

faced, one senses, a big decision. Would they attempt to exploit the variation among cases to test causal inferences, or would they use the wealth of evidence to build a composite picture of patronage in contemporary Europe? The first option would allow them to wade into debates that have long roiled the field. For example, what explains variation in the extent of patronage across countries? Is it the nature of the party system, the timing of democratisation vis-à-vis state consolidation [Shefter 1994], the adoption of civil service reforms, or something else? Despite the depth and quality of the data collected, this option is daunting because the number of potential causal variables is large given the disparate set of cases on offer. The second option, building a composite picture, is tempting because the chief feature of that picture, the strength and breadth of the shift from electoral to organisational patronage, is so striking.

As I read, I was increasingly reminded of Bernard Silberman's classic study of state-building and bureaucratic legitimation *Cages of Reason* [1993]. Silberman memorably distinguished between the American and continental—especially French—modes of state-building. The latter was predicated on the Weberian conception of insulated career civil servants. The American mode was based on short stints of public service by professionals whose accreditation typically was established in the private sphere (lawyers, doctors, actuaries, etc.). In the fluid American model, the passage of these professionals back and forth between the public and private sectors was given largely by the flow of electoral fortunes. If bureaucratic rationality is understood in terms of professional and effective administration, Silberman's innovation was to grasp that the American 'patronage' model of state-building could be just as rational as the continental one. Even if the details of Silberman's story and that in the volume reviewed here sometimes differ,

the logic and overall narrative arc are immediately recognisable. Welcome, Europe, to the new iron cage.

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**Hanspeter Kriesi, Sandra Lavenex,  
Frank Esser, Jörg Matthes, Marc  
Bühlmann and Daniel Bochsler:**  
*Democracy in the Age of Globalization  
and Mediatization*

Basingstoke 2013: Palgrave Macmillan,  
250 pp.

This book presents the intermediate results of a major Swiss research programme called 'Challenges to Democracy in the 21st Century' that was established in 2005 and is intended to run for twelve years. The programme involves 85 researchers from seven disciplines working at twenty partner institutions and commands a budget of approximately twelve million euro. Since its inception the research programme has produced nearly 400 publications (for further details see <http://www.nccr-democracy.uzh.ch>). Synthesising and focusing a multi-disciplinary research programme of these dimensions is a Herculean task that, if pursued successfully, promises to leave its mark on the field. It is against this backdrop that the current volume has to be read.

The volume is divided into two parts. The first part ('Democracy—a Moving Target of Great Complexity and Variability') develops the conceptual framework, sets

out the understanding of democracy that is employed throughout the book, and empirically measures and maps the varieties of democracy in a novel way. The second part ('The Challenges of Globalization and Mediatization') presents the findings concerning the impact of the growth of multi-level governance structures and of the structural changes in mass communication on the workings of democracy.

In his introduction, Hanspeter Kriesi explains why globalisation and mediatization have been identified as the main challenges to representative democracy, at least in Western democracies. Globalisation is said to create ever denser global interdependencies between nation-states leading to denationalisation, the dissolution of boundaries, and the creation of new types of governance beyond the nation-state. The main challenge to democracy that arises is the growing incongruence between the rulers and the ruled, which undermines established forms of representation and accountability. 'While globalization leads to incongruence between the national demos and the decision-makers from without, the proliferation and diversification of the media channels fragments the "demos" from within.' (p. 11) The diversification and commercialisation of the media system are identified as structural transformations that challenge the workings of the 'public sphere' in which the political communication between citizens and between citizens and their elected rulers takes place. Given the central role of the media for political communication, the information and participation of citizens in politics and the control of power-holders, the profound changes we are witnessing in the media system do influence the democratic process. While the challenges of globalisation are rather straightforward, those of the transformation of the media system for democracy seem more ambivalent. The technologically and economically driven proliferation and diversification of communi-

cation channels have democratic potential, but it is uncertain how this potential can be realised. The commercialisation of the media tends to distort and undermine the political functions of the public sphere more directly.

Having set the scene, the question of how democracy should be understood and measured is tackled in the three chapters in Part 1. The chapter 'Democracy as a Moving Target' focuses on the argument that the preconditions of a functioning democracy are undermined by globalisation. Kriesi criticises those who state that there exist 'necessary conditions' that democracy presupposes and that these conditions tend to wane in the face of globalisation. After scrutinising the arguments and the evidence concerning these conditions (such as cultural homogeneity, economic prosperity, a favourable international context, and a public communication system), Kriesi concludes that 'there do not seem to be any hard and fast necessary conditions for democracy, except for the existence of a minimal demos and a minimal polity' and that such minimal conditions are met at the supranational and even the global level (p. 42).

