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Gosta Esping-Andersen with Duncan Gallie, Anton Hemerijck and John Myles, *Why We Need a New Welfare State*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, xxix + 244 pp., £50.00 hbk., £17.99 pbk

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Book Reviews

Harold L. Wilensky, *Rich Democracies: Political Economy, Public Policy and Performance*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2002, xxx + 891 pp., £29.95 pbk, £59.00 hbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0047279403217098

This is a massive book that is the culmination of fifty years' work. At its heart is the question – is the United States so exceptional in its political and social structure that it will never develop a fully fledged welfare state?

To pursue this theme Wilensky draws on a lifetime of comparative study, the foundation of which is the approach he pioneered in the 1960s. Countries are assigned rankings or scores that reflect their level of economic development, demographic and social structures, forms of political organisation, social welfare institutional forms and outcomes. Statistical path analysis is employed to test relationships and search for common patterns.

I have to say I have always been suspicious of this kind of approach, preferring detailed accounts grounded in fully understood local contexts. I am worried about the crudity of the measures. However, many political positions rest on flimsy international comparisons or anecdotal examples. The French and Germans know how to run health care better than most. The Americans' flexible labour market is the key to their comparative economic success. Family structures are all going the same way globally in the face of modernity. These are, in essence, crude international correlations. If you are going to try to make international comparative generalisations at least base them on a theoretical starting point and do so consistently and carefully with statistical support. These are the hallmarks of Wilensky's work.

He begins by reaffirming convergence theory. Like it or not, he argues, rich economies are experiencing common and remarkable changes in their social structures – ageing, falling family size, changing family forms, marriage and divorce rates, in the participation of women in the labour force and in the structure of employment. In the long sweep of history these and ageing in particular have been associated with significant developments in social welfare policy and are continuing to be so. However, different political institutions and traditions mediate these structural changes in different ways. The most successful on his measures have been the European corporatist structures with powerful labour movement involvement and Catholic traditions. These have been powerfully associated not just with high spending but with successes in economic performance, income distribution, health, and environmental protection. Welfare regimes barely figure in this account. What we have are structural factors spread along varied continua. He is dismissive of the whole idea of globalisation. 'I have found that external pressures that are labelled "globalisation" have little or no effect in explaining social policies or system outputs' (p. 640). These are internally driven.

America has, by and large, adapted unsuccessfully, he claims. Its economic performance has not been good, especially if you consider the quality of jobs created and the scale of 'mayhem, risk and poor personal safety' that have resulted. (There is a mayhem index!) He ends with a chapter that sets out a centre left programme that could move the USA nearer to the centre of world social policy developments and make it less of an exception.

This book will clearly not appeal to the neo-conservative right or to many in New Labour who think America has the answer to all our problems. It is un-apologetically old fashioned in many ways. There is a whole chapter debunking 'post-industrialism' and 'post-materialism'. Post-modernism does not even get a mention. There are innumerable occasions on which Wilensky makes a thought-provoking point, or sums up a country's institutions deftly.

Yet the reader is left with some unexamined questions. Given the USA's proclaimed lack of success in social terms, why are American ideas so rampant? May it be that many of the social changes he clearly lays out began in the US? Hence, they have been early, if not always right, in the way they have approached them? Or is it more to do with the dominance of American social science? Is he too accepting of the continued effectiveness of the European corporatist model? May not entrenched union power make necessary change more difficult, as critics in and outside Germany and France would argue? Or may the changes, when they come, be more robust, as the Swedes would claim about their pension reforms?

There is a sense that the debates of the last half-decade outside America are somewhat less than fully reflected. That may be because all his life's work of notes and material were lost when his Berkeley house was burned down in 1991. I cannot imagine how I would have gone on in such circumstances. But this book is a remarkable testament to a scholar whose enthusiasm, insight and industry have remained undimmed.

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Gosta Esping-Andersen with Duncan Gallie, Anton Hemerijck and John Myles, *Why We Need a New Welfare State*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, xxix + 244 pp., £50.00 hbk., £17.99 pbk.

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One of the characteristics of the European Union's strategy for influencing social policy is gradualism. There is a process, often starting with a consultative exercise, of softening up – of gradually infiltrating ideas designed to change the agenda – that by-passes the formal machinery of decision-making.¹ One of the interests of this book is that it illustrates the process and provides some hints about the way in which the agenda is likely to evolve. The papers on which this book is based were commissioned for a conference on the evolving architecture of European welfare states, organised by the Belgian Presidency of the EU in 2001. This was seen as the first step in a process of 'open co-ordination', i.e. the creation of a dialogue between the EU's member states designed both to promote learning across nations and to prompt the evolution of a European social policy paradigm. The belief shaping this initiative is that by comparing the performance of the member states, and assessing their achievements against criteria of social justice, it should be possible to move towards convergence in the policies adopted.

What will the new European social paradigm look like? This is in essence the question addressed by Esping-Andersen and his co-authors, even though they warn that 'a fully fledged, synchronised European reform policy remains out of the question'. The assumptions shaping their answers are set out by Esping-Andersen in his introductory chapter. First, the social and economic conditions that shaped existing welfare states have been radically transformed. The structure of families and the workforce have changed; the labour force has become increasingly polarised, with a class of workers locked into inferior jobs and poor life chances; the ageing of the

populations creates new challenges. Second, and following on from this, a new social contract is needed. There has to be more emphasis on improving the quality of childhood – seen as the key to future life chances. There has to be a new gender contract, to allow women to harmonize motherhood and careers. There have to be cross-cutting policies, spanning the public–private divide: an effective anti-poverty strategy must combine measures designed to facilitate female employment, quality of work improvements, social care and income maintenance. Third, all policies must be assessed against Rawlsian principles of justice, i.e. ‘according to which a benefit to some is demonstrably also beneficial for all’. Fourth, welfare spending should be seen as a form of social investment: knowledge-dominated societies suffering from labour shortages need to make full use of human capital, particularly that of women.

Subsequent chapters analyse in detail the issues raised in this introductory survey. Esping-Andersen contributes chapters on a child-centred investment strategy and on a new gender contract. The two, he argues, are linked. Not only is there a need for an adequate basic income guarantee for families with children but also for other familiar measures such as good-quality pre-school and day care, particularly for underprivileged children. But at least equally important, the key to dealing with social exclusion and poverty lies in expanding the opportunities of women to have good jobs with good pay. In turn, women-friendly policies demand affordable day care, paid parental leave (for men as well as women) and provisions for work absence when children are ill. In subsequent chapters Duncan Gallie outlines a programme for improving the quality of working life (for example, investing more in skill training and reducing stress levels) and John Myles provides an acute analysis of the options for pension policies in ageing societies (for example, raising the retirement age and devising a formula for inter-generational equity based on sharing risks between payers and beneficiaries).

None of this is revelatory. Indeed if it were, the project of evolving some common European model would be even more utopian than seems at first sight. Esping-Andersen’s new European model would, I suspect, look remarkably like today’s Scandinavian systems. Much of the prescription, such as the emphasis on boundary-crossing policies, echoes New Labour. Rather than offering new revelations the book has two distinguishing characteristics, one negative and the other positive. The negative feature of the book is that the authors tend to carry the logic of their prescriptions rather further than common sense might suggest and tend to skate over some of the problems involved. Witness, for example, Gallie’s proposal that there should be periodic ‘health audits’ of organisations to monitor working conditions. Given that the worst working conditions are probably in small businesses, is this a feasible proposition? More generally, all the authors tend to assume that the overriding objective should be to create a more skilled workforce with more interesting (and rewarding) jobs, which would suggest that EU societies will have to rely on immigrants to do the nasty work: who, if not they, will wipe bottoms? Lastly, there is the question of costs – raised in the concluding chapter by Anton Hemerijck, who tackles questions of political feasibility. The authors do indeed cost their proposals, in terms of the usually very low percentage of Gross Domestic Product that would be required to pay for their recommendations. That is only logical given their emphasis on looking at societal spending rather than public expenditure. Many of the measures would, however, require public expenditure, and Chancellors of the Exchequer are concerned with levels of taxation, not shifts in the GDP. Nor would they be impressed by general claims that such spending is a good investment; they might well ask for evidence in support of this contention.

