
The Welfare "Mix" on the Way to Welfare Universalism

Socialist and Non-Socialist Institutional Regimes

ZDENĚK KONOPÁSEK*

The Institute of Social and Political Sciences, Charles University, Prague

Abstract: This paper is an attempt at theorizing on institutional welfare state regimes. It is argued that now, as a consequence of the coming "chaotic" post-modern era, a simultaneous growth of mass character and individualized social lives will occur, once modern welfare institutional regimes cease to be appropriate "representations" of most urgent welfare conflicts. The way to institutional universalism has become complicated. Social security claims based on the status of a "citizen" on the one hand and on the status of an "employee" on the other hand need to be reconciled in a way. Two fundamental ways of mixing these two statuses and related technologies (social assistance and social insurance principles) - i.e. two ways of keeping the universal character of basic social security schemes - are discussed.

Czech Sociological Review, 1993, Vol. 1 (No. 1: 91-103)

Perhaps it is not by chance that state socialism in Central and Eastern Europe has fallen just in the period of "new uncertainty" for welfare states in the West. It seems socialism has its own "global history" and this history is related to the history of industrialization. But while the crisis of the industrial institutional regime in the West is something which is concerned to particular institutional systems (and welfare schemes are probably those of the most important examples), then in communist Europe the societal instrumentality was affected by this crisis as a whole.

i.

Peter Abrahamson [1989] labels the welfare state form of today as a time of "new uncertainty". He also mentions other definitions correlating to the debate about welfare in the eighties which describe, basically, the same phenomenon: "the new dis-transparency", "the new interminability", "non-synchronism", and generally, "post-modernism" (see also [Williams 1992]). What does this mean?

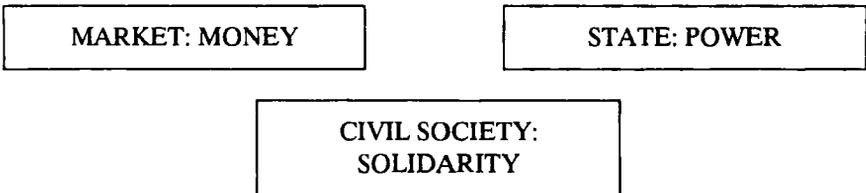
The vision of the linear development of society, particularly of the welfare state, is being discredited [Flora 1986]. The welfare state is not regarded merely as a "problem solver" anymore - it has become a "problem creator" as well (see [Heidenheimer, Hecl, Adams 1990]). Doubt is cast upon traditional labour-

*) Direct all correspondence to Zdeněk Konopásek, Institute of Social and Political Sciences of the Charles University, Celetná 20, 116 36 Praha 1, Czech Republic. Phone: + 42 2 22 84 41, ext. 324, 317, fax: + 42 2 26 22 75.

A revised part of the study "Institutionalizing Welfare: Two Ways to Universality" (1992, I.S.P.S., Charles University) - prepared for the conference *Social Protection for Countries in Transition from Planned to Market Economy*, Szeged, Hungary, October 7-11, 1992, and the conference *National Welfare States and European Integration*, Mannheim, Germany, November 22-26, 1992.

market views [Boje 1990] and the role of the labour market in constituting welfare institutions. The same can be said about the view of the state and its role. Instead of a "welfare state", we often now talk about "welfare society" [Wiman 1987]. Each welfare regime offers its own concept of welfare citizenship, i.e. the concept of access to participation in community life or in the state [Taylor-Gooby 1991]. Discussions are being held about the harmonization between the public and the private sectors [Olsson 1988; Kangas, Palme 1990, 1991; Ireland 1990], the layman and professional principles and the participative and paternalistic principles [Titterton 1992]. The relativist principle of justice and absolute samaritan principle of the welfare state are also discussed [Pemberton 1990]. The citizen's rights concept is balanced by the citizen's responsibility principle - as introduced by the New Right and discussed by many others (see e.g. [Piachaud 1991]). The ambitious New Right has been discovered as, in fact, the "old" one [Taylor-Gooby 1989]. The New Left is criticized for being too "new", i.e. disloyal to the "good old" statist ideals [De Deken 1992]. The fall of socialism in Central and Eastern Europe only crowned this "uncertainty" and added to the general doubts about established concepts.