The chapter 'Models for Democracy', by Marc Bühlmann and Hanspeter Kriesi, develops a process-oriented model of representative democracy that aims to strike a balance between clarity and complexity and between procedural and substantive characterisations of democracy. The resulting model depicts democratic politics as an iterative process that is oriented towards a differentiated policy-cycle model consisting of eight stages from preference formation to policy outputs and back. The inputs and outputs of democratic politics are connected by a 'chain of responsibility' and a 'chain of accountability' (p. 46). In addition, they identify ten (substantive) requirements that a political system has to fulfil in order to be considered a representative democracy (ranging from equal participation to

implementation capability) (Fig. 3.2, p. 58). Although the authors admit that in real-world representative democracies phenomena such as direct democratic means, administrative channels that link politicians to interest groups, autonomous agencies, and protest politics are widespread, these elements are not systematically integrated into their model.

Astonishingly, the developed model of representative democracy is not directly used to construct the empirical 'varieties of democracy' that are the subject of the next chapter. Based on the 'democracy barometer', an empirical tool developed within the NCCR-Democracy program, the authors, Daniel Bochsler and Hanspeter Kriesi, map the differences between democracies for the period of 1990–2007. Extending the original analysis of Arendt Lijphart from 36 to 50 countries, from 2 to 5 dimensions, and from 10 to 19 indicators, the authors present a refined and rich data set concerning the empirical varieties of democracy. The authors confirm some well-known trade-offs between certain characteristics of democratic systems such as the ones between vertical accountability and effective representation and between direct and representative democracy, but they also discuss some less-known trade-offs such as the one between liberalism and judicial review (pp. 92–93). As the authors note, the analysis of the data is still at the beginning. To fully appreciate and check the compiled data, one must consult the website of the democracy barometer that is given in the book. Still, it is striking that some dimensions of the empirical variety of democracies, such as the direct democratic channel or the federal-centralised dimension, do not show up in the model of representative democracy. This would have deserved some discussion and justification.

The second part of the volume is devoted to a discussion of the effects of globalisation and mediation on the work-

ings of representative democracy. The discussion in both cases starts with chapters that develop the analytical framework followed by chapters devoted to the empirical assessment of the identified challenges. The chapter 'Globalization and the Vertical Challenge to Democracy', by Sandra Lavenex, starts with three models of 'international polity formation' that are widely discussed in the literature on European integration: the intergovernmental, the federal and the multi-level model. The multi-level model is then taken as the starting point for a discussion of five challenges to democracy that may arise: the problems of congruence, inclusiveness, transparency, accountability, and responsiveness. These challenges are then discussed using the European Union as an example because the EU is seen 'as the most progressed case of internationalization' (p. 132). While it is fully legitimate to discuss problems of (de)democratisation taking the EU as an example, it is rather problematic to equate globalisation with European integration (p. 6). Such an approach will at least disappoint those who are interested in the effects of structural transformations in the field of security, economics, the environment, human rights, or migration on democracy that reach beyond Europe [Diehl 2005; Held and McGrew 2007]. Aside from this caveat, the chapter neatly summarises and exposes the democratic deficits—without mentioning this term—that arise at the national and the European level as a consequence of the European integration process.

The next chapter, also by Sandra Lavenex, looks at the instruments and effects of the EU's attempts at external democracy promotion by means of 'leverage', 'linkage', and 'governance'. She arrives at a rather ambivalent conclusion: 'Even if the international community were consistent and comprehensive in its democratization policies, which it rarely is, the success of these policies will still, to a very considera-

ble extent, rest on domestic predispositions in the target countries' (p. 153). The relationship that the article constructs between globalisation and democracy promotion seems, however, rather artificial. The spread of democracies worldwide is said to be driven by 'globalisation' (p. 135), while the examples that are given almost exclusively refer to the EU. The more critical literature on the long history of democracy promotion by the United States or the United Nations is not taken into account nor is it argued whether and how 'globalisation' may facilitate or inhibit democracy promotion [Burron 2012; Peksen 2012].

The next two chapters are devoted to the challenges of mediatisation for democracy. In his conceptual chapter Frank Esser defines mediatisation 'as the growing intrusion of media logic as an institutional rule into other fields' (p. 160). The crucial question then is whether the professionalisation, commercialisation, and technological diversification of the media undermines their democratic functions—to inform citizens comprehensively about politics and to contribute to an 'enlightened understanding' of and serve as a control on politics; or, in the words of the authors: whether 'political logic' is supplanted by 'media logic'.

