

## Forthcoming articles

*Europeanization through Privation and Pluralization in Hungary.* Áttila Ágh, Political Science, Budapest University of Economics.

*The Ubiquitous Rise of Economists.* John Markoff, Sociology, University of Pittsburgh, and Veronica Montecinos, Sociology, Pennsylvania State University.

*Who Governs Intermediary Agencies? Principal-Agent Relations in Research Policy-making.* Dietmar Braun, Political Science, University of Heidelberg.

*Invention by Outsiders: A Strategic Management Perspective on Government Industrial Policy.* Romano Dyerson, Business Strategy, London Business School and Frank Mueller, Management, Aston University.

*The Financial System and Corporate Governance in Germany: Institutions and the Diffusion of Innovations in Comparative Context.* Kirsten S. Wever, Business School, Northeastern University, Boston, and Christopher S. Allen, Political Science, University of Georgia.

*Post-Socialist Transition and Environmental Protection.* WenFang Teng, Political Science, University of Pittsburgh.

*From Policy Beliefs to Policy Choices: the Resurgence of Tariff Retaliation in the U.S. Pursuit of Fair Trade.* H. Richard Friman, Political Science, Marquette University.

*From National Hierarchies to International Standardization: Modal Changes in the Governance of Telecommunications.* Philipp Genschel and Raymund Werle, Max Planck Institute, Cologne.

# Reviewers, *Journal of Public Policy* Volume 12 (1992)

Alt, James E., Political Science, Harvard University  
Artis, Michael, Economics, University of Manchester  
Armingeon, Klaus, Political Science, University of Heidelberg  
Batcheler, John, Regional Policy, University of Strathclyde  
Beckerman, Wilfred, Economist, Balliol College, Oxford  
Benyon, John, Public Order Studies, University of Leicester  
Bobrow, Davis, Public & International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh  
Bristow, John, Economics, Trinity College, Dublin  
Destler, I. M., Public Policy, University of Maryland—College Park  
Doern, Bruce, Public Policy, Carleton University, Ottawa  
Dryzek, John, Political Science, University of Oregon  
Duch, Raymond, Political Science, University of Houston  
Dunsire, Andrew, Political Science, University of York  
Etzioni, Amitai, Sociologist, George Washington University, Washington DC  
Feigenbaum, Harvey, Political Science, George Washington University, Washington DC  
Frey, Bruno, Economist, University of Zurich  
Hart, Jeffrey, Political Science, University of Indiana  
Hewitt, Daniel, Economist, International Monetary Fund  
Hoberg, George, Political Science, University of British Columbia  
Hofferbert, Richard, Political Science, State University of New York—Binghamton  
Hogwood, Brian W., Political Science, University of Strathclyde  
Kingdon, John W., Political Science, University of Michigan  
Klamer, Arjo, Economics, George Washington University, Washington DC  
Klein, Rudolf, Social Policy, University of Bath  
Lake, David, International Relations, University of California—San Diego  
Le Grand, Julian, Economics, University of Bristol  
Livingstone, Steven G., Political Science, State University of New York—Albany  
McAllister, Ian, Political Science, University of New South Wales  
McKinlay, R. D., International Relations, University of Lancaster  
Miller, William L., Political Science, University of Glasgow  
Milner, Helen, Political Science, Columbia University  
Munger, Michael D., Political Science, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill  
Nelson, Robert H., Economist, Office of Secretary, US Department of the Interior  
Odell, John S., International Relations, University of Southern California  
Page, Edward C., Political Science, University of Hull  
Peters, B. Guy, Political Science, University of Pittsburgh  
Pitt, Douglas, Organisational Analysis, University of Strathclyde  
Quirk, Paul, Political Science, University of Illinois—Urbana  
Richardson, Jeremy, Political Science, University of Warwick  
Salisbury, Robert, Political Science, Washington University in St. Louis  
Schmidt, Manfred G., Political Science, University of Heidelberg  
Schneider, Freidrich, Economics, University of Linz  
Scioli, Frank, Political Science, National Science Foundation, Washington DC  
Stoker, Gerry, Political Science, University of Strathclyde  
Vogel, David, Business School, University of California Berkeley  
Weimer, David L., Public Policy, University of Rochester  
Wildavsky, Aaron, Political Science, University of California Berkeley  
Zuckerman, Alan, Political Science, Brown University

