Kaufmann is careful to note that on an individual level, the situation is less straight-forward: welfare production is the outcome of not just opportunity structures created by the state but also of personal action (pp. 174, 211). It is precisely in this line of thought that the concluding Part IV starts from the assertion that social policy is torn between demands of system integration and social integration (p. 283). Under the spell of a somewhat rigid teleology of the state (the welfare state seen as a distinct stage of ‘development’ [p. 332]), a quasi-normative Offe-like paradox [Offe 1984] is used, mutatis mutandis, to explain the importance of human assets for the welfare state: the performance of the welfare state depends on economic strength and the reproduction of human assets depends on the performance of the welfare state (p. 313). The book concludes that a change in collective expectations (p. 352) and a renewed solidarity, all under the umbrella of multi-level governance schemes, are peremptory changes for social policy to continue to build on the welfare state’s evolutionary advantage in compensating for negative sides of modernisation (p. 284).

The slightly amorphous mixture of normative theory and public policy recommendations with which the book concludes does not do full justice to this extremely rich scholarly work, with a far-reaching scope and many research avenues opened along the way. A slight one-sidedness in case-study selection and some forceful methodological assumptions should not detract the reader from the many merits of this masterful sociological dissection of some of the most intriguing layers of the welfare state’s conceptual and institutional history.

Sergiu Delcea
Central European University, Budapest
sergiu.delcea@gmail.com

References

Blanche Le Bihan, Claude Martin and Trudie Knijn (eds.): Work and Care under Pressure: Care Arrangements across Europe
Amsterdam 2013: Amsterdam University Press, 197 pp.

Reconciling work and care is a major issue for many workers and families in Europe. Recent developments of social structures, labour markets, and national welfare states
have deeply affected the attitudes and self-representations of workers concerning their jobs and balancing personal and family spheres. Three macro-trends can be identified in this respect as factors influencing such social changes: (1) the growing participation of women in the labour market; (2) the introduction and extensive use of flexible forms of contracts in the post-industrial labour market, changing workers’ tasks, responsibilities, and motivations; and (3) the restructuring of European welfare states towards a new balance between formal and informal care, caused by discussions over sustainability in the long term and the search for new patterns of resource optimisation.

Without a doubt, childcare and eldercare are two of the most relevant cost items of modern welfare states. They concern the provision of public services and other benefits (e.g. leave, allowances) to support families assisting these two categories of dependent people. According to the traditional distinction of welfare models in Europe, services and benefits are offered to a different extent in European countries on the basis of the level of intervention fostered by social policies and the cultural background and attitudes towards care within the family.

However, things have moved on and the widespread dichotomies of concepts researchers have been using for decades—like familialisation/defamilialisation, formal/informal, public/private—should be reconsidered. This is one of the main theses of Work and Care under Pressure. The book presents the results of a qualitative study conducted in 2007–2010 in six European countries with a sample of 254 workers overall. The main goal was to investigate and compare patterns of reconciling work and care among workers caring for children and among those assisting an older relative. Alongside the introduction, the book provides results from each country in separate chapters, and the final chapter offers a cross-analysis of data.

Chapter 1 by Trudie Knijn, Claude Martin and Blanche Le Bihan introduces the background and aims of the research, including an overarching conceptual framework and information on general methods. The specific objectives of the study were to: (1) understand ways workers cope with the double task of work and care; (2) analyse enabling, reinforcing, and limiting factors influencing work and care at the national level, in terms of social policies, the labour market, working conditions, and the availability of formal care; and (3) point out similarities and differences in coping strategies relating to childcare and eldercare. The six countries were covered by dedicated teams of researchers using common guidelines for recruiting workers for their sample and for conducting semi-structured interviews on the topics of interest.

The following chapters offer single-country analyses. In chapter 2, on the Netherlands, Trudie Knijn and Barbara Da Roit find that Dutch workers have positive attitude towards job flexibility, since this helps them to mediate the tension between employment and family responsibilities. In chapter 3, on Sweden, Sofia Björk, Ulla Björnberg and Hans Ekbrand draw a picture of a country where, despite progress towards equal opportunities, gender inequalities still exist in both childcare and eldercare. Women are far more engaged in family responsibility than men, and this is particularly true with the progressive reduction of public care offered in Sweden. The German situation is investigated by Wolfgang Keck, Christina Klenner, Sabine Neukirch and Chiara Saraceno in chapter 4. Here, the focus is on socio-economic inequalities for accessing care services and related coping strategies. All the carers interviewed were found to be under pressure, in part because policies for reconciling care and work are not completely adequate. Informal networks and financial means are crucial for guaranteeing support both to children and dependent older people.
Blanche Le Bihan, Claude Martin and Arnaud Campéon are in charge of providing a picture of reconciliation patterns in France. They report limited public support and no coherent policy on eldercare, although a strong tradition of public intervention on childcare exists. The major factors influencing stress in working carers are: (1) the quality of care arrangement and related user satisfaction; (2) the nature of the relationships between siblings (is caring activity shared within the family?) and between the carer and the dependent person (how much the carer feels involved in the caring activity?); (3) self-perceptions of one’s role as carer; and (4) self-perceptions of one’s role as a worker. In chapter 6, Karin Wall, Sanda Samitca and Sónia Correia offer a clear overview of recent trends in labour markets and welfare policies in Portugal. The country seems quite different from the traditional familialised care model of Southern European countries. Portuguese people experienced a high level of female participation in the labour market, which matches the development of public services for childcare and eldercare, even if support by informal networks and access to ‘semi-formal’ services (i.e. privately-employed care assistants) is still needed in many cases. The last country investigated is Italy, in chapter 7. Manuela Naldini, Elisabetta Donati, and Barbara Da Roit stress the poor level of social policies adopted so far by Italian governments, which has led to underdeveloped public interventions in both childcare and eldercare. Informal care and the ‘semi-formal’ market are the most common and accepted solutions, although female workers strongly affirmed their will to keep their job at any cost, even if they were also in charge of family care responsibilities.

