

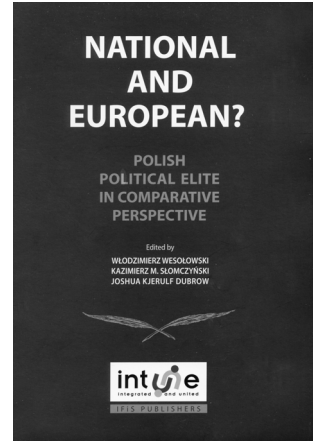
Włodzimierz Wesołowski, Kazimierz M. Słomczyński,
Joshua Kjerulf Dubrow (eds.),
*National and European?: Polish Political Elite
In Comparative Perspective.*
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National and European? consists of ten papers based on the IntUne survey data. The IntUne (Integrated and United? A Quest for Citizenship in an Ever Closer Europe) is a large European project with a goal of examining the nature and characteristics of citizenship. All papers in this book investigate data from surveys of political elites and general public, conducted in 2007 and 2009. The book is a result of a joint effort of twelve scholars from Poland and the USA. Although every author uses the same data set, the scope of examined topics is fairly wide, ranging from European identity and trust to politicians' experience and specific policies. All chapters in the book share a comparative perspective—in time, cross-country, and between political elites and general public. All focus on Poland in the European context.

The first chapter, written by the three editors, introduces the data, the historical and political background and the main topics covered in the book. One of the main issues analysed in the book are citizenship and identity, which are evolving along with further integration and expansion of the European Union. In the second chapter, Shabad and Słomczyński discuss the question of competition or compatibility of European and National self-identification. They discover that National and European identities compete with each other among the general public, but are compatible among the political elites. This pattern seems to hold for most European countries. The authors also show that emotional attachment to the European Union is positively correlated with support for further EU integration.

Haman investigates the topic of trust, which is another main area of interest of the book. In his paper, he critically examines the data and demonstrates an emerging “structure” in respondents' answers regarding trust. He argues that there are three



“kinds” of trust that influence all the responses: trust in other people, trust in national political institutions and trust in European political institutions. This division seems to be preserved across countries and time (similar results in both 2007 and 2009 surveys). Haman demonstrates that, in general, countries recently admitted to the European Union trust the European institutions more than they trust the national ones. He stresses that this difference is the largest in the case of Poland, because Poles have a poor opinion of their national decision-makers.

European Union as a political system requires legitimization through trust and identification of its citizens as Europeans. Marquart-Pyatt analysed both those topics, by comparing the Polish general public and the Polish political elites in the context of support for certain EU policies.

In their personal and work life many members of the political elites gain personal contacts and experiences abroad. Their influence on views and future plans is discussed by Walentyńowicz-Moryl in the context of aspirations for a career in the European Union. She shows that a significant change took place between 2007, when the best predictor of planning a European career was the number of spoken languages, and 2009, when the most important were contacts and experiences abroad. The author argues that when the first survey took place, an international career was still quite a new possibility, whereas by the time the second one was conducted, members of parliament could prepare and recognize the requirements and possible gains of working on an international level.

Dubrow and Woroniecka also take international experience and contacts into account when looking into parliament members' views on gender equality in Sejm and gender party quotas (an established minimal percentage of female and male candidates to the Sejm on a party's candidate list). Using data on experiences and contacts abroad, they verify an assumption that international experience in the European Union has a pro-gender-equality influence on one's views. They show that although being pro-European is positively connected with supporting gender equality, the connection between those two variables is more complex. Dubrow and Woroniecka demonstrate that support for gender equality was stable in the 2001–2007 period, yet the support for party gender quotas had fallen. The authors suspect it might be caused by a change of parties that hold seats in the Polish parliament. They also point out that support for party gender quotas is similar among men and women, only the support for gender equality is higher among female members of parliament.

The problem of gender differences also appears in the chapter by Smith Keller. She examines the perceived immigrant threat among the elites. The topic of immigration from the outside of Europe is very controversial and important, since Poland is now one of the countries that constitute the eastern border of the European Union. Smith Keller shows that there is a big diversification of perceived immigrant threat across Europe, with a tendency of western countries to see them as less threatening. France and Germany are notable exceptions to this rule, probably because they have a problem with large immigrant populations. The author demonstrates that an important variable influencing one's views on immigrants is gender (women generally

perceive immigrants less threatening) and politics (moderates in Europe perceive the least immigrant threat).

Two chapters deal with the issue of attitudes of members of parliament toward the European Union and its unification in two extremely different ways. Nyćkowiak tries to predict one's stance toward the EU while excluding information about one's political alignment and using only information about one's career. Mach does an exactly opposite thing, taking into account only information about belonging to one of the two Polish major political parties: Law and Justice and Civic Platform. He examines differences in opinions toward European Union between members of those parties. Even in this limited scope he still demonstrates how the views of those two political organisms have grown further apart (from 2007 to 2009). He argues that the conflict between Law and Justice and Civic Platform is not only personal, but also ideological.

Słomczyński and Tomescu-Dubrow wrote the last chapter, which completes the topic of trust and self identification. Unlike the previous chapters that examine the problem on the level of individuals, Słomczyński and Tomescu-Dubrow consider the macro-level variables. They show that citizens of countries that joined the EU more recently are characterized by stronger European identification. They interpret it to be a result of expectations and new possibilities that open to the new members. Considering three democracy indexes as possible independent variables, they show that there is a strong dependency between one of them (EIU Democracy Index) and correlations between European identity and trust. The shape of this correlation and its explanation can be an interesting topic for future study.

European integration forces member countries to face many new challenges concerning policy, identity and trust. The newly released book is an interesting view into what kind of problems may accompany the deepening and enlarging of the European Union. The diversity of examined topics, approaches and statistical tools makes the book very attractive. This advantage does not come without costs—for example, different approaches imply different theoretical backgrounds, with their own definitions. Specifically, each chapter defines European identity so that it fits better to the author's perspective, but the results across chapters are not strictly comparable. In consequence of this diversity of examined topics, approaches and analytical tools the volume invites the reader to re-think the issues of European citizenship and encourages further investigation. *National and European?* is a valuable addition to the discussion about European identity and changes that take place along with the expansion of the European Union.

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