# Journal of Public Policy

# Journal of Public Policy

VOLUME 12 1992

EDITED BY

PROFESSOR RICHARD ROSE  
Centre for the Study of Public Policy  
University of Strathclyde

Part 1	Pages 1–103
Part 2	105–208
Part 3	209–300
Part 4	301–410



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge  
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP  
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA  
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press 1992

Typeset by Wyvern Typesetting Ltd, Bristol

Printed in the United Kingdom by Universities Press, Belfast

# List of Articles

## Part 1

- ROBERT HOLZMANN: Social Policy in Transition from Plan to Market 1
- KALMAN RUPP: Democracy, Market and Social Safety Nets: Implications for Postcommunist Eastern Europe 37
- TONI MAKKAI and JOHN BRAITHWAITE: In and Out of the Revolving Door: Making Sense of Regulatory Capture 61
- T. J. PEMPEL: Of Dragons and Development 79

## Part 2

- DANIEL HEWITT: Military Expenditures Worldwide: Determinants and Trends, 1972–1988 105
- ENDRE SIK: From the Second to the Informal Economy 153
- JIŘÍ VEČERNÍK: Labor Force Attitudes in the Transition to the Market: the Czechoslovak Case 177

## Part 3

- BRUNO S. FREY: Efficiency and Democratic Political Organisation: The Case for the Referendum 209
- STEVEN G. LIVINGSTON: Knowledge Hierarchies and the Politics of Ideas in American International Commodity Policy 223
- JENNY STEWART: Corporatism, Pluralism and Political Learning: A Systems Approach 243
- JÜRGEN FEICK: Comparing Comparative Policy Studies – A Path Towards Integration? 257

## Part 4

- WOLFGANG STREECK: National Diversity, Regime Competition and Institutional Deadlock: Problems in Forming a European Industrial Relations System 301
- PETER J. MAY: Policy Learning and Failure 331
- NIKOLAOS ZAHARIADIS: To Sell or Not To Sell? Telecommunications Policy in Britain and France 355

PAVLE SICHERL: Integrating Comparisons Across Time and  
Space: Methodology and Applications to Disparities within  
Yugoslavia

377

# Index of Authors of Articles and Book Reviews

- Bogdanor, Vernon, 204–205  
Braithwaite, John, 61–78  
Bulpitt, Jim, 409–410  
Deakin, N. D., 205–207  
Dryzek, John S., 296–297  
Feick, Jürgen, 257–285  
Frey, Bruno S., 209–222  
Goodin, Robert E., 199–200  
Hanson, Philip, 287–289  
Hewitt, Daniel, 105–152  
Holzmann, Robert, 1–35  
Johnson, Paul, 290–292  
Kamerman, Sheila B., 195–197  
Keating, Michael, 101–102  
Klein, Rudolf, 297–298  
Livingston, Steven G., 223–242  
McAllister, Ian, 406–407  
Makkai Toni, 61–78  
Marquand, Judith, 292–294, 407–409  
May, Peter J., 331–354  
Mishler, William, 298–300  
Montecinos, Verónica, 197–199,  
294–296  
Moran, Michael, 99–100  
Olsen, Johan P., 202–203  
Pempel, T. J., 79–95  
Peters, B. Guy, 200–202  
Rupp, Kalman, 37–59  
Sanford, Cedric, 100  
Scarborough, Elinor, 97–99  
Sicherl, Pavle, 377–403  
Sik, Endre, 153–175  
Stewart, Jenny, 243–255  
Streeck, Wolfgang, 301–330  
Večerník, Jiří, 177–194  
Wildavsky, Aaron, 405–406  
Zahariadis, Nikolaos, 355–376



