

associated with the belief that individuals' accounts must in principle be authentic, and are therefore not in question. Lastly, stability bias arises from the inadequate assumption that once a self-conception or habit is established in its direction, it tends to maintain itself in a stable form over the course of life and manifests itself in a consistent manner through the author's creativity.

One of the key concepts in Baert's own approach is the term 'positioning'. He knowingly takes a concept established in marketing communications, where the task is to create in the customer's mind a brand position different from the positions of other competitive brands. Baert introduces the idea that intellectual intervention, self-presentation, and critical attitudes towards the views of others are also positioning of a kind, one which, however, takes place in the specific environment of the intellectual arena. Other concepts which form part of Baert's theoretical apparatus are 'performative tools', 'narratives', 'cooperation', and 'individualisation'.

Overall, Baert's new book is well worth reading. It is an attractive narration of Sartre's intellectual history and offers a penetrating and revealing look at the French intellectual scene of the 1940s and 1950s. Baert also makes an innovative contribution to social science theory and methodology, and he provides a model for others who are interested in studying public figures from a sociological perspective. Lastly, this is a book written in an appealing manner, to catch the imagination and grip the minds of its readers. It achieves its goals admirably.

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Pablo Beramendi, Silja Häusermann, Herbert Kitschelt and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds): *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism*

Cambridge 2015: Cambridge University Press, 453 pp.

This book embodies the ambitious project of explaining the differences between advanced capitalist democracies. The project is ambitious because it deals with an environment of 'external constraints as well as internal dynamics of its political forces and institutional reforms' (p. 1). Under circumstances of economic recession, the normal processes of change turn out to be central and determinant for the future of advanced economies. Demography, partisanship, labour-market regulation, economic institutions, among many other fundamentals, are changing. To analyse the formation of party coalitions, the editors offer a reinterpretation of the extensive existing accounts of democratic post-industrial economies. They develop a framework that differentiates between the demand and the supply side of politics and derive an equilibrium policy mix from the bi-dimensional policy space they use for the analysis. On one hand there is the designation of who benefits from policies—are these particularistic or universal? On the other hand, there is the design of policies. Are these focused on strengthening the beneficiaries' ability to generate income or substitute labour-market income? To make matters more complex, they also ask who produces the policies—the market or the state?

Three familiar concepts are part of these two bi-dimensional analyses. A shared dimension, dealing with who is in charge of the provision of goods and services, goes from *strong to weak state intervention in the economy*, or simply from state to market. The specific dimension of the supply side (the politicians) goes from *investment to consumption* policies. This is a renaming of the *commodification-decommod-*

ification concept originally put forward by Gøsta Esping-Andersen. Investment policies impact labour productivity, thus commodifying the beneficiary. Consumption policies substitute market income, thus de-commodifying the beneficiary. Finally, the specific dimension of the demand side (the voters) goes from particularistic policies to universal policies. Particularism implies a 'collective heritage and tradition that command compliance, including a clear demarcation of boundaries between those who are members and those who are not'. Universalism points to a 'conception of social order in which all individuals enjoy and support a wide and equal discretion of personal freedoms to make choices over their personal lives' (p. 18). Particularistic policies can rely on citizenship, occupational categories, or other characteristics to access different benefits while universal policies do not differentiate between beneficiaries.

The two bi-dimensional analyses are highly complex, and the editors assume that the investment-consumption and the particularistic-universalistic dimensions are associated with one another. This is more an empirical association than a theoretical one, and the editors do not offer much explanation for why this would or could be the case. Then, the editors propose an explanation of how reformers can redirect policy. How can politicians change the *status quo*? Politicians try different coalitions, depending on what their constituencies demand and what they can offer. The editors also point to the constraints that reformers face: policy legacies, the sunk costs of policies, and the 'limited capacity of states to realize new policies' (p. 2). In this regard, the core element is the analysis of partisan competition and electoral accountability. Policies are the equilibrium between supply and demand under political and economic constraints. The editors call this the 'electoral turn'. Parties are not just treated as the direct representation of producer

