

(p.166). They love their homeland and view it as a "benevolent and bountiful mother", the seat of "Russian culture", or the "Russian soul". They are proud of Russia's heritage and greatness, but avoid connections between Russia and militarism or war. Like many other adolescents, they are not entirely consistent. Declaring that "The only important thing is that the person is good and the nationality does not matter" (p.164), in the next sentence they may worry about Georgians or Chechens "selling at a much higher price than anyone else" or disparagingly talk of "the Blacks" from the Caucasus. Although ambivalent, about many national and political issues, these teenagers were eager "to condemn the outmoded extremism of the communists and the frightening militaristic fascism of Zhirinovsky" (p.176).

Markowitz suggests that adolescents who have lived their entire lives in transitions, may grow to experience them "as a knobby fabric of constancy ...their cultural ballast of stability and coherence" (p.4). They may therefore proceed undisturbed with the developmental task of becoming adults. And the post-Soviet flexible reality offers them new opportunities in this quest. Interviews with pupils from the Russian-Jewish and Russian-Georgian schools in Moscow demonstrate how these schools prepare the teenagers to "navigate within and negotiate between the two groups in which they have learnt to be a person. In this borderland they can separate and melt identities as they see fit, taking and rejecting bits and pieces of each to build their own... As they reflect about their experience and plan for the future, some find that the hybridized borderland is more of a home than Russia, Israel or Georgia alone." (p.117).

As the Soviet Union before it, post-Soviet Russia remains an enigma, just like adolescence - "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose".

From Motherhood to Citizenship: Women's Rights and International Organizations.

By Nitza Berkovitch, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. 207pp.

Reviewed by: MIMI ABRAMOVITZ
Hunter College, New York

For many people globalization is a new phenomenon. And in many ways it is. However, in *From Motherhood to Citizenship*, Nitza Berkovitch artfully informs us about the transformation of the global discourse around women's issues. She takes us from 1875, with the launching of the first international crusades concerned with women's issues, to 1985 when the Third-World conference on women (Nairobi) marked the end of the United Nations Decade for Women.

Berkovitch contends that movements for women's rights were not confined to a specific country or group of countries. Rather, the twentieth century struggles "became part of women's history in many nations about the same time." (p.4) What accounts,

Berkovitch asks, for the fact that nation states tend to develop similar educational systems, welfare policies, policy-making organizations, population control policies, record keeping and data collection system in tandem? Why do nations that “are so different share a common view about such things as the women’s question?”

The numerous historical accounts of the long and often arduous struggle for women’s rights within individual countries do not answer Berkovitch’s questions. While important in their own right, these case studies “mask the similarities” (p.4) among nations that her book seeks to unveil. Drawing on institutional theory, which emphasizes the role of world culture and world polity, she argues that the international women’s agenda emerged, advanced and became institutionalized through interrelated institutional forces. She emphasizes (1) the emergence, consolidation, and increasing interconnectedness of supranational organizations such as The League of Nations, the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the United Nations (UN); (2) the growth of international women’s organizations, and (3) the expanded role of the nation-states which increasingly accepted international oversight and extended citizenship to previously peripheral groups, including women.

The chronologically organized book adopts a standard periodization. Chapter 2 covers the first international campaigns for women that occurred from the mid-19th century to the eve of World War I: suffrage, protective labor laws and prevention of the international traffic in women. Pressed by a changing political economy and the emergence of the early transnational social reform movements, the international community gingerly began to focus on social and humanitarian concerns as well as economic and political issues—which opened the door to women’s issues. In Chapter 3 we see how the League of Nations and the ILO took up the women’s crusades, but in ways that did not violate the norms regarding the autonomy of nation-states; nor did they tamper with prevailing gender relations or delegate much decision-making power to the women. Chapter 4 details the impact of the dramatic changes in the world polity that followed the War. This includes creation of the United Nations, the emergence of the human rights discourse and a new gender ideology. Chapter 5 looks at the interplay between the global discourse of development with that of women’s rights.

In the end, Berkovitch concludes that the world polity became a source of innovation for many countries. She argues that changes in the national policies for women were driven more by “world events and states’ linkages to world polity than the economic and political characteristics of individual states” (p.17). That is, during the twentieth century individual nation-states increasingly operated as subunits of an ever more integrated world social system in which wider cultural rules “socially constructed” (p.7) both social actors (e.g. states and citizens) and their actions.