De-bureaucratization, pluralization, de-centralization, privatization, flexibility, diversity, complexity, reciprocity, subsidiarity (as a hierarchically ordered solidarity) are becoming the mottoes of the day at the same time as social citizenship, harmonization, universality (see [Abrahamson 1989; Flora 1990; Olsson 1988; Spicker 1991; Stoesz 1989; Williams 1992] and many others). A kind of "welfare mix" comes out victorious: everything is permitted, or rather recommended - the best solution is to pick a piece from every system. The evolution is based on a maximal combination of different sides of the issues. It is no wonder the models of different welfare regimes resemble each other more and more, as suggested by many people. Abrahamson [1991] draws attention to the contraction of the welfare triangle:



[Abrahamson 1991]

These three concepts are correlating more and more closely with regards to welfare, bringing the European "North", "South", "East" and "West" closer together. In a similar way the "three worlds of welfare capitalism" by Esping-Andersen [1990] are brought closer together. The concepts of social insurance (the conservative "German" model), of social assistance (the "U.S." liberally residual model) and of social democracy (the "Swedish" universal model) are increasingly combined [Esping-Andersen, Micklewright 1991].

If that is not enough, in the framework of such a great "confusion" Europe also gets "Americanized" at the same time as a "Brazilianization" of the U.S. social structure can be seen stemming from its welfare policy. In essence this means that a totally unaware Europe gets "Americanization" the Latin way [Navarro 1987]. West-European countries suddenly become disturbed when they realize that outside of the "West to East" export there is also a kind of "East to West" invasion and that the "colonialization" goes both ways. When the representatives of E.C. countries got together, two years before the final market unification, to set down basic principles for future social policy in Europe, the result was hesitancy over a lack of ideas [Pieters 1991] - what a nice example of post-industrialization breaking down Great Ideas! What lies behind the pressures that induce such an evolution?

ii.

Our once standardized industrial society has developed step-by-step such "technologies" so that a wide array of individual variations has become comparatively "cheap" and possible. A new incongruence of life-styles and individual destinies has come into mass practice and cloaked such differences between people that can be defined in terms of abstract "absolutely relative" states (institutionalized positions, situations or stages). In this way, people are becoming rather "relatively absolute"; the relativity by which the institutions are related to the world-life gradually becomes more refined and complicated.

In terms of social structure, the situation has been described as "fragmentation of stratification" [Clark, Lipset 1991]. Emphasis is now placed on the perspective of an individualized life-course projection ([Alan 1989; Kohli 1986; Rowland 1991] and others). Hugues de Jouvenel [1988] put it concisely when he said:

...we are witnessing a rapid diversification of forms and status of jobs, and a no less rapid diversification of family models, and, to complicate things, each individual during his or her lifetime will increasingly often change jobs, and family models.

Such a post-industrial reality understandably creates a crisis for the industrial institutional regime. The institutional road to universality has become complicated.

What is the matter then in contemporary societies?

- 1) We live more and more in an "abstract" way; we use more and more impersonal institutions. What I have in mind, among other, things are various artificial "languages", formalized labour and commodity market systems, mass media, or just social security schemes. These institutions are, at least formally, more and more universally accessible, irrespective of age, sex, family type, race, etc.
- 2) We live increasingly in a "cheaper" way, too. It is more and more inexpensive to manage our own destiny: it is increasingly easier to divorce or to have children out of marriage, or to keep a regular sexual life and, at the same time, not have children at all, or to marry twice or three-times. It is increasingly easier to apply for some educational degree even after 50 years of age or, even as a child, to gain, in principle, universal access to various information and to the patterns of communication uncontrolled by parents. People, nearly "without notice", control

their life styles more and more in such a way that their life courses are more and more individualized and varied in regard to content, succession order and timing of individual situations.