Chapter 8, the final chapter, presents a cross-analysis of country findings. Manuela Naldini, Karin Wall, and Blanche Le Bihan underline major commonalities and differences in reconciliation patterns between countries, and, at the same time, point out two main issues emerging from all the countries: (1) the common trend towards a familialisation of care arrangements, caused by the downsizing of welfare states, and (2) the need to reformulate conceptual approaches, overcoming traditional dichotomies like between formal and informal care. In fact, the picture of care services is becoming more and more complex, also through the access to ‘semi-formal’ markets for care assistants privately employed by families (mostly migrants), which are fostered by the increasing availability of cash-for-care schemes in some countries.

Overall, the book offers interesting insight into the variety of care arrangements organised by workers and into how they negotiate flexible labour markets across different European countries. The comparison between coping strategies in childcare and eldercare is extremely interesting and leads to unexpected findings, which deserve more attention in future research. Furthermore, the data collection and analysis conducted in six European countries give a good overview of characteristics of various, traditional welfare models, as identified and widely discussed in previous literature, suggesting that some updates and changes are needed. However, as the authors mention, data collection was carried out in 2007–2008, just before the economic crisis influenced and fastened the process of resource optimisation in Europe. Many things have changed in a few years—especially in Portugal, Italy and France. The will at policy level to reformulate the way care packages are provided to users is shared across the continent. This clearly calls for integrating results from this study with more recent ones that can help researchers to identify correctly the direction towards which welfare states and societies are going.

Francesco Barbabella
Italian National Institute of Health and Science on Aging (INRCA), Ancona
f.barbabella@inrca.it
Steven Saxonberg: Transitions and Non-Transitions from Communism: Regime Survival in China, Cuba, North Korea, and Vietnam

Between 1989 and 1991, ten communist regimes collapsed in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and Mongolia. However, communist parties remained in power in China, Vietnam, Laos, North Korea, and Cuba. These divergent outcomes raise the puzzle of why some communist regimes have collapsed, whereas others have survived the watershed of 1989 and persist to the current day. Despite its importance, this question has received scant scholarly attention. Steven Saxonberg’s new book addresses this puzzle by focusing on the structural conditions that impact the likelihood that a country will transition away from communism. The book consolidates the main arguments of Saxonberg’s The Fall: A Comparative Study of the End of Communism in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, and Poland and extends them to a larger group of communist states that have collapsed and survived.

Saxonberg defines communism as a political religion: ‘It has a collection of clearly set-out beliefs, with strong eschatological and messianic qualities; it has holy texts (by Marx, Engels, and Lenin); it has a pope (the general secretary); and it boasts a “priesthood” (the party functionaries). As an ideological model, Leninist communism claims a monopoly on Truth, and calls for a one-party state and a state-run economy. In such a system, the rule of the Party is based on ideological legitimacy, not popular consent. The general secretary/pope knows the Truth, since he (and it is always a man) is best able to interpret the holy texts. The party functionaries/priests, in turn, are best able to carry out his orders. Unlike democracy, which implies multiple interpretations of the Truth, communism recognizes only one interpretation thereof. Consequently, it sees little need for democratic-pluralistic institutions. Since the Party knows what is correct, moreover, it is best suited to running the economy. The texts of Marx and Lenin supply further ammunition, since they proclaim the superiority of planned economies over their market counterparts.’ (pp. 4–5).

Having defined communist regimes, the book proceeds to delimit the universe of cases to which the argument applies. Saxonberg’s study examines fourteen cases: Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Cuba, Grenada, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, China, North Korea, and Vietnam. These cases are studied on the basis of primary and secondary sources in English, Swedish, German and Czech. Another four cases (Albania, Bulgaria, Cambodia, and Laos) are excluded from the analysis because they do not ‘present key cases’, as well as due to time constraints and the absence of a large secondary literature (p. 11).

Chapters 2–4 develop the theoretical argument of the book, which rests on a modified regime typology originally advanced by Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan [1996] in Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. According to this typology, communist regimes go through stages in their development. In the totalitarian stage, they aim to establish hegemony over society. In the post-totalitarian stage, regimes persist on the basis of a pragmatic acceptance by the population. Some post-totalitarian regimes evolve in a maturing direction, as did Hungary and Poland. Others, like Czechoslovakia and East Germany, are freezing. The leaders of a maturing regime are likely to step down as a result of a pacted transition, whereas freezing regimes collapse following a popular revolution. Both types of transitions are peaceful. Nationalist patrimonial regimes like Romania, however, are likely to use