# Index of Books and Official Publications Received

- Ideology and Political Beliefs in Hungary* (G. Csepeli and A. Orkeny), 97–9
- Banking Crises; Cases and Issues* (V. Sundararajan and T. Baliño), 99–100
- Retrospectives on Public Finance* (Lorraine Eden), 100
- The Territorial Imperative: Pluralism, Corporatism and Economic Crisis* (Jeffrey J. Anderson), 101–2.
- Children and the Transition to the Market Economy: Safety Nets and Social Policies in Central and Eastern Europe* (Giovanni Andrea Cornia and Sandor Sipos), 195–7
- Educating Economists* (David Colander and Reuven Brenner), 197–9
- Reaching for Heaven on Earth: The Theological Meaning of Economics* (Robert H. Nelson), 199–200
- How Governments Measure Success: The Use of Performance Indicators in Government* (Neil Carter, Rudolf Klein and Patricia Day), 200–2
- Euro-Politics: Institutions and Policymaking in the 'New' European Community*, (Alberta Sbragia), 202–3
- The Politics of Divided Government* (Gary W. Cox and Samuel Kernell), 204–5
- Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Koreans in Los Angeles* (Ivan Light and Edna Bonacich), 205–7
- The Emergence of Market Economies in Eastern Europe* (Christopher Clague and Gordon C. Rausser), 287–9 —
- Generational Accounting: Knowing Who Pays, and When, for What We Spend* (Laurence J. Kotlikoff), 290–2
- Rethinking Economics: Markets, Technology and Economic Evolution* (Geoffrey M. Hodgson and Ernesto Screpanti), 292–4
- Social Norms and Economic Institutions* (Kenneth J. Koford and Jeffrey B. Miller), 292–4
- Educating Economists* (David Colander and Reuven Brenner) 294–6
- The New Politics of Pollution* (Albert Weale), 296–7
- Social Policy in a Changing Europe* (Zsuzsa Ferge and John Eivind Kolberg), 297–8
- The Collapse of Canada?* (R. Kent Weaver), 298–300
- Equality Reexamined* (Amartya Sen), 405–6
- The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in American Policy Preferences* (Benjamin I. Page and Robert Y. Shapiro), 406–7
- Policing the Workshy: Benefit Controls, the Labour Market and the Unemployed* (Alex Bryson and John Jacobs), 407–9
- Local Justice: How Institutions Allocate Scarce Goods and Necessary Burdens* (Jon Elster), 409–410

# Comparative Politics

Editor-in-Chief: **Dankwart A. Rustow**  
(City University of New York)

**Comparative Politics** is an international journal containing articles devoted to comparative analysis of political institutions and behavior. Articles range from political patterns of emerging nations to contrasts in the structure of established societies. **Comparative Politics** communicates new ideas and research findings to social scientists, scholars, and students. The journal is indispensable to experts in research organizations, foundations, consulates, and embassies throughout the world.

**1993 Issues to Include:**

*Kyung Ae Park*, "Women and Development: The Case of South Korea" . . . *Michael Coppedge*, "Parties and Society in Mexico and Venezuela: Why Competition Matters" . . . *Peter A. Hall*, "Policy Paradigms, Social Learning and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain" . . . *Stephanie Lawson*, "Conceptual Issues in the Comparative Study of Regime Change and Democratization" . . . *Yael Yishai*, "Public Ideas and Public Policy: Abortion Politics in Four Democracies" . . . *Ben Ross Schneider*, "The Career Connection: A Comparative Analysis of Bureaucratic Preferences and Insulation" . . . *Marc Lindenberg and Shantayanan Devarajan*, "Prescribing Strong Economic Medicine: Revisiting the Myths about Structural Adjustment, Democracy, and Economic Performance in Developing Countries"

Published quarterly.

Subscription rates: Individuals \$30/1 yr., \$55/2 yrs., \$77/3 yrs.; Institutions \$50/1 yr., \$92/2 yrs., \$128/3 yrs.; Students \$12/1 yr.; Outside the U.S.A. add \$7.50/1 yr., \$14/2 yrs., \$21/3 yrs.; Airmail add \$20/yr.; Single copies \$9/individuals, \$14 institutions.

