

Centre for Social Policy Research, Bremen
in cooperation with
Social Science Research Council, New York
Mannheim Centre for European Social Research

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Globalization and the Western Welfare State.
An Annotated Bibliography
ZeS-Arbeits-Papier Nr. 1/1995

A contribution to the
GAAC/SSRC/Institute for Advanced Study Berlin - Summer Institutes (Harvard and Bremen)

- This paper also appears as working paper (Bibliographies - No. 2) of the MCESR, Mannheim -

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Introduction: Globalization and the Western Welfare State [Footnote]

"Attention will be called to the international division of labor. It seems evident, in this case at least, that individuals among whom labor is divided do not belong to the same society. But it must be recalled that a group can, while keeping its individuality, be enveloped by another, vaster and containing several of the same kind. It can be affirmed that an economic or any other function can be divided between two societies only if they participate from certain points of view in the same common life, and, consequently, belong to the same society. Suppose, indeed, that these two collective consciences have no common meeting-ground. It is not possible for the two aggregates to have the continuous contact which is necessary, nor, consequently, for one to abandon its function to the other. For one people to be penetrated by another, it must cease to hold to an exclusive patriotism, and learn another which is more comprehensive." (Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1933, pp. 280f.)

"The ideals of the Welfare State did not permit an internal adjustment to changes in the international sphere at the expense of full employment and other essential elements of those ideals, which had also become increasingly realised in firm institutions and working practices. In fact, the Welfare State has developed and become institutionally ramified, it has become far less flexible (.). Its policies are for a number of reasons intrinsically autarchic, and they are now firmly entrenched in our national institutions and ways of life. The national economy has been changed towards a maximum of internal adjustability, which increasingly makes it more possible to preserve internal stability, but only at the expense of lesser external flexibility, which must result in international instability and disintegration." (Gunnar Myrdal, *Economic Nationalism and Internationalism*, in: *Australian Outlook* 1957, XI, 4, pp. 3-50, quote on p. 15.)

The present situation of Western European and North American societies offers a panorama marked by increasing disorder and institutional discontinuity. A crucial element in this disorder is the relationship between welfare state institutions and economic globalization. This relationship points to problems which afflict most central institutional domains of modern societies, but also to more disturbing issues like basic insecurities about values and political concepts, about the individual's position vis à vis society and political authority, and about the demarcation of different "spheres of justice". Here we are concerned with "globalization and welfare states", a relationship in which all these insecurities are reflected -- and in which all this translates into conceptual and analytical problems and puzzles for the researcher.

First, we want to draw attention to the peculiar way in which the question -- now so popular -- has been framed: how do welfare state institutions adapt to a changing economic environment, institutions which range from broad income maintenance programs and social services to various programs of means-tested social assistance? From the beginning defenders of the welfare state faced an uphill battle in this debate. A globalized economy based on liberal principles was seen as transforming itself in a highly autonomous and breathtakingly rapid manner -- thus putting strong restraints on national welfare states. That appeared to forestall all alternatives but capping welfare state development, pursuing a policy of retrenchment, and curtailing social rights. Only then could a competitive position in the international economy be maintained or improved. Such a development would imply a "transformation" in the value system of advanced industrial societies. But it would also reconfigure elementary institutional arrangements between national and international spheres. At stake is the social and political order of the advanced societies in Western Europe and North America.

Thus, the myth-generating potential of "globalization" is quite developed. Anyone acquainted with the literature, though, will readily agree, that social facts are extremely elusive in this (strato-) sphere, and facts, as usual, do not speak for -- or even interpret -- themselves. The social sciences have not confronted this challenge with more rigorous methodological and conceptual standards. Rather, they have treated "globalization" in a spirit truly commensurate with the Feyerabendian slogan: "anything goes". It should be noted that much of what is labelled "globalization" today -- treated as a "super"-independent variable for everything lacking explanation -- was already discussed and analyzed intensively in the 60s and early 70s. Footnote We should then not be surprised to discover that the same 'analytical and conceptual problems which had been extensively discussed then are unconsciously recycled today. A look at this body of literature should help to bring some conceptual order into the present discussion of globalization and what it implies for domestic structures and domestic politics. It perhaps helps to prevent us from "reinventing the wheel".

Also, looking back may prove useful in another way: With the onset of the Oil-Crisis and the wave of nationalizing branches of multinational companies in developing countries the discussion of "transnational relations" and of an evolution of "transnational society" in the 1960s and 70s came to a sudden end. This episode, therefore, should serve as a sobering reminder that much of "globalization hype" may refer to developments which are devoid of a secure institutional base.

This bibliography should provide a first orientation to anyone who begins to confront "globalization and the welfare state". Soon you will discover that the literature is "disjointed", disjointed to the absurd, and that the discussion is lacking general analytical principles. Also, scarce is the literature directly addressing possible relations between patterns of globalization and changes in welfare state institutions. Perhaps one can conceive of more than just rifle'ring relationships between these two domains, depending on the institutional structure of welfare states, the power structure of industrial societies, the location of individual countries in the international division of labor and the like.'? Perhaps we are also dealing with contradictory, more complex relationships, ranging from a functional differentiation of institutional realms, to diverse forms of systemically subordinating welfare state institutions, to imperatives of economic rationality and legitimacy.

What we have tried to gather together in this bibliography is "raw material". It may help to achieve a more complex and adequate understanding of today's welfare states and the international economic system. However, this bibliography is highly subjective -- perhaps even idiosyncratic --, and it is so for a simple reason. Our background is comparative welfare state research. Therefore we emphasize matters which are white spots in our intellectual world maps, like international relations theory and international political economy. "Hic sunt leones." We hope that researchers from the "international" research community will nevertheless find the bibliography useful for their own work.

Literature in the various sections is ordered as if it were available to you in an imagined library: Articles and books are grouped neither alphabetically nor by year, but according to "elective affinity". If you are looking for a particular author please consult the index. Through such an order we hope to give you more information than would be possible by following normal bibliographic procedures. Also, more basic and general literature can be found at the beginning of a section, more specialized texts towards the end. We have attempted to treat each article and book as a discrete "object" in your shelf, and to situate each item such that your transaction costs are minimized in exploring the literature.

Elmar Rieger

Stephan Leibfried

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Annotated Bibliography

Evolving Structures: The Globalization of Social and Economic Life

Works in an Almost Classical Mood: International Relations and International Political Economy

1. Mitrany, David, 1933: *The Progress of International Government*, London: George Allen & Unwin.
2. Mitrany, David. 1943: *A Working Peace System. An Argument for the Functional Development of International Organization*, London: Royal Institute of International Affairs/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
3. Roeke, Wilhelm, 1942: *International Economic Disintegration*, London: William Hodge and Company. (US reprint under the same title, Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1978).
4. Hirschman, Albert O., 1945: *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade*, Berkeley: University of California Press (Second edition with a New Preface 1980).
5. Carr, Edward Hallett, 1945: *Nationalism and After*, London: Macmillan.
6. Deutsch, Karl W., et al., 1957: *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
7. Myrdal, Gunnar, 1957: *Economic Nationalism and Internationalism*, in: *Australian Outlook* XI, 4 (December): 3-50.
8. Myrdal, Gunnar, 1960: *Beyond the Welfare State. Economic Planning and Its International Implications*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
9. Haas, Ernst B., 1968: *The Uniting of Europe. Political, Social, and Economic Forces 1950-1957*, Stanford: Stanford University Press (Second edition).
10. Haas, Ernst B., 1964: *Beyond the Nation State. Functionalism and International Organization*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
11. Gerschenkron, Alexander, 1968: *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
12. Keohane, Robert O. and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., eds., 1970: *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
13. Lindberg, Leon N. and Stuart A. Scheingold, eds., 1971: *Regional Integration. Theory and Research*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

14. Lindberg, Leon N. and Stuart A. Scheingold, 1970: *Europe's Would-Be Polity*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
15. Pentland, Charles, 1973: *International Theory and European Integration*, London: Faber and Faber.
16. Katzenstein, Peter J., ed., 1978: *Between Power and Plenty. Foreign Economic Policies of Advanced Industrial States*, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
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17. Kurth, James R., 1979: *The Political Consequences of the Product Cycle: Industrial History and Political Outcomes*, in: *International Organization* 33, 1.
18. Waltz, Kenneth N., 1979: *Theory of International Politics*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
19. Olson, Mancur, 1982: *The Rise and Decline of Nations. Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
20. Ka'asner, Stephen D, ed., 1983: *International Regimes*, Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press.
21. Gourevitch, Peter, 1986: *Politics in Hard Times. Comparative Responses to International Economic Crises*, Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press.
22. Gilpin, Robert, with the assistance of Jean M. Gilpin, 1987: *The Political Economy of International Relations*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
23. Keohane, Robert O. and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., 1989: *Power and Interdependence*, New York: Harper Collins (Second edition).
24. Bull, Hedley, 1977: *A Study of Order in World Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press.
25. Hoffmann, Stanley, 1987: *Domestic Politics and Interdependence*, in: id., *Janus and Minerva. Essays in the Theory and Practice of International Politics*, Boulder, CO and London: Westview Press, 1987: 268-292 (originally published in: OECD (ed.), *From Marshall Plan to Global Interdependence*, Paris: OECD, 1978).
26. Gilpin, Robert, 1987: *The Political Economy of the International Relations*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
27. Strange, Susan, 1988: *States and Markets. An Introduction to International Political Economy*, New York: Blackwell.
28. Keohane, Robert O., 1989: *International Institutions and State Power*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
29. Wallace, Helen, William Wallace and Carol Webb, eds., 1983: *Policy Making in the European Community*, Chichester: Wiley (Second edition; third edition in preparation for 1996). *Introductions, Text books, and Some Basic Statistical Information*
- Introductions, Text books, and Some Basic Statistical Information
30. Strange, Susan, ed., 1984: *Paths to International Political Economy*, London: George Allen & Unwin. Good and still useful introduction to the relevant topics.
31. Gill, Stephen R. and David Law, 1988: *The Global Political Economy. Perspectives, Problems, and Policies*, New York, NY: Harvester Wheatsheaf. Gill and Law stress three broad trends: the globalization of national economies, the domination of international security by military-industrial rivalry, and their effects on global ecological change.
32. Chichillinsky, Graciella and Geoffrey Heal, 1986: *The Evolving International Economy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. The focus is more on the fate of the developing countries, but the book includes chapters on the theoretical (- economics -) background of economic globalization.
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33. Crane, George T. and Abla Amawi, eds., 1991: *The Theoretical Evolution of International Political Economy. A Reader*, New York, NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press. Wide-ranging collection: Alexander Hamilton, Friedrich List, Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, V.I. Lenin, Richard Cooper, Robert O. Keohane & Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Christopher Chase-Dunn, Robert Gilpin, Peter J. Katzenstein, Immanuel Wallerstein, Mancur Olson, Bruno S. Frey, Donald Puchala. und Stephen D. Krasner.
34. Murphy, Craig N. and Roger Tooze, eds., 1991: *The New International Economy*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers (*International Political Economy Yearbook*, Volume 6). The articles are focused on "Theoretical Foundations of a New IPE", "New Responses to the Traditional Agenda", and "Beyond the Traditional Agenda".
35. Stubbs, Richard and Geoffrey Underhill, eds., 1994: *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order*, London: Blackwell. An excellent collection of essays by North American political economists on globalization: see especially the article by Andrew Martin on "Labour, the Keynesian Welfare State, and the Changing International Political Economy" (60-74).

36. Isaak, Robert A., 1991: *International Political Economy. Managing World Economic Change*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall. A major textbook. The author assumes that international political economy, international organization. and international business cannot be separated if one wants to explain how global economic change is managed.
37. Carnoy, Martin, Manuel Castells, Stephen S. Cohen and Fernando Henrique Cardoso, 1993: *The New Global Economy in the Information Age. Reflections On Our Changing World*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press. Focuses on the effects of new computer and telecommunications technology in conditioning the policy choices of nation-states in both the less and more economically developed regions of the world.
38. Kenwood, A. G. and A. L. Lougheed, 1983: *The Growth of the International Economy 1820-1980*, London: George Allen & Unwin. Useful introductory textbook.
39. Marglin, Stephen A. and Juliet B. Schor, eds., 1990: *The Golden Age of Capitalism. Reinterpreting the Postwar Experience*, Oxford: Clarendon Press. Of particular interest are the chapters by Stephen A. Marglin on "Lessons of the Golden Age", and by Andrew Glyn, Alan Hughes, Alain Lipietz, and Ajit Singh on "The Rise and Fall of the Golden Age".
40. Maddison, Angus, 1989: *The World Economy in the Twentieth Century*, Paris: Development Centre of the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development. Analyses 20th century economic growth - its magnitude, characteristics and causes - based on a sample of 32 countries representing 80 per cent of global economic activity.
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41. United Nations, 1990: *Global Outlook 2000. An Economic, Social and Environmental Perspective*. New York, NY and Geneva: United Nations Publications. Written for the general reader this book describes the course that the world economy is most likely to take in the 1990s: a widening gap between the richest and the poorest countries. further deterioration of the physical environment, and economic stagnation, but also the development of new technologies stimulating increased productivity.
42. Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 1992: *Long-Term Prospects for the World Economy*, Paris: OECD. A wide-ranging collection, including articles on North American economic integration and the long-term perspective of European economic integration.
43. Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 1993: *1993 Issues. The OECD Response*, Paris: OECD, 1993. A collection of papers prepared for the 1993 meeting of the Council for Economic Co-operation and Development, covering the following concerns: unemployment, international co-operation in the trade field, competition policies, trade and environment, and structural reform.
44. Leechor, Chad, Harinder S. Kohli, and Sujin Hur, 1983: *Structural Changes in World Industry. A Quantitative Analysis of Recent Developments*, Washington, DC: The World Bank (A World Bank Technical Paper: Industry and Finance Series). Somewhat dated, but still useful on the "prehistory" of economic globalization. Also, it points to more interesting indicators, like inter- vs. intra-bloc trade.
45. International Monetary Fund, 1991: *Determinants and Systemic Consequences of International Capital Flows. A Study by the Research Department of the International Monetary Fund*, Washington DC: International Monetary Fund. Includes useful material, articles and statistics, on the main trends in capital flows during the 1970s and 1980s.
46. Summers, Robert and Alan Heston, 1991: *The Penn World Table (Mark 5): An Expanded Set of International Comparisons, 1950-1988*, in: *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 16, May 1991: 327-368. The Penn World Table displays a set of national accounts economic time series covering many countries. Its expenditure entries are denominated in a common set of prices on a common currency so that real quantitative comparisons can be made. The Table is available on personal computer diskettes and through BITNET (but see the article for details).
47. Orr, Bill, 1992: *The Global Economy in the 90's. A User's Guide*, Houndmills and London: Macmillan, and New York, NY: New York University Press. Useful compilation of statistics from different sources, concentrating on "Macrotrends", "Output", "Products", "Merchandise Trade", "Trade Geography", "Trade in Services", "Foreign Exchange", "Balance of Payments", "Capital Markets". "Bond Markets", "Stock Markets", "Banking", "External Debt", "Development Aid", "Prices and Wages", "Saving and Investment", "Fiscal Management", "Energy", "Human Capital".
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- Industry and Trade in the New World Economy
48. Moran, Theodore H., 1972/73: *Foreign Expansion as an "Institutional Necessity" for U.S. Corporate Capitalism: The Search for a Radical Model*, in: *World Politics* 25: 367-386. Still useful: "As long as

American corporations exercise their virtues of inventiveness and aggressiveness, their government will feel intense, even frantic pressures to create and preserve an international system that facilitates foreign economic expansion" (p. 386).

49. Katzenstein, Peter J., 1975: International Interdependence. Some Long-Term Trends and Recent Changes, in: International Organization 29:1021-1034. Discusses the problems of measuring interdependence.

50. Froebel, Folker, Jürgen Heinrichs, and Otto Kreye, 1978: The World Market for Labor and the World Market for Industrial Sites, in: Journal of Economic Issues 12, 4: 843-858. Still useful article on the transformation of the "classical" international division of labor.

51. Moore, Lynden, 1985: The Growth and Structure of International Trade Since the Second World War. Brighton: Wheatsheaf, and Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble. Sections include "Historical, Financial and Commercial Background to Trade", "The Overall Picture and Explanation of Flows", "Commodity Trade".

52. Zysman, John and Laura Tyson, eds., 1983: American Industry in International Competition, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Early strategic trade discussion.

53. Rosecrance, Richard, 1986: The Rise of the Trading State, New York, NY: Basic Books .. (deutsch: Der neue Handelsstaat. Herausforderungen für Politik und Wirtschaft, Frankfurt a.M. und New York, NY: Campus, 1987). Gives a panoramic view of the emergence of a new economic world order.

54. Caporaso, James A., 1987: Labor in the Global Political Economy, in: James A. Caporaso, ed., A Changing International Division of Labor, Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner. and London: Frances Pinter (International Political Economy Yearbook, 2): 187-222. Discusses five trends related to labor in the global political economy: the migration of industrial capital from core to periphery, the rise of global production-sharing, peripheralization of labor in the core, female labor and the global economy, and the rise of industrial policy. It also includes a short discussion of what "motivates" the system of global political economy and of the consequences for the institutional forms of social democracy and production relations.

55. Elsenhans, Hartrout, 1987: Absorbing Global Surplus Labor, in: Annals, 492: 124-135. Claims that the increasing availability of Third World surplus labor for world-market production threatens to uncouple wages from the development of productivity and to create a global deficit of demand that will profoundly disturb the growth mechanism of the capitalist world economy.