That said, the book offers an extremely sophisticated comparative analysis, well grounded in data. If its analysis is more convincing than some of its prescriptions, it is nevertheless an important addition to the literature for teachers and postgraduate students of social policy if

not undergraduates. And, who knows, it may indeed tell us about the likely future direction of social policy in the European Union even though there will undoubtedly be national deviations.

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Notes

- 1 Laura Cramp (1997) *Policy-Making in the EU*, London: Routledge.

John Hill, Julian Le Grand and David Piachaud (eds.), *Understanding Social Exclusion*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002, xiv + 274 pp., £50.00 hbk, £18.99 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0047279403237090

This book is a product of the ESRC funded Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion at the LSE. As the editors put it: 'All the authors of this book are associated with CASE, and it represents an attempt to pull together some of the many strands of the Centre's work over its first three years, together with some related work conducted elsewhere, to gain some understanding of the phenomenon of social exclusion in Britain at the beginning of the twenty-first century'. The book falls into four sections. The Introduction and Chapters 2 and 3 are conceptual and concerned with issues of definition and operationalization. Chapter 3 also uses British Household Panel Data in assessing the extent of contemporary social exclusion. Chapter 4 extends this in an explicitly dynamic treatment. Chapters 5–8 are concerned with the 'causes of social exclusion' examining generational differences, demographic context, the impact of low-paid work, and the relationship between exclusion and neighbourhood. Chapters 9–12 look at policy initiatives addressed at issues of exclusion. The conclusion asks the question: 'Does a focus on "social exclusion" change the policy response?'

The book shows the weaknesses and strengths of LSE Social Administration's approaches to the relationship between social change and social policy. None of the contributors is described as a 'sociologist' although there are several economists and one political philosopher in addition to 'social policy' specialists. There is minimal evidence of engagement with sociology's concerns with the nature of social stratification, the character of macro-social change, and the significance of cultural forms and processes for the experience of life. Tellingly, the term 'culture' does not appear in the index either as a general theme or specifically as 'culture of poverty'. In so far as issues of class are addressed it is through a tantalizing but undeveloped noting of Parkin's conception of 'social closure' and through an implicitly Weberian discussion of class in relation to command over resources. The book does not address the relationship between the 'condition' of social exclusion and change in social structure. It is descriptive and its conception of the role of policy is essentially incremental and responsive.

The weakest element is conceptual treatment. The editors miss the significance of Catholic social teaching in relation to the formation of the concept of social exclusion. This is not just a matter of getting the historical record correct, it means that they do not recognize the nature of political and social responses to the capitalist programme of modernity and the socialist alternatives to it, which formed European political culture in the twentieth century. The operationalization of the concept attempted by Burchardt *et al.* in Chapter 3 relies on the construction of a multi-dimensional time-ordered contingency table – an Aristotelian polythetic classification. This is much more than a technical matter because the rigidity of such a classificatory scheme means that the definition is imposed on the data rather than deriving

from it – a crucial failure of UK social statistics in general – and it minimizes the extent of social exclusion through time. As it happens I agree with these authors that social exclusion is a highly dynamic experience and most move into and out of the condition but far more are in it for longer than their definition will permit. Moreover, in this chapter and in Burgess and Proper's on the dynamic aspects of exclusion, exclusion is understood as a nominalist property of individuals rather than a structural relation of collectivities.

The strengths of the book are in the descriptive element. Although the editors identify Chapters 5–8 as concerned with 'causes', none includes explicit causal theorization but most, especially McKnight's on low paid work, are useful and give informative accounts of the context of exclusion. Likewise the policy-centred Chapters 9 through 12 are also reasonable accounts of the way social exclusion as a theme has informed the development of UK social policy practices in a range of fields.

Mainstream UK social policy has had a history of disciplinary parochialism and this book does not challenge this tradition. There is a reasonably useful engagement with the apparatus of economic research – although again we have very arbitrary definitions in discussion of inequalities of income. There is very little with other disciplines which have a good deal to contribute. For example the two chapters addressing 'urban' themes in this collection draw on a limited range of examples from 'urban studies' and not at all on the well-developed literature on the dynamics of urban social change and polarization of urban space. That literature works precisely because it engages with sociology's conceptual tools for understanding social structure, social change, and the relationship between the macro-social level and the micro-social experiences of individual lives. Quite a lot of UK Social Policy work does do this, but this book doesn't.

DAVID BYRNE
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Guy Standing, *Beyond the New Paternalism: Basic Security As Equality*, Verso, London, 2002, xiv + 306 pp., £17.00 pbk.

DOI: 10.1017/S0047279403247097

We have in recent times been offered a variety of interpretations of the nature of the prevailing global orthodoxy and prescriptions for an alternative. Delegates to the Social Policy Association's 2001 annual conference in Belfast will remember Guy Standing's entertaining plenary address in which he outlined his own account of the global crisis in social protection. *Beyond the New Paternalism* provides a welcome elaboration of that account. Although he is here writing in a personal capacity, as Director of the International Labour Organisation's Socio-Economic Programme this is an author with a standing (sorry, the pun is irresistible) that enables him to draw persuasively and imaginatively from first-hand anecdote and informed intuition, as well as from research findings and the accepted canons of academic analysis. The result is an often refreshing, and invariably critical, questioning of the basic concepts and language of employment and social policy debate.

The book describes itself as 'an attempt to rethink the place of work in society and to propose a coherent strategy for strengthening basic economic security and a sense of occupational security' (p. xii). The 'new paternalism' that is the target of the author's critique is embodied in the 'Third Wayism' of the current era. Standing's argument is that during the twentieth century 'the balance or rhetoric shifted from exulting over the rights of labour through demanding the right to labour and then ending up emphasising the duty to labour' (p. 9). Statutory regulation in the old paternalist era of labourist consensus gave way to market

regulation in the era of the so-called 'Washington Consensus'. But, the argument goes, the unsustainability of the gulf between the winners and the losers in the process of globalisation has now brought us to a new paternalistic consensus in which both 'Third Way' Social Democrats and 'compassionate' Conservatives can broadly agree around a social integrationist approach based on minimum social standards and welfare pluralism; the promotion of social and individual human capital; active labour market policies; and the creative use of fiscal policy to boost competitiveness and regulate behaviour. Standing's prescription for a more equal and less-paternalistic society is based on proposals for a citizen's income; new forms of economic democracy; and a revived understanding of work and occupation (as expressions of human identity), as opposed to labour and employment (as expressions of human subordination).

Paraphrased thus, such a conclusion might be dismissed as at best utopian or at worst banal, but it needs to be understood in relation to the complex argument that Standing develops throughout the book. He distinguishes between seven conceptually different kinds of (in)security – relating to labour markets, employment, jobs, work, skills, income and representation. He also offers a provocative, if tenuously substantiated, global social stratification model by which to identify the actual or potential coalitions of interest that might oppose or favour change. The model identifies seven strata: the global elite; the 'proficians' (that class of consultants who combine global professional ambitions with incessant technical creativity); the salariat; core workers (the traditional working class); flexiworkers; the unemployed; the detached. The contention is that 'labour thrives on insecurity, but human development does not' (p. 69). The 'crunch' issue for most strata, of course, is income security. But at the same time the more disadvantaged strata need a more effective democratic 'voice', and it is in everyone's interest that they should be free to develop and realise their fundamental competencies.

I have reservations about the way Standing attempts, for example, to combine and apply the thinking of Rawls on the one hand and Sen on the other, but the power of the book for me lies in its critique of Third Way workfarism and managerialism. He argues that equality requires basic security; a right to a job that is chosen by somebody else is no right at all; being taught the tricks necessary to remain competitive does not amount to learning; we should resist the deceit that underpins managerialist calls of 'empowerment' through labour market attachment: 'It is dis-empowerment that is required: it is the negation of those [behavioural] controls . . . Dignified work can only evolve if ordinary people have the capacity to say "No"' (p. 277).

