

question whether such a transfer is indeed what should have been expected. What has been the effect of earlier enlargements on social and labour standards in earlier new member states? Have high social standards been easily exported to Spain, Portugal or Italy? Are the recent eastward EU enlargements and the huge stylised differences between 'Western' and 'Eastern' Europe the only ones to be blamed for a failed harmonisation of social standards in the long-term perspective of the EU's development? The aim of such questions is not to undermine the argument in Meardi's book, but to stimulate further thoughts and motivate a broader empirical research agenda to uncover the complex mechanism of EU processes to *accommodate variety* across North and South, East and West, rather than being perceived as a supranational institution aiming at an unrealistic harmonisation of social and labour standards. Guglielmo Meardi's book is a highly relevant, rich and interesting starting point in this endeavour.

Marta Kahancová
Central European Labour Studies Institute,
Bratislava
marta.kahancova@celsi.sk

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Roman David: *Lustration and Transitional Justice: Personnel Systems in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland*

Philadelphia, PA, 2011: University of Pennsylvania Press, 328 pp.

Despite increased attention to lustration practices in the transitional justice literature, considerable debate remains about how and why transitional societies deal with officials who have been tainted by complicity with prior regimes. 'Personnel systems'—a term Roman David ingeniously coins to designate specific lustration policies—have so far received limited scholarly attention despite their symbolic, social and political relevance. Attempting to fill this gap, David's informative book undertakes a formidable task to examine the 'operation, origin, context, and effects' (p. 226) of the post-communist personnel systems.

A short review does not do justice to this nuanced book. Among others, the book makes two major contributions. The first is a novel classification of lustration models as personnel systems. The other is a new theory about how perceptions of the tainted personnel affect both the origin and the effects of lustration systems. Nevertheless, while this 'ambitious project', as David calls it, offers admirably rich historical, social and political background to the question of lustration, the book's theoretical

and empirical aspirations call for further research.

One of the hallmarks of this dense study is its germane terminology. David convincingly redefines political phenomena such as the 'grey zone' of the tainted personnel (pp. 103–104), social reconciliation (pp. 198, 205) and collective memory (p. 217). The renewed validity of these concepts is particularly crucial in the third and the central part of the book, which examines the effects of personnel systems. Yet, the book's most pivotal and resourceful concept is 'personnel systems'. The author conceptualises them as theoretically parallel to electoral systems: 'While electoral systems regulate the personnel situation in the legislature, personnel systems regulate the personnel situation in non-elected positions in the administrative branch in times of transition.' (p. 42) Part I of the book devises personnel systems to denote a theoretical abstraction of transitional public employment measures that regulate access to non-elected positions in public administration. However, from the beginning and throughout the book, David struggles to conceptualise 'personnel systems' in their relationship to lustration. Building upon his earlier definition of lustration systems [David 2003, 2006], David recognises that transitional personnel policies represent only a subcategory of lustration. As lustrations have often targeted elected elites and even non-state institutions such as the church or the media, conceptualising lustration as a personnel issue for a new regime unjustifiably narrows these systems' scope provisions. And while the author includes some of the non-state targets in his qualitative analyses, they are not constitutive of his definition of personnel systems.

Problematic for David's analysis is also the inconsistent use of the terminology of personnel systems. Lustration and personnel systems are employed interchangeably (pp. 90, 131, 194, etc.) despite the claims to have overcome the 'lack of congruence in

the precise meaning of lustrations, which is country specific' (p. 172). Moreover, if some personnel systems have not used lustration procedures—defined narrowly as screening against secret police archives (*cf.* preface p. XI)—one may wonder why lustration appears in title of the book. Since perceptions of the tainted play the major causal role in this study, the book title could have mentioned perceptions instead. The terminological inconsistency also relates to the three types of personnel systems. Labelling the Czech, Hungarian and Polish personnel mechanisms as exclusive, inclusive and reconciliatory, respectively, stands in contradiction to the effects that these models produce (see pp. 132–133). Even the author says, for instance, that it 'is certainly ironic to refer to the [Polish] process as reconciliatory; Polish society is far from being reconciled with the past' (p. 85). The book indeed claims that the Polish personnel system has not produced reconciliation (pp. 86, 124, 129, 155, 161, 187). Such statements contradict subsequent conclusions that 'the reconciliatory system is the only personnel system that can lead to social reconciliation' (p. 229).