ISSN 0010-4159.

**Comparative Politics**  
Subscription Fulfillment Office  
49 Sheridan Avenue  
P.O. Box 1413  
Albany, NY 12201-1413

# HARVARD

## Getting Work

Philadelphia, 1840–1950

Walter Licht

How did working people find jobs in the past? How has the process changed over time for various groups of job seekers? Walter Licht uses intensive primary source research on a major industrial city for a period of over one hundred years to tackle these questions. He looks at when and how young people secured first jobs, the influence of agencies on the hiring process, schools and work, apprenticeship programs, unions, the role of firms in structuring work opportunities, the state as employer and as shaper of employment conditions, and the problem of losing work—the job search as a seemingly perpetual activity.

\$39.95 cloth

## Inequality Reexamined

Amartya Sen

In this deft analysis, Amartya Sen argues that the dictum "all people are created equal" serves largely to deflect attention from the fact that we differ in age, gender, talents, and physical abilities, as well as in material advantages and social background. He argues for concentrating on higher and more basic values: individual capabilities and freedom to achieve objectives. His carefully explicated freedom-based approach opens up new possibilities neglected by utilitarians, income egalitarians, libertarians, advocates of "equal opportunity." By concentrating on the equity and efficiency of social arrangements in promoting freedoms and capabilities of individuals, Sen adds an important new angle to arguments about such vital issues as gender inequalities, welfare policies, affirmative action, and public provision of health care and education.

*A Russell Sage Foundation Book*

\$29.95 cloth

## Protecting Soldiers and Mothers

The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States

Theda Skocpol

It is generally believed that the United States lagged behind Western Europe in developing modern social welfare policies. Theda Skocpol shows, however, in this startlingly new historical analysis, that the United States actually pioneered generous social spending for many of its elderly, disabled, and dependent citizens in the late nineteenth century.

"Skocpol's book is a landmark contribution to the history and politics of American social policy. She has reclaimed a major and forgotten period that does much to explain why the American welfare state took the shape it did."

—Hugh Heclo,

George Mason University

*Belknap*

\$34.95 cloth

## Scarcity by Design

The Legacy of New York City's Housing Policies

Peter D. Salins and

Gerard C.S. Mildner

"Without resorting to the technical language of city planners, structural engineers or mortgage loan officers, [this book] explains how New York City's intrusive housing policies, intended to be helpful to people in search of better homes, instead made home building almost impossible. It is valuable not only to New Yorkers who want to understand what happened to them, but to residents of other cities who may still have time to escape from repeating New York's mistakes."

—Roger Starr, Editor,

*The City Journal*

\$29.95 cloth

# HARVARD

## **The Realm of Rights**

Judith Jarvis Thomson

"Thomson offers a painstaking analysis of rights...[She] then works from...the right to bodily integrity...to establish the contours of rights to liberty, rights arising out of promises, and more general property rights...This is a wonderful, deep, and engaging book. It surely deserves to become, as it surely will become, the origin of much important discussion of ideas about rights."

—Mark Tushnet, *Reviews of Politics*

\$16.95 paper

## **Forbidden Grounds**

The Case against Employment Discrimination Laws

Richard A. Epstein

*Forbidden Grounds* covers not only laws on racial discrimination but also sex discrimination, age discrimination and disability discrimination laws. Never has the whole range of antidiscrimination laws been subjected to such a thorough and penetrating critique. No one who writes on this subject again can be taken seriously if he does not confront the analysis presented here by Epstein."

—Thomas Sowell, *Forbes*

\$39.95 cloth

## **The Medical Triangle**

Physicians, Politicians, and the Public

Eli Ginzberg

"If anyone can make sense of the mammoth American health system and explain it to a layperson, it is Eli Ginzberg...Unlike so many experts pronouncing on the subject today, though, he has never been a captive of a particular ideology...[Here he] debunks the many myths and contradictions that so often distort the public debate on health policy."