3) However, perhaps most importantly, all this is happening simultaneously: we are moving personally, "privately", more and more freely - toward an impersonal universality (to the universality of institutes and institutions of modern societies). We are moving (in a certain sense more and more personalized within the time of our private lives) toward the impersonality of "states" and measures we are gauged, rewarded, protected and also "socially secured" as "children", "parents", "women", "men", "employees", "citizens", "poor" or "rich" [Konopásek et al. 1992]. Compared with the heydays of industrialism, we have stronger claims on the specificity of our way of life; we want to do and to live as we, personally, like. At the same time, however, we ask the world to hold together thanks to the cheapest, simplest, universally accessible and non-discriminative institutions. The question of "universality" of institutions is approached in this sense: how to make all of us, in our variability and diversity, equal before the institutions but - note! - only according to them.

iii.

In a society starting to wrench out of the standardized parameters of industrial expansion, both basic statuses of "citizen" and "employee" (as main "access-statuses" to, or "claim-bases" for the basic social security schemes) start to erode under the pressure of the contradictions mentioned above. A traditional institutional regime built on citizenship or, on the other side, on formal participation in the labour market have ceased to be sufficient for the demands for variable and flexible criteria:

- 1) Quite a number of people get in a situation during their lives, mostly temporarily, when they are excluded from the status of an "employee", either formally or informally, against their will or on purpose. While it is often difficult to predict when exactly, quite a number of people get, sometimes as "employees", in a weakened, disadvantageous position, where they are excluded from the universality of claims, following from this status. (Brose [1989], for instance, provides a nice analysis of some employment-deviations that can no longer be called "marginal".)
- 2) On the other hand, it is difficult to relate the status of a "citizen" to an individualized project like one's life course. The "citizen" has no unique career, unlike the "employee". "Citizen" inevitably remains an absolutely-relative category. Only the life career of the "employee" can bring a "private" time dimension into the basic institutional concept of a beneficiary.

I would like to emphasize once more that, in this sense, today both statuses fail to a certain degree. Both the "employee" and the "citizen" status are inadequate, though many western specialists in the welfare field often place so much hope in the latter concept ([Balbo 1990; Dahrendorf 1988, 1990; De Deken 1992; Lister 1990], generally all followers of "basic income", Social Democrat social policy experts etc.). Nevertheless, these same authors usually realize very well how both statuses

are interconnected and bound together genealogically and structurally. Their interdependence is well-demonstrated e.g. in the recent short paper on market and democracy by Myles [1990].

iv.

On the other hand, however, it seems as if the need for both status-bases is increasingly urgent.

1) In accordance with an increasing control over their life courses and styles, people put greater stress on such aspects of social security schemes which, above all, help to keep the income standard they are used to individually. The source of this kind of standard is generally the status of a participant in the labour market - as an "employee". Social security then works as a public service that helps individuals and their families to control the arbitrariness of the course of events. The technological principles of "social insurance/earnings related" benefits correspond to this dimension.

2) Besides, it is also necessary to ensure some basic minimal standard for all. The source of this kind of standard is generally the status of "citizen". In such a case, "social assistance/means-tested" ("need" related) benefits represent the most used technological principle - within E.C. countries it is usually G.M.I.

According to Jallade [1990], one way to a new legitimacy for the welfare state consists of the technological reconciliation of just these two requirements. And, the way to such a reconciliation is often seen in various forms of "mixing" both fundamental claim-bases of welfare redistribution and corresponding criteria related to "private standards" on the one hand or to "public minima" on the other.

v.

The combination of these basic criteria is not something new, of course. When assessing someone's situation within an everyday-life perspective, we usually consider both of these "dimensions of poverty" (i.e. both deprivation in relation to a previous "private standard" and to the generally recognized "public minimum") spontaneously together, as one. Sometimes the former prevails, sometimes the latter; nevertheless, we usually do not strictly distinguish, in a purely abstract way, one from another. In the same way as the two basic points of view that relate to these abstract dimensions cross in everyday perception, they also cross and merge to a certain level even within traditional benefit schemes. "Social insurance" often takes some features of "social assistance". Dealing with a typology of social security benefits Berghman [1991] writes:

Because of social, solidaristic aims, (social insurance type, in principle a contribution, or earnings related - Z. K.) benefits are to some extent made subject to guaranteed minimum levels and to upper ceilings and are calculated in ways that are partially or entirely independent of contribution levels and records and of the individual or categorical risk.

