der, and family became the regime's catchwords.

The current re-nationalisation drive is presented as reclaiming all the assets 'unfairly' distributed during an earlier privatisation, assets that ended up in the hands of a small economic/political coterie. As re-nationalisation has been simultaneously accompanied by a strong centralisation of the state structure, the concepts of national interest, national culture, etc., have come to be defined by a narrow circle, in fact by the prime minister himself standing at the top of the hierarchy. He has the last word on the distribution of EU funds as well. It cannot be ruled out that nationalisation will be followed by a new wave of privatisation (e.g. the sale of recently granted long-term land leases), where political forces currently in power attempt to make the new status quo irreversible. This political ebb and flow has much in common with the elitist/populist rotation in Slovakia, where Mečiar, Dzurinda, and Fico followed each other in power, or Poland where successive political systems supporting various interest groups have been associated with Miller, Belka, Kaczyński, and Tusk. However, the changes in Hungary go deeper than that because Orbán is backed by a constitutional majority waging a 'national freedom fight' against the European Union, of which Hungary is a member.

Umut Korkut's work describes with great insight the nature of Hungarian changes, the swings of the elitist vs populist pendulum. The analysis is built on a solid theoretical basis, including relevant works by Bourdieu, Dahl, Eyal, Foucault, Laclau, Mouffe, Offe, Szelényi, and others, and the book represents a new and substantial contribution to the critical school of the sociology of knowledge. Moreover, Korkut has a comprehensive and intimate knowledge of the dominant political discourse of the past 30 years in Hungary, which he read in the original. More than a mere description of the subject at hand, the work is an interpretive structural analysis that, aside from Hungarian specialists, may rightfully claim the attention of researchers of post-communist transformation, political ideologies, new democracies and hybrid regimes, as well as that of experts in political theory.

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Suvi Salmenniemi (ed.): ***Rethinking Class in Russia***
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It is a paradox that while capitalist class creation has been fundamental to the remaking of social relations in Russia, class processes have been virtually effaced in analyses of post-socialist transformations. This situation is now beginning to change. With the present volume, Suvi Salmenniemi has brought together a rich and diverse set of papers which address class creation in Russia in some of its many guises. All of the chapters make available the findings of recent qualitative research. The book addresses class in three ways: as an imaginary notion in public discourse; in the organisation and outcomes of practices linked to the labour market, consumption, social work, education, party politics, and the law; and finally, as a physically and emotionally embodied phenomenon, shaping subjectivities and identities in daily life. Throughout, class is conceptualised both as a category with material/economic referents, and as a classificatory process that works through symbolism and emotion. The theoretical framework for much of the analysis in the book is Bourdieusian with generous reference to the work of new class theorists such as Bev Skeggs and Steph Lawler—the latter provides an afterword to the book.

The collection begins with a review by Harri Melin and Suvi Salmenniemi of ap-

proaches to class analysis in the USSR and in contemporary Russia. The focus is on the economic models of class analysis that have been dominant, whereby social structure and mobility are analysed in terms of occupational structure. The chapter notes the emergence of new social groups such as entrepreneurs, alongside the persistence of a privileged status for the former nomenklatura, with post-Soviet developments characterised by increasing social inequalities and declining possibilities for upward social mobility. Salmenniemi is also the author of an interesting chapter which analyses Russian self-help literature as a site for the representation and legitimation of class distinctions. In particular she focuses on the work of two writers, Nataliia Pravdina and Valerii Sinel'nikov—who are apostles of 'a new consciousness'. The self-help literature in Russia has grown in popularity among others against a background of inadequate health services. Where many people feel politically powerless, self-help books direct attention inwards, encouraging people to change things by changing themselves. New financial inequalities are constructed as a personal problem—since the poor are poor because they are trapped in an old, non-money-oriented consciousness, and 'Sovietness' becomes a way of signifying class location. Salmenniemi describes how self-help literature represents part of a cultural reformation, whereby positive thinking displaces suffering as constitutive of the self and wealth is morally revalued, thus legitimating and depoliticising the vast inequalities of the emerging class order.

In her chapter, Saara Ratilainen offers an insightful analysis of the representation in recent popular media discourse of business enterprise among newly rich Russian women. In her interpretation, the emphasis on the business activity of rich women doesn't so much reflect neo-liberal freedom in action, so much as the constraints on women's social mobility in today's Russia. In analysing how the concepts of work and business in media discourses are linked with the formation of a new class structure, Ratilainen shows how the concept of bodily capital, achieved through a regime of bodily care, is linked to marriage, which in turn is decisive for determining the class position of the newly rich women in Russia. Because women's business possibilities are perceived as marginal, the newly rich woman tends therefore to be seen as virtually a beggar in her own family. The private entrepreneurship of rich women is not emphasised for its role in positioning women economically in society, but for its symbolic potential. In order to connect stereotypes of 'supported housewife' or 'female escort', ideas that have to do with upward social mobility for women through marriage to wealthy men, to circulating notions relating to the Soviet past, Ratilainen suggests that the idealisation of entrepreneurship has replaced ideas of the working woman in Soviet discourse. This has kept newly wealthy women untainted by associations with being a housewife and has morally upgraded them by allowing them to occupy at least in part the same ideological field as the heroic Soviet working woman.