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56. Elsenhans, Hartrout, 1994: Staat- Wirtschaft - Macht und die Zukunft des internationalen Systems. in: WeltTrends, June 1994:105-119. Instructive article on the changing foundations of contemporary capitalism. The author claims that the importance of the political dimension of international economic relations will increase due to the new role of state-financed or state-subsidized investments in high-tech industries. One of the results of this development is a deepening of already existing national and regional inequalities, based either on "vicious cycles" of economic and social decline or on "fortunate cycles" of prosperity.

57. Scaia, Allen J. and Michael Storper, eds., 1988: Production, Work, Territory. Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman. Chapters include "Industrial Production Systems" (John Urry), "Work and Labour Markets", "Territorial Organization and Regional Development" and "The Geographical Anatomy of Industrial Capitalism".

58. Hirst, Paul and Jonathan Zeitlin, eds., 1989: Reversing Industrial Decline? Industrial Structure and Policy in Britain and Her Competitors, Oxford: Berg. Sectoral and regional case studies, including Charles Sabel article on "Flexible Specialisation and the Re-Emergence of Regional Economies" and Paul Hirst's on "The Politics of Industrial Policy".

59. Gill, Stephen R. and David Law, 1989: Global Hegemony and the Structural Power of Capital, in: International Studies Quarterly 33: 475-499. Using a Gramscian approach to clarify, develop and apply concepts of power and hegemony they try to explain some of the conditions under which a more "transnational" regime of accumulation and an associated hegemony of transnational capital might develop.

60. Gordon, David, 1988: The Global Economy: New Edifice or Crumbling Foundations, in: New Left Review 168 (March-April): 24-66. Vaguely neo-Marxist article debunking the importance of any new globalization in post-1973 difficulties of advanced societies.

61. Mahon, Rianne, 1987: From Fordism to ? New Technology, Labour Markets and Unions, in: Economic and Industrial Democracy 8, 1: 5-60. Very perceptive and original article.

62. Chase-Dunn, Christopher, 1989: *Global Formation. Structures of the World-Economy*, Oxford: Blackwell. Outline of a structuralist approach to world-system analysis, stressing systemic patterns and the "deep structural logic" of the modern world system.
63. Mead, Walter Russell, 1990: *The Low-Wage Challenge to Global Growth. The Labor Cost-Productivity Imbalance in Newly Industrialized Countries*, Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute. "The study concludes that the labor cost advantages of low-wage producers are likely to result in macroeconomic imbalances between global incomes and production capacity. Continued economic growth in a liberal trading order requires increased consumption and higher real wages among the newly productive workers of the developing world" (pp. 1-2).
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64. Block, Fred, 1990: *Postindustrial Possibilities. A Critique of Economic Discourse*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. A good analysis of the changing economic realities, concentrating on the USA.
65. Schettkat, Ronald, 1991: *The Labor Market Dynamics of Economic Restructuring. The United States and Germany in Transition*, New York, NY: Praeger. A good discussion of some of the most used (and abused) arguments about recent labor market developments. based on a broad range of statistical data.
66. Jessop, Bob et al., eds., 1991: *The Politics of Flexibility*, Aldershot: Edward Elgar. Intelligent anglophone regulation schoolism.
67. Soskice, David, 1991: *The Institutional Infrastructure for International Competitiveness: A Comparative Analysis of the UK and Germany*, in: Anthony Barnes Atkinson and Renato Brunette (eds.), *Economics for the New Europe*, London: Macmillan: 45-67. Delineates on the level of labor market institutions at least three different regimes of what one might call "Arbeitspolitik", which are not likely to whither away under pressures of "interdependence", be it globalization or the Single European Market. (Most interesting is pp. 45-49 and table 3-1 on p. 49). Basically Soskice argues against the the automatic diffusion of "best practice", but for different national balances (economic cultures) between cooperation and competition.
68. Benko, Georges and Mick Dunford, eds., 1991: *Industrial Change and Regional Development: The Transformation of New Industrial Spaces*, London and New York, NY: Belhaven Press. Collection of articles in the framework of the "flexspec" discussion.
69. Lierot, Gijsbert van, 1992: *Economic Globalization: Labour Options and Business Strategies in High Labour Cost Countries*, in: *International Labour Review* 131, 4-5: 453-470. Argues that the "real challenge is to develop bargaining structures and attitudes conducive to reaching negotiated outcomes that avoid further segmentation, while accepting rapid structural and technological change and the advantages of a more open world economy" (p. 468).
70. Hart, Jeffrey, 1992: *Rival Capitalists. International Competitiveness in the United States, Japan and Western Europe*, Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press. Good International Political Economy (IPE) study.
71. Ostry, Sylvia, 1991: *Governments and Corporations in a Shrinking World. Trade and Innovation Policies in the United States, Europe and Japan*, New York and London: Council on Foreign Relations Press. A survey of the emerging international economic order on trade and innovation policies. The study focuses on the vast differences in corporate-government interface in the political economy of policy making within the triad "United States, European Community, and Japan".
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72. Storper, Michael and Allen J. Scott, eds., 1992: *Pathways to Industrialization and Regional Development*, London and New York, NY: Routledge. Articles concentrate on "A new period in capitalist development" (Elmar Airrarer, Bob Jessop, Paul Hirst & Jonathan Zeitlin, Makoto Itoh), "New technologies and the organization of industrial production" (Benjamin Coriat, Michael Piore, Giovanni Dosi & Roberta Salvatore), "The territorial foundations of production systems" (Edward H. Lorenz, Bruno Courault & Claudine Romani, Bernard Ganne, Jean Saglio), "The incorporation of labor" (Guy Standing, Robert Salais), and "Collective order and industrial policy in post-Fordism" (Patrizio Bianchi, AnnaLee Saxenian, Daniele Leborgne & Alain Lipietz).
73. Sengenberger, Werner, 1992: *Intensified Competition, Industrial Restructuring and Industrial Relations*. in: *International Labour Review* 131, 2: 139-154. Good review article, concentrating on recent changes in industrial organization. competitive strategies, and new forms of divergent economic development.

74. Buckley, Peter and Mark Casson, eds., 1992: *Multinational Enterprises in the World Economy*. Essays in Honour of John Dunning, Aldershot: Edward Elgar. Wide-ranging collection of articles. Topics include direct foreign investment and government policies towards them.
75. Dunning, John H., ed., 1993: *The Globalization of Business. The Challenge of the 1990s*, London and New York, NY: Routledge. State-of-the-art collection of essays on key themes in international business. The study focuses on the changing role of the multinational enterprise in a world in which markets and productions are becoming more globalized.
76. Hodges, Michael and Stephen Woolcock, 1993: *Atlantic Capitalism Versus Rhine Capitalism in the European Community*, in: *West European Politics* 16: 329-344. A discussion of the conflict between the German social market economy and the British liberal market. The authors argue that "Rhine Capitalism" will remain a source of competitive advantage through its emphasis on continuous development of labor skills and technology. In the essay the thesis is developed that a regulative framework similar to Germany's Ordnungspolitik will probably emerge at the European Community level.
77. Sengenberger, Werner, 1993: *Local Development and International Economic Competition*, in: *International Labour Review* 132, 3: 313-329. Gives a good overview of the discussion: "In sum, the last decade of this century is characterized by 'tectonic' dislocations in the territorial nature of the economy, polity and society, with movements occurring both beyond and within the confines of the nation state. They are associated with hopes and expectations of new economic dynamism, greater political stability and stronger social cohesion; but they also give rise to feelings of insecurity, anxiety and fear of loss of jobs, income and identity." (pp. 313-4).
78. Hirst, Paul and Grahame Thompson, 1992: *The Problem of "Globalization": International Economic Relations, National Economic Management. and the Formation of Trading Blocs*, in: *Economy and Society* 21, 4: 357-396. "Attempts to define exactly (sic! - the authors) what the term 'globalization of economic relations' means and then examines how far the present tendencies in the international economy meet this definition. The conclusion is that such a globalized economy does not yet exist" (p. 357).
Original Page No. 17 - [Click to return to content](#)
79. Singh, Ajit, 1994: *Global Economic Changes, Skills and International Competitiveness*, in: *International Labour Review* 133, 2: 167-183. An essay on implications and consequences of the ever-growing integration of the international economy for developing countries.
80. Crone, Donald, 1993: *Does Hegemony Matter? The Reorganization of the Pacific Political Economy*, in: *World Politics* 45: 501-525. A "modified realist explanation of regime formation in the Pacific" (p. 502).
81. Wood, Adrian, 1993: *North-South Trade. Employment and Inequality*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. An attempt to assess the low-wage competition argument, using a wide range of data. An important work since it tries to look at differences in the reaction to increased low-wage competition among the Western European and North American Countries.
82. Hollingsworth, J. Rodgers and Wolfgang Streeck, 1994: *Countries and Sectors:- (Concluding Remarks on Performance, Convergence and Competitiveness*, in: J. Rogers Hollingsworth, Phillippe C. Schmitter and Wolfgang Streeck (eds.), *Comparing Capitalist Economies. Performance and Control of Economic Sectors*, New York, NY etc.: Oxford University Press: 270-300. A general discussion on sectors whose logic may be extended to welfare state issues: will the "institutional model of best practice" obtain by international competition ("convergence")? Or do national industrial orders have different ways out? (pp. 283ff). Is there an "emerging international governance regime distinct from the national regimes preceding it"? (pp. 288ff.).
83. Barnett, Richard J. and John Cavanagh, 1994: *Global Dreams. Imperial Corporations and the New World Order*, New York, NY: Simon and Schuster. A graphic description of the cultural and economic "new world order".
The Globalization of Financial Markets
84. Strange, Susan, 1986: *Casino Capitalism*, Oxford: Blackwell. On the speculative and uncontrolled aspects of globalized financial markets.
85. Julius, DeAnne, 1990: *Global Companies and Public Policy. The Growing Challenge of Foreign Direct Investment*, London: Royal Institute of International Affairs/Pinter Publishers. A global perspective of foreign direct investment as a macroeconomic phenomenon, linking home and foreign markets.
86. Julius, DeAnne, 1991: *Foreign Direct Investment: The Neglected Twin of Trade*, Washington, DC: Group of Thirty. Good introduction to the topic.

87. McKenzie, Richard B. and Dwight R. Lee, 1991: *Quicksilver Capital. How the Rapid Movement of Wealth has Changed the World*, New York, NY: Free Press. A good description of the dramatic expansion of the scope and intensity of competitive markets.

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88. Frieden, Jeffrey, 1991: *Invested Interests: The Politics of National Economic Policies in a World of Global Finance*, in: *International Organization* 45, 4:425-451.

"This article proposes a framework for analyzing the politics of international capital mobility. It focuses on the distributional implications of cross-border capital movements and on the distributional implications of various economic policies in the light of the high degrees of international capital mobility." One of the main arguments is summarized in the following terms: the high and still rising levels of "international capital mobility restrict but do not eliminate the possibility for national economic policies. Sectoral policies remain feasible, as do policies whose goals directly or indirectly involve the exchange rate" (p. 426).

89. Goodman, John B. and Louis W. Pauly, 1993: *The Obsolescence of Capital Controls? Economic Management in an Age of Global Markets*, in: *World Politics* 46, 1: 50-82.

"We argue that the movement away from controls on short-term capital flows did not result, as a regime or epistemic community theories might predict, from the emergence of a common normative framework or widespread belief in the benefits of unfettered capital mobility. Nor has it simply reflected the overarching power of a liberal state. Instead, we contend that it has been driven by fundamental changes in the structures of international production and financial intermediation, which made it easier and more urgent for private firms / effectively to pursue strategies of evasion and exit. For governments, the utility of controls declined as their perceived costs thereby increased" (p. 51 f.).

90. Andrew, David M., 1994: *Capital Mobility and State Autonomy: Toward a Structural Theory of International Monetary Relations*, in: *International Studies Quarterly* 38: 193-218. Andrew argues that the degree of international capital mobility systematically constrains state behavior by rewarding some actions and punishing others.

91. Helleiner, Eric, 1994: *States and the Reemergence of Global Finance. From Bretton Woods to the 1990s*, Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press. A political history of the postwar globalization of financial markets detailing and explaining the central role played by states in permitting and encouraging financial globalization. *The Political Governance of the Globalized Economy*

The Political Governance of the Globalized Economy

92. Simmons, Beth A., 1994: *Who Adjusts? Domestic Sources of Foreign Economic Policy During the Interwar Years*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. A historical view: Simmons tries to show that different political regimes choose different economic adjustment strategies.

93. Crozier, Michael, 1978: *Structural Evolution in Industrial Societies*, in: *Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development, From Marshall Plan to Global Interdependence. New Challenges for Industrialized Nations*, Paris: OECD: 37-47. Still an important article on the problems of modern decision-making mechanisms to cope with a wide range of pressing political and economic problems.

94. Ait, James E., 1985: *Political Parties, World Demand, and Unemployment: Domestic and International Sources of Economic Activity*, in: *American Political Science Review* 79: 5016-5040. Original article linking international political economy and traditional ("domestic") political science.

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95. Swenson, Peter, 1991: *Bringing Capital Back in, or Social Democracy Reconsidered*, in: *World Politics* 43, 4:513-544. On the importance of studying employer strategies.

96. Vernon, Raymond, 1971: *Sovereignty at Bay. The Multinational Spread of U.S. Enterprises*, New York, NY and London: Basic Books. A classic on the first phase of economic globalization in the postwar era.

97. Bergsten, C. Fred and Lawrence B. Krause, eds., 1975: *World Politics and International Economics*, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press (= *International Organization* 29, 1). Includes still readable and useful articles. Among the authors are Robert O. Keohane, Stephen S. Nye, Jr., Robert Gilpin, and Robert Baldwin. Also provides a "Selected Bibliography of Literature on World Politics and International Economics".

98. Katzenstein, Peter J., 1976: *International Relations and Domestic Structures: Foreign Economic Policies of Advanced Industrial States*, in: *International Organization* 30, 1: 1-45.- A classic in the field:

Katzenstein argues that foreign economic policy can be understood only if domestic factors are systematically included in the analysis.

99. Krasner, Stephen D., 1978: *Defending the National Interest. Raw Materials Investments and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. One of the best examples of a "statist approach" to the study of foreign policy.

100. Krasner, Stephen D., 1985: *Structural Conflict. The Third World against Global Liberalism*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Particularly the conclusions are still readable.

101. Finger, J. M., H. Keith Hall, and Douglas R. Nelson, 1982: *The Political Economy of Administered Protection*, in: *American Economic Review* 72: 452-466, Quite useful since it provides a relatively large amount of institutional information.

102. Hager, Wolfgang, 1982: *Protectionism and Autonomy: How to Preserve Free Trade in Europe*, in: *International Affairs* 59, 3: 413-428. Argues that Western Europe, which has developed "the most humane system embedding modern production technology in a framework of social responsibility", should not give up this achievement to an abstraction, the world market.

103. Encarnation, Dennis J. and Louis T. Wells, Jr., 1985: *Sovereignty en garde: Negotiating with Foreign Investors*. in: *International Organization* 39, 1: 47-78. Argues that "organization matters" when it comes to a distribution of the costs and benefits of negotiation approaches.

104. McKinlay, J. and R. Little, 1986: *Global Problems and World Order*, London: Frances Pinter. Quite useful because these authors use a broader approach than most. Chapters include "Models of World Order", "Global Economic Problems and Solutions", "Global Security Problems and Solutions".

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105. Lipietz, Alain, 1987: *Mirages and Miracles. The Crisis of Global Fordism*, London: Verso. Strong "regulation school" statement on globalization by the French regulationists' best "popularizer".

106. Mead, Walter Russell, 1989: *After Hegemony*, in: *New Economic Perspectives* 4, 3: 42-47. Strong thesis: "Call it liberal capitalism, the welfare state, or modern industrial democracy: the compromise between the working classes and the ruling classes that represents the underlying facts of political and economic life in the West, and to some extent in Japan, has been overtaken by events" (p. 42).

107. Krugman, Paul, 1987: *Is Free Trade Pass6?* in: *Economic Perspectives* 1, 2: 131-144. Good summary of recent changes in the theory of international trade; argues that more important than theoretical arguments about free trade are the difficulties in formulating and implementing useful interventions.

108. Milner, Helen, 1988: *Resisting Protectionism. Global Industries and the Politics of International Trade*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Concentrates on the question why states decide not to protect their markets.

109. Boyer, Robert, ed., 1989: *The Search for Labor Market Flexibility*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. "Regulation school" discussion of different labor market regimes and their implications.

110. Gerefi, Gary, 1990: *International Economics and Domestic Policies*, in: Alberto Maninelli and Nell J. Smelser (eds.), *Economy and Society. Overviews in Economic Sociology*, London: Sage/also published as *Current Sociology* 38, 2/3): 231-259. Focuses on four "newly industrializing countries": Brazil, Mexico, South Korea, and Taiwan, comparing their respective modes of development and links to the world system.

11 I. Ross, Robert J. S., 1990: *The Relative Decline of Relative Autonomy. Global Capitalism and the Political Economy of State Change*, in: Edward G. Greenberg and Thomas F. Mayer (eds.), *Changes in the State. Causes and Consequences*, Newbury Park, CA.: Sage: 206-223. Analyzes the transformation of the social relations of capitalism under the influence of the evolution of a new variant of capitalism, global capitalism. He argues that the emergence of this global variant of modern capitalism undergirds the common threads of political change in North America and Western Europe.