This way the social insurance benefits are also partly related to ensuring some target state, some "purpose" (accordingly to Hayek's [1973] distinction between the principle- and purposefulness-based criteria). In other words, at the same time as

the principle "for the reason that..." functions, the principle "in order to..." is considered as well. "Social assistance", on the other hand, sometimes has a tendency to become similar to an individualized contingency-based aid of the social insurance type.

Now, the "mixing" of both criteria is becoming an explicit requirement and even a hope for the future. At each particular step, an "employee" should always be simultaneously and immediately secured, at least partly, even as a "citizen" and vice versa.

vi.

The concept of "universal" (e.g. [Esping-Andersen, Micklewright 1991]), or "demogrant" type [Berghman 1991] benefits represents one of the definitely formed results of this trend. This type of benefit embodies the total confusion of both already-defined traditional types. It is now commonly mentioned with the benefits of the social assistance type and the social insurance type. As such, it is generally accepted as a desirable way to universality and it represents one of the main characteristics of the Social Democrat welfare model. The character of the "universal" benefit is designated as a "combination" of social assistance and social insurance principles, as Berghman [1991], for example, writes:

In schemes of the demogrant type a combination of the insurance and assistance approach is worked out. Financed by public money, as social assistance schemes are, schemes of this type grant benefits when a particular social contingency occurs. Yet, in line with what happens in social insurance schemes no testing of need, c.q. of income or means, takes place. This particular combination accounts for the fact that demogranters aim at a minimum level of protection, are flat rate and are set up for social contingencies the victims of which beyond all doubt are considered to be deserving...

Thus, when providing "universal" benefits neither the situation of the total family income in relation to the "public minimum" concept nor the changes within the "private standard" of the family are directly taken into account. Again, the final consequence is that a "universal" benefit is given as if "for the reason that (...a contingency occurred and the situation worsened)" but at the same time "in order to (...make the situation better)". They are neither means-test-based nor "targeted" in the sense of social insurance. The two basic traditional criterial perspectives are mixed, confused.

Simply, certain "contingencies" in themselves are taken as starting points and declared as universal situations of "need", without any actual regard to whether a standard of this or that type is really endangered. The principle behind this benefit type is that every citizen who gets in a certain situation will receive a unified, flat-rate benefit, regardless of anything else. It is simply supposed that certain contingencies lead to endangering the income situation.

The inadequacy of such an approach for contemporary societies lies in the above-mentioned fact: people form their life course projects more and more individually, making it less and less adequate to use overall presuppositions for

answering questions as: "what will become of the family standard of living if he/she...?"

An interesting point is that such "mixing" of both statuses strengthens even more their inherent individualistic logic, or even better, does not weaken it. How does this come about? Generally, there are two possibilities of how to, at least partly, involve the "family" concept in formulating the principal "addressee" of basic social security benefit schemes and in that way lower their atomizing effect:

- 1) the "family" can be seen as a "situation set of citizens" - when regarding the "public minimum" dimension of need, as in the case of G.M.I.
- 2) When regarding the need for stabilization of the "private standard", i.e. in the case of social insurance technology, the "family" can be seen as a "set of individual life courses", and then, each of the life courses involved can separately and independently represent a "family" in all particular cases of family income deprivation.

However, considering the "addressee" concept with regard to the "universal" (demogrant) type of benefit, neither the former nor the latter view of the family can strictly be taken into account. What remains as a criterion basis is a sole individual and his or her atomized present situation. Thus, not only the weaker "states" or people's "situations" are discriminated against but also everything that does not fit into the industrial logic "of the attack against the concept of indivisibility" [Toffler 1981]. Hence, everything that resists the logic of an absolutely-relative individual - "industrial man".