—*New York Times Book Review*

\$14.95 paper

## **Sexual Science and the Law**

Richard Green

The law has much to say about sexual behavior, but what it says is rarely influenced by the findings of social science research over recent decades. This book focuses for the first time on the dynamic interplay between sexual science and legal decision-making. Reflecting the author's wide experience as a respected sex researcher, expert witness, and lawyer, this book provides valuable insights into some of the most controversial social and sexual topics of our time and how the work of sexual science could bring about a transformation in jurisprudence.

\$35.00 cloth

## **AIDS in the World**

Jonathan Mann, Daniel J. M.

Tarantola, and Thomas W. Netter,

Editors

No single book tracks, on an annual basis, the evolution of the pandemic, its effects, and the worldwide response. To fill this gap, Jonathan Mann, founding director of the World Health Organization's Global Program on AIDS and currently director of the International AIDS Center at Harvard University, and a team of experts have produced an unprecedented document for our time. *AIDS in the World* synthesizes the best available information and thinking about AIDS into a volume that is destined to become a landmark publication.

*A publication of the*

*Global AIDS Policy Coalition*

.\$34.95 cloth/\$15.95 paper

**Harvard  
University  
Press**

Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 495-2480

# POLICY AND POLITICS

**P**olicy and Politics is the quarterly international journal which provides a real insight into the origins, implementation and impact of public policy.

**P**olicy and Politics combines scholarly analysis with a multi-disciplinary approach and is focusing increasingly on European and international policy debates.

**P**olicy and Politics is published by SAUS at the University of Bristol, a department noted for its commitment to bridging the gap between theory and practice in the development and analysis of policy.

**P**olicy and Politics features in-depth articles on policy topics including employment, education, health, housing, social and urban policy as well as analysing the key themes of: equity and equality, efficiency and effectiveness, monitoring and evaluation, implementation and impact.

	<i>UK and Europe</i>	<i>Rest of World</i>
<i>Institutions</i>	<i>£62.00</i>	<i>£64.00</i>
<i>Agency subscriptions for institutions</i>	<i>£56.00</i>	<i>£58.00</i>
<i>Individuals</i>	<i>£24.00</i>	<i>£27.00</i>
<i>One issue Individuals</i>	<i>£16.00 £7.00</i>	<i>£16.50 £7.50</i>

*Back issues are available from the publications department.*

*Policy and Politics is published in January, April, July and October.*

*Inspection copies are available upon request.*

**Editor:** Paul Burton • **Abstracts Editor:** Kevin Doogan • **Business Manager:** Julie Platt



UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

SCHOOL • FOR • ADVANCED • URBAN • STUDIES

Rodney Lodge • Grange Road • Bristol • BS8 4EA • Tel: 0272 741117 • Fax: 0272 737308

## NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

### GUIDELINES

The distinctive readership of the *Journal*, cutting across academic disciplines and national boundaries, makes the following points of particular importance to contributors.

\*Whatever the specific subject matter, the relevance of conclusions to a broad understanding of policymaking should be made explicit.

\*Whatever the national setting, the extent to which conclusions are generalizable to many nations should be explicitly discussed.

\*Each article should show an awareness of the constraints that public institutions place upon policymaking.

\*Jargon should be avoided; technical terms not widely understood should be clearly defined; and the conclusions of statistical analyses should be set out in prose, as well as being supported by quantitative information in tables, footnotes and text as appropriate.

### PREPARATION OF MANUSCRIPT

The entire manuscript, including footnotes and references, should be typed double-spaced on one side only of A4 size paper, with a left-hand margin of at least 1¼ inches (4½ cm). Manuscript pages should be numbered consecutively.

The title of the article and the author's name and address should be typed on a separate page at the beginning of the article.

The second page should contain an abstract of not more than 150 words and the title of the article, but *not* the author's name.