111. Ross, Robert J. S., 1990: *The Relative Decline of Relative Autonomy. Global Capitalism and the Political Economy of State Change*, in: Edward G. Greenberg and Thomas F. Mayer (eds.), *Changes in the State. Causes and Consequences*, Newbury Park, CA.: Sage: 206-223. Analyzes the transformation of the social relations of capitalism under the influence of the evolution of a new variant of capitalism, global capitalism. He argues that the emergence of this global variant of modern capitalism undergirds the common threads of political change in North America and Western Europe.

112. Kitschelt, Herbert, 1991: *Industrial Governance Structures, Innovation Strategies, and the Case of Japan: Sectoral or Cross-National Comparative Analysis?* in: *International Organization* 45, 4: 453-493. Kitschelt argues that there is considerable policy variance across industrial sectors. Therefore, sectoral analysis must complement and partially supersede national explanations.

113. Greenaway, David et al., eds., 1991: *Global Protectionism*, London: Macmillan. The volume includes commented papers on various topics: General trends in world trade and protection, country studies (including the European Community), agricultural protection.
Original Page No. 21 - [Click to return to content](#)
114. Kapstein, Ethan B. 1991/92: We are US. The Myth of the Multinational, in: *National Interest*, Winter Issue: 55-62. A critical discussion of the book by Robert Reich (no. 398 in this bibliography).
115. Stopford, John, Susan Strange. with John S. Henley, 1991: *Rival States. Rival Firms. Competition for World Market Shares*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Very original, very perceptive, a must-reading.
116. Webb, Michael C., 1991: International Economic Structures, Government Interests, and International Coordination of Macroeconomic Adjustment Policies, in: *International Organization* 45, 3: 309-338. The article focuses on changes in patterns of coordination between the 1960s and the 1980s. triggered by the tremendous increase in capital mobility.
117. Treu, Tiziano, 1992: Labour Flexibility in Europe, in: *International Labour Review* 131, 4-5: 497-512. A useful discussion of the different meanings of labor flexibility (by the Italian secretary of labor under "technocrat" Dini). Treu distinguishes between numerical (or external) flexibility, that is the freedom employers enjoy to expand or contract their workforce as they wish and to employ workers on a temporary or part-time basis; working time flexibility; functional flexibility; and pay flexibility.
118. Haggard, Stephen and Robert R. Kaufman. eds., 1992: *The Politics of Economic Adjustment. international Constraints, Distributive Conflicts, and the State*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Although the book focuses on developing countries the introduction ("Institutions and Economic Adjustment") is a must-reading.
119. Preston, Lee E. and Duane Windsor, 1992: *The Rules of the Game in the Global Economy: Policy Regimes for International Business*. Boston etc.: Kluwer Academic Publishing. A good analysis of the evolution of "international policy regimes" as they affect the development of the management of international business, emphasizing institutions.
120. Thompson, Grahame, 1992: The Evolution of the Managed Economy in Europe, in: *Economy and Society* 21, 2: 129-151, Argues that diverse traditions of economic management still linger in the emerging European management framework.
121. Murphy, Craig N., 1994: *International Organization and Industrial Change. Global Governance since 1850*, New York, NY etc.: Oxford University Press. A Gramscian analysis of the history of international organizations. Very good on linkages between domestic spheres and international capitalism.
122. Choucri, Nazli, ed., 1993: *International Political Economy and the Global Environment*, special issue of: *International Political Science Review* 14, I. Among the authors are Thomas J. Biersteker ("Evolving Perspectives on International Political Economy: Twentieth Century Contexts and Discontinuities" and J. Ann Ticknet ("States and Markets. An Ecofeminist Perspective on International Political Economy").
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123. Notermans, Ton, 1993: The Abdication from National Policy Autonomy: Why the Macroeconomic Policy Regime has Become so Unfavorable to Labor, in: *Politics and Society* 21, 2: 133-168. Notermans argues that globalization which really counts takes place in macroeconomic policy, not in other realms.
124. Campanella, Miriam L, 1993: The Effect of Globalization and Turbulence on Policy Making, in: *Government and Opposition* 28, 2: 190-205. The article paints a general picture of globalization from an international relations theory view point. Campanella concentrates mostly on the effects of globalization and the dilemmas posed by this development for policy making.
125. Owen, Henry, 1994: The World Bank: Is 50 Years Enough? in: *Foreign Affairs* 73, 5: 97-508. Readable article on the history and changing functions of one of the most important institutions of the international economy.
126. Salvatore. Dominick, ed., 1993: *Protectionism and World Welfare*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. A broad study of the movement toward protectionism. bilateralism, and regionalism. Authors include Jagdish Bhagwati, Robert Baldwin, Richard Cooper, Paul Krugman and Rüdiger Dornbusch.
127. Tonelson, Alan, 1994: Beating Back Predatory Trade. in: *Foreign Affairs* 73, 4: 123-135. Tonelson tries to show that the present reality of American trade policies is at odds with the myth of free trade.
128. Krugman, Paul, 1994: *Peddling Prosperity. Economic Sense and Nonsense in the Age of Diminished Expectations*, New York, NY: Norton. Eminently readable essays on the recent history of macroeconomic

theory and economic policy intellectualism, mainly in the US, by a someone who does not believe in the fundamental causalities of globalization. International Migration and the Refugee Problem
International Migration' and the Refugee Problem

129. Dowry, Alan. 1987: *Closed Borders. The Contemporary Assault on Freedom of Movement*, New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press. A landmark study. Shows that the closing of borders is a phenomenon of quite recent origins. Puts the problems of refugee, expatriation, and immigration in historical context. The main focus, however, is on the political dimension, and not on the role of social policy.

130. Freeman, Gary, 1986: *Migration and the Political Economy of the Welfare State*, in *Annals*, 485: 51-63. Explores the consequences of transnational flows of labor both for the status of migrants who move to welfare states and for the viability of welfare states themselves.

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131. Cohen, Robin, 1987: *The New Helots. Migrants in the International Division of Labour*, Aldershot: Avebury. Cohen argues that a major engine of capital's growth lies in its ability to find successive cohorts of quasi-free workers to deploy in farms, mines and factories within an expanding international division of labor.

132. Öncü. Ayse, 1990: *International Labour Migration and Class Relations*, in: Alberto Martinelli and Nell J. Smelser (eds.), *Economy and Society. Overviews in Economic Sociology*, London: Sage (also published as *Current Sociology* 38, 223): 175-202. Discusses the main analytical frameworks of migration theory.

133. Rudolph, Hedwig and Mirjana Morokvasic, eds., 1993: *Bridging States and Markets. International Migration in the Early 1990s*, Berlin: Sigma. Uneven collection, mostly of quite narrow case studies. But see Rainer Baubock: "Entitlement and Regulation. Immigration Control in Western States".

134. Zolberg, Aristide R., Astrid Suhrke, and Sergio Aduayi, 1989: *Escape from Violence. Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World*, New York, NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press. One of the best pieces in the field. concentrating on the causes of social conflict and the refugee implications.

135. Zolberg, Aristide R., 1991: *Bounded States in a Global Market: The Uses of International Labor Migrations*, in: Pierre Bourdieu and/ames S. Coleman (eds.), *Social Theory for a Changing Society*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, and New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation: 301-324. Good and innovative article.

136. Joly, Daniele, with Clive Nettleton and Hugh Poulton: *Refugees. Asylum in Europe.*? London: Minority Rights Publications, 1992. In the book the evolution of new refugee systems in Western Europe is discussed, both on the national and the transnational level.

137. Loescher, Gil, 1993: *Beyond Charity. International Cooperation and the Global Refugee Crisis*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press. Argues that a central challenge in the post-Cold War era is to develop a comprehensive refugee policy that preserves the right of asylum while promoting greater political and diplomatic efforts to address the causes of flight.

138. Loescher, Gil, 1989: *The European Community and Refugees*, in: *International Affairs* 65, 4: 619-636. How to achieve solutions in the European supranational framework?

139. Brubaker, William Rogers, ed., 1989: *Migration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America*, Lanhan, MD etc.: University Press of America. Brubaker presents country studies, mostly by lawyers and sociologists. Very useful on the legal position of immigrants and refugees in developed welfare states.

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140. Hollifield, James F., 1992: *Immigrants, Markets, and States. The Political Economy of Postwar Europe*, Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press. A basic text on the topic.

141. Hammar, Tomas: *Democracy and the Nation State. Aliens, Denizens and Citizens in a World of International Migration*, Aldershot: Avebury, 1990. A collection of essays by the Director of the Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations, Stockholm University, focusing on the relationship between democracy and the nation state and the challenge posed by large scale imation. *Towards a Sociology of the Global System*

Towards a Sociology of the Global System

142. Mendersbausch, Horst, 1969: *Transnational Society vs. State Sovereignty*. in: *Kyklos* 22: 251-273. Still a useful early article on the present (post-WW II) phase of globalization.

143. Huntington, Samuel P., 1973: *Transnational Organizations in World Politics*. in: *World Politics* 25: 333-368. On the "Transnational Organizational Revolution", or "What Have the Catholic Church and Unilever in Common".

144. Deutsch, Karl W., 1981: From the National Welfare State to the International Welfare System, in: Wolfgang S. Mommsen in collaboration with Wolfgang Mock (eds.), *The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany, 1850-1950*, London: Croom Helm: 424-436. Deutsch argues that the present world system can be seen as a non-welfare state and discusses the chances for an international welfare state to emerge.

145. Watson, Adam, 1992: *The Evolution of International Society. A Comparative Historical Analysis*, London and New York, NY: Routledge. Watson examines both ancient state systems and worldwide contemporary society. He tries to demonstrate that relations between states are not normally anarchies, but organized international or even supranational societies regulated by elaborate rules and practices.

146. Bamyeh, Mohammed A., 1993: *Transnationalism*, London: Sage (Current Sociology 41, 3). Bamyeh centers his analysis on three major areas, in which the influence of global consolidation and transnational trends have become most obvious: economy, culture, and political governance. His study is quite useful as it places the topic "welfare state and globalization" in a much broader historical and theoretical context.

147. Appadurai, Arjun, 1991: *Global Ethnoscapes. Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology*, in: Richard G. Fox (ed.), *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press: 191-238. Good article on the changing social, territorial, and cultural reproduction of group identity.

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148. King, Anthony D., 1990: *Global Cities. Post-Imperialism and the Internationalization of London*, London: Routledge. King depicts the evolution of "world cities" as centers of global control and coordination and looks at the transformation not only of the city's economic and social structure but also of its physical, spatial and architectural forms.

149. King, Anthony D., ed., 1991: *Culture, Globalization and the World System*, Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Macmillan. Globalization and culture is a slippery subject -- as readers of this book will be quick to learn.

150. Sklair, Leslie, 1991: *Sociology of the Global System*, New York, NY: Harvester Wheatsheaf. Sklair tries to combine more traditional state-centered approaches with a new conception of the global system.

151. Robertson, Roland. 1992: *Globalization. Social Theory and Global Culture*, London: Sage. Robertson tries to anchor "globalization" in the various theoretical discussions and approaches in the social sciences (cultural theory, post-modernity, civilizing process, world-system theories .).

152. Friedman, Jonathan, 1994: *Cultural Identity and Global Process*, London: Sage. Friedman writes on the interface between global processes, identity formation, and the production of culture.

153. Featherstone, Mike, ed.. 1990: *Global Culture. Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, London: Sage (A special issue of "Theory, Culture and Society"). Authors include Roland Robertson (on "Globalization as the Central Concept"), Immanuel Wallerstein, Margaret Archer, Zygmunt Baumann, Anthony D. Smith, Friedrich Tenbruck, Jonathan Friedman, and Bryan S. Turner.

154. Sassen, Saskia, 1991: *The Global City*. New York, London, Tokyo, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. A very good study. Just a glimpse at the table of contents: "The Geography and Composition of Globalization", "The Economic Order of the Global City", and "The Social Order of the Global City".

155. Sassen, Saskia, 1994: *Cities in a World Economy*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press. Good down-to-earth discussion of globalization. Argues that economic globalization, accompanied by the emergence of a global culture, has profoundly altered the social, economic, and political reality of nation-states, cross-national regions and cities. Examines the city as one particular site in which global processes take place.

156. Casteils, Manuel, 1994: *European Cities, the Informational Society, and the Global Economy*, in: *New Left Review*, 204: 18-32. Casteils claims that the "informational society" - which does not cease to be capitalist or statist - replaces "industrial society" as the framework within which social institutions are built.

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157. De Swaan, Abram, 1992: *Perspectives for Transnational Social Policy*, in: *Government and Opposition* 27, 1: 33-51. De Swaan argues that -- at least in an historical perspective -- the welfare state is basically a national phenomenon, incapable of being "transnationalized", though he sees an external demand for such processes in East and South. *The New European System: Political, Economic, and Social*

158. Laqueur, Walter, 1992: *Europe in our Time*, New York, NY: Viking Penguin. Basic background reading, part I. [Footnote]

159. Duignan, Peter and L. H. Gann, 1992: *The Rebirth of the West. The Americanization of the Democratic World, 1945-1958*, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell. Basic background reading, part II.
160. Tsoukalis, Loukas, 1993: *The New European Community. The Politics and Economics of Integration*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (Second revised edition). Best single volume introduction to the topic.
161. Milward, Alan S., 1984: *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951*, London: Routledge. Already a classic in its field. History at its best.
162. Milward, Alan S., 1992: *The European Rescue of the Nation State*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Milward tries to show that the founding of the European Economic Community was intended to strengthen the autonomy of member states.
163. Milward, Alan S. and Vibeke Sorensen, 1993: *Interdependence or Integration? A National Choice*, in: Alan S. Milward et al., *The Frontier of National Sovereignty: History and Theory, 1945-1992*, London: Routledge: 1-32, 202-204 (footnotes). A more radical version of Milwards' "rescue of the nation state" thesis.
164. Pierre, Andrew J., ed., 1986: *A Widening Atlantic? Domestic Change and Foreign Policy*, New York and London: New York University Press (A Council on Foreign Relations Book). The collection comprises two outstanding essays: Ralf Dahrendorf's "The Europeanization of Europe". and Theodore C. Sorensen's "A Changing America".
165. Nye, Joseph S., Jr, 1965: *Patterns and Catalysts in Regional Integration*, in: *International Organization* 19, 4: 870-884. "Are there certain conditions under which economic integration of a group of nations automatically triggers political unity"? 3 German readers could rely on the translation: Walter Laqueur, *Europa auf dem Weg zur Weltmacht, 1945-1992*, MiJnchen: Kindlet 1992.
Original Page No. 27 - [Click to return to content](#)
166. Lindberg, Leon N., 1967: *The European Community as a Political System: Notes Toward the Construction of a Model*, in: *Journal of Common Market Studies* 5, 4: 344-387. Still useful. There is no need to reinvent the wheel.
167. Capelletti, Mauro. Monica Secombe und Joseph Weiler, eds.: *Integration Through Law. Europe and the American Federal Experience*, vol. I: *Methods, Tools and Institutions, Book I: A Political, Legal and Economic Overview*, Berlin and New York, NY: de Gruyter, 1986. A standard for questions related to federalism.
168. Scharpf, Fritz W, 1987: *The Joint Decision Trap: Lessons from German Federalism and European Integration*, in: *Public Administration* 66, 3: 239-278. Scharpf compares the EC with US and German Federalism and tries to appraise costs and dilemmata of shared decision making in the European Community.
169. Scharpf, Fritz W.: *Community and Autonomy. Multilevel Policy-Making in the European Union*, Florence: European University Institute (EUI Working Paper RSC No. 94/1). - - A normative discussion of different concepts of a "separation of powers" in the EU. [Footnote]
170. Vanston, Nicholas, 1993: *What Price Regional Integration?* in: *The OECD Observer* No. 1B1, April/May: 4-7. On the tendency of economic linkages to grow faster with neighbouring countries than with more distant countries and regions.
171. Cutler, Tony, Colin Haslam, John Williams, and Karel Williams, 1989: *The Struggle for Europe. A Critical Evaluation of the European Community*, New York, NY, Oxford and Munich: Berg. An interesting text covering the following topics: "The German Co-Prosperity Sphere", "The 1992 Programme", "Regional Policy or Liberal Market Tutelage", and "Pandora's Box: Restructuring and EC Competition Policy".
172. Keohane, Robert O. and Stanley Hoffmann, eds., 1991: *Institutional Change in Europe in the 1980s*, Boulder, CO, San Francisco, CA and London: Westview. A very good and "standard" collection.
173. Ornstein, Norman J. and Mark Periman, eds., 1991: *Political Power and Social Change. The United States Faces a United Europe*, Washington DC: The AEI Press. Topics included in this volume are: implications for federalism, economic policy making, organized interests (Streeck and Schmitter - their well known approach), labor markets and labor mobility, demographic change. 4 In German language you may want to consult: Fritz W. Scharpf, *Optionen des Federalismus in Deutschland und Europa*, Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 1994 (a collection of his essays on a topic Scharpf has shaped in a major way).
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174. Adams, William James, ed., 1992: *Singular Europe. Economy and Polity of the European Community after 1992*, Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press. Topics include "A New European Community" (Joseph Weiler on "Community Legitimacy", Stephan Leibfried on "Europe's Could-Be Social State"), "A New European Economy" (articles on banking, telecommunications, and air travel), and