It should be emphasized that, in practice, all fixed-minimum components of social insurance (in principle, earnings-related) generally benefits work in a very similar way as "pure" demogrant-type benefits. Both these "minimums" and demogrant benefits are guaranteed to all, or nearly all, on the same level, regardless of what receiver's present "private standard" is. On the other hand, neither is the household/family-unit perspective of assessing "need" taken into account.

vii.

In contrast to these attempts at "mixing" the "citizen" and "employee" bases together in constructing particular benefits, another tendency is evident: the tendency to make clear-cut and to define more precisely the two statuses and relating technological principles. As an example, we can use not only the explicit emancipation of the "citizen" status within current social security conceptions, or, in Europe the almost generally introduced scheme of Guaranteed Minimum Income (see [Abrahamson 1991]). One can also look, on the other hand, at an expansion of private social insurance schemes as a reaction to the unwillingness and inability of the public sector to take clients' personal income standards into account [Esping-Andersen, Micklewright 1991]. There is no doubt that such a parallel crystallization of both statuses is, in its final general effects, a sort of "welfare-mixing" as well.

Hence, the situation is very ambiguous. As one can notice, two peculiarly contradictory ways to solve the described institutional crisis appear: one aims for a new type of benefit (within the old systems), the other for a new type of benefit system using clear-cut traditional forms of benefits. Social insurance criteria and social assistance criteria are becoming in this sense more and more separate from each other, and thus more and more usable as counterparts. They can act as if within only one two-component system without losing their essence. In other words: you have a "welfare mix" which is embodied in every particular tool on the one hand, versus a "welfare mix" as an instrumental system. Taking this into consideration, not all mixes are alike. The former case represents a merger and thus an inner destruction and emptying of both "citizenship" and "employment" bases and corresponding technologies within the construction of a single benefit, establishing a revolutionary new claim-basis. The latter represents a precise distinguishing between both traditional principles and the clarity of their outlines, i.e. a new "parallel" usage.

"Welfare mix" has been usually perceived only in terms of a diversification of social policy subjects, i.e. in terms of state vs. market vs. voluntary sectors, or in terms of combining different political concepts [Evers, Wintersberger 1990]. This paper is an attempt, however, to understand it more generally as a conflict of various bases of universality. Such a conflict involves:

- a) two basic, "relative", institutional bases (the status of an "employee" and the status of a "citizen"), i.e. those that interconnect people impersonally, and indirectly, and differ first of all in the temporal perspective they imply. (This part of the conflict is the actual subject of my paper.),
- b) the "absolute", non-institutional base (the personal dimension of one's life-world) that interconnects people directly and personally by means of a universal understanding of the "first person singular" experience.

With welfare, the "personal" dimension is embodied in such actors as self-help groups, voluntary associations, local initiatives, and in such principles as "participation", "subsidiarity" etc.

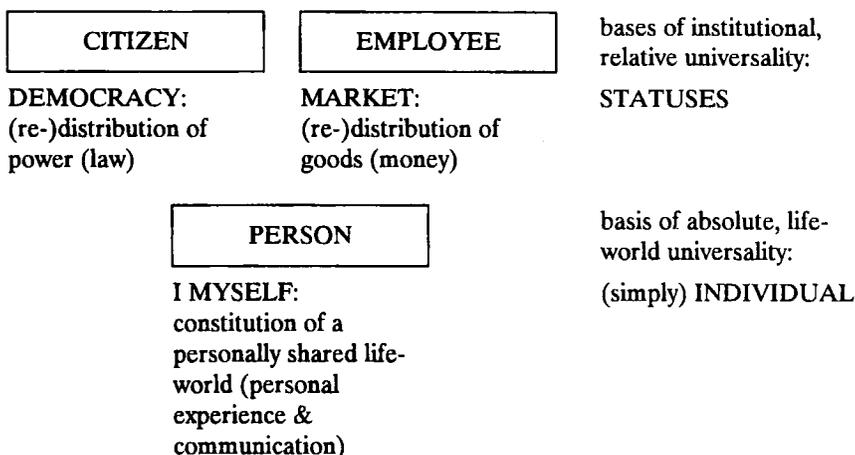
viii.