The book does, I confess, sometimes feel as if it is an anthology of recent speeches or presentations by the author: favourite expressions and illustrations are repeated in several chapters. Also, in spite of the author's commendable irreverence for the 'babble of euphemisms' through which the prevailing policy orthodoxy is usually discussed, his own writing often lapses into the use of technical concepts and acronyms that would not necessarily be accessible to a less-sophisticated undergraduate audience. Despite that, this is a book that most definitely deserves a place on reading lists for courses dealing with employment issues in comparative context. And, certainly, it makes for enjoyable reading for anybody who is concerned with current debates about labour market policy.

HARTLEY DEAN

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Martin Powell (ed.), *Evaluating New Labour's Welfare Reforms*, Policy Press, Bristol, 2002, vii + 262 pp., £50 hbk, £17.99 pbk.

DOI: 10.1017/S0047279403257093

If one thing can be said with any degree of certainty about New Labour's social policy it is that it has certainly aided Britain's academic book industry. It would therefore be understandable

if this book was dismissed simply as *just another* in a growing number of studies devoted to evaluating key areas of New Labour's social and welfare policy agenda. However, this would be unfortunate as this book not only offers informed evaluation in itself, but raises critical issues about what it is we are evaluating, and how we should evaluate, in relation to social policy.

This volume, in important ways, adds to Powell's 1999 collection, *New Labour, New Welfare State?* (1999, Policy Press, Bristol). Not only does it update the policy scene as it has emerged across different welfare sites, but it also seeks to evaluate Labour's policies in the government's own terms. Such 'intrinsic evaluation' therefore considers how far New Labour has met its pledges as stated in successive Manifesto's, Annual Reports and the like. This is supplemented by 'extrinsic evaluation' which 'examines targets that a third party considers that the government *should* be trying to achieve rather than a stated aim' (p. 5).

Individual chapters focus on policy developments such as social justice, family policy, housing, education, social care, social security, criminal justice, accountability reforms and the contribution of voluntary and community organisations to welfare provision. Each provides accessible summaries of New Labour's agenda in their respective sites. However, and while I acknowledge that no one book can cover everything, I was very disappointed to see that relatively little attention was given to a discussion around the impact, already existing and potentially, of Scottish and Welsh devolution on social and welfare policy. In the case of Scotland, for instance, while I think that social policy divergence post-devolution has generally been over-stated, nonetheless the Scottish Parliament's policy on student fees and higher education finance was surely worthy of some discussion but this was completely ignored in the education chapter. Likewise, the issue of funding of long-term care for the elderly in Scotland was neglected in the chapter on care.

There are more serious omissions in this volume though. I would strongly argue that the social policy academic community needs to devote more attention to the impact of New Labour's social policy reforms on those at the frontline that are delivering welfare. As I write this there are ongoing disputes in hospitals, colleges, in schools, among social workers and other local authority employees across the length and breadth of Britain, as workers resist the impacts of new managerialist strategies and cuts in wages and conditions. This, for me, goes to the heart of a key problem with this book: it fails to explore and analyse the underlying basis of New Labour's political project as it relates to social policy. Powell appears to reject the idea that we can discern such a project: 'contrary to some views, neither Old nor New Labour is a one-club golfer. They may select different clubs, and at times appear to be playing on different courses' (p. 33). If I can be allowed to extend Powell's golfing analogy, I would argue that Government targets to reduce child poverty, promote 'social justice', 'social inclusion' and to 'empower communities', to note but a few worthy if ambiguous objectives, are handicapped by New Labour's celebration of the market in all its forms. Therefore, I would have hoped for and expected more discussion of PFI/PPP and of marketisation strategies in other guises. To be fair a number of the contributors implicitly reject such developments. But the editor is rather dismissive of what he terms 'a more traditional agenda based on equality and redistribution' (p. 246). What is it that makes such an agenda 'traditional' or does this mean outdated? He continues: 'For better or worse, it was New Labour rather than the contributors to this book who were elected to govern' (p. 246). I do not think that we can afford to be so detached as this suggests from the reality of New Labour's reforms as they impact on service users and welfare workers. At this year's Social Policy Association Conference in Middlesbrough, as in past editions of *SPA News*, there has been some discussion as to how we make the study of social policy more relevant and attractive today. Can I suggest that one way forward might be to connect evaluation with the experiences of those at the both sides

of the frontline in the battle against the kind of welfare state that New Labour is attempting to forge.

GERRY MOONEY
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Ian Ferguson, Michael Lavalette and Gerry Mooney, *Rethinking Welfare: A Critical Perspective*, Sage, London, 2002, vii + 212 pp., £60.00 hbk, £17.99 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S004727940326709X

The aim of this book is to provide new analyses for welfare, and new ideas for a future of welfare. It seeks to remind us of the value of Marx's thinking for welfare debates. The authors argue that there has been a recent revival in Marxist thinking, because of new forms of world disorder, increased inequality and a return to political resistance (as expressed in the global anti-capitalist movement). Specifically, the authors wish to revitalise 'classical Marxism' and its centrality to welfare debates.

The book is structured around three parts. Part One claims 'The Relevance of Marx' and in this, the book presents an impassioned opening. According to the authors, the world has not changed in the last 50 years as much or as in many ways as western intellectual traditions would have us believe: class does matter and global inequalities are increasing. In reclaiming classical Marxism, Ferguson, Lavalette and Mooney want to wrest Marxist thought from 'western' or 'academic' Marxism, which, they argue, is too divorced from the experiential reality of working-class lives and overly concerned with hyper-theoretical and philosophical issues. Chapters 1 and 2, then, restate Marxian essentials – explicating core principles and dialectics.

Part Two is made up of five chapters organised around the book's core concepts: class, class struggle, alienation, oppression, capitalism and the family. This is a particularly weak section of the book, for there is nothing new for the reader. This is not a reworking or reapplication of Marx's ideas; there is no sense of development and evolution in these ideas and I am left with the feeling that it could have been written thirty years ago. Indeed, the bulk of the references – certainly those referring to ideas, rather than empirical examples – appear to be of that vintage. More worryingly it does not engage with the perspectives it critiques (social constructionism, social divisions of welfare) but dismisses them in a matter of sentences as if the logic of Marx's thought is enough. But the big disappointment is how little current empirical evidence is drawn upon to support their claims. Given Lavalette's work on child labour, for example, it seemed to me a missed opportunity to use this as a key example of oppression. Similarly, the chapter on alienation used higher education as evidence of increasing alienation in white-collar labour. First, this did not seem to me to be a good example compared to other white-collar contexts like call centre employment. Second, I know the lot of the academic has worsened over the last twenty years (as some of my longer standing colleagues never cease to remind me), but I still find it hard to see academic work as particularly alienating: we have astounding levels of autonomy compared to most other work environments and – a key feature in classical Marxism – we have a built in seasonality to our work. The authors do themselves few favours in this section – this is an angry rant with little to back it up and little critical analysis of their own ideological positionality.

Part Three analyses the 'Neo-Liberal Assault on Welfare'. Again, nothing new here and nothing that we don't already know. Chapter 8 provides an overview of the neo-liberal ideology of globalisation and its critics. Chapter 9 reviews the tensions within the Beveridge Report, the decimation of state welfare under the Tories and the contradictions of the Blair project. Unfortunately there are many other texts that cover this material more interestingly

and effectively. Finally, Chapter 10 heralds 'Welfare Futures'. I note with interest that this chapter seeks to address some concerns around identity and recognition, and universalism and particularism – which David Taylor identified as a lack in a previous publication. However, this is very limited and does not explore the contradiction in earlier dismissals of a social divisions perspective.

So what welfare future do the authors want? To be honest, it is hard to say – they actually give little attention to offering constructive alternatives, or routes to achieving them. And ultimately this is the biggest disappointment. I am left with a sense that this book is an impassioned plea for an era that has passed, without recognising the problematic nature of that past: the British welfare state has not been a benign institution for all – much research has revealed the exclusion and malign treatment of women, members of minority ethnic communities, people with disabilities, gay men and lesbians. Moreover, even those people who almost exclusively benefited – at least in the early years – the middle classes and established white working classes came to critique state welfare because of its bureaucratic and paternalistic practices and cultures.

