

socijalizma – koji su mogući uzroci ovih promjena – nisu tema ove knjige. Umjesto toga, Gilbert se koncentrira na razlike u današnjim socijalnim državama i onima iz, primjerice, 60-ih i 70-ih. Autor smatra da su razlike dovoljno velike da se može govoriti o dva tipa pružanja socijalnih usluga – tradicionalnoj socijalnoj državi i državi mogućnosti. Doprinos ove knjige je upravo u detaljnoj analizi razlika i sličnosti između ova dva tipa. Osim toga, knjiga daje i dobar povijesni pregled nastanka države mogućnosti – autoru je posebice stalo da pokaže da se promjene događaju u svim oblicima socijalne države, te stoga iznosi razvoj države mogućnosti u Švedskoj, Francuskoj i SAD-u. U svakom slučaju, ova knjiga predstavlja korisno štivo za sve koje zanimaju različiti načini pružanja socijalnih usluga. Osim toga, knjiga je korisna za razumijevanje promjena unutar hrvatske socijalne države. Mnogi procesi koje knjiga opisuje su već započeli u Hrvatskoj (npr. tri stupa mirovinskog osiguranja, dopunsko zdravstveno osiguranje), a ostali Hrvatsku čekaju u skoroj budućnosti.

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### **POSTCOMMUNIST WELFARE STATES: REFORM POLITICS IN RUSSIA AND EASTERN EUROPE**

**Linda J. Cook**

Cornell University Press, 2007., 288 str.

Cook's study of postcommunist welfare states is a valuable contribution to linking the literature on welfare state retrenchment, which has up to now focused almost exclusively on Western advanced industrial nations, with the literature on postcommunist welfare state transformations. Postcommu-

nist states faced dire economic circumstances during the 1990s, which called for reduced state spending. At the same time, in these countries there was a strong popular attachment to the previous communist welfare system, which offered broad coverage of, although in comparison with the West, relatively low-quality public services and subsidies. In this book, Cook explores how postcommunist states responded to the reform task of reorganising both delivery and financing of welfare, and more importantly which of the theoretical approaches to the welfare state change help explain specific welfare state outcomes. Some of the factors that have been regularly proposed in welfare state retrenchment literature are downward economic pressures on states due to economic globalisation, reform-conditionality of international financial institutions and finally, domestic politics that tip welfare state reform either pro or anti-liberalisation. In presenting her argument, Cook sides with the last explanation and argues that domestic politics is the crucial factor in explaining welfare state outcomes. To this explanation she adds, however, an important condition of state capacity, which according to her significantly influences the character of the ensuing welfare state type.

In Postcommunist Welfare States Cook presents a case study approach to the analysis of whether political strength of anti-reform interests can restrain retrenchment and liberalisation. The largest part of the book is devoted to within-case comparison of Russia through three time periods 1991-1993, 1994-1999 and 2000-2004, after which Russia is compared with four other postcommunist countries: Poland, Hungary, Kazakhstan and Belarus. With respect to Russia, Cook undertook a study of government and legislative records, party programmes and other primary documents, and she conducted over a hundred interviews with social policy experts, legislators

and government officials in Russia. For the other four cases in her analysis, Cook relies on documentary and secondary sources.

Cook's main argument is that economic pressures toward welfare state retrenchment get mediated by domestic politics, or in other words that the domestic interests and their representation and power shape policy outcomes. According to this approach, specific welfare state outcomes are the result of political bargains struck at the time of reform. In explaining how each of the states changed, Cook's explores 'who influenced decisions to cut, preserve or restructure' (p.6) social programmes in health, education, pensions, social security, social assistance and labour protection. According to her analysis, the sides to the political bargain over welfare fall into two camps - pro-liberalising forces, which are led most prominently by the executive branch centred around the finance ministry, domestic reform elites, international financial institutions and foreign advisers - and pro-status quo forces, which represent diverse societal groups that can be broadly categorised as societal welfare constituents, statist stakeholders and the bureaucracy.

