

suggest. By thoughtful comparisons of the case studies Lynch puts into perspective the influence of social power resources, pressure groups and the political orientation of the government. Her findings implicate that clientelistic politics, while not determining the age orientation of a system, are a strong hindrance to welfare state reforms. As a result it has to be expected that the demographic development will make it even more difficult to dismiss clientelism towards elderly people and old employees in the future. Lynch affirms these expectations by pointing out, that power resources of social groups like elderly pressure groups are especially efficient when fending off cuts of current benefits or allowances (p. 169). This becomes relevant since pensions are the highest matter of expense in modern welfare states, and thus some form of pension cuts will be inevitable in the scope of fundamental welfare state reforms for a just distribution across age groups.

The author conducts her research with an impressive attention towards details and takes care to discuss all possible third variables that could distort her findings. This attention to details is at the same time a slight weakness of the book. Due to the nearly obsessive correctness of the analysis undertaken in very small steps the book becomes redundant as the author carefully proves an already known thesis for the third or fourth time. When trying to grasp the essential findings of the book, this style of analysis can result as wearisome and obstructive. Nevertheless these deficits in accessibility and structuring are a small price to pay for the lucid explanations and solid findings the book offers. The most remarkable result of the book at hand is the exposure of the resilience of age orientation of social spending. Early institutional decisions and political competition modes reinforce each other and make the system increasingly resistant to change. These

findings are especially important when discussing the possibility to reform biased welfare states. As Lynch shows, much effort has been put into the reform of the Italian welfare state, especially into the reform of its pensions system, that provides a close to 100 percent compensation of wages for some fortunate groups while not even ensuring a decent living standard for groups receiving the minimum rate. The prevalent explanations, attributing these changes to pressure groups and political orientations, suggest that a reform of the welfare state is just a question of a shift in the power balance of pressure groups or of a change in government ideology. But Lynch's approach of including institutional paths is much better suited to explain the remarkable difficulties some countries have to reform their inefficient social systems. In fact the author goes as far as stating that a profound reform of welfare states is only possible with the help of exogenous shocks that open up possibilities for the political system to breach the mutual reinforcement of institutional structures and competition modes. As examples for such exogenous shocks she names the fall of the Iron Curtain and the creation of the Common European Market and the monetary union. This emphasis of political opportunity structures for decisive reform steps is a known concept in sociology, for example referring to opportunity structures of social movements. It is a pity that the author does not offer a more in-depth analysis of the role these opportunity structures play. It would have been especially interesting to analyse why Italy failed to capitalise in its reform efforts on the recent opportunities in terms of the fall of the Iron Curtain and the creation of the European Monetary Union. Further research on this matter is both necessary and of practical relevance for determining successful reform approaches. To sum up *Age*

*in the Welfare State* by Julia Lynch is a valuable source for any scholar planning to work on the age orientation of social spending and offers a high-quality example for in-depth comparative studies that comes with helpful statistical data calling for further research.

Julia Lynch (2006): *Age in the Welfare State. The Origins of Social Spending on Pensioners, Workers, and Children*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 223 pages. ISBN: 0-521-61516-X. Price £15.99.

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## Martin Kronauer / Gudrun Linne (ed.): Flexicurity. Die Suche nach Sicherheit in der Flexibilität.

*Reviewed by Jörg Tremmel and Isabel Wolff.*

*Translated by Karsten Gödderz. Edited by Hannah Taylor-Kensell*

**A** term that you will not find in a dictionary has created a furore in the last years: 'flexicurity'. This term connects flexibility, which is requested by employers due to the growing pressure of globalisation, to social security. This is necessary as even employees in flexible working conditions such as part time or temporary jobs, or people with discontinuity in their employment bio-

graphy should not slip into insecure or precarious working conditions.

The European Commission in particular propagates this new approach in order to create an advantage of location for Europe over the American and Asian labour market (especially the Chinese). Since the European Social Agenda of 2000, flexicurity has become a major part of the Lissabon Process.

But is 'flexicurity' just a foul compromise to bridge contradictory terms with a neologism?

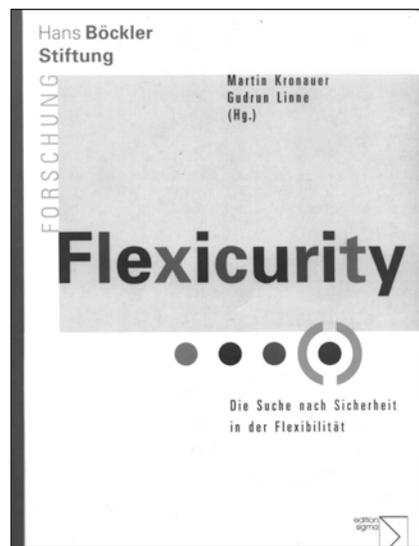
The authors of this German anthology (edited by Martin Kronauer and Gudrun Linne in the research papers of the Hans-Böckler-Foundation) still see substantial gaps in both the theoretical foundation and the practical implementation of the concept. Thus they start their introduction with a definition of flexibi-

lity and conclude from there that this term has different meanings on the macroscopic, the mesoscopic and the microscopic level. On the level of companies, organisational and control structures, work sharing and working layouts, cost structures and human resource allocation are adjusted to the requirements of globalisation. Politics usually reacts to this with deregulation. For single people, the adjustments become noticeable in the fields of organisation of working time, labour organisation, wages, change in the required mobility and qualification and the security of employment.