- "Fortress Europe" (William Wallace on "The Changing International Context", John H. Jackson on "The Commercial Policy Dimension"). Moravcsik, Andrew, 1993: Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach, in: *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31, 4: 473-524. Moravcsik swims against the stream: "how international institutions augment, rather than restrict, the ability of governments to achieve domestic goals" (p, 474).
176. Moravcsik, Andrew, 1994: Why the European Community Strengthens the State: Domestic Politics and International Cooperation, Paper presented at the Conference of Europeanists, Chicago, IL, April 1994, Bold theoretical statement based on case studies going in the same direction. __
177. Abelshausen, Werner, 1991: Global Social Policy Begins at Home, in: Armand Cleese and Raymond Vernon (eds.), *The European Community after 1992: A New Role in World Politics?* Baden-Baden: Nomos: 461-466. Though short, Abelshausen's presents a succinct summary of the changing general image of the function of social policy. He argues that a global social policy is needed to enable social policy innovations in the developed welfare states, and also to prevent manipulation of factor costs in developing countries which may occur when holdings of foreign currency are to be maximized.
178. Gass, Armand, 1991: Global Social Policies: Towards a European Society, in: Arman Clesse and Raymond Vernon (eds.), *The European Community after 1992: A New Role in World Politics?* Baden-Baden: 467-478. Gass presents the main arguments why the Community has to develop a "European social space"; argues in particular "that an economic community cannot survive without some social rules of the game". The article shows that problems such as unemployment, mobility, social solidarity, working conditions are common to all member states.
179. Ulman, Lloyd; Eichengreen, Barry; Dickens, William T., eds., 1993: *Labor and an Integrated Europe*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution. The first comprehensive EC labor market analytical effort.
180. Dominick, Mary Frances, 1991: Toward a Community Bill of Rights: The European Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights, in: *Fordham International Law Journal* 14: 639-668. Argues that the protection of individuals vis. d.vis the Community has been left largely to ad hoc, case-by. case determination by the European Court of Justice: "The result is a common or customary law amalgam of declarations and decisions that should suffice with less comfort for the civil law Member States" (p. 668).
Original Page No. 29 - [Click to return to content](#)
181. Leibfried, Stephan. 1992: Europe's Could-Be Social State: Social Policy in European Integration after 1992. in: William James Adams (ed.). *Singular Europe. Economy and Polity of the European Community after 1992*, Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University Press: 97-118. Leibfried explores the possibilities for federalizing national welfare state functions within the European Union. He analyzes present avenues of EC redistributive action in view of their possible logical conclusions. The discussion remains within the welfare state tradition and does not yet integrate the "regulatory politics" option (see Majone, no. 193 in this bibliography).
182. Garth, Bryant G., 1986: Migrant Workers and Rights of Mobility in the European Community and the United States: A Study of Law, Community and Citizenship in the Welfare State, in: Mauro Cappelletti, Monica Secombe, Joseph Weiler (eds.), *Europe and the American Federal Experience*, vol. 1: Methods, Tools and Institutions. Book 3: Forces and Potentials for a European Identity, Berlin etc.: de Gruyter: 85-163. Very good comparative article on the legal background of migration in the U.S. and the European Community.
183. Romero, Federico, 1993: Migration as an Issue in European Independence and Integration: The Case of Italy. in: Alan S. Milward et al., *The Frontier of National Sovereignty. History and Theory, 1945 - 1992*, London: Routledge: 33-58, 205-208 (footnotes). Traces the history of - and the manifold obstacles to - the "mobility of labor" clause in the Treaty of Rome and the specific contribution of Italian politics to it, with Italy being the permanent labor exporter of that epoch. Without Italy the common market might be missing one of the four freedoms, the mobility of labor.
184. Lange, Peter, 1992: The Politics of the Social Dimension, in: Alberta M. Sbragia (ed.), *Europolitics. Institutions and Policymaking in the "New" European Community*, Washington: Brookings: 225-256. A very perceptive analysis. Belongs to the class of must readings on the topic.
185. Mazey, Sonia P., 1988: European Community Action on Behalf of Women: The Limits of Legislation, in: *Journal of Common Market Studies* 27, 1: 63-83. A good description of "incrementalism" in the development of the equal opportunity programme.
186. Teague, Paul. 1993: Between Convergence and Divergence. Possibilities for a European Community System of Labour Market Regulation, in: *International Labour Review* 132, 3: 391-406. Teague outlines

why it is impossible for the Community to establish a highly coordinated system of labor market regulation in the near future.

187. Streeck, Wolfgang, 1994: European Social Policy after Maastricht. The "Social Dialogue" and "Subsidiarity", in: *Economic and Industrial Democracy* 15: 151-177. A sceptical view on the new co-decision procedure with the "social partners" under Maastricht's Social Protocol. [Footnote]

188. (Guèry, Gabriel, 1992: European Collective Bargaining and the Maastricht Treaty, in: *International Labour Review* 131, 6: 581-599. A detailed analysis of the "social issues" of the Maastricht Treaty. 5 See George Ross' critique of Streeck's article in the same issue.

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189. Commission of the European Communities, Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs [DG V], 1993: *European Social Policy. Options for the Union*, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. A "Green Paper" sketching the way for a White Paper and somewhat unclear in scope. For a critique see: Bernal-Otto Kuper, *The Green and White Papers of the European Union: The Apparent Goal of Reduced Social Benefits*, in: *Journal of European Social Policy* 1994, 4,2: 129-137.

190. Kleinman, Mark; Piachaud, David, 1993: *European Social Policy: Conceptions and Choices*, in: *Journal of European Social Policy* 3, 1: 1-19. The authors develop several grand approaches (supranational vs. freed trade zone) and their implications for locating social policy in the Community, outlining the consequence of each option for the "European Social Dimension", if any.

191. Commission of the European Communities, 1993: *Growth. Competitiveness, Employment. The Challenges and Ways forward into the 21st Century (White Paper)*, in: *Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 6/1993*, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. Mainly relevant to social policy is section III and its three chapters: chap. 7 "Adaptation of Education and Educational Training Systems" (pp. 117 -122); chap. 8 "Turning Growth into Jobs" (pp. 123-135L chap. 9: "Statutory Charges on Labour" (pp. 136-142). The main bent seems to be "privatization" of social welfare and lowering the social cost of labor (for employers) such as to improve the EU's international competitive standing vis a vis Japan and the USA. Compared to the 1985 White Paper "no bones" are really in sight.

192. Ingalili-Montenari. B., 1993: *Harmonisation of Social Policies in the EC and the EFTA Countries*. Paper Presented at the International Sociological Research Association's Committee on Comparative Research on Welfare State in Transition, Oxford. September 9-12, 1993. The author tries to show that indirect and horizontal processes of harmonization of social policy have been stronger in EFTA countries (where there is no supranational layer) than in the EC 5 (minus Luxembourg) or the post-1972 EC 8.

193. Majone, Giandomenico, 1993: *The European Community Between Social Policy and Social Regulation*, in: *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31, 2, June: 153-170. Instead of conceptualizing a supranational welfare state in Europe Majone suggests that we should rely the American regulatory approach for understanding the EC (social) policy arena. To him "regulatory action" is characteristic of the present state of EC development.

194. Miller, Gary, 1993: *The Future of Social Security in Europe in the Context of Economic and Monetary Union. The Role of the Social Panners and EC Institutions. A Report for the EC Commission DG V*, Brussels: Observatoire Social Europeen. A "prospective" report on the possibilities for an enhanced role of the Community in social security matters, taking as a starting point the "common problems - common solutions" argument.

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195. Streeck, Wolfgang and Philippe C. Schmitter, 1992: *From National Corporatism to Transnational Pluralism. Organized Interests in the Single European Market*, in: Wolfgang Streeck, *Social Institutions and Economic Performance. Studies of Industrial Relations in Advanced Capitalist Societies*, London: Sage: 197-231 (an earlier version, under the same title, was published in *Politics and Society* 19, 2 (1991): 133-164). The authors ask why a centralized ("corporatist") pattern of interest politics did not emerge at the European level, although it was common in national politics.

196. Leibfried, Stephan and Paul Pierson, 1993: *Europe's Semi-Sovereign Welfare States: Social Policy in an Emerging Multi-Tiered System*, in: Stephan Leibfried and Pual Pierson (eds.), *European Social Policy: Between Fragmentation and Integration*, Washington DC: Brookings, 1995. The authors describe how EC member states have lost sovereignty in terms of being able to structure the national welfare state at will, while the EC has not gained in compensatory competency to step in. Denationalization, therefore, does not necessarily lead to transnationalization but may rather contribute to a "policy vacuum".

197. De Swaan, Abram, ed., 1994: *Social Policy Beyond Borders. Essays on the European Social Question*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. The volume contains essays by De Swaan, Vobruba, Deacon and Leibfried/Pierson (see no. 196).

198. Hall, Peter, 1994: *The Political Economies of Europe in an Era of Interdependence*, Cambridge: Harvard University, Center of European Studies (Paper prepared for presentation to a roundtable of the International Political Science Association, Kyoto, Japan, March 27). Broad overview on theoretical developments of conceptual approaches to comparative political economy in the two phases of economic development since the 1960s. Hall stresses the need to analyze the different potentials of domestic infrastructure to cope with different adjustment pressures, looking especially at Germany, the UK, and France, each with a different "adjustment path". One quote: ". policy makers should also be concerned about enhancing the 'social capital' of their nation, that is to say, the institutional infrastructure that makes productive collective action by groups and firms more possible .. Many of the most significant consequences to follow from a particular line of policy may lie in the kinds of social organization it fosters or destroys in the longer term, since it is on the latter that the success of future policy initiatives may well depend" (p. 33).

199. Rhodes, Martin, 1994: *Subversive Liberalism: Market Integration, Globalization and the European Welfare State*, University of Manchester, Department of Government (Contribution to the The Single Market and Global Economic Integration, 22rid Annual European Consortium for Political Research, Joint Sessions of Workshops, Madrid, Spain, April 17-22, 1994). Interesting attempt to synthesize the globalization discussion for the EC. It centers on convergence of European welfare state models having to do with common trends in policy outcomes (not pan-European policies !) and a shared reduction of national policy autonomy linked to (EC) integration as a forcing mechanism for intensified interdependence.

200. Vogel, Ursula and Michael Moran, eds., 1991: *The Frontiers of Citizenship*, London: Macmillan. The starting point of the volume is the well-known Marshallian concept of citizenship and the authors attempt to identify major changes in the meaning of membership. Articles which are of relevance to our topic include "Citizenship and Migrant Workers in Western Europe" (Zig Layton Henry), "European Citizenship and Social Policies" (Elizabeth Meehan), "Citizenship Beyond Borders" (Albert Weale), and "Paths to Citizenship" (Geraint Parry).

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201. Meehan, Elizabeth: *Citizenship and the European Community*, London: Sage, 1993. The most fundamental social science analysis of the topic available.

202. Neunreither, Karl-Heinz, 1993: *Subsidiarity as a Guiding Principle for European Community Activities*, in: *Government and Opposition* 28, 2: 206-217. A discussion of what subsidiarity in the new Community may mean or not mean by a Director General of the European Parliament.

203. Hughes, Kirsty, ed., 1993: *European Competitiveness*, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. Variations on a well-known theme, part I.

The Regionalization Problem in the New Europe

204. Humbert, Marcel, ed., 1993: *The Impact of Globalization on Europe's Firms and Industries*, London: Pinter, and New York, NY: St. Martin's Press. Variations on a well-known theme, part II. *The Regionalization Problem in the New Europe*

204. Rokkan, Stein and Derek W. Urwin, 1983: *Economy, Territory, Identity. Politics of West European Peripheries*, London: Sage. A basic analysis of cultural, political, and economic processes of peripheralization in Europe.

205. Keating, Michael, 1988: *State and Regional Nationalism. Territorial Politics and the European State*, New York, NY: Harvester Wheatsheaf. Basic' background reading addressing the political aspects of regionalism.

206. Page, Edward C., 1991: *Localism and Centralism in Europe. The Political and Legal Bases of Local Self-Government*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. The most relevant reading on the this topic available.

207. Sharpe, L. I., 1993: *The European Meso: An Appraisal*, in: L. J. Sharpe (ed.), *The Rise of Meso Government in Europe*, London: Sage: 1-39. Sharpe depicts the evolution of new forms of intermediate levels of government as one of the most important institutional changes in the Western European states over the last decades. This transformation of the public sector involves a major redistribution of state functions which counteracts not only the rise of the bureaucratic welfare state but also the effects of agreements on regional integration and of globalization of economic activities.

208. Anderson, Jeffrey J., 1992: *The Territorial Imperative. Pluralism, Corporatism, and Economic Crisis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Anderson examines how politics and economics interact at the

meso-level of the polity. In his study he compares four declining industrial regions in the framework of a broader cross-national comparison pairing (unitary) Britain and (federal) Germany. According to Anderson such constitutional orders and institutions settings do in fact matter.

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209. Commission of the EC, 1991: *Les regions dans les annees 90. Quatrieme rapport periodique sur la situation et l'evolution socio-economiques des regions de la Communautr*, Luxembourg: EC (also available in English and German). The EC's own assessment of what regions are all about in the Community.

210. Commission of the EC, 1992: *Community Structural Funds: Assessment and Outlook*, Brussels: EC (COM (92) 84). This is an important evaluation of the EC's regional redistribution policies, to be seen in the light of the 1988 reform of Structural Funds.

211. Leonardi, Roberto, 1992: *The Role of Sub-National Institutions in European Integration*, in: *Regional Politics and Policy* .. 1: 1-13. Introduction to a special issue of *Regional Politics and Policy*; the articles are an abridged and updated version of the final report submitted to the Commission of the European Community.

212. Boltho, Andrea, 1989: *European and United States Regional Differentials: A Note*, in: *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 5, Summer: 105-115. Comparative background reading.

213. Perrons, Diane, 1992: *The Regions and the Single Market*, in: Mick Dunford and Grigoris Kafkalis (eds.), *Cities and Regions in the New Europe: The Global-Local interplay and Spatial Development Strategies*, London: Belhaven Press, New York, NY: Halsted Press: 171-194. Perrons outlines the different dimensions of the regional problem in Europe and asks whether intensified European economic integration will increase oder decrease regional inequalities.

214. McAleavy, Paul, 1994: *The Political Logic of the European Community Structural Funds Budget: Lobbying Efforts by Declining Industrial Regions*, Florence: European University Institute (EUI Working Paper RSC No. 94/2). McAleavy focuses on the decision-making framework which govern the review of the Structural Funds budget. He tries to show that regions have only limited influence in contrast to member state governments, which utilize Structural Funds budget decisions as redistributive "pay-backs"..

And a View on NAFTA

... And a View on NAFTA

215. Cypher, James M., 1990: *State and Capital in Mexico. Development Policy Since 1940*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Basic background reading. Chapters include: "The Political Economy of the State in Mexico". "Theories of the Mexican State", "The State and the Macroeconomy .. The Structure of the State Sector". and "The Crisis and Neoliberal Ascendancy".

216. Langewiesche, William, 1992: *The Border*, in: *The Atlantic Monthly*, May 1992 and June 1992: 53-92: 91-107. Two good essays, the first centering on immigration, drugs, and law enforcement, the second on economic and environmental questions.

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217. Hufbauer, Gary and Jeffrey Schott, 1992: *North American Free Trade: Issues and Recommendations*, Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics (revised edition 1993). Good selection of discussion on NAFTA by leading economists.

218. Campbell, Robert and Leslie Paul, 1991: *A Big Deal? The Canada-US Free Trade Agreement*, in: *The Real Worlds of Canadian Politics*, Toronto: Broadview (Second edition). The Canadian view.

219. Bognanno, Mario F. and Kathryn J. Ready, eds., 1993: *The Nort American Free Trade Agreement. Labor, Industry, and Government Perspectives*, Westport. CT: Praeger. A collection of articles by spokespersons for labor, industry and government.

220. Grinspun, Ricardo and Maxwell A. Cameron, eds., 1993: *The Political Economy of North American Frec Trade*, London: Macmillan. A collection of articles discussing NAFTA from a "social democratic" point of view - Starting point is a foreword by Robert Kuttner, who claims that "accelaerating globalization during the 1980s undercut the domestic social contract in the advanced industrialized countries" (p. xiii).

221. Krugman, Paul, 1993: *The Uncomfortable Truth about NAFTA. Its Foreign Policy, Stupid*, in: *Foreign Affairs*, 72, 5: 13-19. Self-explaining title. Claims that NAFTA is not an economic issue for the U.S.

222. Castaneda, Jorge G., 1993: *Can NAFTA Change Mexico?* in: *Foreign Affairs*, 72, 4: 66-80. On the risks of NAFTA for Mexico: "No nation today, not even the United States, has so willingly sacrificed an industrial policy or an equivalent form of managed trade. By unilaterally renouncing these advantages, Mexico will lose far more jobs in the next few years than it will create. Old industries and agricultural producers will die, be swallowed up or join with foreign ventures, long before the new jobs arrive" (p. 66).

International Politics and International Relations Works in an Almost Classical Mood.' *Sociology of the Modern State*

International Politics and International Relations

Works in an Almost Classical Mood: *Sociology of the Modern State*

223. Laski, Harold J., 1935: *The State in Theory and Practice*, London: Allen & Unwin.

224. Nettl, Peter J., 1967/68: *The State as a Conceptual Variable*, in: *World Politics* 20: 559-592.

225. Philip, Abrams, 1983: *Notes on the Difficulty Studying the State*, in: *Journal of Historical Sociology* I, I (March): 58-89.

226. Badie, Bertrand and Pierre Birnbaum, 1983: *The Sociology of the State*, Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press.