In her study of Russia Cook shows that the executive branch of government (centred first around Yeltsin, and after 2000 around Putin) was the main liberalising force, but the one which met with varying degrees of opposition from societal interests filtered through the composition of parties and votes in the Duma. In the first period 1991-1993, there was virtually no opposition to the executive; so wide-reaching reforms in welfare were introduced. However, the following two compositions of votes in the Duma during 1994-1999 periods forestalled, stopped or thwarted many of the initiated reforms. The ensuing policy deadlock was broken after 2000, when once again liberalisation proceeded led by the executive, met with some opposition in the legislature, but that was negotiated

with. Therefore, in this last period policy change happened through elite compensation. For instance, trade union leaders and university rector's associations managed to protect their privileges, social sector ministries were appeased by compensation strategies and the pension reform was negotiated between the pension fund and the finance ministry.

To her explanation of welfare state reform as a product of political bargains, Cook adds an important conditional factor - state capacity - that she explores through the comparison of the five cases. Under the liberalising pressures for reform, in cases where the state had good capacity for extracting revenue and for restructuring and delivering services, a social-liberal model of welfare emerged, as in Hungary and Poland. The characteristics of this model are moderate welfare effort, the dominance of public over private expenditure in the social sector, significant reliance on social security markets, limited corruption in the provision of social services and finally broad though not universal access of the population to basic services and coverage by social insurance and state social assistance. Conversely, in cases where the state had weak capacity for revenue extraction and service delivery, but was liberalising welfare provision, an 'informalised welfare state' emerged, as was the case in Russia and Kazakhstan. The characteristics of this type are relatively low welfare effort, the dominance of private over public expenditure in the social sector, substantial reliance on poorly regulated social security markets, large scale informality and 'spontaneous privatization' in the provision of social services, and finally the exclusion of a substantial part of the population from the access to basic services and coverage by social insurance and social assistance.

The focus on the interface between political bargains and state capacity and how these factors contributed to ensuing welfare

state regimes in postcommunist countries is the strongest aspect of Cook's analysis. Her in-depth knowledge of the Russian welfare state reform enabled her to trace and analyse with some precision a key characteristic that sets the postcommunist cases apart from the Western European countries: their specific mix of state, market and the informal sector in welfare provision. With respect to her use of the 'politics matters' approach to explain welfare state reform trajectories, the analytical framework could have been better defined. Cook's case selection rationale is perhaps the best illustration of this. To place her study of Russia in a comparative perspective, she picked four other countries which were communist at the beginning of the period under study, and therefore presumably had shared features of the welfare state. However, in explaining why she picked these cases among the universe of 28 potential cases, she states that she picked 'two democratic and two authoritarian, in order to maximise variation on the same political factors' (p.23). This is puzzling in two ways. Firstly, the four cases did not start out as democratic versus authoritarian, so this can hardly be taken as an explanatory factor for welfare reforms. Even more importantly, this method of case selection presupposes that regime type will be used as an explanatory factor for welfare state outcomes, while Cook does not work in her subsequent analysis with regime type analysis. To conclude, Cook's study mixes regime type, institutional analysis and actor-centred analysis all under the umbrella of 'politics matters', and the result is a framework that is less analytically precise than it could have been if these explanatory factors were conceptually distinguished and analysed for their respective relevance in postcommunist welfare state reform.

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## WIDER PERSPECTIVES ON GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT

**Giovanni Andrea Cornia, Matti Pohjola i Antony Shorrocks (ur.)**

Houndmills: The United Nations University – World Institute for Development Economics Research i Palgrave Macmillan, 2005., 260 str.

Svjetski institut za istraživanja ekonomskog razvoja (*World Institute for Development Economics Research - WIDER*) sa sjedištem u Helsinkiju osnovan je 1984. kao prvi istraživački i obrazovni centar Sveučilišta Ujedinjenih naroda (*the United Nations University - UNU*). WIDER Institut provodi mnoga višedisciplinarna istraživanja i projekte vezane uz strukturne promjene koje utječu na životne uvjete najsiromašnijih i najranjivijih ljudi u svijetu. U svom radu okuplja mnoge ponajbolje stručnjake koji u svom djelovanju zastupaju politiku i mjere pravednog gospodarskog rasta s potrebnom pozornošću na očuvanje čovjekove okoline, jačanja kapaciteta za aktivno građanstvo i općenito unapređenje znanja i stručnosti u području ekonomskih i društvenih znanosti i odgovarajućih provedbenih mjera. Više o Institutu može se naći na stranici [www.wider.unu.edu](http://www.wider.unu.edu).

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Nakon kraćeg osvrtu urednika o važnosti tema i odabira priloga osmorice znanstvenika, prvi je prilog Douglassa Northa o doprinosu nove institucionalne ekonomike na