Parts II and III of the book suggest that personnel systems are causally bi-directional; they 'affect people's perceptions, which in turn affect views of lustration systems' (p. 134). Borrowing the insights from the work of Teitel [2000] as well as Horne and Levi [2004], David claims that lustration is constituted by, and constitutive of, political transition. Part II makes the case for the operation and the origin of personnel systems as a function of perceptions about the tainted and by the tainted. David hypothesises that 'the choice of a particular lustration system is a function of the perception of the former adversaries' (p. 99). The detailed qualitative analysis relies on historical surveys, parliamentary debates and interviews to support the claim that the perceptions of the former elites as 'aligned with the old regime' lead to the

approval of the exclusive Czech system, while the perception of the old elites as 'transforming' lead to non-exclusive systems in Hungary and Poland. Public perceptions are treated as an overreaching variable that explains, and is explained by, the three personnel systems that are based on the models of dismissal, exposure and confession, respectively. The three different outcomes are thus explained by three different causes—representing a research design that might raise a few theoretical and methodological concerns.

A first minor quibble about the role of perceptions is that they hardly provide a full account to the origin of personnel systems. While Chapter 4 enumerates several alternative causal links (pp. 95–96), it downplays their explanatory role as not necessarily invalid but as merely providing the former communist parties with 'opportunities to demonstrate that they were, or were not, transforming' (p. 69). Yet, public perceptions too could and should be considered as opportunities for the elites to support or oppose the adoption of lustration [Letki 2002] and not as a direct causal link. As noted, 'in spite of the popular perceptions, the decision on lustration was made by the elites, who may have overruled the popular will' (p. 112). The subsequent qualitative analysis of the implementation of personnel systems in Chapter 5 finds support to the 'elite perceptions' argument. However, unlike the 'grassroots perceptions' argument (pp. 102–112), the elite perceptions are not quantified and are omitted from the book's otherwise interesting statistical analyses. What is more, the author acknowledges that in the Czech Republic 'lustration system did not transform the perceptions about the persons associated with former regimes' (p. 156). He not only rejects his main hypothesis about the perception by the tainted for the Czech case but also finds that in Hungary and Poland different lustration systems only 'may have contributed' to specific perceptions about

the tainted (p. 161). It is therefore misleading to claim that 'perceptions and self-perceptions were more reliable factors in explaining the origin of lustration systems that considerations of power and rational actors' (p. 230)—particularly if these latter alternatives are not controlled for in the book's causal models.

Another issue concerns case selection. While David's analysis labours to provide support to the claim that the origins of personnel systems can be explained by popular and elite perceptions 'in Central Europe' (p. 13), the findings rely on the analysis of three countries only. While case studies have many undisputed merits, this particular case selection is problematic on two fronts. First, the three cases have received excellent attention in Monika Nalepa's study on the origins and the context of lustrations [Nalepa 2010]. Yet, David omits practically all of Nalepa's rigorously tested findings. More importantly, the origins of the Czech, Hungarian and Polish lustrations have often differed from those of other post-communist countries. While, for instance, David claims that public perceptions towards the past and the present represent a crucial explanation in the three cases, other countries' lustrations took place in the context of minimal public demand. More oddly, Nalepa shows that even in the Czech, Hungarian and Polish cases public demand cannot (fully) explain lustration.

Part III of the book moves on to empirically assess the political and social effects of personnel systems through an original experimental vignette survey. Chapter 6 deals meticulously with the political effects of different methods of personnel systems as predictors of trust in government. David demonstrates decisively that the impact of dismissal is statistically significant, that of exposure insignificant, and that of confession mixed and only indirect. This seems to confirm available empirical evidence that truth telling without punishment has

not had a beneficial and significant impact on trust or democracy [Wiebelhaus-Baum 2010; Olsen, Payne and Reiter 2010]. However, the problem with this particular research design is that the differences in trust in government 'may be the result of various factors, one of which may be a lustration system' (p. 183). Not taking into account the effects of other factors (p. 188) leads to an omitted variable problem, which puts into question the entire chapter's empirical findings. As a result, the author provides only a modest conclusion that at least 'there is no evidence of negative effects of lustration systems on trust in government' (p. 193).