I wanted to like this book. There is a dearth of literature seeking to address its central concerns and students really want to engage with more critical and Marxist analyses of social policy and welfare. I recognise I am coming at the questions with a different orientation, and maybe other readers with more ideological sympathy with the authors will get more out of the book. I would encourage undergraduate students to read it, for it does summarise well a classical Marxist analysis of social policy and welfare.

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H. K. Colebatch, *Policy* (2nd edn), Open University Press, Buckingham, 2002, viii + 151 pp., £12.99 pbk, ISBN: 0335209718.
DOI: 10.1017/S0047279403277096

In comparison with the number of student textbooks on social policy or British politics, there is a dearth of texts in one of the fields which links the two – public policy. A new edition of one of the few books related to this field is therefore to be welcomed. However, the short title of 'Policy' should warn readers that this book does not aspire to be a standard public policy text. So, too, should its location within the Open University Press series on 'Concepts in the Social Sciences'. It is, as the title of the series implies, an exploration of the concept rather than an introduction to the subject.

The book builds impressively upon its predecessor, with the theoretical content significantly stronger and more wide-ranging. All of the issues that one would expect to be dealt with are in here somewhere (policy communities, stages of the policy process, the role of ideas, public management, public choice theory, policy transfer and learning and numerous others). However, they often appear and reappear briefly as part of an ongoing and wide-ranging discussion in each chapter. These are usually titled with a rhetorical question (e.g. 'Who Makes Policy?', 'What Is It For?', 'How Do You Do It?') which promises more clarity than it delivers. Indeed, there are rather too many rhetorical questions throughout the book. This might seem like nit-picking if it were not indicative of Colebatch's central approach. This approach has its merits, since Colebatch writes well and clearly knows his stuff. He can be relied upon to understand the central issues of debate, cite the key authors and summarise effectively. However, he demands a lot of his readers. As a knowledgeable tour through the field of 'policy' (really 'public policy'), this book is hard to fault. As an introductory text for students looking

for a guide to the nuts and bolts of the policy process, it is frequently interesting but also rather complex. In particular, the book would have benefited from an expanded discussion of the role of executives, legislature and judiciary, in combination with the discussion in the first edition of the roles of 'leaders', 'aides', 'followers' and others. It is this sort of basic material that students new to this subject require and which is on the thin side here.

Instead, the book provides relatively brief discussions of quite complex ideas. Colebatch's use of 'horizontal' and 'vertical' axes of analysis exemplifies both the strengths and weaknesses of the book, providing a concise device through which students can grasp some difficult issues but also demanding some prior familiarity with these issues if it is not merely to complicate rather than clarify the learning process. Much the same can be said of his use of a trio of concepts – 'authority', 'expertise' and 'order' – to explain the range of activities and actors in the policy process.

Ironically, given that it is concerned with Australian public policy and is therefore unfamiliar territory to most readers, it is a new chapter on examples of policy in practice ('How Do You Do It?') that works most effectively. This is because Colebatch stays on his subject areas (health policy and environmental policy) long enough to allow the uninitiated reader to catch up with him. The chapter plays to his strengths, allowing him to use the discussion to draw in a number of themes discussed in earlier chapters. To some extent, therefore, it helps to compensate for the denseness of those earlier chapters. Also on the plus side, as well as the improved theoretical content throughout the book, it is worth noting that the diagrams used are admirably clear and unfussy (though there are far too few of them) and the suggestions for further reading at the end of each chapter are useful and include all of the sources one would expect and hope for.

The best substantial, encyclopaedic book on this subject is Wayne Parsons' 'Public Policy' and Colebatch's book suffers from the same virtues and defects as the Parsons book; it is dense, lively and engaged but also confusingly structured. It is better at providing thought-provoking alternative perspectives on policy than a clear review of the policy process. For this reason, it would form a useful adjunct to any public policy reading list, but would best be used alongside a more straightforwardly structured and user-friendly account of the policy process – of which, Hill's *The Policy Process in the Modern State* remains the best and John's *Analysing Public Policy* remains a close second. Nevertheless, used judiciously and with appropriate guidance, this is a book which can add genuine depth and intellectual excitement to a student's understanding of public policy and one which I personally found a stimulating read.

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Arthur Gould, *Developments in Swedish Social Policy: Resisting Dionysus*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2001, xv + 225 pp., £50.00 hbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0047279403287092

Arthur Gould, a Reader in Swedish Social Policy at Loughborough University, has written about the Swedish welfare state in various journal articles and book chapters. He appreciates the Swedish welfare state, but does not hesitate to criticise and question some of the more ambiguous aspects of Swedish policy making. This book about developments in Swedish social policy was a thrill for me – as a Swedish analyst of social policy – to read, almost like going to the doctor and getting a full screening of your state of health. Are we healthy? Are our symptoms curable? Do we need to change our life style completely? Or is it too late for any kind of treatment?

Gould's book starts with five chapters that give a general introduction and presentation of Swedish social policy and its historical background. The book does not deal solely with the social insurance systems but also with the more complex, and to a high degree locally defined, social service and care systems. Gould's book is impressive in detailing the reform procedures and the effect of power struggles between different actors in political parties and pressure groups. There is no doubt that Gould has managed to give a rich and accurate picture of the forces behind previous and recent changes in the Swedish welfare state.

Gould takes the analysis of the welfare state a bit further than others have done by adding a cultural analysis (Apollonian versus Dionysian) to the more traditional political and institutional analyses. It is of course a risky project. The vagueness of the concept of culture and the difficulties in linking cultural characteristics to real events are numerous. It is, in spite of this, interesting to follow his arguments relating to what he labels as the 'moral panic in Swedish drug policy'. Gould claims that, in order to understand what he terms the 'extreme' position taken by Sweden to criminalise not only drug dealing and drug possession but also the *use* of drugs, we need to consider Sweden's history of alcohol abuse in the nineteenth century and the response of popular movements that still are, in one form or the other, present.

Gould makes some interesting remarks about the Swedish 'culture of conscientiousness' and the xenophobic characteristics of the Swedish society. It is extreme, according to Gould, that Sweden is the first country to make the buyers of sex from prostitutes into criminals. He sees this as a response to feminist ideas about the non-commercialisation of the body as well as a reaction against an increased inflow of prostitutes from Eastern European countries. This inflow connects to both a rational fear of diseases, and to a culturally explained fear of the unknown. Such reactions can be seen as examples of some of the paternalistic tendencies in Swedish social policy that contain elements of repression. They represent a clear contrast with Sweden's general image of having the 'best welfare state' in the world, with its emphasis on security, equality and democracy.

The message in Gould's book, to all decision makers in Sweden, is to preserve and develop the welfare state, but also to be very careful not to let aspects of paternalism and intolerance take over to the extent that they continue to marginalise those believed to threaten order (non-Nordic minorities, drug misusers, prostitutes etc). As he states, 'belief in modernist values should not blind Swedes to their shortcomings . . . *Cosmopolitan* Swedes need to confront the reactionary idealism of the *locals* and come to a more realistic assessment about what is to be preserved of the old and what rejected' (p. 197).

By coincidence this review was written during a, *nota bene*, work trip to Crete. There I was, with Apollo on my back, trying to concentrate while all other Swedes had turned into full-fledged Dionysians: eating, drinking, smoking and having nothing in mind but to have as much fun as possible. Given the millions of such charter trips undertaken by Swedes each year it may be inaccurate to suggest, as the subtitle of the book proposes, that Swedes are resisting Dionysus. Instead, in accordance with being orderly and rational our Dionysian behaviour is limited to two weeks per year in a warmer climate, as a clear-cut break from the Apollonian everyday life.

To conclude, this is an extremely well-informed and creative analysis of Swedish social policy from the outside that produces many important reflections for students, scholars and not least Swedish politicians. It actually also produces numerous laughs – Swedes are without doubt 'funny' people.

LENNART NYGREN

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Jorgen Goul Anderson and Per H. Jensen (eds.), *Changing Labour Markets: Welfare Policies and Citizenship*, Policy, Bristol, 2000, xiii + 298 pp., £18.99 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0047279403297099

This volume is one of a growing number of collections emerging from European research networks examining the development of economic and social policy across a number of European countries. In this case the network is one of the networks funded by COST, an intergovernmental organisation for the co-ordination of scientific and technical research; and the focus of its work was upon the inter-relation between labour markets, citizenship and welfare policy in a number of western European countries. The volume reveals many of the strengths and weaknesses of such networking. On the positive side much interesting material has been collected from different European countries and made available to a broader audience (albeit an English speaking one of course) within a broader comparative framework. On the negative side the different chapters address a wide range of rather different issues and overall the book lacks a coherent framework and message.