In addition to wars, fluctuating economic conditions, the ebb and flow of social movements, decolonization, and other wider upheavals, Berkovitch identifies other world events that shaped women’s issues nationally and internationally. They included the emergence of a rationalized interconnected, global infrastructure; the expansion of nation-state systems with similar political structures and notions of citizenship; the increased willingness and capacity of international bodies to monitor nation-states; the greater acceptance of this guidance by individual nation states; the reconfiguration of the

international discourse from fighting against social ills to fighting for human rights, and the dichotomous rise of have and have-not nations leading to intense concerns about national development.

Applying a gender lens to institutional theory, Berkovitch brings women, their organizations, and gender ideologies into focus. The gender lens reveals the place of international women's organizations in the wider global infrastructure, their contribution to development of the international agenda, as well as its influence on them. The interactions between the women's organizations and the supranational organizations influenced the advance of women's suffrage, protective labor laws, maternity/parental leave, and equal rights for women in employment- as well as peace and other non-gendered concerns. Kept on the sidelines of the male-dominated world polity for more than fifty years, the early international efforts related to women, nonetheless, increased their visibility in the world polity. These gendered efforts also furthered the relationship between international bodies and nation-states regarding social and humanitarian issues. In the changed political climate after World War II, the women's organizations gradually moved from the margins of the international network closer to centers of power. Only after the United Nations accepted the human rights paradigm, however, did nations begin to incorporate women as full citizens.

Berkovitch also traces the impact of changes in the nature of the demands made by women's organizations. During the first half of the century both mainstream campaigns relied on highly gendered notions of womanhood - ones that constructed women as "property" of men, as "minors", or largely in relation to their reproductive roles. Indeed, the norms that governed both national and international policy defined women as a special category of persons who, along with children, needed to be protected from the harshness of the public sphere - so that they would function effectively in the home. As many other feminists have pointed out, the male bias in definitions of citizenship meant that women's access to public rights was "determined to a large degree by the association with the domestic arena", leading to "an incomplete and partial inclusion" (p. 14). Some women's movements called upon the League and the ILO to take action on behalf of the broader notion of women's equality. But the "protection" argument won the day. In this context, Berkovitch also covers the ongoing debate within the international feminist community between protection vs. equal rights - a debate that mirrored those within the individual nation-states.

In contrast to the gendered paradigm of protection, the international discourse on women after World War II yielded a new model fueled by the thinking on human rights. The focus on human rights both opened the door to the discussion of women's rights and shifted attention from women as mothers to women as individuals entitled to the rights of citizenship. This new thinking "degendered" women, defining them as persons with rights rather than a group with distinctive needs (i.e. mothers) and called for incorporating women into the public sphere, rather than protecting them from it. With this and the creation of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, individual countries began to change their national laws regarding women's rights. They enacted equal employment legislation, de-emphasized protective labor laws, moved from maternity to parental leave policies and otherwise extended citizenship to women by

legitimizing their participation in domains other than that of the family. Despite the progress, Berkovitch acknowledged that the fight for women's equality is far from over. Indeed, the prominence of the principle of equality exposed the extent of discrimination and injustice experienced by women around the world.

The social construction of women changed again in the 1970s and 1980s with increased attention to questions of national development (itself fueled by decolonization, the creation of many new nation-states and the contrast between the have and the have-not nations). Development further blurred the gendered nature of women, who came to be viewed as "valuable resources" essential for full national development. The world polity now defined women as "underutilized human resources" and sex discrimination as "economic waste". The need to maximize women's labor led the international organizations to add a "women's component" to the range of global activities. It expanded the number of government units dealing with women's issues and triggered the proliferation of women's movements of all kinds. The fusion of women with development culminated in three UN-initiated world conferences. The UN Decade for Women (1975-1985) fueled the emergence of an international network of women's organizations, and "helped to put women's issues on the agenda of nation-states to an extent not known before" (p. 139). In line with her thesis, Berkovitch argues that "a very specific set of guidelines, articulated by major global organizations was responsible for this world wide coordinated action by different nations" (p.17), that made the discourse on women an integral part of the global agenda and the laws of many lands.

Whether or not one accepts Berkovitch's emphasis on world polity as a source for major social change, the author makes the case "that history of women's rights is implicated in the history of world polity" (p. 17). This short but complex book provides extensive, important and fascinating information about presence, activities, and relationship of international women's organizations, from their beginnings to the development of national and international women's rights agendas during the 20th century. It adds significantly to what we know about our own national women's movements, reveals the world-wide power of sexism and patriarchal power structures, and recommends continued work by the global sisterhood on the international stage.

Area Studies and Social Science Strategies for Understanding Middle East Politics

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Reviewed by: JOEL PETERS

Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer-Sheva, Israel

At first glance the title and the question posed on the back cover, 'How should scholars construct knowledge about politics, economics and international relations in major world regions?' ought to make this a book with appeal to a