227. Mann, Michael, 1988: *The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results*, in: Michael Mann, *States, War and Capitalism*, Oxford: Blackwell: 1-32 (first published in the *Archives europeennes de sociologie*, XXV (1984): 185-213).

228. Poggi, Gianfranco, 1990: *The State. Its Nature, Development and Prospects*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990.

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229. Tilly, Charles, 1990: *States, Coercion and Capital, Europe AD 900 - 1990*, London: Blackwell.

230. Evans, Peter B., Dietrich Rüschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds., 1985: *Bringing the State Back In*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

231. Katzenstein, Peter S., 1985: *Small States in World Markets*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

232. Turner, Bryan S., 1986: *Citizenship and Capitalism. The Debate Over Reformism*, London: Allen & Unwin.

233. Kedourie, Eli, 1960/1993: *Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell (Fourth, expanded edition).

234. Gellner, Ernest, 1983: *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell.

235. Hobsbawm, Eric J., 1990: *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

236. Walzer, Michael, 1983: *Spheres of Justice. A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*, New York, NY: Basic Books. --

237. Gellner, Ernest, 1994: *Conditions of Liberty. Civil Society and its Rivals*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

New Concepts and Old Problems in Studying the Modern State

New Concepts and Old Problems in Studying the Modern State

238. Sonderrmann. Fred A., 1977: *The Concept of the National Interest*, in: *Orbis* 21, 1: 121-138.

Sonderrmann offers a broad outline of how the concept "national interest" developed.

239. Rochester. J. Martin. 1978: *The "National Interest" and Contemporary World Politics*, in: *The Review of Politics* 49: 77-96. Still useful discussion of a difficult concept.

240. Hoffmann, Stanley, 1978: *Domestic Politics and Interdependence*, in: *Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development, From Marshall Plan to Global Interdependence. New Challenges for Industrial Nations*, Paris: OECD: 181-201. Discusses the possible forms of interaction and interdependence, focusing first on the meaning of interdependence for domestic politics, and then on typical state responses to interdependence.

241. Kymlicka, Will and Wayne Norman, 1994: *Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory*, in: *Ethics* 104 (January): 352-381. Although the authors do not address the question directly, it is obvious that the "return of the citizen" is a reaction to the increasing globalization of economic and social life.

242. Kazancigil, Ali, ed., 1986: *The State in Global Perspective*, Aldershot: Gower, and Paris: UNESCO. A wide-ranging collection of essays, covering both the origins and early formation of states and the development of modern state structures and functions. Includes articles by Maurice Godelier, Aristide R. Zolberg, Immanuel Wallerstein, Goran Therborn, M. G. Smith, Pierre Birnbaum and Bertrand Badie.

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243. Chodak. Szymon. 1989: *The New State. Etatization of Western Europe*, Boulder, CO and London:

Lynne Rienner. Chodak argues that societal development in the modern world tends to be organized by the state. In comparative terms he examines state management and regulation of the mixed-economy and of the whole of a society, which is equipped with welfare systems and services.

244. Greenberg, Edward S., 1990: *State Change: Approaches and Concepts*, in: Edward G. Greenberg and Thomas F. Mayer (eds.). *Changes in the State. Causes and Consequences*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage: 1140.

Greenberg gives a broad overview on the "state change discussion". 245, Cerny, Philip G., 1990: *The*

- Changing Architecture of Politics, London: Sage. An important study of political structures. treating "states" as ongoing processes of structuration through which individuals and groups are enmeshed in a complex web of opportunities and constraints. Deals both with domestic and international levels.
246. Krasner, Stephen D., 1989: Sovereignty: An Institutional Perspective, in: James A. Caporaso (ed.), *The Elusive State. International and Comparative Perspectives*. Newbury Park, CA.: Sage: 69-96. Krasner argues that an adequate analysis of the nature of sovereignty operationalized with regard to transborder controls and extraterritoriality must be informed by an institutional perspective. In this perspective. Krasner insists, past choice constrains present options, preferences and capabilities of individual actors are conditioned by institutional structures, and historical trajectories are path dependent.
247. Rosenau, James N., 1989: *The State in an Era of Cascading Politics: Wavering Concept, Widening Competence, Withering Colossus, or Weathering Change?* in: James A. Caporaso (ed.), *The Elusive State. International and Comparative Perspectives*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage: 17-48. The title says it all.
248. Walker, R.B.J. and Saul H. Mendlovitz, eds., 1990: *Contending Sovereignities. Redefining Political Community*, Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers. Includes, among others, the following articles: "Rethinking Sovereignty in a Shrinking, Fragmented World (Joseph Camilleri)", "The Reification of Political Community" (Warren Magnusson), "Evasions of Sovereignty" (Richard Falk), 'Sovereignty as Transformative Practice" (Lester Ruiz).
249. Camiilefi, Joseph and Jim Falk, 1992: *The End of Sovereignty? The Politics of a Shrinking and Fragmenting World*, Aldershot: Edward Elgar. Chapters include: "Sovereignty in Theory and Practice", "World Economy", "Technological Change", "The Security Dilemma", "Ecological Crisis", "The New Social Movements", and a Select Bibliography.
250. Williams, Shirley, 1991: *Sovereignty and Accountability in the European Community*, in: Robert. O. Keohane and Stanley Hoffmann (eds.), *The New European Community. Decisionmaking and Institutional Change*, Boulder, CO, San Francisco, CA. and London: Westview: 155-176. Argues that loss of accountability to national parliaments has not been compensated through increased accountability to the European Parliament.
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251. Christiansen, Thomas. 1994: *European Integration Between Political Science and International Relations Theory: The End of Sovereignty*, Florence: European University Institute (Elf[Working Paper RSC No. 94/4). Includes a discussion of some concepts of a post-sovereign Europe,
252. Barkin, J. Samuel and Bruce Cronin, 1994: *The State and the Nation: Changing Norms and the Rules of Sovereignty in International Relations*, in: *International Organization* 48, 1: 107-130, "Examines the concept of sovereignty as a variable by exploring some of the circumstances under which the political legitimation of the nation-state changes over time" (p. 108).
253. Baldwin, David A., 1985: *Economic Statecraft*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. A "social power analysis" of economic statecraft as an alternative to military force.
254. Biersteker, Thomas J., 1990: *Reducing the Role of the State in the Economy: A Conceptual Exploration of IMF and World Bank Prescriptions*, in: *International Studies Quarterly*, 34, 3: 477-492. A discussion of the meaning and potential consequences of the reduced role of the state in the economy, based on a discrimination of different forms of state economic intervention.
255. Biersteker, Thomas J., 1993: *Evolving Perspectives on International Political Economy: Twentieth Century Contexts and Discontinuities*, in: *International Political Science Review* 14, 1: 7-34. Topics of the article include erosion of state authority, expansion of transnational linkages, breakdown of traditional theoretical (and ideological) categories, the decline of American economic hegemony, and the tension of the "triumph" of liberal capitalism throughout the world.
256. Ohmae, Kenichi, 1993: *The Rise of the Region State*, in: *Foreign Affairs*. 72, 2: 78-87. Ohmae claims the nation state is dysfunctional and will increasingly be replaced by region states which have, however, their primary linkages with the global economy, and not with their host nations. As examples for region states he puts forward northern Italy, Wales, Catalonia, Alsace-Lorraine and Baden-Württemberg: "Region states are natural economic zones .. They are drawn by the deft but invisible hand of the global market" (p. 78).
257. Ruggie, John Gerard. 1993: *Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations*. in: *International Relations* 47, 1: 139-174. Starting with the "modern" features of territorial space, this article searches for a vocabulary and for dimensions of a research agenda by which one can start to ask systematic questions about the possibilities of a fundamental international transformation.

258. Held, David and Anthony McGrew, 1993: *Globalization and the Liberal Democratic State*, in: *Government and Opposition* 28: 261-285. Describes how the contours of sovereign political authority and national political community are shifting in response to the complex interplay of regional and global forces, and what this means for the liberal democratic state.

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259. Dunn, John, 1993: *Political Science, Political Theory and Policy-Making in an Interdependent World*. in: *Government and Opposition* 28, 2: 242-260. On the difficulties in understanding the "new politics" in a more global economy. Dunn argues that "the new processes of policy-making are not essentially state-created or state-bounded", and that the new processes have no clear focus and show a "decisive deficit in authority" (p. 260).

260. Dunn, John, ed., 1994: *Contemporary Crisis of the Nation State* Oxford: Blackwell (Political Studies 42, Special Issue). Articles include John Dunn ("Crisis of the Nation State?"), David Calleo ("America's Federal Nation State: A Crisis of Post-Imperial Viability"), William Wallace ("Rescue or Retreat? The Nation State in Western Europe, 1945-1993"), James Tully ("The Crisis of Identification: The Case of Canada").

261. Haas, Ernst B., 1993: *Nationalism: An Instrumental Social Construction*. in: *Millennium. Journal of International Studies* 22, 3: 505-545. Haas gives a broad view on the typical macro-historical processes which have created nation states, and analyzes some of the implications of the "staying power" of nation states for the future development of international relations.

262. Citrin, Jack, Ernst B. Haas, Christopher Muste and Beth Reingold, 1994: *Is American Nationalism Changing? Implications for Foreign Policy*, in: *International Studies Quarterly* 38, 1: 1-32. Analyzes the degree of popular consensus about a nation's identity, core values, and mission as a source of social integration and a broad constraint on foreign policy-making.

263. Keane, John, 1994: *Nations, Nationalism and Citizens in Europe*, in: *International Social Science Journal* No. 140:169-184. A new attempt to explain "what is a nation". *Theoretical Approaches to International Politics and International Relations*

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264. Luard, Evan, ed., 1992: *Basic Texts in International Relations. The Evolution of Ideas about International Society*, London: Macmillan. broad collection of approaches to international society and relationships within it.

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265. Ikenberry, G. John, ed., 1989: *American Foreign Policy. Theoretical Essays*, New York, NY: Harper & Collins. A compilation of classic articles in eight parts: "The Problems of Explanation", "International Sources of Foreign Policy", "Capitalism, Class, and Foreign Policy", "National Values, Domestic Institutions, and Foreign institutions", "Bureaucratic Politics and Organizational Process", "Social Psychology and Perceptions", "Public Opinion and Generational Change", "Normative Perspectives".

266. Groom, A. J. R. and Paul Taylor, eds., 1975: *Functionalism. Theory and Practice in International Relations*, London: University of London Press. This collection includes classical pieces by David Mitrany. The first part of the volume deals with functionalism as a theoretical perspective, the second part with 'problems and dimensions'.

267. Gourevitch, Peter, 1978: *The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics*, in: *International Organization* 32, 4: 881-912. A classic.

268. Iriye, Akira, 1979: *Culture and Power. International Relations as Intercultural Relations*, in: *Diplomatic History* 3, 2: 115-128. Iriye writes about nations as "cultural systems" and the implications this perspective has for the study of international relations.

269. Nye, Joseph S., Jr., 1988: *Neorealism and Neoliberalism*, in: *World Politics* 40: 235-251. A major review of Robert O. Keohane (ed.), *Neorealism and Its Critics*, and Richard Rosecrance, *The Rise of the Trading State*.

270. Keohane, Robert O., ed., 1986: *Neorealism and Its Critics*, New York! Columbia University Press. Includes several articles by Kenneth N. Waltz and articles by Robert O. Keohane, John Gerard Ruggie, Robert W. Cox, Richard K. Ashley, and Robert Gilpin. A major collection of essays on the approach dominating the study of world politics.

271. Keohane, Robert O., 1990: *International Liberalism Reconsidered*, in: John Dunn (ed.), *The Economic Limits to Modern Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 165-194. Keohane argues that "a sophisticated form of liberalism provides thoughtful arguments designed to show how open exchanges of

- goods and services, on the one hand, and international institutions and rules, on the other, can promote international co-operation as well as economic prosperity" (p. 166).
272. Milner, Helen, 1991: *The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory*, in: *Review of International Studies* 17: 67-85. Milner argues that "anarchy" and "interdependence" have to be combined and taken together they are the most fundamental assumptions about international politics.
273. Rosenthal, Joel H., 1991: *Righteous Realists. Political Realism, Responsible Power, and American Culture in the Nuclear Age*, Baton Rouge, LA and London: Louisiana State University Press. On the rise of political realism as the dominant approach to international politics in postwar America.
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274. KegIcy, Charles W., 1993: *The Neoidealist Moment in International Studies? Realist Myths and the New International Realities*, in: *International Studies Quarterly* 37: 131-146. Suggests a reconstruction of realism inspired by Wilsonian idealism.
275. Cox, Robert W., 1987: *Production, Power, and World Order. Social Forces in the Making of History*, New York, NY: Columbia University Press. A "total" approach to globalization.
276. Rosenau, James N., 1990: *Turbulence in World Politics. A Theory of Change and Continuity*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. A major and wideranging book by a leading author in the field of international relations.
277. Russert, Bruce and Harvey Starr, 1992: *World Politics. The Menu for Choice*, New York: Freeman and Company (Fourth edition). One of the best available textbooks on the topic.
278. Brown, Seyom, 1992: *International Relations in a Changing Global System. Towards a Theory of the World Polity*, Boulder, CO: Westview. Brown tries to place the politics of international relations in a wider global context of economics, ecology, culture, and conflicting values.
279. Dyer, Hugh C. and Leon Mangasarian, eds., 1989: *The Study of International Relations. The State of the Art*, London: Macmillan (in association with Millennium: Journal of International Studies). Good overview on "Theoretical Issues and Debates", "Country and Regional Approaches", and "Subject Areas" (including 3 pages by Rooger Tooze on "International Political Economy and International Relations").
280. Rosecrance, Richard and Arthur A. Stein, eds., 1993: *The Domestic Bases of Grand Strategy*, Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press. A wide-ranging collection, which gives domestic groups, social ideas, economic restraints, and domestic political pressures a central place in explaining changes in foreign policy and international relations. *Order and Structure in International Politics*
Order and Structure in International Politics [Footnote]
281. Jacobs, Scott H., 1994: *Why Governments Must Work Together*, in: *OECD Observer* No. [86 (February/March): 13-16. "An interdependent world requires new forms of governance. Indeed, the transition to co-operative government is well-advanced, Sharing regulatory authority with other governments does not have to be a threat to national authorities or the democratic values they preserve. On the contrary, the current search by national governments for new and more effective forms of regulatory co-operation to solve urgent common problems is fuelled by a reliable propellant - self interest" (p. [6]. 7 In German you might also consult: Beate Kohler-Koch. "Interdependenz", in: Volker Rittberger (ed.), *Theorien der internationalen Beziehungen. Bestandsaufnahme und Forschungsperspektiven*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990: pp. 110-129 (*Politische Vierteljahresschrift, Sonderheft 21*).
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282. Waltz, Kenneth N., 1970: *The Myth of National Interdependence*, in: Charles P. Kindleberger (ed.), *The International Corporation*, Cambridge, MA, and London: The MIT Press: 205-223. In an often cited classic Waltz argues that the nation state has not become an obsolete economic unit. Instead, a centralization of (political) control and a decentralization of (economic) operation is occurring.
283. Rosecrance, Richard and Arthur A. Stein, 1973/74: *Interdependence: Myth or Reality*, in: *World Politics* 26: 1-27. On measurement problems in determining the degree of interdependence among states. The article is also still useful for clarifying concepts.
284. Modelski, George, 1978: *The Long Cycle of Global Politics and the Nation State*, in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 20: 214-235. Modelski takes a long-term view on 'why the global political system has remained a decentralized polity'.
285. Maier, Charles S., 1977: *The Politics of Productivity: Foundations of American International Economic Policy After World War II*, in: *International Organization* 31, 3:607-633 (reprinted in: Charles S. Maier, *In Search of Stability. Explorations in Historical Political Economy*, Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1987). While historically framed this article is still useful to adequately understand the evolution of the postwar international order and of the "new thinking" about international relations and

institutions. Maier tries to show that the "politics of productivity" helped the US and Western European countries to control their domestic conflicts and political cleavages. This view has important implications for the analysis of "community-building" in Western Europe and of the rise of GATT as a multilateral institution with independent legal status. Such a view points to a fundamental change in 'constitutive principles of linkage' between the domestic and the international sphere.

286. Keohane, Robert O., 1984: *After Hegemony. Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Classic and elegant neo-realist international relations discussion.

287. Keohane, Robert O., 1984: *The World Political Economy and the Crisis of Embedded Liberalism*, in: John Goldthorpe (ed.), *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism. Studies in the Political Economy of Western European Nations*, Oxford: Clarendon Press: 15-38. Classic article on the new face of globalization, taking Ruggie (No. 451) as a starting point.

288. Rogowski, Ronald, 1989: *Commerce and Coalitions*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. A crypto-rational choice discussion of globalization, using a highly parsimonious theoretical framework.

289. Alker, Hayward R., Jr. and Thomas J. Biersteker, 1984: *The Dialectics of World Order: Notes for a Future Archeologist of International Savoir Faire*, in: *International Studies Quarterly* 28: 121-142. The authors attempt to review and make sense of the field of world politics, criticising "parochial behavioralism".

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290. Clark, Ian, 1989: *The Hierarchy of States. Reform and Resistance in the International Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. A broad and historical analysis of the hierarchical state system as basis of international order.

291. Ekins, Paul, 1992: *A New World Order. Grassroots Movements for Global Change*, London and New York, NY: Routledge. About an interlocking of four crises: the spread of weapons of mass destruction, hunger and absolute poverty, environmental pollution, and the denial of basic human rights. The author is Research Director of the Right Livelihood Award.

