

book matters because partially authoritarian regimes are more common in the contemporary world than liberal democracies. According to the multi-continental World Values Survey, while there is 'overwhelming support for democracy as a good way of governing', in fact both democratic and undemocratic regimes secure similar levels of support (pp. 22, 26). Better understanding the sources of popular support and durability of undemocratic regimes is, therefore, critically important.

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**Leonardo Morlino:** *Changes for Democracy: Actors, Structures, Processes*  
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As James Mahoney has argued, although huge and diverse, the comparative literature on democratisation is one of few bodies of research that can claim to have made sustained, cumulative advances in knowledge. Nevertheless, Leonardo Morlino argues that despite such progress, democratisation studies have been undermined by a growing disjuncture between high-level theories of institutional change and empirical research. Moreover, quantitative research preoccupied with operationalisation tends to produce simplistic variable-driven theories, while regionally oriented approaches to democratisation—beginning with the 'transition' approach developed by O'Donnell—offers 'questions but not theoretical results' (p. 11).

To address this 'retreat from theory or a fear of developing a theory' (p. 17), in *Changes for Democracy* Morlino undertakes the tasks of 'integrating, correcting and developing the results of previous analysis' (p. 109). The book, which combines literature review, empirical analysis and the ar-

guments about conceptualisation and research directions, is divided into three parts, which deal with: (1) the definition of democracy as a regime; (2) phases and processes of democratisation and their domestic and external anchors; and (3) the question of deepening democracy and promoting 'democratic quality'.

Although long-discarded functionalist theories of democracy merit revisiting, researchers should, Morlino argues, avoid re-launching the quest for the 'philosopher's stone' of simple, universal theory. Rather, he suggests, there should be a step-by-step strategy of identifying distinct mechanisms and processes—'key salient and recurring sub-processes, simpler theoretical frameworks' (p. 21)—across different phases and historical episodes of democratisation. Morlino argues, quite conventionally, that an essentially procedural minimum definition of democracy is needed to allow empirical judgements to be made and the classic Dahlian procedural conceptualisation of this democratic minimum is still most coherent. He notes, however, that even with such a minimum, the boundary between the procedural and the substantive is not clear cut: meaningful civic and political pluralism requires a minimum of social equality and no democracy can endure even ephemerally without some substantive compromise between key social forces. For similar reasons, he suggests, the uncertainty of outcomes that democracy is conventionally said to institutionalise should be regarded as bounded: democratic regimes should be better viewed as producing 'most indeterminacy' of outcome. Democratic minima also logically imply democratic maxima. While 'maximum democracy' may not be empirically discoverable even in Scandinavia or Northern Europe, there is, nevertheless, a direct conceptual continuum between identifying minimum democracy and research on the quality of long-established well-functioning democracies.

The question of partially democratic 'hybrid regimes' in particular, Morlino suggests, throws such definitional issues into sharp relief. Surveying the data he concludes that, while some hybrid regimes are unstable or transitory, most are not: leaving aside highly uncertain cases, 45 of 91 states categorised as 'semi-free' by Freedom House in the two decades following 1989 he argues could be regarded as *persistent* hybrid regimes, having endured for at least fifteen years. Given their diversity Morlino, like other authors, suggests that their hybridity needs to be examined in more complex terms. Drawing on existing typologies, he argues that hybrid regimes are broadly either 'protected democracies', where entrenched elites or institutions act as veto players to constrain democratic decision making, or 'limited democracies', where leaders emerge through free electoral competition in the absence of consistent or meaningful civil rights. To this conventional distinction, he adds a third category: 'democracy without the state', where the state apparatus lacks the basic cohesion or resources to implement democratic decisions.

However, Morlino argues, hybrid regimes need additionally to be understood in terms of their *origins* and *trajectories*, as their hybridity is largely a function of the obstacles to democratisation represented by legacies of authoritarian regimes and their workings differ greatly depending on whether they are semi-liberalised autocracies or new democracies that have experienced backsliding. Overall, he concludes particular types of non-democratic rule are likely to lead to particular forms of hybrid regime: traditional authoritarian dictatorships, military or civilian, tend to result in 'protected democracy'; while post-colonial and post-totalitarian states produce 'limited democracy'.

In the second part of the book, Morlino discusses processes of democratic transition and consolidation. His conceptualisa-

tion of transition and its measurement again echoes established definitions: a process triggered by the inauguration of full pluralism and ending with free and fair elections, whose form is shaped by recurrent features such as duration, the presence of violence, the role of the armed forces, the extent of mass participation, the level of formal opposition organisation, and the presence or absence of pacts and political accommodation. Morlino, however, does more unusually stress the existence of a distinct 'installation' phase *following* transition when key initial institutional choices are made, although the factors he highlights as explaining the course of installation—political traditions, previous democratic experience, nature of the outgoing regime and mode of transition—are familiar ones.

Morlino is more unconventional, however, in supplementing this general typology with a historical caveat. He argues that the historical 'first wave' of transitions to democracy in West European states should be distinguished from subsequent waves. While 'first wave' transitions were typically characterised by the introduction of mass participation into already competitive political systems and were strongly shaped by domestic social forces, later transitions saw competition introduced into modern mass participation systems and saw the role of socio-economic structures diluted by both the influence of external actors and the rise of democracy as a universal norm. If there is a single core mechanism underlying waves of democratic transition, he later suggests, it is cultural emulation and social learning rather than socio-structural change.