(labour, business, etc.) or income groups (p. 25); they also represent economic interests in line with their constituencies, and they form interparty coalitions under the particular institutional setup. Based on the preference dimensions, the editors propose four welfare regimes. (1) An egalitarian regime that encompasses countries with the presence of high state intervention in the economy mixed with investment policies; (2) a status oriented regime, including countries where there are high state intervention and consumption policies; (3) a competitive regime that consists of countries with weak state intervention together with investment policies; (4) a captured regime, which includes countries where there is weak state intervention in the economy and consumption policies

Over five chapters, the book then proceeds to examine the socio-economic space and the structural transformations explaining the context in which the dynamics of their model play out (p. 63). Carles Boix analyses the economic performance of Europe in the long run. He shows that after the economic crisis of the 1970s slower growth was met with different policies in different countries. In the core European countries fast growth in industrial value added allowed different labour-market policy changes ranging from the deregulation of the labour market in the UK to the expansion of the public employment in Scandinavia. At the same time, the European periphery failed to increase their productivity, and 'their low-value-added industries have been eroded by both technological change and new global competitors' (p. 88). This shift towards low growth and economic divergence in Europe reduces the possibility to finance welfare policies through deficits, with the hope that future economic performance pay for the acquired debts. At the same time, the author expects that with the divergence between national economies and economic sectors within those economies, the agreement on

high taxes and expensive social policies will be eroded.

David Rueda, Erik Wibbels, and Melina Altamirano analyse the evolution of labour markets and dualism. They suggest that labour-market regulation has incentivised skills accumulation, solved market failures, and increased productivity in some European cases. Nevertheless, in some OECD countries and the developing world 'they have led to bifurcated unproductive labor markets' (p. 109). The chapter suggests that institutional legacies in labour-market regulation are important constraints on partisan politics (the supply side of politics), because they allocate resources benefiting labour-market insiders. In this manner, insiders restrict reforms to the current regulation by preventing or nurturing specific coalitions that protect their interests, which the authors interpret as capturing policies (p. 90–91). Although the analysis is clear and convincing, the importance of their finding is overstated. Dualisation is not a new phenomenon, but a revision of the labour informality observed outside the core OECD countries. Labour markets have always presented a pattern in which different groups have different protections. Naturally, groups with different protection levels have different policy preferences. More relevant for the book's argument is Daniel Oesch's chapter on the European labour market from the 1990s onward. In order to determine the evolution of its occupational structure, Oesch uses data for the UK, Germany, Denmark, Spain, and Switzerland to show that there is a clear expansion of the high-paid occupations vis-à-vis low-paid ones. This expansion went hand in hand with higher educational achievement of the middle classes. Contrasting this with US findings, Oesch observes less polarisation between the long-term creation of high and low-paid jobs (p.131–132). Contrary to the expected path of the creation of low-paid service jobs, Oesch shows that under

free trade and capital mobility an important share of the labour force benefits. This study is not only important for the book's argument (because it defines new constituencies with interests in line of those of business and financial markets), but offers a major contribution to the study of the evolution of labour markets.

In their chapter on globalisation, labour-market risks, and class cleavages, Rafaela Dancygier and Stefanie Walter consider the effects of free trade and capital mobility, together with immigration, on voters' preferences (p. 133). Since both free capital mobility and international trade affect the economic performance of different sectors, the effect on voters' preferences should depend on the sector in which he is employed. This implies a revision of the concept of class (p. 134). The authors find that skill (as a proxy for class) 'remains a significant determinant of preferences about the globalization of labor' (p. 155). Low-skilled workers are inclined to vote for parties with an anti-globalisation platform, both because of immigrants competing for their jobs at home and because of emerging markets' trade competing for their jobs abroad. To complete the structural analysis, Gøsta Esping-Andersen discusses the trends in family structure in different countries. Contrary to what is expected from the hypothesis of rising opportunity costs of marriage for women, the author shows that currently the trend among the educated classes is to form stable families: 'The process of family decay ... is transitory, not permanent' (p. 157). In the end, the trends in female participation in the labour market will push for more gender-symmetric families. The work shifts of men and women tend to equalise. 'The typical woman has [to masculinise] ... as far as employment is concerned', but there is also a need for the "feminization of the men's domestic role.' (p. 176)

