

need based provision – interpreted as increased state control – meets a major source of opposition in the Trade Unions, and the result, at least in the area of health-care, has been a residualization of public sector provision.

Chapters then follow on the enforcement of social control as part of social entitlement, as in the case of workfare, which is seen as double punishment for the already disadvantaged, and a chapter by the editor on the life course and welfare. Again the domination of protection by labour market participation is raised, and so too is the interesting question of whether care should be included as a social right – the right both to give and to receive care. There is an obvious link with the chapter which follows on gender and citizenship, containing a critique of notions of citizenship modelled around a male dominated picture of working life. The issues of caring and political participation are then examined in a comparison of Denmark, France and Britain raises.

Southern Europe makes its first appearance in Chapter 7, on Spain, with the interesting observation that social benefits there have never been linked in the public imagination with universality and democracy. Again we come back to the inadequacy of employment based social welfare, and important points are made about the role of the family as a social support. There follows a chapter on ‘profiles of citizenship’; an elaboration of a framework for empirical analysis with case material on Finland. The positioning of this chapter towards the end of the book seems odd, but it contains some worthwhile distinctions between contextual–historical, formal institutional, and public policy based approaches to comparative work. A chapter drawing on Habermas then makes the interesting argument that individualized social entitlement is actually at odds with active political engagement, casting new light on the relationship the different aspects of citizenship illustrated with material from Norway.

The penultimate chapter addresses citizenship and social exclusion in the context of welfare reform and restriction. It identifies two conceptions of social exclusion, one drawn from the French tra-

dition of *solidarité*, and the other from the EU-dominant model of individual responsibility. The chapter makes what I think is the first mention of ethnic minorities and non-citizens, though doesn’t explore the difference, and the topic is scarcely pursued. Nor is it central – rather to my surprise, in the one (closing) chapter on Europe, much of which is dedicated to the work based rights associated with ‘free movement’, with a brief mention of the marginal role of structural funds.

As with many edited volumes this is something of a mixed bag, and its main strength is the insightful suggestions for developing Marshall’s original but now outdated conception of citizenship (and especially social citizenship) to address it’s by now obvious weaknesses. However, I find it extraordinary that a volume of this kind offers virtually no discussion of the estimated 13 million non-Europeans resident in the EU, or the large number of asylum seekers whose social rights have been systematically narrowed in several countries over recent years. In this respect I presume that the book is a victim of an intellectual division of labours in which such questions have not been defined as a central concern of social policy; itself an odd example of social exclusion.

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Chauvel, Louis **Le destin des générations. Structure sociale et cohortes en France au Xxe siècle** Paris: Presses Universitaires de France 1998 301pp. £17.99 (paperback)

At the end of the Second World War, only a few observers had expected that a period of economic growth and prosperity was starting for the war divided West European societies which were forced to give political independence to nearly all their colonies outside Europe and lost their leading positions to either the USA or the Soviet Union. That period that started in the late 1940s has different names: the ‘Golden Age’ (UK), the ‘Wirtschaftswunder’ (FRG), the ‘Gouden Kwartaal’ (Netherlands) or ‘Les Trente Glorieuses’ (France). During that period the quality of available jobs and the per capita income were constantly

increasing, the participation of larger proportions of children and young adults at every level of education was growing, and social entitlements, rights to claim a certain level of income and access to health and social services were established in nearly all West European welfare states. That period ended somewhere in the mid 1970s in an economic recession caused by high oil prices and by a growing inability of these European states to maintain all social entitlements of the increasing number of claimants. These West European societies tried to find ways out of these problems in two different directions. The Anglo-Saxon societies (including the Netherlands) reduced the entitlements of their social services and made their labour markets more flexible by allowing more part-time work, lower salaries and more temporary contracts, especially for the younger generations entering the labour market. As a consequence these younger generations had less economic prosperity than older generations. Most continental societies (for example France and Germany) tried to defend the advantages of this prosperous period by maintaining the entitlements of their working population. But, as an unintended consequence, younger generations were more often excluded from the regulated labour market and forced into unemployment waiting for an opening in the labour market. It is still too early to decide which answer to the economic recession of the 1970s was the most successful. But it is already clear that the younger generations of these European societies had to pay a price for being born too late.

This book analyses the consequences for the younger generations in France. The central thesis is that the different generations of the twentieth century met different social destinations in France and Louis Chauvel tries to prove this thesis empirically with adequate data and methods.