Terminologically there has to be a difference made between external flexibility, such as hiring, dismissals or labour leasing according to market conditions, and internal flexibility, which demands flexibility regarding working hours, allocation of tasks etc., from permanent workers.

Next to the analysis of the relation between flexibility and security in the working environment, this book has the goal to identify possible options of action to the protagonists like individuals, companies and the public domain. Flexicurity, an instrument for Labour market policy, shall create a scope of action in which the protagonists can insist on their different interests which do not have to be homogenous inside of these groups. Ideally, this would create a win-win-situation – this is at least a promise of the term flexicurity.

The book itself seeks for an interdisciplinary debate with each of the authors coming from a different discipline: economics (especially social and economic politics), sociology, political sciences and law (especially employment law). The book is divided into four parts (I: Liberating or menacing flexibility?; II: Change in ways of working and employing: Insecurity and need for security in case of a transition to more flexibility; III: Change of biographies and engagements: Individual claims for job related flexibility and security; IV: Change in law and social politics: precursor or safety net of flexibility?) and includes 17 articles written in German. However, the allocation of the articles to the four parts is not always stringent. The perspective of gender is often considered, but an intergenerational perspective, except for the paper by Ute Klammer, is not explicitly adopted throughout the book. Nonetheless, some contributions maybe implicitly interesting from the intergenerational perspective. Bernhard Bookmann and Tobias Hagen investigate in their article if temporary jobs can serve as a springboard to permanent employment, or whether or not people who are temporarily employed have to be prepared to stay their whole life in an insecure, precarious area of the labour market. The fact that young labour market entrants nowadays are offered tempo-



rary contracts far more often than 30 years ago, makes this question from an intergenerational perspective very interesting. The authors arrive at the conclusion that almost 40 percent of all non-permanent workers get a permanent contract the year after. This is a surprisingly high figure which argues for the springboard thesis (p. 155). But temp workers face a significantly higher risk of unemployment than their colleagues with permanent contracts (10 percent vs. 2.5 percent). The risk of subsequent unemployment is however smaller for young employees, than for the older ones.

In the article of Antje Mertens and Frances McGinnity a question even more important from the life course perspective is investigated: do temporarily employed people earn less in the long run, than people who are permanently employed?

The first difference between these two groups is that people with a limited contract cannot hope for a redundancy payout after two years, but may become unemployed nonetheless (with a correspondent loss of income). But even while employed, temporary employees earn less than permanent employees with similar personal and working characteristics. The authors provide us with an overview about available empirical studies, which feature an astonishing spectrum: from three to 28 percent loss of income. However, the investigated groups, time slots and methods differ greatly. A problem is that the studies do not deduct the actual seniority. But if the wages rise with seniority, a part of the difference in income can be explained in terms of this single fact. Following Mertens and McGinnity the variety in income would melt down to just six percent if you were to use proper methods. Men from Eastern Germany and women from Western Germany earn just four percent less than permanent jobholders; for eastern Germans no negative influence on income levels can be found (p.181).

Finally a time limit does not necessarily have to imply a loss of income – but a higher level of insecurity is implicated. Temporary jobs can most frequently be found in universities and in some service sectors where they are used as an extended probation period with regard to complex tasks. In addition they are commonly found in the low-wage sector for low qualified or seasonal jobs.

The other articles in the book deal with more or less innovative aspects of the range of topics. Marcel Erlinghagen argues in a critical way about the actual predominant discourse on flexibility and asks the question: if the promotion of measures for flexibility is an inevitable consequence of the global labour market, or just a reaction to the constant demands of the entrepreneurs? He pleads for a welfare state which is reliable, well developed and financed on a solid basis.

The author Klaus Dörre investigates insecure employments as a challenge for labour market policy. He creates a typology of gainful employment into the zone of integration, the zone of precarious work, and the zone of decoupling. Furthermore he investigates empirically how the relevant people see their own situation and their expectations about their further working life. His diagnosis is, “[...] that dependent work is about to loose its function as the main ‘binder’ of society”.

Keller and Seifert want to point out strategies in their article, which are supposed to reduce social risks in flexible forms of employment. For this they go into the regulations of law and collective labour agreements. They propose to choose internal flexibility over external flexibility (i.e. time accounting instead of temporary or limited employments).

Finally, thoughts about how to deal with non-typical forms of employment are listed, such as company internal demands, public promotion and corporate forms of organisation. However, at this point more detailed information on these concepts is missing.