Some coherence is provided in the introductory and concluding chapters written by the editors. The introductory chapter summarises the broader social and economic changes affecting European nations at the beginning of the new century. The authors discuss the supposed danger of 'Euro-sclerosis' and the need for policy development to respond to the demand for 'flexicurity'. In a more extensive analysis in chapter 2, Plougman examines changes in the European labour markets and pressures on these flowing from wider global economic trends. Drawing on Esping-Andersen, the author identifies four different welfare regimes within Europe, as defined by the situation of the unemployed, which suggests that not all regimes will respond in the same ways to the pressures they experience. And this is borne out in the more detailed discussion of policy development to be found in the later chapters.

The later chapters are grouped into two parts: the changing interactions between policies and citizenship and the cause and effect of welfare policies on citizenship. These are wide ranging concerns; and in trying to take on developments in labour markets, citizenship and welfare policy at a comparative level the book has probably extended too far. Not all of the contributors are able to address all aspects of this agenda in a comparable fashion. Some chapters take on largely theoretical issues (Lister on citizenship), some attempt comparison of data across nations (Craig on ethnicity and racism), and some examine developments within particular national contexts (Bouget on unemployed movements in France). Each of these are interesting and useful in their own right; but it is not clear that together they are the parts of a united whole – as the editors themselves conclude on p. 288, "The contributions summarised here do not add up to a single, common conclusion.

The concluding chapter does identify four themes which are addressed in the book:

- changing labour markets in a globalised economy,
- welfare policies, citizenship and agency,
- changing welfare states and the problem of marginalisation,
- moving from a state-centred to a society-centred perspective.

These are big issues, and the attempt to address them all within the context of a commitment to using citizenship as the core conceptual framework is a bold one. In doing so the contributors end up providing us with more questions than answers, and reveal that policy developments are in practice varied and even contradictory, both within nations and across them. The questions are interesting and important ones, however; and there is much here that will help us to understand them better. It is likely therefore that students of comparative European social

policy will find this a useful source book, even if it does not provide them with any clear cut answers.

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Arnlaug Leira, *Working Parents and the Welfare State*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002, viii + 182 pp., £40 hbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0047279403307093

Concentrating mainly on the Scandinavian countries, this book focuses on the balancing of work and family life as it has been manifest in behaviour and policy during the 1980s and 1990s. Essentially, Leira traces key aspects of the modernisation of motherhood and fatherhood and uses these as a lens to interrogate policy and welfare state changes in Scandinavia. The general context of the book is diversification, of both family behaviour and public policy on the family, especially as regards the care of children. A key expression and motor of change has been the politicisation of childcare. The different aspects of this as they have played out across countries are at the core of this monograph.

The book is organised into six chapters. Following the first which is an introduction, the second chapter sets the conceptual background, discussing some of the sociological literature on the linkages between family, state and society as well as how the relationship between the welfare state and the family has been represented in scholarship on the welfare state. The next three chapters are mainly empirical in nature. Focusing in turn on childcare services, leave for childcare purposes and cash benefit schemes for childcare, they bring together up-to-date empirical information on a range of provision relevant to the balancing of work and family across countries. The final chapter identifies some different overall logics to policy and discusses their significance.

Leira's framework situates the analysis in terms of parents as wagedworkers, carers for children and citizens of welfare states. Increasingly in Scandinavia, the balancing of family life is coming to be centred on the relations among mothers, fathers and the state and the extent to which parents share time for paid work and time for care. The process of change is relatively slow, though, for Leira's analysis shows that, while a dual-earner model might be the norm in Scandinavia now, this does not spell equality between women and men. Three aspects of inequality prevail. First, the high participation rates of Scandinavian women have not led to their integration into the labour market on equal terms with men. Second, women and men's use of time differs and, third, the dual-earner family is still not a family in which parents are sharing the caring equally (although fatherhood is in process of being altered).

One of the strengths of this and other work by Leira is that she offers a sociological interpretation of changes in policy. In particular, she extends the analysis of policy to uncover important changes in values and social practices. In the process she identifies three important social trends in Scandinavian societies: the conceptualisation of parental responsibility for children's care as a social right of parents; the reformulation of childcare from being a special responsibility of mothers to being integrated into the political construction of fatherhood; the inclusion of care for young children as a defining element of gender equality.

One of the signal contributions of Leira's book is that it gives attention to fathers and fatherhood change. As well as looking at how fathers have responded to the various measures to increase their participation in child care, it details the history in the Scandinavian countries of the introduction of a range of measures to get fathers more involved in their families.

In this and other ways, Leira's work reveals and underscores the complexity of policy as it relates to gender roles and the family. There is no uniform model to be found in Scandinavia. Rather, the accretion of policy over time has meant that policies there, as elsewhere, are an amalgam of different approaches and ideologies. Hence policies with varying underlying logics are to be found side by side, within and across countries. Two distinctly different approaches to care-giving are identified by Leira as prevailing today. One implies a strengthening of the traditional gender arrangement and the other aims to challenge and change it. As examples of the former, policies such as cash transfers and social security benefits to carers are directed towards expanding the rights of informal carers. In contrast, the expansion of state-sponsored day care for children and of the rights to maternity, paternity and parental leave contributes to facilitating dual-earner families and a form of parenthood where care is more often shared. Leira's analysis of the take-up and use of different care-related entitlements indicates that, on the one hand, a diversification of the ways in which parents combine work and childcare is likely and, on the other, we can expect a polarisation among families between those where parents share paid work and childcare and the more traditional breadwinner model. This is a timely study which details important changes and their significance.

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Kirstein Rummery, *Disability, Citizenship and Community Care: A Case for Welfare Rights?* Ashgate, Aldershot, 2002, ix + 201 pp., £39.95 hbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S004727940331709X

At a point when social exclusion is high on the political agenda, *Disability, Citizenship and Community Care* makes a timely contribution to the debate. Its raw material comes from intensive interviews carried out in the mid-1990s with almost 50 disabled people and a rather smaller group of their relatives, friends and supporters who had experienced an assessment for community care. But this is no mere empirical study. On the contrary, Kirstein Rummery processes her findings through a 'framework of civil and social rights' (p. vii) derived from the work of T.H. Marshall and his theoretical heirs. More specifically, she defines citizenship in terms of three dimensions: the protection of disabled people's rights; the extent to which they are empowered to become what Turner has called 'competent members of society'; and the degree to which their social participation is enhanced.

After a brief introductory chapter reviewing the nature of assessment, Chapter 2 offers a valuable survey of the concept of social citizenship, whilst Chapter 3 traces the evolution of community care policies since the early 1990s. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 contain the real meat of the book. In Chapter 4, the 'values and ethos' (p. 68) of the social work team – hospital, specialist, or generic – emerge as the dominant force in the management of demand, eclipsing the official eligibility criteria and impeding assessment for older disabled people who live in the community. Chapter 5 demonstrates how the rights of all age groups are threatened by factors like inaccessible social services departments, inappropriate timing, bouncing applicants from one practitioner to another, implementing service-specific or telephone rather than comprehensive, face-to-face assessments, and barring those with live-in carers. In Chapter 6, the ramifications of being a 'competent member' of the community are considered with reference to negotiating assistance and participating in social life. Problems with services are attributed to the power of professional gatekeepers, who are not only dismissive of disabled people's ability to articulate their own needs

but also preside over a structure of support that is 'provider-driven, of variable quality and too expensive' (p. 130).

