

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

Lina Klymenko  
University of Eastern Finland

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)**

Patrick Hein  
Meiji University

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 report<sup>1</sup>. 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)**

Alexander B. Makulilo  
University of Dar es Salaam

*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

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