Tables and Figures should be numbered consecutively in separate series. Each table or figure should be typed or drawn on a separate sheet. Every table or figure should have a title or caption and at least one reference in the text to indicate its approximate location.

### STYLE

*Spelling, capitalization and punctuation* should be consistent within each article. Detailed advice on all matters of style is contained in Judith Butcher's book, *Copyediting*, Cambridge University Press (1975).

*Headings* of not more than two grades should be used and they should be typed on separate lines.

*Numbered footnotes* should be avoided; citation of references in the text is the norm. If there are a few points that require discussion in the article but not in the body of the text, numbered footnotes may be used. They may also be useful for technical details, e.g. statistical points that would interrupt the flow of the text. Numbered footnotes should be typed consecutively, double-spaced, at the end of the paper, starting on a new page.

*References to publications* should be placed in the text. Examples of correct styling for biblio-

graphic citation where the author's name is mentioned in the text are Alford (1975), Biller (1976, 196-7), May and Wildavsky (1978), Ostrom, Parks and Whitaker (1978) and subsequently Ostrom *et al.* (1978).

At the end of the paper, all references should be consolidated in a single alphabetical list starting on a new page. Authors are particularly requested to verify that each text reference appears in the list, and vice versa. In addition to author(s) surname and first name(s) or initial(s), and the title of the book or article, references to books should *always* include the city of publication and publisher, and for journal articles the volume and part number. For example:

Alford, R. (1975) *Health Care Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Biller, R. (1976) On tolerating policy and organizational termination: some design considerations, *Policy Sciences*, 7, 2, 133-49.

Campbell, D. (1971) Reforms as experiments. In F. Caro (ed.), *Readings in Evaluation Research*. New York: Russell Sage.

May, J. and A. Wildavsky (eds.) (1978) *The Policy Cycle*, Beverly Hills: Sage.

### SUBMISSION

Please submit the original manuscript *plus* three copies to: Professor Richard Rose, *Journal of Public Policy*, Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, Livingstone Tower, Glasgow, G1 1XH, Scotland.

### COPYEDITING AND PROOF-READING

The editor and publishers reserve the right to copyedit and proof all items accepted for publication. Authors will review their copyedited manuscripts only if substantial changes have been made. Manuscripts which do not conform to the requirements about style and format may be returned for retyping.

Page proofs of articles will be sent to authors for correction of typographical errors only. Authors must notify the editorial office of any corrections within one week of receipt or approval will be assumed.

Submission of an article or other item implies that it has not been published or accepted for publication elsewhere. Authors are responsible for obtaining written permission to publish material for which they do not own the copyright. Contributors of material accepted for publication will be asked to assign their copyrights to Cambridge University Press.

Each author will receive 50 offprints of his article without charge. Additional copies may be purchased if ordered at proof stage.

The *Journal of Public Policy* is sponsored by the Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde

## ARTICLES

- 301 WOLFGANG STREECK  
National Diversity, Regime Competition and Institutional Deadlock:  
Problems in Forming a European Industrial Relations System
- 331 PETER J. MAY  
Policy Learning and Failure
- 355 NIKOLAOS ZAHARIADIS  
To Sell or Not to Sell? Telecommunications Policy in Britain and France
- 377 PAVLE SICHERL  
Integrating Comparisons Across Time and Space: Methodology and  
Applications to Disparities within Yugoslavia

## 405 BOOK REVIEWS

Amartya Sen, *Equality Reexamined* (Aaron Wildavsky) 405–406; Benjamin I. Page and Robert Y. Shapiro, *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in American Policy Preferences* (Ian McAllister) 406–407; Alex Bryson and John Jacobs, *Policing the Workshy: Benefit Controls, the Labour Market and the Unemployed* (Judith Marquand) 407–409; Jon Elster, *Local Justice: How Institutions Allocate Scarce Goods and Necessary Burdens* (Jim Bulpitt) 409–410

© Cambridge University Press 1992

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP  
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA  
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

Typeset by Wyvern Typesetting Ltd, Bristol

Printed in the United Kingdom by Universities Press, Belfast