Chapters 7 and 8 form an extended conclusion in which Rummery spells out the policy implications of her citizenship approach. Criticising the emphasis on the labour market in debates about social exclusion, she maintains that for disabled people access to the support necessary for minimal social participation is equally important. Yet unlike cash benefits, assessment for community services is discretionary rather than subject to a legal process. Though direct payments strengthens citizenship status by bestowing choice and control, charging for help fails to achieve the same effect because disabled people are unable to select from a number of providers or exit unsatisfactory services. Under these circumstances, civil and social rights are best protected if practitioners adopt a 'co-citizenship' strategy where 'their expert knowledge of both procedures and the availability of services is matched by disabled people's expertise on their own needs' (p. 163). Organizations run by disabled people themselves, and hence embodying their needs, are suggested as the ideal location for this assessment.

In advancing her case, Rummery deploys with skill a series of examples from her fieldwork that powerfully illustrate the experiences of acquiring assistance. The argument is less-effectively worked because the chapters are not closely identified with the three dimensions of citizenship that drive the book. Chapter 6 does address the issue of competence as a member of the community. However, its first section deals with negotiating need, which is also the subject of Chapter 5; and that, together with the focus of Chapter 4 on the management of demand, means that the principal themes are not well articulated at the structural level. The result is a degree of repetition that is compounded by the way in which Chapters 7 and 8 draw on previous evidence to defend their recommendations. None the less, *Disability, Citizenship and Community Care* is an imaginative study of welfare rights rich in ideas for the theory and practice of social policy. The challenge is to marry its procedural mechanisms to adequately funded support mechanisms. Only then will disabled people enjoy the status of full citizens.

ANNE BORSAY

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Mary Daly (ed.), *Care Work: The Quest for Security*, International Labour Office, Geneva, 2001, xviii + 261 pp., 30 Swiss Francs pbk.

DOI: 10.1017/S0047279403327096

The huge literature on carers is making it very hard to produce a book on the subject that breaks new ground but Mary Daly has produced and edited a collection with the ILO that definitely does. Care work is highly complex even when, as here, the needs and attitudes of the care recipients are barely considered. The overall aim of the book is to analyse care giving as work, and to treat it as 'a form of labour located within a normative framework of obligation and responsibility and as an activity with financial and emotional costs which extend across public/private boundaries' (Daly p. 36). The claim is that careworkers (paid and unpaid) should have the right to decent working conditions, which include recognition, support and basic rights. Unpaid careworkers should also have the right to good-quality services if they decide not to care, or to reduce their care load. On the other hand if they choose to care they should have access to an adequate income at the time of caring and in retirement.

This complex agenda makes for a varied set of contributions, firmly linked by the acknowledgement that carework is largely done by women. There are chapters on global policy goals (Standing), local mobilisation of informal careworkers (Barnes, Collins-Hughes),

and unionisation of isolated care workers (Walsh). Daly presents a highly academic chapter on carework in Europe as categorised by country and possible policy outcomes. The result is similar to regime analysis and has the strengths and weaknesses of that type of exercise. Other chapters give particular emphasis to the way that the social security system supports careworkers in Russia, Finland and the Netherlands. In Russia a labyrinthine system of allowances and other types of support for all classes of careworker is officially in place, but shortages of funds and an impenetrable bureaucracy mean that the vast majority of careworkers cannot access assistance. The two chapters on the Netherlands and Finland deal with care policy in the process of responding to changes associated with globalisation. The Netherlands are shifting from a society that assumes that women in a corporatist welfare state will stay at home and care for free, to one where there is a high demand for women's paid labour, economic liberalisation and reduced public spending. The result is a partial privatisation of carework that allows relatives to be paid, but this and the chapter on Finland are stories of policy formation that is far from complete. In Finland the shift is from a high level of state-provided services, especially for older people to one where family and community are replacing institutionalisation and home care services are privatised.

Chapters on India and Brazil emphasise the gap between legislation and what is on the ground, and both focus on childcare. In India, Wazir reports on the UN inspired Early Childhood Care and Development programme which is supported by legislation but careworkers are still treated almost as volunteers with low status and pay. Policy goals appear to be confused between providing a Headstart type programme for an inadequate number of India's disadvantaged children, and offering services to working mothers. In Brazil the crèche movement is presented as a partially successful struggle by working mothers, but again the legislative framework outstrips levels of implementation.

Jane Lewis in 'Legitimising carework and the issue of gender equality', presents a history of the concept of carework in terms of policy. She notes that a policy model that sees all adults as paid workers can ignore carework and take a punitive attitude to mothers, as in the US, or can include and support carework, as in the various Scandinavian countries. The outcomes for careworkers and dependent people are very different even though the policy model is similar in terms of paid work for all. Nancy Folbre shows that much of the economic growth registered in the twentieth century is a statistical artefact caused by the transfer of women's work from the unpaid to the paid sector of the economy and calls for a more realistic system of national accounts that can include unpaid work.

The breadth of approach is strengthened by a chapter on the meaning of carework in non-Western cultures where the development of individualism is not a valued aspect of child care, using India as an example. Finally a case study of Los Angeles presents an interesting analysis of the process of unionising 74,000 care workers. Jess Walsh describes a 12-year campaign with conflicting interest groups, street-level action, legal changes, local lobbying and traditional union activity that finally managed to unionise the invisible workers in the care sector.

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Jon Glasby and Rosemary Littlechild, *Social Work and Direct Payments*, Policy Press, Bristol, 2002, viii + 172 pp., £50.00 hbk., £17.99 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0047279403337092

In meeting the multiple policy objectives of community care, direct payments have great potential. However, direct payments represent some of the dilemmas behind community care

as an ideal and thus it is not surprising that development has been patchy and take-up rather limited. Cash and care, of course, have been a set of competitive twins for well over a century and the cautions expressed about direct payments echo across other policy decisions to offer finance rather than subsistence or services.

This book provides a very detailed overview of the genesis and early days of direct payments. In some ways it is a study both of the policy-making process but also one of implementation. Glasby and Littlechild have helpfully assembled a range of early literature that will form a useful resource for those studying direct payments (sometimes it seems as if these outnumber those in receipt). This early literature, much of it from the disability movement, is brought together to provide a chronology of the move from 'good idea' to legislation.

The authors face up to one of the inherent difficulties for observers of direct payments. That is, that they were introduced by a Conservative government not known for its commitment to empowerment and emancipation and yet may come to be seen as one of the most revolutionary changes to social care. This element is well discussed and helps explain the ambivalence of many professionals to 'selling' the idea and turning clients into consumers.

As well as the 'big picture' of welfare this book is comprehensive in detail. The expansion of direct payments is charted and the implications for different groups are explored. Since publication, other changes have emerged, and the Labour government has at last suggested that it too sees direct payments as worth encouraging. Moreover, as the authors note, devolution is giving rise to different approaches within the UK. It will be particularly interesting to see how community care services in Scotland, a country where services are often hospital dominated, may develop with direct payments emerging as a real option for service users.

The book sets out the general arguments in favour of direct payments in one key chapter although the size of the chapter outlining their potential problems is much larger. There is an interesting difference in the main proponents of each area, with service users and the disability movement generally declaring their enthusiasm, and professionals more quick to discern problems and pitfalls. Some insight from risk analysis might be useful here in bringing these elements together, particularly if this can depict it not it as an individual contest, but rather from a systems perspective. There are a range of potential stakeholders involved in direct payments and it will be important to analyse the roles of home care agencies, the impact and influence of those facilitating schemes and the purpose and processes of monitoring. Glasby and Littlechild present some ideas about the paperwork involved in monitoring and it will be interesting to hear from practitioners and their managers about what is entailed in monitoring and its conduct.

The book concludes with a discussion of social work practice. There is more that could be said about the way in which direct payments illuminate the policy-making process, particularly about the roles of central/local encouragements and discretion. Direct payments provide a case study of policy formulation and it will be interesting to learn whether the success of the disabled people's movement at central government level translates itself to the local level. Similarly it will be important to chart the further development of direct payments and also to hear of experiences of their use in the long term.

Pulling together official academic 'grey' literature and the use of some personal contacts shows the considerable knowledge base informing direct payments. But evidence and knowledge are not enough to promote policy development. This book also reveals the passion behind the pressure to bring direct payments on to the statute book. The book will be an excellent resource for those seeking and exploring detailed discussion of the stages of the policy-making process. It also develops our understanding of why direct payments are enthusiastically supported,

suggesting that they offer much-desired if partial flexibility, control and individualised care.