Probably the most illuminative argument is found in Chapter 7, which examines the effect of personnel systems on social reconciliation and on the collective memory of the past. Relying on psychological and social theories of perceptions of the tainted past, the chapter treats superbly the assumptions of major personnel systems 'about the malleability of "human nature"' (p. 199). According to David's theory, the political acts of transitional justice in general and lustration in particular carry symbolic meanings and expressive power that 'generate profound social effects, redistribute guilt, and reassign responsibility for historical injustices' (p. 195). Using the same original experimental vignette as in Chapter 6, David's evidence first shows that confession is the only model of personnel mechanisms that affect social reconciliation (p. 208). Second, all the three personnel systems are found to affect collective memory (while the author does note, again, that this 'effect could have been caused by something else' (p. 223)). In addition, the chapter provides convincing theoretical and philosophical insights into the power of apologies, confessions and exposure as tempering the gravity of misdeeds of former elites (p. 202). Chapter 7 represents an outstanding description and analysis of social effects of lustration.

This book's research design is broad and ambitious. Alas, the study's aspirations to treat personnel systems as both an outcome and effect are not statistically proven since the author analyses each causal direction separately. Moreover, the bi-directional (or rather double uni-directional) approach of this book seems to compromise the study's parsimony. The metaphor of 'a puppy that chases its tail' (e.g., pp. 228, 161–162) becomes indicative of not only the various lustration cycles but also of the author's approach to the project. In order to prove the dual causal direction, David repeatedly uses the same historical evidence (e.g., pp. 86, 88, 159). Despite these shortcomings, David's book represents essential reading for a broader audience than would normally be for scholars interested in lustration and transitional justice as such. The book's third part in particular represents an indispensable read for scholars looking for detailed data and history of the psychology, the cultural sociology and the politics of lustration processes. In addition, policy makers from societies in Eastern Europe and the Arab world that remain in transition will gain important insights into how to deal—and not to deal—with the sensitive issue of 'personnel policies'.

Peter Rožič

Santa Clara University
pr93@georgetown.edu

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Irena Kogan, Clemens Noeike and Michael Gebel (eds.): *Making the Transition. Education and Labor Market Entry in Central and Eastern Europe*
Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 406 pp.

For both practical and theoretical reasons, the question of the labour market prospects for young people in Central and Eastern Europe today is an extremely pertinent one. On the one hand, reforms of the educational systems are still ongoing. The exigencies of technological and structural change, together with integrative tendencies at the European level have put a lot of pressure on the educational institutions to try and match their offer to the needs of both students and employers. On the other hand, the ability of the schooling systems to respond to the demands of unregulated labour markets constitutes in many ways the final verdict on the success of two decades of economic and institutional reforms in the region. An inquiry into how educational institutions mediated the success of school-to-work transition is not only important to the scholars of post-socialism. The diversity of solutions tried out in different countries as well as the unprecedented scope of reforms constitute a unique experiment that could shed light on multiple

and intricate mechanisms linking the world of education to the world of work.

Making the Transition makes an important inroad into these debates, offering a comprehensive mapping of educational systems and labour market entry patterns for different categories of graduates across Central and Eastern Europe. The volume is the result of several years of collaborative effort involving more than twenty researchers from the region, coordinated by a team from the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research. The volume is unprecedented in scope: it brings together contributions from ten countries at very different stages of transition. It includes both cross-country and longitudinal analysis and combines statistical examination of large-scale survey data with an overview of country-specific degree structures. The breadth of coverage necessarily comes at some expense to empirical coherence. Most notably, the periods under consideration differ significantly. The studies on the Czech Republic, Estonia and Russia rely on surveys which date well back into the socialist period, for East Germany and Slovenia the information is only available since the early transition, while for others it only spans the period since the late 1990s (Hungary, Poland) or even the early 2000s (Croatia). For Serbia and Ukraine, only single surveys are available, conducted in both cases in the mid-2000s. In order to reduce the resulting complexity and ensure a degree of comparability, the editors have opted for a relatively narrow set of research questions, focusing on a small set of indicators and imposing a unified methodological framework.

The key question of the volume revolves around the labour market performance of different groups of graduates, with much attention to the differences between groups. The main intuition behind this approach is that as the market mechanisms of labour allocation replace socialist planning and/or clientelistic networks, the differ-