

anthropological approaches in a language accessible to those outside the field, while still providing rich, contextual analyses of the issues at stake. The emphasis on the spread of lifestyle-related chronic illnesses to the developing world primes the reader to forthcoming tensions between global policies tested in wealthy nations with local realities of other populations. In addition, the focus on the unintended consequences of public health campaigns helps us to weigh the risks and benefits of the involvement of pharmaceutical companies in global health and turns a reflective lens on the dangers of blind adherence to agency doctrine. While the broad selection of cases aimed at a wide audience is one of the book's major strengths, it also limits a deeper understanding of single issues and may leave readers with a scattered view of the role of anthropology in public health. A conclusion could bring the salient points together and enlighten courses of action for the way forward. Despite this, most compelling about this anthology, as Arthur Kleinman points out, is its potential to provide the new social movement of students, who see global health as a way to change the world, with reformulated views on public health policies that 'can have local effects that remake people's lives as well as their world'.

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Rik van Berkel, Willibrord de Graaf and Tomáš Sirovátka (eds): *The Governance of Active Welfare States in Europe*
London and New York 2011: Palgrave Macmillan, 279 pp.

The welfare state is changing in Europe, especially as far as employment policy is concerned. Labour economists and social policy analysts avidly discuss the changing content of activation programmes, the amount and length of benefits, or the differential treatment of various target groups such as the young or the long-term unemployed. That is not what this book is about. Rather, *The Governance of Active Welfare States in Europe* asks two sets of closely related, different, but equally important questions:

(1) What *governance* reforms have taken place in this field in the last two decades? Have European states centralised or decentralised policy making and implementation, have they introduced (quasi-) markets, are they better at coordinating the work of different government agencies, have they paid more than lip service to the vogue of new public management?

(2) What have been the *effects* of these governance reforms? What outcome effects (e.g. job placement), what output effects (e.g. reach, variety) can be chalked up? How have processes affecting individuals changed (e.g. do they have more voice and more choice)?

The volume emerged within the EU-funded 6th Framework Programme, from a five-year, comparative research effort entitled 'Reconciling Work and Welfare' (REC-WOWE), and was published in the Palgrave—RECWOWE book series *Work and Welfare in Europe*. It is structured as such comparative tomes often are: an introductory chapter (authored by the three editors) sets the stage, asks the research questions and outlines the theoretical framework, in this case, Newman's [2001] and Considine's [2001] typologies of governance. New-

man identifies four models of governance: the *hierarchical*, based on formal authority, the *rational goal* model, based on managerial power setting quantitative goals, the *open-system* model, based on flows of power within networks, and the *self-governance* model, based on citizens and communities themselves being in charge. These categories partially overlap with Considine's typology, who distinguishes *procedural*, *corporate*, *market*, and *network* governance models. The second chapter, written by van Berkel, categorises and tabulates the actors and institutions involved in the administration of income protection systems and the provision of employment and activation services in the countries under scrutiny. This also saves the reader from getting completely lost in the intricacies of the individual case studies that follow, because the next nine chapters are instructive in-depth country studies about a few reforms each in France (by Anne Eydoux and Mathieu Béraud), Germany (by Irene Dingeldey), the UK (by Sharon Wright), Italy (by Paolo R. Graziano and Annalies Raué), the Netherlands (by van Berkel and de Graaf), Switzerland (by Franziska Ehrlé and Fritz Sager), the Czech Republic (by Sirovátka and Jiří Winkler), Sweden (by Renate Minas) and Finland (by Vappu Karjalainen and Peppi Saikku). The final chapter, again penned by the three editors, summarises the findings in a comparative framework.

As far as the first, descriptive set of questions is concerned, we obtain a well-researched, rich and nuanced picture from the book. There are a few insights that seem to be general, and a lot of food for further thought. What seems to be true for all the nine countries is that in the last two decades there *have* been governance reforms, that the role of (quasi-)markets has increased, and that at least some New Public Management instruments have been introduced. Beyond these changes, which all tend to point in a liberal, individualist di-

rection, we see very different, contradictory patterns of centralisation and decentralisation, mergers and spin-offs, top-down and bottom-up changes that defy easy generalisation. While the nine European countries represent a variety of different welfare state regimes, and one post-communist state is also included, scanning the list of countries, it is hard not to feel that case selection had a bit of an old-member-state bias. Even if the number of countries to be included was a given, and even if we stay within the EU, one of the two Scandinavian social-democratic welfare states (Sweden and Finland) or the three Western European conservative welfare states (France, Germany and Switzerland) could have been profitably sacrificed to include another, less developed ex-communist country, say, Romania, Poland, or one of the Baltic states. For the institutions and recent reforms of the nine countries included, though, the book will serve as a very useful reference.

The answers we can glean from the book to the second question, concerning the effects of the governance reforms, leave more to be desired. There are two reasons for this. One reason for dissatisfaction is one of scope. The book does not even pose an important question that motivated several of the reforms discussed, to wit, what the *efficiency effects* of governance changes are. In this respect, I prefer comparative studies that do not shy away from the questions best answered by using a 'hard' methodology, like Eichhorst et al. [2011], another European comparative study on employment emerging from the RECWOWE network.

The other reason, to some extent also stipulated in the last chapter, is methodological. To properly establish such causal links, one has to quantitatively identify or proxy the effects of governance reforms, to control for other elements of the reform packages and external factors, to identify the baseline compared to which we expect effects to show and to statistically establish

a causal effect itself. If that is our benchmark, most of the evaluations referenced by the country studies do not pass muster. Thus the findings about the effects of the governance reforms, which point in opposing directions across countries to start with, are tentative at best.

Sampling the case studies, in the fascinating Czech case a hybrid of the procedural and the market models of governance seems to have been hijacked by the 'fragmented, unfinished and inconsistent innovations' caused by the availability of EU structural funds. These crowded out budget resources earmarked for active labour market policies before accession. In the instructive chapter about the United Kingdom, Sharon Wright does not just present the waves of reforms moving Britain from a procedural towards a procedural-market-corporate hybrid model that is still mostly procedural in a clear and convincing manner. She also helps us understand the changes by adding the political and macroeconomic background that the reader often misses from the other, more narrowly construed country chapters. Wright is also in an enviable position when analysing the (mixed) effects of the governance reforms. When spelling out the outcome, output and process effects of the 'New Deal programmes', the 'Employment Zones', and 'Working Neighbourhoods Pilots', she could build her judgements on such by now slightly dated but very thorough and methodologically advanced studies as NAO (2007), based on longitudinal cohort data, and the survey of Hasluck and Green [2007].

In conclusion, if policy makers want to get welfare policy measures right, they cannot afford just to play around with euros, days and percentages and not to consider also changes in governance mechanisms. In order to get them right, they have to be able to predict where what sort of changes can achieve what sort of results. We need answers to questions like: given

the kind of country we live in, if we want a more efficient, fairer, or more empowering activation policy, what exactly should we change about the public employment agencies? Those answers are still a long way away, but reading this book can take the reader one step closer to them.

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Sven Kunisch, Stephan A. Boehm and Michael Boppel (eds.): *From Grey to Silver. Managing the Demographic Change Successfully*

Heidelberg 2011: Springer, 223 pp.

Aside from globalisation, climate change, shrinking natural resources and urbanisation, demographic change is one of the most crucial issues of the upcoming decades [Vanhuysse and Goerres 2012]. Ageing and shrinking populations in some parts of the world and massively growing populations in others will present completely new challenges and opportunities