JILL MANTHORPE
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Peter Moss and Pat Petrie, *From Children's Services to Children's Spaces*,
Routledge/Falmer, London and New York, 2002, vii + 200 pp., £16.99 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0047279403347099

'Rich in potential, strong, powerful, competent and, most of all, connected to adults and other children.' This image of the child, forwarded by Loris Malaguzzi, the first head of the early childhood provisions in Reggio (Italy), stands in strong contrast to the predominant image of the child in the English discourse. The Anglo-American narrative portrays children as poor, weak and needy; as incomplete adults or futurity; as redemption; as innocent; but also sometimes as threats. Against the backdrop of changing societies and globalisation the latter image calls for an intensification of control and surveillance of children and their parents, and demands that parents and people working with children collaborate in this task. English public policies produce children's services that are fragmented, compartmentalised, and that are often the product of piecemeal initiatives. The result is atomised services addressing various aspects of the atomised child. Most children's services exclude children in various ways. Not surprisingly, the workforce is atomised too, working conditions are poor, training limited, and the work itself undervalued.

Initially it was envisaged that this book would offer possible solutions for the transformation of children's services. However, the authors concluded that a more radical approach is needed. They construct and explore a different concept, termed 'children's spaces'. 'Children's spaces' are environments of many possibilities, cultural and social, but also economic, political, ethical, aesthetic, and physical. The intention is not just to offer a new perspective on public policy for children, but to explore the processes that produce children's services in contemporary England. Building on this an alternative discourse can be offered and ideas facilitated of how to move from 'children's services' to 'children's spaces'.

The reader is invited to build an analytical framework, chapter by chapter, one that allows a critical stance towards public provision for children, that engages with alternative discourses and employs a perspective in which the image of the child moves away from the needy, weak and futuristic towards the strong, rich and powerful.

The first part of the book focuses on public policies for children in contemporary England. Chapter 2 offers a framework of theories, or lenses, useful in understanding public provision for children. In the English context with its emphasis on the pragmatic 'what works', it is particularly important to tease out hidden theories and masked images of the child. Chapter 3 makes use of this framework of theories to explore the dominant discursive regime about children and children's services in England. One vehicle of the dominant discourse surrounding children is policy documents regarding children's services. Chapter 4 analyses four such documents. Here the growing empire of the school is exposed, as is the inadequacy of a conceptualisation of work with children as either education or care.

The second part of the book offers alternative discourses. Chapters 5 and 6 show rich and powerful children, understood as citizens; and childhood as an important stage of the life course in its own right. Public policies rooted in this understanding of the child and her place in society lead to a quite different concept of provision, that of 'children's spaces'. Here children's culture,

different ways of learning by children and adults, and new forms of evaluation have their place. 'Children's spaces' depend upon a reconceptualisation of the work and workers. Chapter 7 explores the theory and practice known as 'pedagogy', a conceptualisation of working with children employed in continental Europe. This approach to working with children is based on a more holistic understanding of the child, one which overcomes the limitations of the binary conceptualisation that perceives working with children either as care or as education. Pedagogy builds on extensive training, working conditions that are amenable to reflexivity and development, and acknowledgement of the benefits for individuals and society as a whole. Chapter 8 offers the case of Sweden as an example of how 'children's spaces' can be created, grow and change based on a discourse of children as rich and powerful. In the last chapter the authors resist the academic convention of putting forward recommendations based on conclusions drawn. Instead we are left with 'unfinished business' intended to contribute to a crisis of thinking and a struggle over meaning about children, childhood and public provision for children.

Reading the book in a linear fashion from beginning to end I grew curious about the concept of 'pedagogy', wondering whether a rather too optimistic view of theory and practice were employed. I understand pedagogy as a wide, sometimes rather fuzzy field, with many possible inroads to atomising children, services for children and the workforce. However, this discussion of specific details of pedagogy can wait until the dominant Anglo-American discourse on which public provision is based, has moved on and includes the image of the rich and powerful child. The authors' wide experience in comparative, cross-national work clearly shows in their ability to describe for the English-speaking reader the promising aspects of pedagogy and pedagogues.

I enjoyed reading this book because it combines a sound analytical framework, comparative, cross-national analysis and the ability to 'make narratives stutter', with a passionate commitment to and respect for the well-being and the good life of children and adults. Students of social policy, individuals engaging in research with children, and certainly practitioners and policy makers, including those who develop child care training, would gain from a 'crisis of thinking' triggered by reading this book.

ULRIKE GELDER

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Stephen Frost, Ann Phoenix and Rob Pattman, *Young Masculinities*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2002, 291 pp., £16.99.
DOI: 10.1017/S0047279403357095

Young Masculinities reports the findings of a large-scale qualitative study, funded by the ESRC as part of the Children 5–16 programme, and carried out by the authors from 1997. The research focussed on how London school boys (aged between 11 and 14) understand masculinity, and involved initial group interviews, followed by individual interviews and re-interviews. The authors describe theirs as a 'boy centred approach' – and through listening seriously to the varied and often contradictory voices of boys in the study they succeed in forging a distinctive perspective in which the 'softer, less-polarised and masculine identities' are given attention. The book gives over a great deal of space to the voices of the boys and extracts are used to *show* the processes through which participants 'perform boy' in different settings. The text is infused with observations about the interpersonal dynamics of interviews and groups, a perspective rooted in the authors' use of a 'clinical interviewing technique' and complemented by their adoption of techniques of conversational and discourse analysis in which interview and group talk is understood as action.

The analysis focuses on a number of paradoxes at the heart of masculine identities, including tensions between idealising and denigrating femininity and girls, and between authenticity and acting 'hard' and 'cool'. Psychoanalytic theory and method are used productively to explore the unconscious emotional investments that lie close to the surface in the boys' accounts, particularly evident in the rejections and desires involved in homophobia and racialisation. A central concern of the book is the apparent incompatibility of educational attainment and 'canonical narratives of masculinity' – or the things that make boys popular. Reading the book I was struck by the extent to which formal learning is denigrated with educational settings, although the accounts of boys at private schools show how academic achievement can be re-coded, in this case as an expression of competitiveness. *Young Masculinities* suggests that although boys are aware of 'the problem of boys underachievement' and experience pressure and encouragement from their parents, it is almost impossible to be both 'good at school culture' and 'good at school'. The authors observe that teachers and institutional practices can be complicit in the construction and policing of constraining masculinities: for example, legitimising homophobia, providing a central space for football (the prime site for the construction of oppositional gender identities) and encouraging homosocial peer groups.

The authors are relatively cautious of reading off policy recommendations from this research, maintaining a focus on the everyday practices of schools. The book is ultimately optimistic, the boy-centred method translating into an educational practice that sees opportunities for opening up and enriching what it means to be a man, for improving the relationships between boys and the adults around them and ultimately for individual boy's ability to be creative. Using the research as a model they advocate the active creation of discussion spaces (which they argue could thrive in schools), involving parents and led by non-judgemental and empathic adults. This will be an important book for practitioners, teachers and youth workers who are likely to recognise a great deal in what they read, while also gaining new kinds of insight and hopefully inspiration. It is also an important book for policy makers in that it suggests that 'solutions' are most likely to lie in everyday human relationships and institutional practices.

In providing a comprehensive account of the psychological depth and complexity of young men in London schools the book effectively challenges the simplistic accounts of delinquency and underachievement that characterise most contemporary debates on social exclusion. I fully expect *Young Masculinities* to become a landmark book. It provides a timely intervention into the ongoing debate about 'the problem with boys', and while it tells a relatively familiar story about masculinities, it does so through a creative fusion of analytic approaches resulting in a rich and open account. The book will also be a landmark in research methodology, providing a transparent account of an innovative and reflexive approach which the authors justly claim will 'move forward debates about what can be 'read into' and 'read out' of personal narratives' (p. 259).

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Pat Carlen (ed.), *Women and Punishment: The Struggle for Justice*, Willan, Cullumpton, 2002, xiv + 265 pp., £40 hbk, £17.99 pbk.

