

success of parties established through bottom-up social mobilisation raises intriguing questions in the context of anti-austerity activism.

In many ways, however, the fate of party politics in older Western democracies depends more on the adaptive capacities of established parties than the ability of successful newcomers to dig in. Paradoxically, many of Bolleyer's theoretical innovations speak most eloquently to the situation of newer party systems of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Here her findings imply that frequent breakthroughs by ephemeral new protest parties—usually hard-to-institutionalise 'entrepreneurial' formations—will not necessarily condemn the region to cycles of instability, as some have suggested. At the same time, however, it is painfully clear that many of CEE's supposedly 'established' parties exhibit the same brittle forms of persistence and superficial consolidation characteristic of failed new party formations Bolleyer examines.

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**Franz-Xaver Kaufmann: *European Foundations of the Welfare State***

(trans. from the German by John Veit-Wilson with the assistance of Thomas Skelton-Robinson and a foreword by Anthony B. Atkinson)  
New York and Oxford 2012: Berghahn Books, 400 pp.

Dismissing the stale debates around the various 'worlds of welfare', this book reconsiders the very understructure of the umbrella concept that is the welfare state (p. 7). Transcending its purported aim—a sociological theory of social policy—with a wealth of historical knowledge and political theory, Kaufmann delves into an in-depth analysis of the normative underpin-

nings of welfare states. With the isomorphism between nation-state and welfare state of the 'Golden Age' being gradually eroded, Kaufmann's selection as a case-study of the 'Western world' seems justified by a change in the traditional welfare paradigm, as it is precisely the poor in the rich countries that are more at risk [Ferge 1997]. Following a German reading of social policy (p. 2), which sometimes slips into a somewhat single-handed analysis of the German welfare state, the author pursues a putative deficit in reflexivity towards the welfare state (p. 240), manifested as a gap between linking social welfare issues with theories of the state (p. 5).

The first four chapters contain a lavish intellectual history stemming from Kaufmann's conviction that the push towards welfare states could not have been done without ideatic foundations (p. 90). From the vantage point of modern sociology, which speaks about the empowerment necessary to cope with modern life (p. 16), Kaufmann follows the tradition of other leading German sociologists who have argued that the influence of the state on human lives is still unsurpassed by any other organisational construct [Leibfried and Zurn 2005]. There are two features that set this book apart. On the one hand, rather than measuring the retrenchment-vs.-expansion line, Kaufmann asks how and why the specific problem of European welfare states is not their lack of power to intervene, but the consequences of their success (p. 11). On the other hand, he explicitly recognises that religious-historical factors sometimes superseded social-democratic thinking in the birth of welfare states (p. 76), although sometimes the timeline seems forcefully stretched as the author goes as far back as 12th century Europe (pp. 79–80). There are echoes here of the seminal work by Philip Gorski [2003]. Outside the slight overestimations of the role of Christian charity qua normative basis of welfare-ism, this detailed historical ac-

count, in a sense a teleology of modern statehood, presents the welfare state as a politically determined form of social organisation, which aims at social inclusion in the widest possible understanding of the term (p. 77).

Chapters 5 to 10 map the appearance, functional differentiation, and role of various types of social policy intervention, from the stereotypical income redistribution and in kind benefits to the more intriguing ecological interventions. It is at this rather late stage in the text that Kaufmann introduces his key tenet: *the object of a sociological theory of social policy is the intervention of the state in social circumstances, more concretely in the structural conditions under which people lead their everyday life* (p. 159). The main contribution of these chapters is to highlight the dire need to break the optimistic 'Golden Age'-belief that the failure of the market must necessarily indicate the state's ability to solve threatening problems (p. 219). This substantive part of the book is again well-embedded in recent trends in welfare state research. Kaufmann comes back time and again to strategic theories of pacification and inclusion via social policy (on which see especially Vanhuyse [2004, 2006]). While it has been shown that the welfare state does not safeguard the interests of the poor just qua poor [Baldwin 1992], the activation of the state's potential for inclusion does seem to hinge on the extent to which certain groups (sometimes the socially disadvantaged, sometimes others) are able to gain influence (p. 152). Kaufmann stresses the welfare state's historical role towards pacifying class conflict (p. 201) to better highlight the point that social policy can never remain static without ceasing to integrate society (p. 181). On the other hand, Kaufmann rightly notes that, from the state's perspective, social interventions apply to more or less opaque contexts (p. 158), due to a somewhat rigid standardisation, as individuals become comparable

across status indicators and participatory opportunities within the emergence of social policies (p. 153).

Kaufmann moves with great ease between conceptual historical analysis and sociological inquiry, yet one might ask whether his whole-hearted choice in favour of the latter improves existing studies on welfare states. In my view, the answer is affirmative. In his unspoken dialogue with the rigid empiricism characterising parts of the comparative political science scholarship, the author rightly points out that the strength of a sociological theory of social policy lies in the inclusion of all actors on the social field into the analysis and in seeing a greater picture than just the individual (p. 159). On the other hand, although the book renounces methodological strictness (borrowing from political science and political theory) in its more substantive parts, it does not go far towards solving a key problem of many studies (historical or sociological) of welfare states—neglecting the role of agency [Peters et al. 2005; Vanhuyse 2007; Cerami and Vanhuyse 2009].

Kaufmann argues that the term 'social state' is a simplification because not only is welfare production constructed at multiple levels (state, economy, voluntary welfare sector, private households [p. 210]), but its intended outcomes are also multivariate (improvement of legal status, increase in resources, improvement of capability for action [p. 162]). What sets welfare states apart in the landscape of state-mandated interventions are the conserving of entrepreneurial freedom, the veering of primary income distribution exclusively towards payment for production and the public supplementing of the services of private households (pp. 262–263). Barring the somewhat vague Chapter 10, this substantive section of the book coherently presents all the intricacies of social policy creation and implementation from the early publicly debated and then politicised problematic situations to the final stages of institu-

tional implementation and debates for expanding the budget (p. 187).

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.

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**Blanche Le Bihan, Claude Martin and Trudie Knijn (eds.): *Work and Care under Pressure: Care Arrangements across Europe***

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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