The authors Köhler, Struck, Krause, Sohr and Pfeifer gather from different empirical studies which perception of justice employees have when it comes to dismissals. Here it becomes apparent that the requirement of the population towards the employers and the state to provide job security, is very high. Dismissals are only considered as just, if they secure jobs and not if they are to solely benefit the company. Here the article states a problem of acceptance of the demanded flexibility of employees which is not solved by the flexicurity concept.

In the concluding fourth part of the book there is, among other things, a comparison of measures to improve flexibility in different European countries.

Fink and Tólos diagnose huge deficits in social protection for non-typical employment relationships. In conservative welfare states like Germany and Austria, the temporary workers come off badly, as the social protection is still focussed on steady employment. These systems were not made for those groups who are maybe unemployed for longer periods between different limited employments. The article delivers a good insight into labour market policies and the different approaches in the different countries.

With regards to the contents, this anthology offers detailed and complex information about the increase in flexibility of labour markets and

the concluding consequences. If 'flexicurity' is just an empty phrase it will ultimately not provide any answers. Yet this opus makes clear for the reader that the implementation of these promising concepts is still in its infancy. Many requirements at present are not available to create an advantage of location for the European labour market.

The reader is well advised to get an overview of the topic in advance. This will facilitate the reading and understanding of single articles, particularly in light of the use of specific technical language and terminology that can in parts be difficult to understand. Although the promised approaches are merely indicated, the

book still provides a good empirical overview about how our working environment is about to change.

Martin Kronauer / Gudrun Linne (ed.) (2005): Flexicurity. Die Suche nach Sicherheit in der Flexibilität. Forschungsreihe der Hans-Böckler-Stiftung, Vol. 65. Berlin: edition sigma. 423 pages. ISBN: 3-89404-996-0. Price 19,90 €.

## Call for Papers for *Intergenerational Justice Review*

**W** We are looking for articles in English for the upcoming issue 4/2009 of the IGJR with the topic **Children's and young people's rights – with a focus on the right to vote.**

The topic:

The Convention on the Rights of the Child spells out the basic human rights that children and young people everywhere have. The four core principles of the Convention as detailed by UNICEF are: non-discrimination; devotion to the best interests of the child; the right to life, survival and development; as well as respect for the views of the child. This convention is legally binding and fundamental to the lives of children today. As these basic human rights are held as a standard across the world, is there a need for further development of children's and young people's rights? Are children and young people today really treated as individuals who have opinions of their own?

In policy and society it is required and expected that youngsters and children act responsibly and deliberately and form their lives. However, it is refused to them to take over such a responsibility within the scope of a franchise or to participate actively in political developments. In the election program in countries world wide, young people do not have a say and cannot vote due to age restrictions. In fact it can often appear that children and young people are only seen as personalities in their own right, independent from their family, when they commit a crime. Should children's and young people's rights be expanded to in-

clude the right to vote considering that individuals may work at 16 and pay taxes, but are still not, in many countries, able to have a say in how these should be spent?

**Deadline for the submission of full articles is 1 August 2009.**

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We are looking for articles in English for the upcoming issue 1/2010 of the IGJR with the topic **Intergenerational Justice and the Scourge of War.**

The Charter of the United Nations signed in San Francisco on 26 June 1945 starts with the words '*We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind [...]*'. The Charter was obviously formulated and signed under the impression of the recently ended Second World War, which was the single event with the sharpest decrease of human welfare in history. The priorities have since shifted during an era of unprecedented peace in the OECD world and on a global scale. But even though as many as 192 states have signed the UN Charter, starting with an expression of determination to rid the world of the scourge of war, conflicts still ravage large parts of the world, particularly in Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia. According to findings of the AKUF (Working Group on the Causes of Wars) in Hamburg, Germany the number of conflicts has even steadily risen since the end of

the Second World War, while inner state conflicts increasingly dominate the statistics.

The negative consequences of wars for the future of societies are obvious. Apart from the people dying, traumatised soldiers and victims pass down the psychological damages they sustained in war times to the future generations as parents. Additionally new forms of inner state conflicts have a much longer duration in comparison to classic interstate wars and leave the economies, state structures and societies of the states they ravaged in ruins for decades to come. Thus modern inner state conflicts are more likely to affect future generations than classical wars with clearly defined warring parties that usually end with a truce or a peace treaty.

Evidently the problem the 'scourge of war' poses to mankind is far from being solved. In this context it is remarkable that studies on intergenerational justice have so far neglected the topic, especially considering that the UN Charter specifically pointed out 'succeeding generations' as the beneficiaries of its determination to rid the world of wars.

The upcoming issue 1/2010 of the Intergenerational Justice Review addresses this issue, with the aim to establish the groundwork for a comprehensive discussion of peace policies in the scope of intergenerational justice. The issue aims to clarify the relation between the rights of present and future generations for a peaceful life, the role of humanitarian interventions based on Chapter VII of the UN Charter and interventions in general. This includes interventions for conflict management, peacebuild-