycle will come to an end, leading to

a re-arrangement of current political structure. The authors do not make any prediction on how such changes might take place.

The economic crisis has been and continues to be a hot topic within the field of social studies. Yet even if various aspects of the crisis and its implication on democracy are fully dealt with in the volume, the authoritarian response seems to fail some how in providing a generally valid explanation on why authoritarian regimes survive today. This is probably the most interesting part of the book but it focuses only in one prominent case, that of China. The other 'successful' authoritarian case, Russia, is not present, while other authoritarian regimes like Venezuela are barely mentioned. Of course, the authoritarian structures of Russia, China or Venezuela are very different in form and quality, but at least one or two more cases would have strengthened the nature of the volume on the authoritarian response to the crisis. On the other hand, the volume (as mentioned by the editor) seems to have gone to publication while various event, like the massive protests in Greece or the Arab Spring, were taking place. Both events, if analyzed, could have given a more general picture on influence of the crisis on both democratic and authoritarian regimes. The volume has been diminished in its value due mainly to the rapid sequence change of events

The volume remains an interesting contribution in the field of political economy. It confronts and analyses different kind of approaches to the crisis by liberal democracies and autocratic regimes. The book stresses, the idea, that new democracies faces a lower risk today concerning their political stability than autocratic regimes during major economic crisis.

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Susanne Schroter (ed.), *Christianity in Indonesia: Perspectives of Power* (Munster: LIT Verlag, 2011)

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Christianity in Indonesia is a collection of essays which cover the multicultural and multi religious nation of Indonesia. Although governed by the state doctrine of

Pancasila, Christians in this Muslim majority nation have indigenized their religion and made a significant impact on contemporary Indonesian politics.

The implicit argument set forth by Schroter is, that in spite of the numerous academic initiatives which seek to promote the study of Christianity from an anthropological standpoint, the study of Christianity should not be restricted to a single academic discipline. *Christianity in Indonesia* instead takes a multidisciplinary approach when covering the historical establishment of, and the current day social influence of Christianity in the multi ethnic and multi religious, nation of Indonesia.

The book consists of a dozen academic essays which are organized into two major categorical headings. The first category covers the introduction of Christianity into the archipelago by Christian missionaries. The second category deals with local conflicts, religious rhetoric and the practice of religious and ethnic pluralism in Indonesia. The historical and geographical scope includes modern day Indonesia as well as historical Malaysia under Dutch and Portuguese rule. The first section covers the Dutch Colonial Christian Organizations including the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagni, East India Company, Dutch Bible Society, the Catholic Church, Methodist Publishing House, and the Indonesian Council of Churches. The second section deals with indigenous groups such as the Ngada of Central Flores, conflicting groups such as Laskar Kristus, FKAWJ, FPI, and the Protestant Masariku Network. Specific geographic regions covered include Flores, East Timor, Ambon and the Moluccas.

Although the majority of the contributors are writing from an anthropological background there are also contributions from scholars in the field of philosophy, political science, theology and South East Asian studies. *Christianity in Indonesia* is a valuable asset for scholars conducting area studies in the fields of history and international relations.

Schroter does an excellent job in covering the history of Christian missionary activities and their integration with the Dutch Colonial government. An integration which has been the source of ambivalence that many political groups harbor today in "a Muslim majority nation have towards the state apparatus perceived as 'Javanese' and 'Muslim'" (p. 9).

The challenges in this book can be relegated to challenges one can expect in any attempt to reconcile multiple academic paradigms within a monograph. These challenges, however, do not pose a significant challenge to the overall integrity of the work. A standardization of rules, concepts and definitions would facilitate the

readers' understanding of the key topics that need to be elaborated upon in order to properly navigate this work.

For instance when we analyze Crauchler's essay from a theological standpoint it sheds uncertainty on the Masariku source which claimed, that during the Moluccan conflict their opponents were guilty of writing "anti-Christian" graffiti which purportedly labeled Jesus Christ as being a son of a pig (p. 215). A theologian would recognize that defamation of Jesus Christ is a practice which is actually contrary to core beliefs of the Muslim groups who were accused of committing the act.

On p. 283 in Lorrain Aragon's essay "Relatives and Rivals in Central Sulawesi," Aragon states that "The (*Sulawesi Highlanders*) aversion to their (*pig*) meat derives from a Middle Eastern, not a Southeast Asian, cultural tradition." This statement ignores the religious dimension of why South East Asian Muslims may have an aversion to pork and states it simply as a cultural preference. Many Hui Muslims of Western China also have an aversion toward pork consumption regardless of the fact that they live as minorities among the Han Chinese, who have favored pork as a basic source of protein for centuries. A theological analysis would accurately conclude that such aversion finds its origins in religious prohibitions rather than the imitation of Middle Eastern cultural norms.

Dieter Bartels essay "The Evolution of God in the Spice Islands," deals with the topic of Indigenization of Islam mainly as accomplished through the acceptance of local adat. A distinction should be made, which defines accommodation of cultural practices within the framework of Islamic orthodoxy versus abandonment of orthodoxy. Without this distinction a reader who is less versed in the tenets of Islamic doctrine and particularities of Indonesian cultural practices may falsely conclude that the indigenization of an adopted religion can be only be achieved through the abandonment of the central tenets of that religion.