292. Krasner, Stephen D., 1990/91: *Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier*, in: *World Politics* 43: 336-366. Krasner argues that in the field of global communication the nature of institutional arrangements is better explained by the distribution of national power capabilities than by efforts to solve problems of market failure.

293. Cox, Robert W., 1992: *Multilateralism and World Order*, in: *Review of International Studies* 18: 161-180. Cox argues that the global system has three principal components: a global political economy, an inter-state system, and the global ecosystem. All components are autonomous as well as interdependent.

294. Cerny, Philip G., 1989: *Political Entropy and American Decline*, in: *Millennium. Journal of International Studies* 18: 47-63. A broad but interesting discussion of "Madisonian Entropy in an Interdependent World".

295. Rosenau, James N. and Hylke Tromp, eds., 1989: *Interdependence and Conflict in World Politics*, Aldershot: Avebury. Includes chapters on "Sources and Consequences of Interdependence", "The Management of Interdependence", and "Realism and Interdependence".

296. Rosenau, James N. and Ernst-Otto Czempiel, eds., 1992: *Governance Without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. An outstanding collection of papers. Authors include Kalevi I. Holsti, Thomas J. Biersteker (on "The 'Triumph' of Neoclassical Economics in the Developing World: Policy Convergence and Bases of Governance in the International Economic Order"), and Robert W. Cox.

297. Hoisti, Ole R., Randolph M. Siverson and Alexander L. George, eds., 1980: *Change in the International System*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Authors include Volker Rittberger (on science and technology), Nazli Choucri (on international political economy), and Robert O. Keohane (on the theory of hegemonic stability).

298. Russert, Bruce, 1985: *The Mysterious Case of Vanishing Hegemony; or, Is Mark Twain Really Dead*. in: *International Organization* 39, 2: 207-231. Good discussion of the distinction between power base and power as control over outcomes.

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299. Keohane, Robert O., Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and Stanley Hoffmann, eds., 1993: *After the Cold War. International Institutions and State Strategies in Europe, 1989-1991*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press. Topics include the strategies of major powers (Germany, France, Great Britain, Soviet Union, and the United States) as well as adjustment and adaptation processes in Eastern Europe.

300. Williams, Douglas, 1987: *The Specialized Agencies and the United Nations. The System in Crisis*, London: Hurst & Company. On the implications of the rise of bilateralism and regionalism for the present system of the United Nations.
301. Imber, Mark F., 1989: *The USA, ILO, UNESCO and IAEA. Politicization and Withdrawal in the Specialized Agencies*, New York, NY: St. Martin's Press. A detailed analysis of U.S. foreign policies vis a vis international specialized agencies.
302. Rosenau, James N., 1988: *Patterned Chaos in Global Life: Structure and Process in the Two Worlds of World Politics*, in: *International Political Science Review* 9, 4: 327-364. Rosenau argues that global life is bifurcated between a state-centric world and a more diffuse multicentric world.
303. Cerny, Philip G., 1993: *Plurilateralism: Structural Differentiation and Functional Conflict in the Post-Cold War Period*, in: *Millennium. Journal of International Studies* 22, 1: 27-51. Cerny describes the various ways in which the international system constrains, channels, and shapes the actions not only of states and economic actors, but also of the mass of ordinary people. This ambitious article tries to develop a theory of the contemporary transnational system in which "structural differentiation" is the key variable.
304. Ruggie, John Gerard, 1992: *Multilateralism. The Anatomy of an Institution*, in: *International Organization* 46, 2 (also published in: Sohn Gerard Ruggie (ed.), *Multilateralism Matters. The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form*, New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1993: 3-50). Ruggie tries to explain the evolution and proliferation of multilateral institutional frameworks as an important element in the transformation of international relations in the post-WW II period. He emphasizes those principles according to which the relations among states are ordered based on new concepts of self interest as held by developed nation states. He stresses the links between domestic sphere and international arena, and he explains the rise of multilateralism with the rise of the welfare or "regulatory" state.
305. Chen, Lung-Chu, 1989: *An Introduction to Contemporary International Law. A Policy-Oriented Perspective*, New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press. Chen deals with new forms of governing the international system in an era of rapidly proliferating international organizations and with the appearance of powerful private actors.
306. Kennedy, David, 1987: *The Move to Institutions*, in: *Cardozo Law Review*, 8: 841-998. This is a book-length article on the development of modern international institutions.
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307. Thomas, Caroline, 1987: *In Search of Security. The Third World in International Relations*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf. and Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. A good textbook, deals with social, economic and political problems of Third World states in international relations. Particular emphasis is put on the international regimes which govern nearly every aspect not only of the international, but also of the domestic life of these countries.
308. Skolnikoff, Eugene B., 1993: *The Elusive Transformation. Science, Technology. and the Evolution of International Politics*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Will become a classic in its field.
Extraordinary in its scope, *The Welfare State in Germany and North America Works in an Almost Classical Mood: The Sociology and Political Economy of the Welfare State*
The Welfare State in Germany and North America
Works in an Almost Classical Mood: The Sociology and Political Economy of the Welfare State
309. Polanyi, Karl, 1944: *The Great Transformation*, New York, NY (UK edition under the title: *Origins of Our Time. The Great Transformation*, London 1945). [Footnote]
310. Marshall, Thomas H., 1964: *Citizenship and Social Class*, in: Thomas H. Marshall, *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development*, New York, NY: Doubleday (reprint: Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973; UK edition under the Title: *Sociology at the Crossroads*, London: Heinemann). [Footnote]
311. Pinker, Robert, 1971: *Social Theory and Social Policy*, London: Heinemann.
312. Titmuss, Richard M., 1974: *Social Policy. An Introduction*, London: George Allen & Unwin.
313. Wilensky, Harold J., 1975: *The Welfare State and Equality*, Berkeley etc., CA: University of California Press. 3 I,*.
Cameron, David R., 1978: *The Expansion of the Public Economy: A Comparative Analysis*, in: *American Political Science Review* 72, 4 (December): 1243-1261.
315. Gough, Ian, 1979: *The Political Economy of the Welfare State*, London: Macmillan.
316. Flora, Peter and Arnold J. Heidenheimer, 1981: *The Historical Core and Changing Boundaries of the Welfare State* (17-34), and: Peter Flora and Jens Alber: *Modernization, Democratization and the Development of Welfare States in Western Europe* (37-80), both in: Peter Flora and Arnold J. Heidenheimer (eds.): *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America*, New Brunswick, NJ and London: Transaction Books.

317. Offe, Claus, 1984: *Contradictions of the Welfare State*, London: Hutchinson.
318. Ikenberry, G. John and Theda Skocpol, 1983: *The Political Formation of the American Welfare State in Historical and Comparative Perspective*, in: *Comparative Social Research* 6: 87-148. 8 In German language you may want to consult Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation. Politische und ökonomische Ursprünge von Gesellschaften und Wirtschaftssystemen*, Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp 1978. 9 In German language: Thomas H. Marshall, *Smatsbürgerrechte und soziale Klassen*, in: *den., Bürgerrechte und soziale Klassen. Zur Soziologie des Wohlfahrtsstaates*, Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 1992: 33-92.
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319. De Swaan, Abram, 1988: *In Care of the State. Health Care, Education and Welfare in Europe and the USA in the Modern Era*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
320. Esping-Andersen. Gosta, 1990: *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Princeton. NJ: Princeton University Press.
321. Baldwin, Peter, 1990: *The Politics of Social Solidarity. Class Bases of the European Welfare State 1875-1975*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
322. Hemes. Helga Maria, 1987: *Women and the Welfare State: The Transition from Private to Public Dependence*, in: Anne Showstack Sassoon (ed.), *Women and the State. The Shifting Boundaries of Public and Private*, London: Hutchinson: 72-92.
323. Fraser. Nancy, 1990: *Talking About Needs: Interpretive Contests as Political Conflicts in Welfare State Societies*, in: Cass Sunstein (ed.), *Feminism and Political Theory*, Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press: 159-181 (originally published in *Ethics* 99 (1989)).
324. Pateman, Carol. 1989: *The Patriarchal Welfare State*, in: Carol Pateman, *The Disorder of Women. Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory*, Cambridge: Polity: 179-209
- General and Comparative Studies [Footnote]
325. Fraser, Nancy, 1990: *Struggle Over Needs. Outline of a Socialist-Feminist Critical Theory of Late-Capitalist Political Culture*, in: Linda Gordon (ed.), *Women, the State, and Welfare*, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press: 199-225 (also published in Nancy Fraser, *Unruly Practices*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1989). General and Comparative Studies IO
326. Erikson, Robert and John H. Goldthorpe, 1992: *The Constant Flux. A Study of Class Mobility in Industrial Societies*, Oxford: Clarendon. A major study on one of the central topics of industrial nations.
327. Esping-Andersen, Gosta, ed., 1993: *Changing Classes. Stratification and Mobility in Post-Industrial Societies*, London: Sage. A collection which tries to integrate the welfare state regime approach with life course and stratification analyses. Maybe Gosta Esping-Andersen's "Post-Industrial Class Structures: An Analytical Framework" (pp. 7-31) and his finishing off "Mobility Regimes and Class Formation" (pp. 225-241) are most useful.
328. Papadakis, Elire, 1993: *Class Interests, Class Politics and Welfare State Regimes*, in: *British Journal of Sociology* 44, 2: 249-270. Papadakis discusses the institutional correlates and the changing social bases for support of the welfare state, using data from the International Social Survey Programme (1985). 10 On different theoretical approaches to the historical development of the welfare state you may also want to consult in German language: Jens Alber, *Vom Armenhaus zum Wohlfahrtsstaat. Analysen zur Entwicklung der Sozialversicherung in Westeuropa*, Frankfurt and New York: Campus, 1982.
- Original Page No. 46 - [Click to return to content](#)
329. Myles, John, 1988: *Decline or Impasse? The Current State of the Welfare State*, in: *Studies in Political Economy* 26: 73-107. Myles argues that "the present impasse will not last forever. Whether by design or by default, a new set of strategic understandings and social practices for harmonizing the production of wealth with its distribution will be institutionalized" (p. 74).
330. Myles. John, 1990: *States, Labor Markets, and Life Cycles*. in: Roger Friedland and A. F. Robertson (eds.), *Beyond the Marketplace. Rethinking Economy and Society*, New York, NY etc.: Airline/de Gruyter: 271-300. Good analysis of major trends of the eighties.
331. Clement, W.; Myles, John, 1994: *Relations of Ruling: Class, Gender and Postindustrialism in Comparative Perspective*, Montreal: McGill-Queens' University Press. Could not be obtained yet. But John Myles should always be read.
332. Bart, Nicholas, 1992: *Economic Theory and the Welfare State: A Survey and Interpretation*. in: *Journal of Economic Literature* 30: 741-803. Ban' addresses two sets of questions: (1) What is the subset of institutional structures which economic theory suggests is likely to achieve stated welfare policy objectives? (2) Are the theoretical conclusions supported by empirical evidence?

333. Therborn, Goran and Joop Roebrock, 1986: The Irreversible Welfare State: Its Recent Maturation, Its Encounter with the Economic Crisis, and Its Future Prospects, in: *International Journal of Health Services* 16, 3: 319-338. The authors deal with the political and institutional implications of the rise of the welfare state in the 1960s and 1970s.
334. King, Desmond S., 1987: The State and Social Structures of Welfare in Advanced Industrial Democracies, in: *Theory and Society* 16, 4: 841-868.
335. Berger, Johannes, 1990: Market and State in Advanced Capitalist States, in: Alberto Martinelli and Nell J. Smelser (eds.), *Economy and Society. Overviews in Economic Sociology*, London: Sage (also published as *Current Sociology* 38, 2/3): 103-132. Berger describes the institutional features of "welfare state capitalism" and asks about the future prospects of the coexistence of the welfare state and the market economy.
336. Offe, Claus, 1988: Democracy Against the Welfare State? Structural Foundations of Neoconservative Political Opportunities, in: \$. Donald Moon (ed.), *Responsibility, Rights and Welfare*, Boulder, CO and London: Westview: 189-228. Offe inquires into the stability and viability of the welfare state, seen as a macro-constellation, and the inherent tensions of its constituent parts.
337. Offe, Claus, [1993: Zur Typologie von sozialpolitischen "Regimes", in: *Zeitschrift für Sozialreform* (39, 2): 83-86 (English version: *American Journal of Sociology* 1991, 96: 1555-1557) A critical contribution to the discussion of Esping-Andersen's "Three Worlds" (no. 320).
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338. Piven, Frances Fox und Richard A. Cloward, 1990: Explaining the Politics of the Welfare State or Marching Back toward Pluralism, in: Roger Friedland and A. F. Robertson (eds.), *Beyond the Marketplace. Rethinking Economy and Society*, New York, NY: Aldin/de Gruyter. 245-270. A contribution from these authors conforming to their general approach.
339. Culpitt, Ian, 1992: *Welfare and Citizenship. Beyond the Crisis of the Welfare State*, London: Sage. A post-modern view on some classical question, helpful for understanding the present discussion - in every respect.
340. Thethorn, Goran, 1993: Beyond the Lonely Nation State, in: Francis G. Castles (ed.), *Families of Nations. Patterns of Public Policy in Western Democracies*, Aldershot etc.: Dartmouth: 329-340. A speculative piece on the types of families of nations, also dealing with "marriage booms" (i.e. cross-national deliberations and agreements: 337 ff.).
341. Jessop, Bob, 1993: Towards a Schumpeterian Workfare State? Preliminary Remarks on Post-Fordist Political Economy, in: *Studies in Political Economy* 40: 7-39. ___ Some bold claims on a high level of abstraction.
342. Parrott, Alec L., 1992: Social Security: Does the Wartime Dream have to Become a Peacetime Nightmare? in: *International Labour Review* 131, 3: 367-386. Historical overview on the rise and fall of the term "social security" and the accompanying effects on policy formation.
343. Taylor-Gooby, Peter, 1994: Postmodernism and Social Policy: A Great Leap Backwards, in: *Journal of Social Policy* 23, 3: 385-404. Taylor-Gooby argues that "postmodernism functions as an ideological smokescreen, preventing us from recognising some of the most important trends in modern social policy" (p. 385).
345. Ringen, Stein, 1987: *The Possibility of Politics. A Study in the Political Economy of the Welfare State*, Oxford: Clarendon Press. An analysis of welfare state reforms, concentrating on the whole of the welfare state rather than its individual components.
345. Atkinson, Anthony B. and Gunnar Viby Mogensen, eds., 1993: *Welfare and Work Incentives. A North European Perspective*, Oxford: Clarendon Press. The editors conclude that "there are relatively few situations in which a disincentive effect has been clearly established" (p. 297).
346. Mishra, Ramesh, 1990: *The Welfare State in Capitalist Society. Policies of Retrenchment and Maintenance in Europe, North America and Australia*. New York, NY: Harvester Wheatsheaf. Considers mainly the argument that the welfare state has become irreversible.
347. Rose, Richard and Rei Shiratori, eds., 1986: *The Welfare State in East and West*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press. An uneven comparative collection, but see the articles by Rose (good conceptual analysis) and Zapf (on Germany).
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348. Friedman, Robert R., Nell Gilbert, and Moshe Sherer, eds., 1987: *Modern Welfare States*, Brighton: Wheatsheaf. Uneven collection.