The volume then dedicates three chapters to the analysis of the politics of ad-

vanced capitalist democracies. Herbert Kitschelt and Philipp Rehm analyse the trends in party alignments over time and across countries. Because new occupational groups grew to represent a sizable share of the voters, traditional parties had to appeal to them or let new parties take over their representation (p. 180). This happened in the context of a decline in party membership, higher electoral volatility, lower voter turnout, and the rise of non-partisan social movements (p. 179). Silja Häusermann and Hanspeter Kriesi delve deeper into voter preferences. They find evidence of a universalism-particularism dimension, as well as the market-state one. In the universalism-particularism dimension are included 'issues of immigration, EU Integration, ... cultural liberalism ... welfare chauvinism and welfare misuse' (p. 227). They show that the preferences on this dimension are different from the preferences on the generosity of the welfare state, an issue connected to the market-state dimension. Thus, distributive conflict cannot be understood as solely a matter of class. Anke Hassel explores the role of trade unions in a liberalised economy. She finds that, even under 'rapid economic changes of deindustrialization and globalization, business coordination and wage bargaining centralization showed remarkably high levels of institutional resilience' (p. 252). Wage bargaining institutions do not require high levels of unionisation. To resume, this section of the book states that the rise of new constituencies was channelled by either new or old parties. Immigration, cultural liberalisation, and EU integration entered the political arena as major issues concerning voters, as such political parties located themselves in relation to those new concerns. In this scenario, the roll of trade unions as the main channel for solving labour disputes is still salient. Here a connection to the discussion on the dualisation of the labour market would be useful, but it is lacking from the book.

The third section, analysing policies, starts with a chapter by Evelyne Huber and John D. Stephens on the political determinants of social consumption policies. They show (p. 259) that depending on the institutional set-up, parties can or cannot implement the reforms they ideologically support. In the consumption policies case, the left-right division is still useful for the analysis. Jane Gingrich and Ben Ansell in turn include social investment policies in the analysis. Interestingly, they also find that the left-right division has the expected effect, with the left supporting more distributive policies than the right. Nevertheless, the support depends strongly on the structure of the labour market, because it affects the capacity of social investments to deliver egalitarian results (p. 303). The next section is dedicated to outcomes. Pablo Beramendi finds that the structure of interests between 'producers and workers stratified by skill level' affects economic outcomes. The author draws on the notion of relative convergence and proposes that 'the balance between investment and consumption policies' determine 'economic inequality and labor market opportunities' (p. 333). Moreover, the mix of consumption and investment policies is the result of two key 'institutional features': (1) the capacity of revenue collection and (2) the organisation of labour. The first determines the amount of resources to be distributed in the political game, while the second determines the ability of some groups of workers to capture benefits (p. 334). In this manner, the institutional set-up predicts economic inequality and long-term unemployment (p. 353). In the next chapter Christopher J. Anderson and Jason D. Hecht show that the interaction of high levels of de-commodification and flexible labour markets has a positive impact on people's happiness (p. 379). Finally, the book concludes by recounting the volume and points to the possibility of using the theory developed in it to analyse current political processes.

Offering a framework to analyse the changes that are currently happening in advanced capitalist societies is an important task. Nevertheless, the theory developed in the volume points to a typology of welfare states regimes that differentiates between (1) countries with a strong revenue capacity and consumption policies (continental countries), (2) countries with strong revenue capacity and 'sparse' consumption and 'modicum' investment policies (Anglo-Saxon countries), (3) countries with strong revenue capacity and both consumption and investment policies (northern European countries), and (4) countries with a lack of capacity to generate state revenue and 'particularistic and often regressive social consumption' policies (Mediterranean countries) (pp. 391–392). This grouping of countries does not radically depart from the established scholarship. The existence of three classical welfare regimes (conservative, liberal, and social democratic) and a fourth one in the Mediterranean countries had been extensively documented already in the 1990s.

On the whole this book is likely to have an impact on future research in the sub-areas it covers. Probably the main contribution of the volume is the chapter by Oesch. Documenting jobs creation by sectors and skills levels and showing that a trend towards low-quality employment is not the only possible path under economic liberalisation open the door to changes in the future composition of the labour market. New external shocks, such as the Great Recession discussed in the concluding chapter, can change the mix of consumption and investment policies by affecting the employment share of different occupational categories. In this sense, none of the constraints and economic outcomes discussed in this book is written in stone. To conclude, the volume is an essential reference for scholars working on welfare research, economic sociology, and political economy.

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