Morlino approaches the phase of democratic consolidation with a similar mix of familiar and unfamiliar ideas. Like many writers he sees consolidation as a process of embedding democratic structures which has two axes: the legitimisation of democracy as a regime and the 'anchoring' of dem-

ocratic institutions in society. Varying levels of legitimacy and the extent to which institutional 'anchoring' is party- or society-led produce distinct patterns of consolidation: post-war Italian democracy consolidated primarily through strong parties and party-led clientelism despite the patchy legitimacy of liberal democracy, while post-Franco Spain saw weaker party structures but deeper and wider legitimacy of democracy. With organisationally weak parties (but still weaker civil societies), and post-communist Central and East European democracies, he suggests, approximated to the Spanish case, although legitimisation was complicated by the need to legitimise new economic institutions and (in some instances) newly independent states.

Morlino's conceptualisation of democratic consolidation also leads to an innovative idea about the nature of political crises in modern democracies: these, he argues, can usually be traced to initial patterns of democratic consolidation and usually take the form of 'de-anchoring' as institutions (not infrequently political parties) erode interests and incentives evolve due to social or geo-political change or exogenous shocks.

Although he considers that '... democracy and processes of democracy exist solely within national systems' (p. 144), Morlino also devotes a chapter to mechanisms of 'external anchoring'. Broadly tracking existing literature, he sees four essential mechanisms for such anchoring: external imposition, emulation, conditionalities and socialisation. Of these, he believes, the latter two are the most relevant, with external conditionalities potentially the most powerful mechanism. After briefly reviewing mechanisms of socialisation through linkage, Morlino thus outlines in more detail a framework unpacking the working of conditionalities, which centres on the interaction of external and internal actors and the centrality of promoting the rule of law.

The framework, which breaks down progress into phases of rule adoption, rule implementation and rule internalisation and flags the role of domestic 'change agents', the importance of the (changing) calculus facing all internal actors, and the indispensability of bureaucratic capacity, is then illustrated with findings from Morlino's earlier research on EU influence on Romania, Turkey, Serbia and Ukraine. This confirms earlier researchers' findings concerning the effectiveness of hard, specific conditionalities and the obstruction of entrenched groups rooted in the outgoing regime, but notes that in uncontentious 'low politics' areas surprising levels of change can still be made.

Morlino concludes the book with a discussion of 'democratic quality' or, as he also terms it, 'good democracy'. Distinguishing it from effective governance and quality of life, Morlino argues that democratic quality can best be defined as 'democratic *deepening* ... the process of developing what in normative perspectives are considered the qualities of democracy' (p. 195, italics in original). More concretely, it can be understood as democratic procedures, content and outcomes that maximally empower and fully satisfy citizens and, in particular, which enhance the rule of law; improve vertical (citizen-politician) and horizontal (inter-institutional) accountabilities; promote high levels of government responsiveness to citizens; and develop effective citizenry through social equality and inclusive social citizenship. Poor quality democracy can thus be understood in terms of processes that obstruct the maximisation of such democratic qualities such as underestimation of (or hostility to) social citizenship; the rendering of citizens as passive onlookers by the mass media; or politicians' multiple options for evading (vertical) electoral accountability.

These points are developed in the book's final chapter, which summarises the findings of a project conducted by Morlino

and collaborators examining the inter-relationship of qualities of democracy across a selection of East European cases and a range of democracies in Europe and Latin American. The key finding to emerge from these is that while trade-offs between different qualities such as accountability, participation, competition or the rule of law may exist, 'good democracies' tend to exhibit a 'mutual convergence of qualities'. Distinct regional patterns of democracy—expressible in terms of weaknesses of different qualities or obstacles to their development—do, however, emerge: East European democracies lack participation, Latin American democracies lack social equality needed for broad civic empowerment and West European democracies, while scoring well in most respects, still suffer the common lack of responsiveness, 'the Achilles heel of every democracy' (p. 254).

Taken overall, *Changes for Democracy* is a rich, complex work with both marked strengths and weaknesses. In structure and style the book sits uneasily and rather unsatisfactorily between literature review, empirical analysis and theoretical discussion. Long sections reviewing the literature are sometimes abruptly cut short and there are some surprising lacunae: comparative-historical approaches to democratisation, for example, go largely unmentioned. The presentation of empirical findings and data—perhaps unnecessary given that most appear to have been previously published—is often dogged by a lack clarity and full explanation. It is, for example, unclear in what sense the 'manipulative' institutions of Lithuania, Hungary, Poland and Romania 'shape[d] in an open and strong way the preferences of citizens, influenced by political parties, existing groups, or other networks' (p. 139), while those of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Latvia and Estonia did not. The conceptual discussion, while systematic, can seem often laboured and shifts frustratingly between recapitulation and revision of

conventional approaches and some more novel insights.

Although the book's breadth is sometimes to its disadvantage, the theoretical linkages Morlino makes between different phases of democratisation—and in particular between democratic consolidation and processes of crisis and change within 'normal' democracy—are among its most valuable contributions. His suggestion, for example, that a 'transition' perspective might be developed to analyse shifts *within* democracies from one model of democracy to another (for example, from majoritarian to consensus-based) is an arresting, if undeveloped, insight. The concept of 'anchoring', although perhaps too metaphorical, also represents an innovative rethinking of approaches to democratic consolidation.

*Changes for Democracy* is thus broadly successful in its goal of picking out key shared mechanisms of democratisation. However, the relative sparsity of those identified (learning, anchoring, convergence of quality)—especially when set against the complexity and diversity of democratisation processes which the book itself amply illustrates—suggests that, while not unproductive, Morlino's project of distilling for a theoretically unified approach democratisation may not be one of the main highways of future research.

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**Robbyn R. Wacker and Karen A. Roberto:**  
*Aging Social Policies: An International Perspective*

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Population ageing is a global phenomenon which affects developed countries in particular, placing increased pressure on social systems. A widely expressed view is that