349. Brown, Michael K., ed., 1988: *Remaking the Welfare State. Retrenchment and Social Policy in America and Europe*, Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press. A somewhat uneven collection of papers, virtuous in attempting to compare Europe and North America.
350. Taylor, Ian, ed., 1989: *The Social Effects of Free Market Policies*, New York, NY: Harvester Wheatsheaf. Some good essays on the United States (Elliott Curtie) and Canada. 35 I. Sullivan, Michael, 1992: *The Politics of Social Policy*, New York, NY: Harvester Wheatsheaf. Mostly about the UK, but includes material on the Sweden and the U.S. as contrasting cases.
352. Kolberg, Jon Eivind, ed., 1991: *The Welfare State as Employer*. Armonk, NY and London: M. E. Sharpe. Useful material on how welfare state beneficiaries will probably leave an ever stronger mark on welfare state programs.
353. Kolberg, Jon Eivind, ed., 1992: *Between Work and Social Citizenship*, Armonk, NY and London: M. E. Sharpe. Kolberg and others try to explain the relationship between welfare state and economy, especially "labor market regimes", focusing on Scandinavia. Maybe chaps. I ("Welfare States and Employment Regimes") and 6 ("Unemployment Regimes") are most interesting.
354. Birnbaum, Norman, 1992: *Comparing Welfare States*, London: Sage. Offers a useful description of main trends in the western welfare states in a common frame of reference.
355. Castles, Francis G.; Mitchell, Deborah, 1993: *Worlds of Welfare and Families of Nations*, in: Francis G. Castles (ed.), *Families of Nations. Patterns of Public Policy in Western Democracies*, Aldershot etc.: Dartmouth: 93-128 An further development - and a review - of the welfare regime literature establishing a third "radical world of welfare" (in Australia, New Zealand, the UK - and Finland).
356. Cochrane, Alan and John Clarke, eds., 1993: *Comparing Welfare States. Britain in International Context*, London: Sage. Includes articles on Hong Kong, Germany and the "European Welfare State".
357. Gould, Arthur, 1993: *Capitalist Welfare Systems: A Comparison of Japan, Britain, and Sweden*, Harlow: Longman. Japan as the model that outcompetes the western welfare state?
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358. Hicks, Alexander and Joya Misra, 1993: *Political Resources and the Growth of Welfare in Affluent Capitalist Democracies, 1960 - 1982*, in: *American Journal of Sociology* 99, 3: 668-710. Latest effort to reach some conclusions about the driving forces of welfare state developments via number crunching.
359. Janoski, Tom and Alexander Hicks, 1993: *The Comparative Political Economy of the Welfare State*, London: Sage. Power resources discussion quantified.
360. Huber, Evelyric, Charles Ragin and John D. Stephens, 1993: *Social Democracy, Constitutional Structure and the Welfare State*, in: *American Journal of Sociology* 99, 3:711-749. The latest effort in analyzing the contrasting effects of Christian democracy and social democracy.
361. Pfaller, Alfred. Ian Gough and Goran Therborn, eds., 1991: *Can the Welfare State Compete? A Comparative Study of Five Advanced Capitalist Countries*, London: Macmillan. The first monograph attempting to confront the issue, though falling somewhat short on the supranational aspects of the issue -- see review by Stephan Leibfried, 1993, in: *European Journal of Sociology* 9, 1: 96-99. This thesis is now confirmed by: Rebecca M. Blank, ed., *Social Protection versus Economic Flexibility. Is There a Trade-Off?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1994.
362. Pierson, Paul, 1994: *Dismantling the Welfare State? Reagan, Thatcher and the Politics of Retrenchment*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Might become a classic. Should be read now.
363. Jones, Catherine, 1991: *Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan: Oikonomic Welfare States*, in: *Government and Opposition*: 447-462. "Welfare" traditions in the Asian economies which have crossed the development threshold. the case of the four dragons/tigers.
364. Jones, Catherine, 1993: *The Pacific Challenge*, in: Catherine Jones (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Welfare State in Europe*, London: Routledge: 198-217. On "welfare capitalism" vs. welfare statism, and further typecasting beyond the western sphere.
365. Kosonen, Pekka, 1993: *Europeanisation, Globalisation and the Lost Stability of National Welfare States*, paper presented at the International Sociological Association's Research Committee on Comparative Research on Welfare States in Transition, Oxford, September 9-12, 1993. A study of the fate of smaller European welfare states both before and after the late 80s. Kosonen argues that EFTA countries have enjoyed much greater policy autonomy (allowing the preservation of comprehensive welfare state provision) than EC member states.
366. Overbye, Einar G., 1993: *Convergence in Policy Outcomes? The Development of Social Security in European and Anglo-Saxon Countries*, Paper Presented at the International Association's Research Committee on Comparative Research on Welfare States in Transition, Oxford, 9-12, September 1993.

Overbye deals with common trends "within" western welfare states: "harmonization" as an outcome of similar responses to similar demographic, cost-containment etc. challenges of national welfare states. Depicts a common tendency towards "dualization" of welfare state provision.

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367. Stephens, John D. and Evelyne Huber, 1992: Economic Internationalism, The European Community and the Social Democratic Welfare State, unpublished APSA paper. Power resources discussion quantified.

368. Kamerman, Sheila B. and Alfred J. Kahn, eds., 1989: Privatization and the Welfare State, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Looks at the new mix of private and public institutions that constitutes the present U.S. welfare sector. Partly broad discussion, partly case studies.

369. Orloff, Ann Shola, 1993: The Politics of Pensions. A Comparative Analysis of Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1880-1940, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press. Very useful because of a comparative framework.

370. Alber, Hans-Joachim, 1988: Die Gesundheitssysteme der OECD-Länder im Vergleich, in: Manfred G. Schmidt (ed.). Staatstätigkeit: International und historisch vergleichende Analysen. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag (--- Sonderheft 18 der Politischen Vierteljahresschrift): 116-150. Again, solid comparative analysis in the framework of modernization theory.

371. Aiber, Jens and Brigitte Bernardi-Schenkluhn, eds., 1992: Westeuropäische Gesundheitssysteme im Vergleich. Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Schweiz, Frankreich, Italien, Großbritannien. Frankfurt a.M.: Campus (Schriften des Max Planck. Instituts für Gesellschaftsforschung. 8). Analyzes the institutional structures and regulatory mechanisms of health systems in five Western European countries, using a common frame of reference.

372. Immergut, Ellen, 1992: Health Politics, Interests and Institutions in Western Europe, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. The impact of state structure on power relationships between the medical professions and other elements of the health system is analysed in three countries: Switzerland, Germany, and the UK.

373. Heidenheimer, Arnold J., 1981: Education and Social Security Entitlements in Europe and North America, in: Peter Flora and Arnold J. Heidenheimer (eds.), The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America, New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Transaction Press: 269-304. Shows that education needs to be seen as social policy in a comparative setting. While German social policy is fixated on social security the Anglo-American view is more inclusive. (The EC has subscribed to the Anglo-American view in this respect. and it may well be that the transnationalization of the educational market has a stronger and more immediate future than one would foresee for social security proper).

374. Allmendinger, Jutta. 1989: Educational Systems and Labor Market Outcomes in: European Sociological Review 5, 3: 231-250. The different patterns of labor market entry as shaped by education, industrial and somewhat by social policy systems in Norway, Germany and the US are outlined -- an interesting theoretical approach with far-reaching consequences for social policy analysis.

375. Müller, Walter and Wolfgang Karle, 1993: Social Selection in Educational Systems in Europe, in: European Sociological Review 9, 1: 1-23. Solid comparative analysis.

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376. Jenson, Jane et al., eds., 1988: Feminization of the Labor Force: Paradoxes and Promises, Cambridge: Polity, and New York, NY: Oxford University Press. A good collection of articles based on a conference held at the Center for European Studies, Harvard University in March 1986, including conceptual and country studies. Now consult also: Jane Jenson, Rianne Mahon, and Manfred Bienefeld, eds, Production, Space, Identity: Political Economy Faces the Twentieth Century, Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1993: in this collection the impact of processes of "globalization" - economic restructuring and new spatial arrangements - on social relations and political institutions is examined.

377. Maruani, Margaret, 1992: Women in the Labor Force, Brussels: Commission of the European Communities.

378. Core, Françoise, 1994: Women and the Restructuring of Employment. in: OECD Observer No. 186 (February/March): 5-10. Presents some comparative statistics on female labor force participation, segregation in employment. and some information on present problems of women bridging child care and work.

379. Michel, Sonya and Seth Koven, 1990: Womanly Duties: Maternalist Policies and the Origins of the Welfare State in France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States, 1880-1920, in: American Historical Review. 95: 1076-1108. On the origins of the present institutional structures of Western welfare states.

380. Skocpol, Theda. 1992: *Protecting Mothers and Soldiers. The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*, Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Basic while somewhat bulky and historicistic in orientation.
381. Holter, Harriet. ed., 1984.: *Patriarchy in a Welfare Society*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
382. Siim, Birte, 1987: *The Scandinavian Welfare States - Towards Sexual Equality or a New Kind of Male Domination*, in: *Acta Sociology* 30, 3/4: 255-270. Slim argues that the qualitative differences in organization of care work are important for understanding the institutional differences between welfare states.
383. Sassoon, Anne Showstack, ed.. 1987: *Women and the State. The Shifting Boundaries of Public and Private*, London: Hutchinson. Part one includes articles on "The Modern State and Contemporary Society - New Insights and New Contradictions" (Laura Balbo, Helga Maria Hernes, Drude Dahlerup, Anette Borchorst and Birte Siim. Anne Showstack Sassoon), and part two is on "Inside and Outside the Home: Women's Experience and the Transformation of Public and Private" (Chiara Saraceno, Kari Waerness, Vicki Smith. Gabrielle Turnatufi, and Helene Strohl). 11 In German language you may want to look at: Manfred G. Schmidt, *Erwerbsbeteiligung von Frauen und Männern im Industrieländervergleich*. Opladen: Leske & Budrich. 1993.
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384. Pateman, Carol, 1988: *The Patriarchal Welfare State*, in: Amy Gutman (ed.), *Democracy and the Welfare State*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 231-260. A classic piece.
385. Fraser, Nancy, 1989: *Unruly Practices*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. See in particular "Women, Welfare and the Politics of Need".
386. Hobson, Barbara, 1990: *No Exit, No Voice: Women's Economic Dependency and the Welfare State*, in: *Acta Sociology* 33, 3: 235-250. Looks at economic dependency within the family in comparative welfare state research.
387. Gordon, Linda, ed., 1990: *Women, the State, and Welfare*, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press. A good text-book collection of major articles: Virginia Sapiro. Barbara J. Nelson. Jane Jenson, Nancy Fraser, Frances Fox Piven, Diane Pearce.
388. McDowell, L., 1991: *Life Without Father and Ford: The New Gender Order of post-Fordism*, in: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers N.S.* 16: 400-419. McDowell argues that a new gender order is emerging with post-Fordism.
389. Yeatman, Anna, 1991: *Women's Citizenship Claims, Labour Market Policy and Globalization*. in: *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 27: 449-461. A sceptical view on the future of women's citizenship claims: Yearman claims that the jurisdictional integrity and sovereignty of the nation state has become anachronistic because of the new patterns of economic globalization and transnational political interdependence.
390. Jenson, Jane and Rianne Mahon, 1993: *Representing Solidarity: Class, Gender, and the Crisis in Social Democratic Sweden*, in: *New Left Review*, 201: 76-100. An analysis of the institutional foundations and historical development of the Swedish "model", focusing on the class dimension and the gender dynamic. The main argument is that the present crisis of the Swedish model is a "crisis of representation, involving the detachment of the represented from the organizations that have long represented them" (p. 100). The authors claim that a new version of the Swedish model depends on the ability of the labor movement to generate new ties of solidarity among male and female wage earners.
391. Lewis, Jane, ed., 1993: *Women and Social Policies in Europe: Work, Family and the State*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. The best collection of country studies on the topic available.
392. Orloff, Ann Shola, 1993: *Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States*, in: *American Sociological Review* 28, 3: 303-328. A major interpretation.
393. O'Connor, Julia, 1993: *Gender, Class, and Citizenship in the Comparative Analysis of Welfare States: Theoretical and Methodological Rues*, in: *British Journal of Sociology*: 501-518. Interesting, albeit highly abstract attempt to link several theoretical discussions.
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394. Borchorst, Anctte, 1994: *The Scandinavian Welfare States: Patriarchal, Gender Neutral or WomanFriendly*, in: *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology* 31, 1. Broad outline of the Scandinavian model.
395. Goldberg, Gertrude and Eleanor Kremen, eds., 1990: *The Feminization of Poverty: Only in America?* Westport, CT: Greenwood. Solid empirical documentation. *The American Welfare State*

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396. Shafer, Byron E., 1991: *Is America Different? A New Look at American Exceptionalism*, Oxford: Clarendon Press. Basic background reading, part one. Interesting cast of authors like Seymour Martin Lipset, Daniel Bell, Aaron Wildavsky, and Richard Rose.
397. Wolfe, Alan, ed., 1991: *America at Century's End*, Berkeley etc.. CA: University of California Press. Basic background reading, part two. An excellent collection.
398. Reich, Robert, 1991: *The Work of Nations. Preparing Ourselves for 21st Century Capitalism*, New York, NY: Vintage Books. Part four on "The Meaning of Nation" is particularly interesting.
399. Marmor, Theodore R., Jerry L. Mashaw and Philip L. Harvey, 1990: *America's Misunderstood Welfare State. Persistent Myths, Enduring Realities*, New York: Basic Books. Attacks the view that American social programs were subject to uncontrolled growth and unresponsive to worsened economic circumstances.
400. Marmor, Theodore R. and Jerry L. Mashaw, eds., 1988: *Social Security: Beyond the Rhetoric of Crisis*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press. In the essays of this volume the political economy of marginal adjustments of US Social Security is discussed, putting problems in historical context and employing some broader views.
401. Morohey, Robert M., 1991: *Social Policy and Social Work. Critical Essays on the Welfare State*. New York, NY: Aldine/de Gruyter. A "social problems"-oriented analysis of the American welfare state, concentrating on income maintenance, housing, social services, the elderly and the poor.
402. Jenks, Christopher, 1992: *Rethinking Social Policy. Race, Poverty, and the Underclass*, Cambridge, MA. and London: Harvard University Press. A collection of his recent articles, with a brilliant introduction. The articles focus more on how to think about complex social policy questions and less on definitive answers to them.
403. Gutman, Amy, ed., 1988: *Democracy and the Welfare State*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press. Offers some outstanding essays on the moral foundation and the political prospects of the American Welfare State.
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404. Weir, Margaret, Ann Shola Orloff, and Theda Skocpol, eds., 1988: *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press. Offers good material on some of the more problematic areas of the modern U.S. welfare sector. In particular race relations, poverty, family structure. Starts from the institutional setting of the New Deal system and its inherent limits.
405. Weir, Margaret, 1992: *Politics and Jobs. The Boundaries of Employment Policy in the United States*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Examines the fate of politics of active employment policies, stressing the crucial role of the definition of public problems by citizens and politicians.
406. Henderson, David, 1993: *The Europeanization of the U.S. Labor Market*. in: *Public Interest*, no. 113. Fall: 66-81. Claims that the U.S. are well on their way to their own Euroclerosis due to new labor market regulations. _
407. Jenson, Jane and Rianne Mahon, eds., *The Challenge of Restructuring: North American Labour Movements Respond*, Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press. [Footnote]
408. Fein, Rashi, 1985: *Medical Costs, Medical Choices*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Very readable narrative history of economic institutions and of the development of economic problems in health care provision.
409. Aaron, Henry J., 1991: *Serious and Unstable Condition. Financing America's Health Care*, Washington DC: Brookings. A lay reader's guide to the debate on "how to reform the health care financing system". Explains why health care is "different" from most other economic and social goods, and how this difference should shape the choice among potential reform.
410. Stone, Deborah A., 1992: *Why the States Can't Solve the Health Care Crisis*, in: *American Prospect*. 9 (Spring): 51-60. Introduction to the American social insurance dilemma.
411. Stone, Deborah A., 1993: *The Struggle for the Soul of Health Insurance*, in: *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 18, 2: 287-317. The ideological principles of the possible constructions of "health security" are played out: actuarial versus providential conceptions and their anchoring in the US private and social insurance landscape.
412. Stone, Deborah A., 1993: *The Insurance Industry and Health Reform*, Cambridge, Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government, unpubl. man. On the role of a peculiar "welfare industry". 12 For a good selection of reviews of recent books on labor movements and trade unions -- including the Jenson/Mahone volume -- see *Contemporary Sociology* 23, 2 (March 1994): 177-208.

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413. Starr, Paul, 1994: *The Logic of Health Care Reform. Why and How the President's Plan Will Work*, New York: Penguin. Written for the general public and a good introduction for those not familiar with the problem.
414. Morone, James A, and Gary S. Blekin, eds., 1994: *The Politics of Health Care Reform. Lessons From the Past, Prospects for the Future*, Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press. Overview on "deep structural" issues of US health politics based on an institutional approach; the issues are ideological (redistributive justice) and state structural (institutional fragmentation and the capacity to overcome it). Contains among other articles by David I. Rothman ("A Century of Failure: Class Barriers to Reform": 11-25), Deborah A. Stone ("The Struggle for the Soul of Health Insurance": 26-56), and Theda Skocpol ("Is Time Finally Ripe? Health Insurance Reform in the 1990s": 57-76). It wasn't. *The German Welfare State*
415. Alber, Jens, 1986: Germany, in: Peter Flora (ed.), *Growth to Limits. The Western European Welfare States Since World War II*, vol. 2, Berlin: de Gruyter: 1-154. -! The standard text on the German welfare state -- pre-unification. [Footnote] - Click to return to content
416. Zapf, Wolfgang, 1979: Modernization and Welfare Development: The Case of Germany, in: *Social Science Information*: 219-246. On the long-term development of the German welfare state, making use of the mainstream modernization paradigm.
417. Zapf, Wolfgang, 1986: Development, Structure, and Prospects of the German Social State, in: Richard Rose and Rei Shiratori (eds.), *The Welfare State in East and West*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press: 126-155. Zapf presents a broad discussion of the basic elements of "welfare production" in Germany, concentrating on the nature of the crisis of the German welfare state, on innovative potentials and the prospects of a welfare society.
418. Altenstetter, Christa, 1986: German Social Security Programs: An Interpretation of their Development. 1883 - 1985, in: Douglas E. Ashford and E. W. Kelley (eds.), *Nationalizing Social Security in Europe and America*, Greenwich, CN and London: JAI Press (Monographs in Organizational Behavior and Industrial Relations, 4): 73-100. Altenstetter deals mainly with the complexity of the social insurance systems in West Germany, stressing "interprogrammatic dynamics" as key variables in explaining new legislation.
419. Schmidt, Manfred G., 1989: Learning From Catastrophes. West Germany's Public Policy, in: Francis Castles (ed.), *The Comparative History of Public Policy*, Cambridge: Polity: 56-99. A view on the longterm development of the German welfare state. 13 For an long version cf. Jens Alber, *Der Sozialstaat in der Bundesrepublik*, Frankfurt a.M.: Campus 1989.
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420. Brauns, Hans-Iochen and David Kramer, 1989: West Germany - The Break Up of Consensus and the Demographic Threat, in: Brian Munday (ed.), *The Crisis in Welfare. An International Perspective on Social Services and Social Work*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, and New York, NY: St. Martin's Press: 124-154. The authors concentrate on personal social services and the complex horizontal and vertical division or' labor between private and public agencies.
421. Nullmeier, Frank and Friedben W. Rnb, 1993: *Die Transformation der Sozialpolitik. Vom Sozialstaat zum Sicherheitsstaat*, Frankfurt a.M. and New York, NY: Campus. A major study on the recent history of the core institutions of the German welfare state, arguing that a "creeping" reinterpretation of its normative and political foundations has taken place.
422. Anheier, Helmut, 1990: A Profile on the Third Sector in West Germany, in: Helmut K. Anheier and Wolfgang Seibel (eds.), *The Third Sector: Comparative Studies of Nonprofit Organizations*, Berlin and New York, NY: de Gruyter: 313-332. Presents a brief survey of the size, scope, composition, and history of the third sector in West Germany. Analyzes in particular the monopolistic tendencies among third sector organizations linked to the welfare state.
433. Kreile, Michael, 1992: The Political Economy of the New Germany, in: Paul B. Stares (ed.), *The New Germany and the New Europe*, Washington, DC: Brookings: 55-92. Useful background reading on the political and economic problems of the new German unity, although it does not center on social policy.
434. Alber, Jens, 1994: The Debate Over Long-Term Care Insurance in Germany, contribution to an OECD Seminar on the Care of the Elderly People, Paris. Gives a descriptive and analytical account of the debate over the introduction of a long-term care insu. rance scheme in the Federal Republic.
435. Ostner, Ilona, 1993: Slow Motion: Women, Work and the Family in Germany, in: Jane Lewis (ed.), *Women and Social Policies in Europe. Work, Family, and the State*, Aldershot: Edward Elgar (Gower): 92-115. Solid analysis by one of the leading authors in this field.