The chapter 'Mediatization Effects on Political News, Political Actors, Political Decisions, and Political Attitudes', by Frank Esser and Jörg Matthes, summarises the empirical findings of several research projects that were conducted in the framework of the NCCR programme. Among the many interesting findings, three stand out. First, the media have definitely moved to the centre of the democratic process. Second, mediatisation does pose a challenge for democracy, but not all political arenas and institutions are similarly vulnerable to becoming 'mediatised'. Third, huge differences still exist between countries. While in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Italy, for instance, mediati-

sation has reached dangerous levels, corporatist (like Switzerland) and polarised-pluralist systems (like France) are less prone to succumb to media logic.

In his concluding chapter, Hanspeter Kriesi addresses the state of democracy by assessing the given conditions for the global spread of democracy, for the democratisation of multi-level systems like the EU, and for the democratisation of established democracies based on the findings presented in the volume.

This book provides an excellent overview of the state of the art on several important dimensions of democracy research and invites a closer look at the research output of the NCCR programme. On a critical note, it is striking that the term 'globalisation' remains under-conceptualised throughout the book. It almost seems to be used as a proxy for European integration, which is a pity, because it may mislead the interested reader. The usefulness of the conceptual framework could even have been enhanced if both 'globalisation' and 'mediatisation' had been systematically included or related to the refined model of representative democracy. A second critical observation is that the book is not entirely coherent—although it puts more emphasis on reaching this ideal than is usually the case. For instance, not all authors take the systematic model of representative democracy as the starting point of their explorations. Even within the same topic it is not always clear how the theoretical framework is related to the empirical research that follows.

Even if the Herculean task referred to in the beginning has not yet been fully accomplished, this volume presents a rich tableau of research and is a valuable read for all those interested in the future of democracy, particularly in the Western part of the world.

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**Andy Furlong: Youth Studies:  
An Introduction**

London 2012: Routledge, 300 pp.

This book aims to provide undergraduate students with a source from which to obtain a first idea of the concepts, theories, and trends within youth studies. At the end of each chapter it offers a summary of key facts and findings, further questions, recommendations for further readings, and other sources of information, such as Youtube clips. Although not explicitly specified in the book, the roots of youth studies lie in various disciplines. Furlong takes into account the field's multidisciplinary character and focuses on different aspects, such as distinctions in youth, education, employment, family and friends, identities, youth cultures and lifestyles, health and well-being, crime and justice, and citizenship, from different angles. The target group of this book are students in sociology, politics, criminology, social policy, geography, and psychology.

Andy Furlong defines youth as a social construct, detached from biological criteria. Youth is the phase between childhood and adulthood and more broadly defined than adolescence. He points out that the definition of youth is constructed differently across time and space. Following a definition by Heinz [2009], youth is one com-

ponent in the life course and is greatly defined by the economy and the educational and social policies of a state. Furlong sketches two basic research streams: those that focus on a transitional perspective, such as the transition from education to the labour market, and those that emphasise cultural aspects, such as youth subcultures and lifestyles. However, youth studies are not only relevant for analysing youth per se, but also for studying social change and changes to welfare states. As Furlong states, the situation of youth provides 'a unique window on processes of social and economic change and facilitates the exploration of some of the big theoretical concerns in social science' (p. 5).

The leitmotif of the chapters is the de-linearisation of social processes. Thus, the book mainly takes up a transitional perspective, while the cultural approach is only taken up in chapter 7 on 'youth cultures and lifestyles'. The various examples of social change outlined in the chapters highlight the move from a paradigm of normal biography to a paradigm of choice biographies. They show the pluralisation of life courses and underline the difficulties of defining youth based on specific life events. Simultaneously, the change from a typical life-course to the multiplication of life-courses has accelerated, as a result of which youth cannot use their parents' life as a reference point for their own biography. Driven by technological progress as well as economic, social, and other factors, social change in contemporary societies has speeded up. The accelerating tempo of social transformation forces younger generations to quickly adapt their attitudes and life concepts, while the continuous adaptation of traditional life patterns becomes more and more challenging [Mannheim 1928]. There is no longer a clear delineation between the phase of formal learning and the start of vocational career. Furlong characterises the education-to-work transition as manifold, involving phases of uncertainty and even reverse transitions back into