DOI: 10.1017/S0047279403367091

Penal treatment of women offenders in the criminal justice systems of the UK and other jurisdictions is infamously beset by ironies. The numbers of women offenders are

usually so few compared to their male counterparts that they are 'too few to count', thus receiving not better nor more appropriate care, but a poor imitation of the male model; women's reactions to imprisonment are, often, unlike their behaviour in the outside world, more extreme than men's. This collection, the latest contribution from Pat Carlen to what is already a remarkable collection of work on female offending and offenders, both addresses many of these paradoxes and highlights new ones. Like all such texts, and this one includes both papers from a 2001 conference as well as from Carlen's international study of successful projects for female offenders, there is variability in the material presented. Three chapters describe actual innovations, these all meet Carlen's tests of gender specificity, reductionist objectives and durability. Two others are American case studies. Three others apply unsparing criticisms to apparently 'progressive' approaches – Phoenix on developments in youth prostitution policy reform, which she describes as 'new discourse, same old story'; Kendall on the imported cognitive behavioural programmes; and Hannah–Moffat on the disappointing outcomes of Creating Choices, Canada's Task Force on federally sentenced women.

All of these accounts and analyses are detailed, often include extensive empirical data, both quantitative and qualitative and offer teachers and researchers a mass of material on current policies, from youth justice to social exclusion. Yet, as Carlen herself points out in one of the three chapters she herself contributes to this volume 'A major contradiction was apparent at the Conference which gave birth to this set of essays. On the one hand, a range of very committed practitioners were telling with enthusiasm of the progress they had made in developing gender-specific or women-centred community programmes or prison regimes against great odds; on the other, academics analysing '... reform attempts... finding them deeply flawed or impossible' (p. 18). She goes on to note that it is often the context of policy implementation which subverts its aims, using the term 'carceral clawback' for what she argues has happened in Britain with the advent of the Women's Policy Group in the Prison Service. She takes this argument further in the final chapter where she is especially harsh on 'feminists' and anti-prison campaigners who have in her view 'abandoned, modified, or... adjusted their critiques of sentencing and prison policies [with the result that] prison clawback was strengthened' (p. 227). This is a stern and sweeping judgement, not backed by clear citation, except from extensive quotes from her own 1979 study *Official Discourse* (with Burton). If, as Carlen claims, carceral clawback subverts progressive policies and incorporates its radical critics, why continue with work such as that represented here? Her answer is the slightly limp one that 'it is better to do something than nothing' and 'the conversation must go on' (p. 19).

This book will certainly provide the basis for many such conversations, between policy makers and practitioners, academics and their students. There are thought-provoking pieces by Hudson on penal policy and penal theory and a challenging essay by Worrall on 'the making of a penal crisis', brought about, in her view, by the spurious 'contemporary search for equivalence in offending' (p. 48). Carlen herself summarises key issues in her three chapters and clearly is the major editorial influence. This book should be on every criminology and gender studies reading list and would be an important addition on many social policy courses on implementation, the policy process and evaluation. Policy makers and reformers should read it with attention and, possibly, respond. Carlen, her authors and publisher are to be congratulated on the prompt production of this text which makes its references and source material as up to date as possible.

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Gerry Johnstone, *Restorative Justice: Ideas, Values, Debates*, Willan Publishing, Devon, 2002, xii + 190 pp., £16.99 pbk.
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In setting out clearly some of the key 'ideas, values and debates' around restorative justice, Gerry Johnstone has produced a book that will be useful and thought provoking for students of both criminology and social policy. But when I first read his account of what this book would *not do* – not attempt a comprehensive critiques of restorative justice; not give a detailed description, chronicle or evaluation of restorative justice programmes; nor an up-to-date view of how crime policies are changing in response to the campaign for restorative justice – I did wonder what was left.

But there is significant value in what this book *does do*: first, it provides an accessible account of the ideas, values and debates which underpin restorative justice – in theory and in practice; second, it counters the assumption that restorative justice is merely an alternative technique for crime reduction; and, third, in unpackaging this often 'taken-for-granted' concept it raises fundamental questions about the very nature of justice and the ways in which it finds (or does not find) expression in relationships between the individual, victims of crime, the 'community' and the state. In addition, it does these three things in a clear and accessible manner.

Restorative justice has a powerful appeal – it seeks to 'set what has gone wrong right again' and, in so doing, performs the trick of healing victims while simultaneously integrating offenders. But, in 'de-bunking' restorative justice, the author cites some of its dangers – that in restoring (formerly judicial) power over conflict resolution to community stakeholders and victims of crime, it denies offenders due process and can produce net-widening, idiosyncratic (and unjust) outcomes. The empowerment of victims within restorative justice may be illusory and tokenistic, with the key focus remaining on exploring 'economical' ways of managing the troublesome. Yet its appeal remains powerful, largely because of its 'commitment to creating and nurturing bonds between society and those excluded from it, where that exclusion is in some way bound up with their being involved in crime'. (p. 54). An optimistic premise and promise indeed.

This book is not just for criminologists: students of social policy will find resonance not only in its implicit discussion of social inclusion, but in its critique of what 'community' means in (post)modern societies. Johnstone indicates that communities may be a source of exclusion as well as integration, for 'local prejudices' as well as empowerment. Yet 'the community' is vital for restorative justice as its success depends both on offenders 'buying into' the decisions of community stakeholders who arbitrate/mediate between themselves and the victim, and on these offenders being 'integrated' back into that community again. One key problem is, of course, that offenders are most likely to have been excluded from the sense and the bonds of a 'caring community' (were one to exist) in the first place. Another is that under the current adversarial system of criminal justice, offenders are very unlikely to admit their offences and in so doing render themselves open to the options of restorative cautioning and conferencing. While the criminal justice process is adversarial, primarily offender focused and retributive in character, restorative approaches will make only marginal gains for justice.

While restorative justice's proponents would argue that 'the offenders debt is not to society but to the victim', this also raises some thorny issues: first, about offenders' differential ability to 'pay' for their crimes (particularly, the rich, through reparation) and, second, about the potentially positive role of the state as the driver of so-called 'victimless prosecutions' – whether in relation to fraud or domestic violence. Central to this book, therefore, is not the question of whether restorative justice 'works' to reform offenders and prevent crime, but

whether the restorative justice project is either a feasible or desirable alternative to judicial punishment in contemporary societies.

Whilst new discourses in penal politics espouse the virtues of restorative justice for *some* offenders (though, significantly, mainly for young offenders), it is very far from becoming an alternative to retributive punishment – it remains on the margins and an addition to it: for instance, while youth justice policy (if we have such a thing) is ostensibly geared to its principles, politicians and public are at the same time obsessed with the threat of the ‘persistent young offender’, who is clearly seen to demand retributive (not restorative) justice. And in 2002, while the benefits of restorative conferencing between victim and offender were being lauded, the prison population exceeded 70,000 for the first time. Although this paradox is alluded to in this book and raised again in its final pages, the ‘institutional, political, cultural, social and economic’ factors shaping criminal justice discourses and practices remain beyond its scope. In this sense, the book is a good and stimulating introduction, which begins to open up debates around the possibilities for reconciling criminal, offender and ‘community’ within contemporary criminal justice systems.

DEE COOK

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Brian Lund, *Understanding State Welfare: Social Justice or Social Exclusion*, Sage, London, 2002, vii + 253 pp., £50.00 hbk., £16.99 pbk.

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Understanding State Welfare is a useful and easy-to-use textbook. It is clearly written and well laid out. It is basic but refers to a wide range of texts so that students are led towards pursuing issues in greater depth: it also provides a context for more detailed and original texts. In terms of policies and services it follows the traditional social policy textbook focus. In such a wide-ranging book it is inevitable that certain subjects or approaches will receive only cursory treatment, but it is noticeable that issues around gender and race receive relatively little attention, and regional/national differences between England and Wales, and Scotland as well as crime and criminal justice and environmental issues are ignored. This balance is perhaps surprising in a book that is concerned with different principles of social distribution, such as ‘need’ and ‘desert’, and which explores social justice and social exclusion. It needs to be consulted in conjunction, therefore, with other introductory texts. *Understanding State Welfare* is an efficient introduction for students new to British social policy (it does not stray beyond these shores) or studying the history of British social policy over the last 200 years. One of the book’s strengths is the way in which the discussion integrates theories of welfare and historical changes.

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