These last words hint at a good reason to read this book. It gives a useful picture of the availability of good data in France, which can help to address many interesting sociological questions. Chauvel uses a compilation of the FQP (*Formation-Qualification Professionnelle*) surveys of 1964, 1970 and 1977 and of the *Emploi* (Employment)

surveys of 1983, 1989 and 1995. These are all large surveys (an average of 30,000 respondents in each FQP survey and 150,000 in each *Emploi* survey), collected by the French Central Office of Statistics (INSEE) and made available by the Institute LASMAS-IDL of IRESO (CNRS, the French equivalent of a National Science Foundation). It also applies adequate methodologies to try to disentangle the different effects of age, period and cohort, but the explanation of these methodologies is hidden away in the second appendix of the book. In the chapters of the book only the results of the analyses are shown, mostly in figures with results for the different combinations of age and period or of age and cohort. This procedure makes the book easier for a more general public, but sometimes leaves the specialist uncertain about the details of the analyses themselves. Also, not all tables and figures in the book are fully understandable for non-French readers.

The book has three main sections in which the chapters are nicely organized: I. *Generations and the Changes in the Social Structure* (with chapter titles like 'The Diversification of the Working Class and the Convulsion of the Middle Classes' and 'Cohorts and Odds to Enter Different Social Classes'), II. *The Causes of the Changes* ('The Two Explosions in the Educational System' and 'The Functioning of the Production') and III. *The Consequences of the Changes* ('The Distribution of the Decline: Living Standards', 'Life Styles: The Disadvantage of Youth', 'Types of Deaths', 'The Probable Increase of Downward Mobility'). As one can see from these chapter titles, Chauvel not only addresses the obvious questions, he also makes unexpected inroads to prove the central thesis of his book. A good example is the chapter on the development of suicide rates in different generations: he uses the old Durkheimian indicator of social cohesion to show that some of the younger generations have higher rates of suicide than older generations. Although he cannot prove it definitively, he at least convincingly argues that the increased suicide rate at the age between 30 and 40 of the generations born after 1950 is a possible reaction to their meagre perspectives in

French society compared to older generations.

The analyses also make clear the important effect of the French educational policy on the developments of the opportunities for the different generations. The stronghold of the French State on the educational system offers a possibility of powerful educational reform, but also produces unintended effects like diminishing opportunities for those generations which attended the reformed schools and universities.

Chauvel's conclusions often have a gloomy and fatalistic undertone, especially on the fate of the younger French generations. Perhaps one of the reasons for this gloom is the silence of the French political class on the reduced opportunities for these generations. Although I do not want to deny that the French labour market is still more closed to young starters than those of most other European societies, Chauvel tends to overestimate its importance in relation to that of economic cycles. His analysis stops at a moment that the French society is opening up to a more global European economy and culture and is gaining more economic elan. The youngest generation of his analyses often already seems to pick up some of the advantages of this opening and the new economic elan by having better opportunities than the older generation. But Chauvel is convincing when he argues that the concept of generation has sociological value for the analysis of social opportunities within twentieth century French society. He is also convincing in demonstrating that social class and generation are not concepts which are mutually exclusive. One needs both concepts in combination to analyse the developments of the opportunities for individuals in modern societies. A modest conclusion for this empirical study, perhaps, but it is more enlightening about French society than many more theoretically inspired studies.

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Daly, Mary **The Gender Division of Welfare. The Impact of the British and German Welfare States** Cambridge

University Press 2000 273 pp. £40 (hardback), £14.95 (paperback)

This book makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the nature of contemporary welfare states, their relationships with families, markets, and outcomes for individuals. Distinctive features include reviews of earlier approaches, a new conceptual framework based on gender differentiation combined with a cross-national perspective, and the combination of theorizing and empirical work. The writing style is succinct and seductive.

Part I conceptualizes the relationships between gender and the welfare state. There is a useful critical survey of earlier frameworks, and persuasive argument in favour of a gendered approach and a cross-national perspective. Daly's own conceptual approach is a coherent development and integration of elements of earlier research rather than a radical departure. I concur with her desire to move away from typologies of welfare states towards better integration of micro-level outcomes, and her preference for two-country rather than many-country comparisons. Part II provides a comprehensive picture of the key characteristics of the British and German welfare states viewed through the lens of the conceptual framework. The focus is on policies for families and caring, risks covered, eligibility criteria, treatments of those entitled, and cash transfer systems. Part III examines the role of the welfare state (and the family) in the context of income redistribution, poverty, financial relationships within marriage and marital breakdown. It would be unfair to summarize the empirical findings in a few sentences (though there are no great surprises!). Indeed, pointing out 'messy and stubborn practices encountered in social reality' is a part of the book's message – one with which I sympathize. The book concludes with thoughtful reflections on the utility of a gender approach to comparative welfare state analysis.

The enduring legacy of this book may be the analytical framework rather than the specific application. The main focus is on the mid-1980s, i.e. before Thatcherite and subsequent 'reforms' to the British economy and welfare state, and before