436. Kern, Horst and Charles Sabel, 1991: Trade Unions and Decentralized Production: A Sketch of Strategic Problems in the West German Labor Movement, in: Marino Regini (ed.), Labor Movements Towards the Year 2000, London: Sage: 217-249. A radical view of changes in parameters for unions in globalizing capitalism.

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437. Jergens, Ulrich and Frieder Naschold, 1994: Arbeits- und industriepolitische Entwicklungsempase der deutschen Industrie in den neunziger Jahren, in: Wolfgang Zapf and Meinolf Dierkes (eds.), WZBJahrbuch 1994: Institutionenvergleich und Institutionendynamik, Berlin: edition sigma: 239-270. An analysis of the long-term consequences of "institutionally dense" social systems on the adaptability of economy and society in the context of the "triad". The authors try to follow two distinct lines of thinking. In one general hypothesis they claim that "institutionally dense" social systems like Germany have a greater rate of progress and more dynamic. In the other hypothesis they claim that institutional structures develop blind spots over time and become increasingly incompetent in dealing with new challenges. After analysing the innovation strategies of German companies in the early 90s, the authors see more evidence speaking for the second hypothesis.

438. Scharpf, Fritz W., 1993: Soziale Gerechtigkeit im globalen Kapitalismus, in: Die Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte 40: 544-547. Scharpf argues for a new system of minimum wages and welfare. The Case of Canada™

The Case of Canada [Footnote]

439. Lipset, Seymour Martin, 1990: Continental Divide. The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada, New York, NY and London: Routledge. Basic background reading.

440. Leman, Christopher, 1977: Patterns of Policy Development: Social Security in the United States and Canada, in: Public Policy 25, 2: 261-291. [Footnote] in the differences in the political context of the two countries and their implications for the policy making process.

442. Banting, Keith G., 1992: Economic Integration and Social Policy: Canada and the United States, in: Terrance M. Hunsley (ed.), Social Policy in the Global Economy, Kingston: Queen's University, School of Social Policy Studies: 21-44. Major essay on patterns of convergence and divergence in the social programs in Northamerica. 14 In German Theo Schiller, Sozialpolitik in Kanada in den 80er Jahren, Baden-Baden: Nomos 1994, could be consulted. 15 The author has also done a book length study on the topic: Christopher Leman, The Collapse of Welfare Reform: Political Institutions, Policy, and the Poor in Canada and the United States, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 1980.

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443. Drache, David and Meric S. Gertler, eds., 1991: The New Era of Global Competition: State Policy and Market Power, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. A Canadian view on the most recent transformation of the (American) world economy. Includes articles by Rianne Mahon, Robert W. Cox, and John Myles. Philips, Susan D., 1993: How Ottawa Spends 1993/94: A More Democratic Canada .. ?

Ottawa: Carleton University Press. Includes Articles on social policy in the Mulroney years, on family policy, on social rights, and on NAFTA, Linkages Between the Welfare State and the International System :item>444. Philips, Susan D., 1993: How Ottawa Spends 1993/94: A More Democratic Canada .. ? Ottawa: arleton University Press. ncludes Articles on social policy in the Mulroney years, on family policy, on social rights, and on AFTA.

Linkages Between the Welfare State and the International System

445. Tilly, Charles, 1994: Globalization Threatens Labor's Rights, New York, NY: New School for Social Research/Center for Studies of Social Change (Working Paper 182). A long-term view on causes and consequences of globalization. . -

446. Suganami, Hidemi, 1989: The Domestic Analogy and World Order Proposals, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Although located in the tradition of "history of ideas", the author offers good material on links between the development of welfare states and the institutional change in international relations.

447. Friedmann, Wolfgang, 1970: The Relevance of International Law to the Processes of Economic and Social Development, in: Richard A. Falk and Cyril E. Black (eds.), The Future of the International Legal Order, vol. II: Wealth and Resources, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 3-35. Describes the shift from "coexistence" to "cooperation" in international legal relations and its implications.

448. Finlayson, Jock A. and Mark W. Zacher, 1981: The GATT and the Regulation of Trade Barriers: Regime Dynamics and Functions, in: International Organization 35, 4:561-602. Still an useful paper, because the authors show how conflicting norms in the legal structure of the GATT coexist. Therefore, the

GATT is more a "forum organization" than an "international regime". It provides member states with a framework in which they may carry on many activities which would otherwise cost them much more.

449. Strang, David and Patricia Mei Yin Chang, 1993: *The International Labor Organization and the Welfare State: Institutional Effects on National Welfare Spending*, in: *International Organization* 47, 2: 235-262. The authors suggest that social welfare and domestic policy are an increasingly transnational business. Global standards and agenda setting play some role in the rapid expansion of programs in some states.

450. Maier, Charles S., 1981: *The Two Postwar Eras and the Conditions for Stability in Twentieth Century Western Europe*, in: *American Historical Review* 86 (reprinted in: Charles S. Maier, *In Search of Stability. Explorations in Historical Political Economy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987: 153-184).

One of the few analysis confronting the sources and preconditions of social and political stability.

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451. Ruggie, John Gerard, 1982: *International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order*, in: *International Organization* 36, 2: 379-415. Ruggie argues that the international regimes and the multilateralism of the postwar era are predicated upon domestic interventionism, that is the building of welfare states. Ruggie tries to show that the principles of multilateralism and tariff reductions were accompanied by safeguards, exemptions, and restrictions - all designed to protect the balance of payments and a variety of domestic social policies.

452. Nelson, Douglas R., 1990: *The Welfare State and Export Optimism*, in: Dennis C. Pitage and Christine Sylvester (eds.), *Transformations in the Global Political Economy*, London: Macmillan, 1990: 127-152. Nelson argues that domestic political-economic structures in the core countries constrain the capacity of core states to pursue trade liberalization and that constraints are reflected in the structure of trade regimes as well as in the patterns of trade and production which flow, in part, from that regime.

453. Burley, Anne-Marie. 1993: *Regulating the World: Multilateralism, International Law, and the Projection of the New Deal Regulatory State*, in: John Gerard Ruggie (ed.), *Multilateralism Matters. The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form*, New York, NY: Columbia University Press: 125-156. Traces the evolution of a liberal world order to concepts and administrative formulas of the New Deal regulatory state. Sees close links between domestic politics in the US and the changing postwar multilateral order. Both policy areas are seen as responses to one set of problems, i.e. economic security, social integration, and political stability. The author claims "that U.S. policymakers envisioned that international organizations could be used to circumvent the problems of sovereignty just as domestic administrative organizations had succeeded in circumventing the checks on effective action imposed by constitutionally mandated separation of powers (p. 155).

454. Evans, Peter B., 1993: *Building an Integrative Approach to International and Domestic Politics: Reflections and Projections*, in: Peter B. Evans, Harold J. Jacobson, and Robert D. Putnam (eds.), *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press: 397-430. Concluding article in a collection of case studies. See also Andrew Moravcsik and Robert D. Putnam in this section of the bibliography. One quotation: "International bargains are not simply about relations between nations. They are also about the distribution of costs and benefits among domestic groups and about domestic opinion divided on the best way of relating to the external environment" (p. 397).

455. Garrett, Geoffrey and Peter Lange, 1991: *Political Responses to Interdependence: What's Left for the Left?* in: *International Organization* 45, 4: 539-564. The authors argue that -- despite widespread assumptions -- in an era of great economic interdependence there is little scope for partisan governments to pursue autonomous economic and social policies. There are strong indicators that the left and the right are still separated with regard to policy instruments. The effectiveness of different policy instruments, however, depends on the national organization of labor movements. *The Problem of Social Clauses* 16

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The Problem of Social Clauses [Footnote]

456. Alston, Philip, 1980: *Linking Trade and Human Rights*, in: *German Yearbook of International Law* 23: 126-158. "This article briefly notes the arguments used in favour of linking development assistance and human rights and considers some of the important issues raised by proposals to extend this link on a multilateral basis to cover trade. In addition to noting several multilateral proposals which have involved a link between trade and human rights, a detailed analysis is undertaken of the proposals made by the Commission of the European Communities in the context of the negotiation of the second Lomé Convention. Consideration is then given to the major policy issues which arise in connexion with this issue" (p. 127).

457. Edgren, Gus, 1979: Fair Labour Standards and Trade Liberalisation, in: *International Labour Review*, 112, 5: 523-535. A general discussion of the problems linking labor standards to international trade.
458. Mandel, Harlan, 1989: In Pursuit of the Missing Link: International Worker Rights' and International Trade, in: *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law* 27: 443-482. Very informative article: "A drive for the effective institution of international fair labor standards has been steadily accelerating in the United States. The issue is unique in its intermingling of human rights and fair trade concerns. At the heart of this initiative is 'worker rights' legislation to create effective enforcement mechanisms by linking international fair labor standards to international trade" (443).
459. Lierot, Gijsbert van, 1989: Minimum Labour Standards and International Trade: Would a Social Clause Work? in: *International Labour Review*, 128, 4: 433-448. A good discussion of the various problems of formulating and implementing social clauses.
460. Servais, J.-M., 1989: The Social Clause in Trade Agreements: Wishful Thinking of an Instrument of Social Progress? in: *International Labour Review*, 128, 4: 423-432. A broad discussion of the historical background and the new salience of social clauses.
461. Standing, Guy and Victor Tokman, eds., 1991: *Towards Social Adjustment. Labour Market Issues in Structural Adjustment*, Geneva: ILO. This collection is premised on social equity and distributional dimensions being integral to any reasonable strategy of structural adjustment. Includes a good discussion of the topic in more general terms by Guy Standing, and two articles on the role of labor market regulation (Werner Sengenberger on the topic in general terms, Christoph F. Bichtemann on West Germany).
462. Sengenberger, Werner and Duncan Campbell, eds., 1994: *Creating Economic Opportunities. The Role of Labour Standards in Industrial Restructuring*, Geneva: International Institute for Labour Studies. On "Types of Labour Standards and their Interaction", "The Impact of Standards at Various Levels of Organization" (mostly regional case studies, but also articles on the European Community and the "global" level). 16 In German you may want to consult also: Wilhelm Adamy, *Sozialklauseln im internationalen Handel. Menschenrechte in der Arbeitswelt durchsetzen*, in: *Soziale Sicherheit* 7 (1994): 260-267. Original Page No. 61 - [Click to return to content](#)
463. International Labour Office, 1994: *Defending Values, Promoting Change. Social Justice in a Global Economy*, Geneva: ILO (International Labour Conference, 81 st Session, Report of the Director-General (Part I). Broad normative outline.
464. Edwards, Richard, 1994: Reshaping Employee Protections for a Global Economy, in: *Challenge*, January/February: 34-39. A discussion of the compatibility of a system of worker protections and domestic employers' international competitiveness in the U.S.
465. Coilingworth, Terry, J. William Good, and Pharis J. Harvey, 1994: Time for a Global New Deal, in: *Foreign Affairs*, January/February: 8-13. [Footnote] the authors argue for the need to include "social clauses" in the GATT and the European Community Charter by showing analogies to New Deal legislation. Good quote: "Goods produced under conditions which do not meet a rudimentary standard of decency should be regarded as contraband and ought not to be allowed to pollute the channels of interstate commerce" (Franklin D. Roosevelt).
466. Zimmerman, James M., 1992: International Dimension of US Fair Employment Laws: Protection or Interference? in: *International Labour Law Review* 131, 2: 217-230. Interesting article by an American lawyer, who discusses to which degree American employment standards are already extraterritorial. He concludes that "efforts at improving conditions in the foreign workplace might meet with greater success if they were undertaken within a wider framework of international law" (p. 217). *Conceptual and Theoretical Innovations Which May Prove to Be Useful*
467. Zolberg, Aristide R., 1987: Beyond the Nation-State. Comparative Politics in Global Perspective, in: Jan Berting and Wire Blockmarts (eds.), *Beyond Progress and Development. Macro-Political and Macro-Societal change*, Aldershot: Avebury: 42-69. On the interpenetration of domestic and international levels as a Gestaltswitch in comparative politics,
468. Hailer, Max, 1990: The Challenge for Comparative Sociology in the Transformation of Europe, in: *International Sociology*, 3, 2: 183-204. Discusses the question whether Europe constitutes a meaningful unit from a social science point of view. Hailer argues that this is the case because of its common historical-cultural heritage and because of the increasing density between its nations and peoples.
469. Moravcsik, Andrew, 1993: Integrating International and Domestic Theories of International Bargaining, in: Peter B. Evans, Harold J. Jacobson, and Robert D. Putnam (eds.), *Double-Edged*

Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press: 3-42. Good introductory article, reviewing most of the relevant literature. 17 See also the accompanying piece: Ben Steil. "Social Correctness" is the New Protectionism. in *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 1994: 14-20.

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470. Pumare, Robert D., 1988: *Diplomacy and Domestic Policies: The Logic of Two-Level Games*. in: *International Organization* 42, 3: 427-460, reprinted in: Peter B. Evans, Harold J. \$acobson and Robert D. Putnam (eds.), *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press: 431-468. An excellent article on the entanglement of domestic politics and international relations, arguing against the assumption of one-side causality, presenting instead a "Janus"-headed-model of domestic-international interactions.

471. Granovetter, Mark, 1985: *Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness*, in: *American Journal of Sociology*, 45, 3: 481-510. Important article on the opacity of social practices to economic stimuli.

472. Goldstein, Judith, 1993: *Ideas, Interests, and American Trade Policy*, Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press. Interesting analysis of the history of American trade law, concentrating on the origins and long-term consequences of contradictions in American policy. Argues that successful ideas become embedded in institutions and typically outlive the time during which they served social interests.

473. Goldstein, Judith and Robert O. Keohane, eds., 1993: *Ideas and Foreign Policy. Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change*, Ithaca, N.Y. and London: Cornell University Press. Finally, an arrival of all of Max Weber in international relations: after interests and institutions, now ideas. The introduction claims to present a new framework for studying the role of beliefs in the business of governments. Contributions include Geoffrey Garrett and Barry R. Weingast: "Ideas, Interests, and Institutions. Constructing the European Community's Internal Market".

474. Powell, Walter W. and Paul di Maggio, eds., 1991: *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. Introduction to new institutionalist theorizing in North American sociology. Brings together some of the citation classics and some new work. See in particular Ronald Scheperson: "Institutions, Institutional Effects, and Institutionalism", W. Richard Scott: "Unpacking Institutional Arguments", and Walter W. Powell: "Expanding the Scope of Institutional Analysis".

475. Steintoo, Sven et al., eds., 1993: *Structuring Politics. Historical Institutionalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Efforts at theorizing the "new historical institutionalism" by the younger generation of North American political scientists.

476. Weaver, R. Kent and Bert A. Rockman, eds., 1993: *Do Institutions Matter? Government Capabilities in the United States and Abroad*, Washington, DC: Brookings. Good collection of case studies, concentrating on how and why institutions matter.

477. Pierson, Paul, 1993: *When Effect Becomes Cause: Policy Feedback and Political Change*, in: *World Politics* 44, 3: 595-628. Interesting review article on recent works on the history (Skocpol) and theory (Esping-Andersen) of the welfare state, combined with works on ideas and institutions (Peter Hall, Douglas North). The focus is on the old Schattschneider argument: "New policies create new politics".

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478. Stinchcombe, Arthur L., 1968: *Constructing Social Theories*, New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & World. Still the best book on the topic: "If nevertheless I have decided to write a book on the logic of theory construction, it is because people sometimes do worse empirical work than they might because they are confused by logical and philosophical difficulties. People do actually fail to do the sensible thing because they think it implies some "assumption" that they are unwilling to make, or because they think a particular form of argument is associated logically with some unacceptable general world view. There is a good deal of nonsense talked in the social sciences about "assumptions", "approaches", "sui generis", "operational definition", and the like. Mostly this nonsense does not interfere with the work of the discipline, but this is because exceptional men trust their intuition rather their logical and philosophical prejudices" (p. vi).

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