

opment. Nor is the participants' position on how to achieve this very clear. Aleksander Surdej, in the first chapter to the volume, maintains that we now live in a post-industrial era, which has 'brought an end to development policy ideas according to which successful local development depends upon region's capacity to attract large-scale public or private investments' (p. 38). He recommends focusing on the development of internal networks and less tangible assets such as trust, loyalty, and identity. The empirical reality of the ECE, however, seems to suggest the opposite: data by Gorzelak show that the 'winner' regions, i.e. those that succeeded in utilising their assets for development, are the re-industrialised ones, or, as Pavlínek clearly shows, those that did succeed in attracting large-scale private and public investment – of the right kind.

Part of the reason that these important debates are marginalised in the volume is that, in spite of its title, the main level of analysis remains the nation. We get to learn very little about the strategies of particular localities, and the ways in which they compare across national boundaries, or, for that matter, to what extent the concerns outlined above – equality and growth, administrative reform and migration – are commonly shared across the region or are just Romanian, Hungarian or Croatian idiosyncrasies. Indeed, it is never made clear why – apart from the general dearth of literature on this area – the issues of regional development in the new member states are of particular importance. What is most striking is that on the few occasions that the authors do make explicit comparisons with the 'old' Europe, we find out that the differences are in fact not that relevant or, where there are important distinctions to be made, that, as Huber notes, they do not always run along the East-West divide (p. 149).

Overall, while there is much to be said of the merits of the individual contributions, the volume as a whole could have

profited from a more disciplined focus on particular themes. The controversy of growth and competitiveness versus balance and redistribution is only one possibility. Some of the contributions in this volume pose truly poignant questions that could shake up many of the assumptions in our current understanding of local development. Is local development really best served on the local level? What is the value of manufacturing investments in our 'post-industrial society'? Is investment in general skills and education always valuable in its own right, or, as Ioniță and Pavlínek has suggested, can it also be misdirected or even a waste of resources? In this volume, these centrally important issues figure as marginal discussions or afterthoughts, but they are still what leaves the most lasting impression on the reader. We can only hope that at least some of the authors will choose to pursue them further in the future.

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**Hana Hašková and Zuzana Uhde (eds.):
*Women and Social Citizenship in Czech Society: Continuity and Change.***

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Academy of Sciences of the Czech
Republic, 245 pp.

This book represents a comprehensive analysis of women's status within Czech society, spanning from the late 1940s to the present. The categories for analysis are viewed through the lens of 'citizenship', defined in the Preface by Hana Hašková and Zuzana Uhde as, 'rights and responsibilities, as a route to political and economic participation, social security, and cultural integration' (p. 9). It is important to recognise this analysis of women is constructed mainly in regards to social citizenship. This

book's research began in 2007 based on the research project 'FEMCIT: Gendered Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: The Impact of the Contemporary Women's Movements'. This book is assigned one dimension (social citizenship) of the entire framework for women's 'citizenship' in the Czech Republic (other dimensions include political, economic, ethnic, bodily, and intimate citizenship). The book determines the state of women's social citizenship by assessing their capacity to engage in social and institutional systems, the degree to which this capacity is filled, and the extent to which women have the choice to share these services and responsibilities equally with men.

All six chapters focus on the most prominent events, partitioned chronologically, pertaining to women's historical and contemporary roles within Czech society. The research is centred upon the years subsequent to the Communist Party coup d'état in 1948 to the present with particular emphasis on the transition after the fall of communism in 1989. A historical framework of Communist influence is centred upon women's roles in: the labour market, domestic sphere, parent assistance and childcare facilities, lone-parent families and women within other marginalised groups such as the Roma population. The start of Communism and the fall of Communism are pivotal points in Czech history, which destroyed and reconstructed the entire infrastructure of the country, consequently redefining the implicit social roles for women within Czech society.

The transition from state-socialism to a market economy has had mixed results in regards to the financial and social advancement of women. The issues regarding women in the labour market are explored in Chapter 2 written by Alena Křížková and Marta Vohlídalová. Under post-communist law, women are no longer guaranteed employment. A privatised economy augmented sex discrimination practices on the premise that the biological nature of a

woman's reproductive capabilities placed women at a disadvantage for obtaining employment due to the ever-present possibility of having children. Even though motherhood negatively affects employment rates throughout the entire twenty-seven countries of the EU, in the Czech Republic, the review suggests that motherhood has the greatest negative impact on employment (p. 64). The discrepancy between mothers with and without children under the age of six is exemplified in a 2006 comparison which demonstrated that Czech women between the ages of 20 and 50 without young children were 40.5 percentage points more likely to be employed than a mother of similar age who is responsible for a child under the age of six. The 2006 average for all EU member countries was at 13.6 percentage points, indicating that mothers with young children in the rest of the EU have a significantly greater chance of being employed than in the Czech Republic (p. 64). These statistics corroborate the book's argument that Czech women with young children face a recent struggle to secure employment within the market economy. These challenges are further exacerbated by the shift from public childcare under the Communist regime, to that of privatised childcare, which requires women holding a job to also pay for childcare. Chapter 3, co-authored by Hana Hašková, Hana Maříková and Zuzana Uhde provides information regarding leaves of absence, allowances, childcare, and other types of financial assistance for families.