Elena Iarskaia-Smirnova and Pavel Romanov draw on interviews with clients and professionals, as well as documentary material, to analyse social welfare discourses. They show how the categorisation of some families as 'unfortunate' works symbolically to construct class hierarchy with practical effects. The category serves to govern the behaviour of people who have to contend with economic insecurity. A chapter by Sirke Makinen analyses the way the two major political parties, United Russia (UR) and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF), ascribe class when they define the electorate and engage in narratives of change. She argues that the UR seeks to address all Russian citizens, as well as the middle class specifically, which

is held to account for the majority of the population. The CPRF seeks to appeal to the working class, for whom class and nationality are two sides of the same coin. The parties are united in their opposition to the oligarchs, although the CPRF sees the UR as acting for oligarch interests, and they both argue in the name of value- rather than interest-based cleavages.

Employer-employee relationships come under the scrutiny of Anna Rotkirch, Olga Tkach, and Elena Zdravomyslova in their chapter on domestic work—a developing area which often features in the media and where issues of shared understanding and trust come to the fore. Increasingly an aspirational model of wife and mother is being projected, where part of the domestic work is delegated to paid help. The authors distinguish two kinds of employment relationship: the traditional model of the *niana*, and the professionalised and more impersonal model of domestic help. The focus is on middle-class formation through strategies of hiring, and interacting with, domestic workers, and the authors argue that the female employers shore up their class position as they put in place, or remove, the boundaries between themselves and the women whom they employ. Olga Gurova also analyses the formation of middle class identity in Russia, this time through the lens of clothing consumption, which she argues is at the core of middle-class identity. On the basis of fieldwork carried out in St Petersburg in 2009–2011, she looks at the key ideas through which the middle class understands its clothing consumption, and identifies the ways Soviet notions continue to inform current practices. She discusses how shopping malls have become an important part of the new middle-class lifestyle, which fits with the imaginary of 'Europeanness' and 'Westernness'. Her interviewees drew a distinction between themselves as European and the lower classes who frequented open air markets, which were considered uncivilised, not modern, infectious, and ugly. Through taste evaluations, the middle class drew distinctions between themselves and poor people as well as the very well off.

Little research has been carried out so far into the accessibility of legal recourse in Russia. Vikki Turbine remedies this situation in her chapter by examining the effects of gender and class in women's use of legal advice in the context of family breakdown in provincial Russia. By highlighting women's differential access to legal resources, she brings emerging class distinctions to the surface. Elena Trubina describes the structural factors which shape the socio-economic opportunities for young Russians, and the way young people perceive those constraints in their everyday lives. For the young people who participated in her research, class defined in terms of relation to property and work clearly functioned as a key concept. For them, the Russian tradition of circulating resources within a narrow elite had now simply taken a new form—where access to oil and gas revenues were jealously guarded, thereby creating a division between those who have access to these assets and those who do not. Interestingly, the young people in the study drew on both the language of Marxism and the ideology of neoliberalism to make sense of their situation.

The chapter by Marja Rytkőnen and Ilkka Pietilä focuses on the demographic and health crisis that has accompanied social change in Russia. It is an astounding fact that between 1990 and 1994, life expectancy fell from 63.8 years to 57.7 years for Russian men and from 74.4 years to 71.2 years for Russian women. The chapter discusses the findings of qualitative research with St Petersburg residents where the respondents address the relationship between social status and health. Their study found that respondents emphasised the role of money as it impacted on matters relating to health, including lifestyle, nutrition, and health care. The transformation

of the health-care system was generally seen in negative terms, while what was seen as good about the former system was the fact that it provided help equally for everyone. The social safety net no longer functions, and the poor now have nowhere to turn. The interview material revealed that society was perceived as riven by a deep schism between the highest class who have been able to gain the benefits of the introduction of a market economy, who by the same token can access private health services and leisure facilities, and on the other hand all the rest of the people who have to do their best to struggle through against the economic odds. The healthy body is perceived as a form of capital, a key resource of a potential employee in the labour market.

How young men and women who go into 'poor work' in state and former state enterprises experience the symbolic and material impoverishment of these changes is the subject of Charles Walker's contribution. It emphasises two dimensions of these experiences. First, it highlights the increasing difficulty for working-class young people to gain a sense of life narrative or social worth from the kind of industrial work that is available because of the deteriorating material returns, as well as the declining social status of this type of work. Second, the chapter points to the ways in which people experience these changes in terms of personal inadequacies or poor choices—developments which are more keenly felt by men rather than women given that employment is a more important source of social identity for men in Russia than it is for women. Walker reflects on the relevance of these findings for the fact that the problem of premature mortality in Russia affects men more than women. John Round also focuses on the social vulnerabilities of men in Russia, when he addresses the lack of social support available to middle-aged men. Many of his interviewees regard middle-aged men as an 'excluded class'. Many interviewees emphasised the way economic pressures were affecting their mental health, and the fact that there was nowhere to turn to discuss these issues. The chapter links the creation of this new class of men to Russia's demographic crisis and the lack of state support and social policy aimed at protecting men that have become economically marginalised.

The volume represents a very welcome and overdue contribution to the study of the historically unique processes of class-making in Russia, which comes at a time of renewed recognition of class as a useful category of analysis. While there are similarities between what is happening in Russia and class processes in the West, including, as Lawler suggests, the normalisation of class difference and the devaluation of the dispossessed, it is possible that the particular paradoxes of capitalist class formation after communism will help propel change in unforeseen and novel ways.

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Timothy Havens, Anikó Imre and Katalin Lustyik (eds.): ***Popular Television in Eastern Europe During and Since Socialism***

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Despite the growing amount of research exploring the domains of socialist and post-socialist popular culture, international scholarship in the fields of media and cultural studies is still displaying notable gaps in its reflection and understanding of Eastern Europe and the profound transformation of both its media landscapes and audience habits since 1989. This is arguably even more true for popular television, which, given the prevailing interest of scholars in the democratic roles and political control of