Overall Christianity in Indonesia is an excellent resource for anthropologist, historians, and political scientists who are in need of an in depth understanding of the issues religious minorities face within a multicultural and multiethnic nation state. The various essays represented in this work provide a framework in which the reader can study the historical role Christians have played in the development of the Indonesian Republic. Continual study of such developments may provide a great insight towards the future development of Christianity throughout the archipelago.

Jean-Claude Piris, *The Lisbon Treaty. A Legal and Political Analysis* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010)

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Jean-Claude Piris' book focuses, as the title suggests, on a two-sided analysis (legal and political) of the Lisbon Treaty. It is an exquisite mixture of information and academic analyses of the Lisbon Treaty. Piris is deeply involved in the European Union having held positions such as Legal Counsel of the European Council. Therefore, his work is consistently imbued with technical aspects and specific details on any issue pertaining to the EU.

The book consists of eight chapters, framed by an introduction and a conclusion, the latter followed by useful appendices. The volume opens strategically with a foreword by the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel. The choice of the Chancellor and her piece were inspired as they point precisely to the improvements and the importance of the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. Such an introduction, in the form of a foreword entices the reader into looking forward to read the book and become aware of the extent to which the new Treaty has improved the European Union, as Merkel suggests in her half page statement.

In the introduction, Piris tries to define Europe from a few points of view: religiously, geographically, and historically. Apart from this, it is here where he sets his goal: to offer an overview of the Lisbon Treaty, explain its elements from a legal point of view and also place them in a historical and political context.

This is a useful handbook for those studying Community Law or the EU related topics, both professors and students. However, its high degree of technical terms and its very precise manner of analysis can deter the layman from reading it. The aspect of a University Handbook is strengthened even more by the boxes inserted in the text which the author uses to introduce extracts from documents. These are used as examples to support a statement or just to add more colour to strictly academic material. The book is rich in examples, resulting in almost all statements being supported by accurate practical evidence. It is definitely a text written for specialists in the EU affairs. Nevertheless, the work has numerous footnotes which explain in detail all aspects which might need further clarification. The conclusion is made up of a series of questions the author intends to reply to, in order to better set the scene of the Lisbon Treaty, and to attempt a series of predictions concerning its evolution. The conclusion appears to be an excellent summary both of the book itself, as well as of the provisions of the Lisbon Treaty. This part is highly clear and precise.

As far as the organization of the work is concerned, the author takes a specific topic and before analyzing it he places it in a context. For example, presenting the state of affairs as regulated in the past, then in the Constitutional Treaty, and finally in the Lisbon Treaty.

The author vividly describes the process leading the EU from the Constitutional Treaty to the Lisbon Treaty, carefully highlighting the fact that the latter is not an improved and concise version of the former, but a new document adapted to the current needs of the Union. As a matter of fact the book draws a constant comparison between the Constitutional Treaty and the Lisbon Treaty, an action which appears redundant sometimes.

What makes the book rather interactive and attractive to the reader is the fact that Piris takes highly debatable issues such as the decisions of the Constitutional Courts of Germany and the Czech Republic, for instance, and questions them. Sometimes answers are provided; sometimes questions are left unanswered, as food for thought for the reader. This tends to be a characteristic feature of the book – raising questions on the future of the European Union, based on the effects of the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty, but refraining from making assumptions and predictions. These are left to the reader who is entrusted with all the elements they need to make just the right connection.

Another asset of this book is the fact that the author knows how to stress the important issues. Take for instance the manner of shared competences: Piris underlines the areas in which progress occurred and where it was stalled. From this point of view, the writing of Piris is well -balanced: he praises progress when it occurred and criticizes the failures. Although Piris is an advocate of the European project overall, he remains realistic with regards to the drawbacks of the Lisbon Treaty, which he also implacably mentions.

Moreover, the appendices are useful for those interested in analyzing precisely the modifications brought along by the Lisbon Treaty. They are organized in an index form, with the number of the article and its provisions alongside, so that those readers interested in specific matters do not have to go through the entire Treaty or look for a specific chapter of the Treaty in order to get the required information.

A shortcoming of the book is the absence of issue coverage when speaking about financial, economic, social and other internal affairs. Certain domains such as sport, culture, youth training, space, public health, or rights of intellectual property have been neglected. They have all been assembled in the last chapter and offered short presentations, barely one-page long. It was to be expected that in such a grand work some aspects would inevitably be left aside from the centre of attention, but in

the present case, a better usage of the space allotted to the topic is strongly recommended.

The book is written in a light manner, absent of a pompous style, contrary to what the reader would expect from such a work. Even if the choice of words is very technical, the book is easy to read by the persons knowledgeable on the matter, very explicit in some aspects, where needed, full of useful examples and footnotes to guide the reader to further explanations. From the point of view of the structure, the book is well organized, each chapter referring to individualized matters, accompanied by sufficient examples and explanations that rule out any possible after-reading dilemmas.

Taking everything into consideration, Piris' work is exceptional regarding the modifications introduced by the Lisbon Treaty to the European Union. It is comprehensive, has a neutral tone, the argument is well-balanced and well documented. It is a work strongly recommended to those professionals interested in any aspects related to the European Union, as well as to those interested in precise matters, looking for answers or simply an authorized opinion on the matter. Nevertheless, owing to the extent of explanatory footnotes and appendices, the book might be suitable for the layman interested in the changes introduced by the Lisbon Treaty, too.

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