One disadvantage that can perpetuate financial instability is the issue of lone-parenting. In Chapter 4, Radka Dudová shows that in 2001, 13.5% of families were lone-parent families. Of this 13.5%, 8% were with dependent children while 5.5% were without dependent children ('dependent' defined by the 2001 census as an 'economically inactive child under the age of 26') (p. 137). Lone-parent families have the disadvantage of subsisting on only one source of

income, which means a greater struggle to support the family, let alone save money. Dudová argues that female lone-parents in the post-communist market economy experience not only gender discrimination in the job market but also discrimination based on marital status. The book uses financial statistics to suggest that employers view lone-parents as less desirable employees than a parent from two-parent families because the former bear full parenting responsibility, which can hinder their work availability when faced with family emergencies. Approximately 16.4% of the lone-parent families that live alone with their child/children live below the 'subsistence minimum' (p. 156). In addition, lone-parents constitute 43% of the poorest 10% of the Czech population. Lone-parent families, especially those headed by women, supplement their work with a second form of employment, which they can perform at home in the evenings. Even though a loneparent is working two jobs in order to support the family, there is a 24% wage gap between the income of lone-parent families and the income of two-parent families (p. 162). This disadvantage disproportionately affects women because, as of 2005, 88% of women head lone-parent families (p. 157). Previously, there were provisions that benefited lone-parent families, currently, however, lone-parent families are without adequate social benefits. Even though lone-parents are afforded the same social benefits as two-parent families these social benefits are insufficient for the challenges lone-parents encounter. For example, lone-parents, like two-parent families, have access to formal childcare institutions, however, lone-parents struggle to have their work schedule and the hours of access to childcare coincide. Lone-parents do not have the flexibility needed to accommodate rigid childcare schedules like two-parent families do. For lone-parents who are unable to find employment and must rely on welfare, it is difficult to support a family since welfare provides insufficient funds. The situation

most lone-parents face is that they can face job discrimination while searching for employment with specific work hours to accommodate childcare, work two jobs in order to adequately support the family, or if they do not work they receive insufficient welfare funds needed to raise their children. In both circumstances, lone-parents, and therefore most commonly women, face perpetual economic insecurity.

The Roma population is another marginalised group where women struggle disproportionately for financial stability. The fall of Communism changed the entire dynamic of the labour force, especially when the policy of full employment was terminated after 1989. This change detrimentally impacted the Roma population, which is the largest minority in the Czech Republic representing 1.46% of the population (p. 172). The shift to a market economy established a competitive market in which unemployment for some was inevitable. Pay was distributed more favourably to skilled labourers. There is a vast difference in the employment rates for those of the Roma population in comparison to that of the Czech population (to a lesser extent this trend was apparent under communism as well). For example, according to a 2002 study, 44% of Roma men and just 19.1% of Roma women were employed, compared to 63.7% for Czech men and 50.3% for Czech women generally. There are many confounding factors to why the Roma population, especially women, constitute a disproportionately large portion of the unemployment pool. The book attributes many of these factors to a cycle of social, political, and civic exclusion, as well as an inadequate educational trajectory. For instance, a 2005 study demonstrated that approximately three-quarters of Roma women discontinue their education post elementary school.

Due to short educational trajectories and a cultural emphasis on the importance of fertility in the Roma population, Roma

women get married at a younger age than the general Czech population. Additionally, Roma families, on average, consist of 5 children per family, whereas the majority population has half this at 2.17 children per family. Roma men, and especially Roma women, heavily rely on state social benefits and maternity leave for financial support. Frequently, Roma women's financial subsistence is contingent on social benefits, and since this is too low to support a family with children, the children are taken away and placed into institutional foster care. The vicious cycle of social exclusion prevents the Roma population, especially women, from fully participating in the political and civic activities of the Czech Republic. The chapter demonstrates that researching Roma women as a category of analysis is an arduous task due to the two layers of discrimination (being Roma, being a woman). This chapter is not heavily supported with statistics, especially in relation to the education of Roma women. This limitation is addressed by Kateřina Pulkrábková, who states that concepts of gender citizenship ignore Roma women. As a result of this 'invisibility', Roma women's discrimination remains latent and is therefore unrecognised as a source of vital statistical data.

Overall, the 1989 changes increased discrimination in employment based on sex, expanded the cost of childcare, and lastly increased the financial struggles of marginalised groups, such as, lone-parent families and the Roma population. The book ends with a chapter by Yana Leontyeva and Michaela Vojtková addressing the immigration of foreigners to the Czech Republic and the level of accessibility for this population to social security, health care, education, and employment. The influx of immigrants to the Czech Republic started after the fall of Communism when state borders were opened. This chapter emphasises the ways in which immigrants do not hold inalienable citizenship rights and how

they are excluded from certain aspects of Czech social systems.

This book targets issues that are also prevalent within other countries (financial independence, lone-parenting, childcare, immigration, etc.). That said, the Czech Republic has a unique set of historical, cultural, and economic factors which render the issues more complex. An outside reader may struggle to grasp a concept due to inadequate prior knowledge of terms. For example, there are no explicit definitions of parental leave and parental allowance and what differentiates them. For a reader foreign to the concept of parental allowance, the terms must explicitly be defined in order to elucidate the argument. Besides the few areas that need terminological clarification, the book provides a structured and comprehensive understanding of the societal changes in the Czech Republic that led to the implementation of certain laws and provisions that have negatively affected women. In addition to highlighting the most pressing issues affecting women's social citizenship, it provides methods and policies for Czech society to help women improve their position. For example, the book stresses the importance of men sharing in child-rearing and suggests that, in addition to paid maternity leave, there should be paid paternity leave as a strategy to equalise responsibilities between men and women.

Considering the rich historical background and statistical data it provides, *Women and Social Citizenship in Czech Society* is anything but a light read, though its message suggests that with the proper policies, an amelioration of the current situation is feasible. Above all else, the book raises awareness to the past and current state of women's social citizenship as well as presents tools that are helpful in improving equality across gender lines.

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