

Folgen der hier vor allem betrachteten internetbasierten Technologien sind ja nicht nur in westlichen Städten eklatant. Das sei an zwei afrikanischen Beispielen nur angedeutet: Wenn dort in vielen Städten ein nur schwach entwickeltes Bankenwesen mit der nahezu universellen Verbreitung des Smartphones zusammentrifft, macht e-banking eben den Aufbau eines herkömmlichen Filialsystems weitgehend überflüssig. Und die Digitalisierung des Antragswesens in der öffentlichen Verwaltung hat zumindest das Potential, einige wohl etablierte klientelistische Strukturen im städtischen Bauwesen zu schwächen. Einmal mehr zeigt sich also, dass dem vorliegenden Band eine überzeugende Struktur fehlt. Was hier geboten wird, ist kein Handbuch, sondern ein Sammelsurium von Aufsätzen zu aktuellen städtischen Entwicklungen in verschiedenen Weltregionen (unter Ausschluss Osteuropas und Südamerikas). Das ist hier und da anregend, oft aber in seiner Struktur- und Zusammenhanglosigkeit ärgerlich.

**Eileen Boris/Dorothea Hoehtker/
Susan Zimmermann (eds.): Women's
ILO. Transnational Networks, Global
Labour Standards and Gender Equity,
1919 to Present, Leiden: Brill Publi-
shing 2018, 412 p.**

Reviewed by
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This collection provides a thorough overview of the shifting position of women

– and of concerns about women's work, gender equity, and gender policy – within the International Labor Organization (ILO) from 1919 to the present. The editors' introduction provides a clear and concise overview of the evolution of these questions within the organization and the central points of conflict. The following chapters are written by an interdisciplinary group of scholars (including historians, political scientists, jurists, sociologists and women activists), and take a variety of approaches: some focus in on particular individuals, some trace the development and spread of a particular policy or standard within the organization or across different country case studies, while others focus on the ILO's relationship with other activist groups and international organizations. One tension that comes up repeatedly revolves around the longstanding debate in labour circles over whether women workers should be given special protection or treated equally to men before the law. On the one hand, special protection against night work or to accommodate maternity could help prevent abusive practices and recognize the particular needs of women, who still play the primarily role in reproduction and caregiving in most contexts. On the other hand, such policies could reinforce gendered segregation, reduce work opportunities for women, and undermine the overall goal of equality. The contributions explore how this debate manifested in multiple contexts. At a 1919 Women's Congress covered in Chapter 1, for example, American activists argued that "equality of women to kill themselves by night work is not equality to us" (p. 35), while the Nordic delegation countered that one should respond by banning night

work for men as well, rather than conceding to special protection for women. Several chapters challenge the idea that pro-protectionist actors should be considered “reluctant” feminists (p. 77); their approach was in some cases strategic (p. 82), or focused on equality of results over equality in legislation (p. 36, p. 99). In any case, as the editors point out in the introduction: “both gender-neutral and gender-differentiated regulations in labour law can have gendered consequences that can be detrimental to or advantageous for (some) women” (p. 19); one needs to look beyond ideology to explore the impacts of different approaches in practice. As the final chapter of the book (Chapter 14) insightfully points out, the current framing of this debate – in which “maternity” is usually seen as an obstacle to employment for women, or a “temporary handicap” in need of protection – does little to contend with the issues raised by a growing transnational surrogacy industry in which maternity itself is essentially a form of (often informal) work.

Several of the chapters challenge the dominant historical narrative of transnational women’s organizing as a field led by and concerned solely with the problems of white Western women. While racism, colonialism, and inequalities in representation created very real limitations, some labour feminists did manage to form east-west and north-south alliances from early on, recognizing the differences between their situations but also finding cause to work together. Members of a network between ILO and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) produced analyses of African women’s working lives in the late 1950s and early 1960s that an-

ticipated the “Women in Development” (WID) paradigm but also incorporated sophisticated critiques of women’s unpaid labour, agency and difference more characteristic of later “Gender and Development” (GAD) perspectives (Chapter 6). We also see how women from the “Global South” acted not only as objects of study but as activists and creators of labour standards. Women from India and Cuba were present at working women’s congresses as early as 1919 (Chapter 1), African women actively shaped the studies of the ILO/ICFTU in the 1960s (Chapter 6), larger trade unions built on pre-existing women’s organizations in Africa (Chapter 12), and women from the Global South were the driving force behind the Home Work Convention of 1996 and Domestic Workers Convention of 2011 (Chapter 7).

One of the book’s central contributions lies in its ability to make visible the multiple ways women engaged actively with the ILO, despite their formal exclusion throughout most of its history. Although they made up only five to ten per cent of delegates and technical advisors until the mid-1990s (p. 207), women inserted their voices as experts and researchers, by pressuring national delegations, and by writing letters directly to the Director-General. It is indeed remarkable to see women’s determination to engage with an organization that repeatedly marginalized their voices and concerns. There are some great stories on offer here: for example, of feminist Tanaka Taka agreeing to read the remarks of the Japanese Government delegate before the Commission on the Employment of Women, only to deliver her own scathing critique of Japanese employers instead (p. 43). The fact that many of these wom-

en's appeals had marginal success or were painfully slow-moving, however, makes it seem perhaps somewhat optimistic to claim there was something one might call a "women's ILO," as indicated by the book's title. The impression that comes across instead is of an institution that remained thoroughly patriarchal and masculinist in orientation until the very recent past, despite women's best efforts to transform it: in other words, a story of "women and the men's ILO."

While the role of patriarchal ideas and structures come up in several contributions, it would have been interesting to have a full chapter dedicated to a gender analysis of masculinity within the organization. How did male leaders position themselves, what variety of masculinity did they put forth, and how was it reproduced in the language, policies and standards of the institution, beyond those which dealt specifically with women/gender? Were there any conflicting or alternative masculinities on offer? Is the shift in membership more recently a result of a transformation of the gendered identity of the ILO as a whole, or simply a result of pressure from women within and outside the organization? The book also would have benefited from a methodological chapter, exploring the different sources held in the ILO's archives and the stories they can – and cannot – tell. This could have provided an opportunity to engage more actively with questions around feminist methodology in the archives and in the study of international organizations more broadly.

Overall, however, this is a comprehensive and rigorous discussion of women as both subjects and objects of the ILO. It will be valuable to anyone working on the history

of international organizations, transnational activism, gender and labour activism, and/or the intersections between race, class, and gender in the twentieth century.

Cristina E. Parau: Transnational Networking and Elite Self-Empowerment. The Making of the Judiciary in Contemporary Europe and Beyond, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, 339 p.

Rezensioniert von
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Fragt man einen führenden indischen Verfassungsjuristen, also den Vertreter eines Landes, das eine geschriebene Verfassung besitzt, was zur unverzichtbaren Tradition der dritten Gewalt im indischen nationalen Verfassungsrecht gehört, so antwortet er u.a., dass die Gerichte, und nicht zuletzt der Supreme Court of India, nach ihrem Ermessen jede Rechtsfrage aufwerfen und entscheiden können. Dies ist offensichtlich ein Teil der spezifischen Common Law-Tradition in diesem Lande. Für jemanden, der nicht aus dieser Tradition kommt, sind ähnliche Vorstellungen u.U. befremdlich. Daher wird man auch geneigt sein, die juristische Rechtfertigung für derlei umfassende Befugnisse nicht für sich gelten zu lassen, sondern berufssoziologische Gründe für eine solche, zunächst einmal als juristische Doktrin präsentierte Rechtsauffassung zu suchen.

Das tut die vorliegende Studie über europäische Grenzen hinweg. Verfasst hat es