In this sense, one can consider as a "welfare-mix" even some current processes taking place within ("inside") the public social security schemes (and not only, as so far, the processes "outside", "around" the public sphere). As we have shown, this concerns, above all, the increasing influence of the concept of so-called "universal" benefits.

This paper, however, suggests simultaneously another conclusion. All forms of the "welfare-mix" mentioned here can be interpreted as a reaction of the welfare regimes to the new features in social reality. And it is "the way to universality" that we have found as a main frame of reference for such a reaction. In order to keep the universal character of social security provisions even under developing "post-modern" conditions, two fundamental streams of welfare mixing have emerged:

- one is represented by an effort to create a new claim-basis, so called "social citizenship" which is a sort of mutation of the two traditional statuses "employee" and "citizen". In this case, the technologies such as "universal" benefits, basic income or two-tiers pensions are discussed;
- the other is represented by the processes aiming, in fact, at a renaissance and new ways of using the traditional claim-bases. In this respect, the technologies such as private insurance schemes, free from relations to the general "public" standards, and the GMI scheme, free from earnings-related criteria and concerned exclusively with the insurance of "public minimums", are mentioned.

Figure 1. The welfare mix as a "mix" of three bases of universality



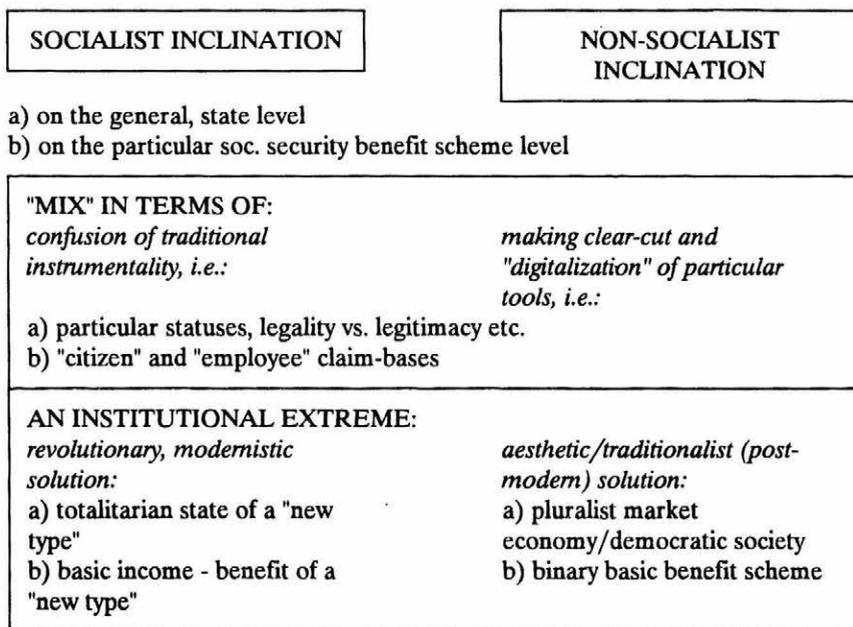
Therefore, we have discovered *two* fundamental technological modes of institutional welfare universality (and not, as generally thought, only one represented by "Social Democratic" universalism). All welfare-mix processes identified here aim at the maintenance of welfare universalism in the contemporary changing world and have some differences.

Social democratic, "monolithic" universalism is based on the "welfare-mix" as a total mixture and confusion of traditional institutional forms. What is of particular interest with relation to such a characteristic is the fact that East/Central-European State-socialism can be described in very similar terms. It has been represented by a complete destruction of impersonal instrumentality. "Employee" and "citizen" were a tautology under totalitarian Socialist logic. The difference between totalitarian technologies of State Socialism and technologies of "Scandinavian" social security universalism consists only of different system-hierarchical levels. While speaking about "limited revolution" in the case of "mixed" social democratic social security benefit models, State Socialism can be considered as "unlimited revolutionary mixing".

On the contrary, there is also a sort of "liberal/conservative welfare-mixing", a sort of "non-socialist" way to universality. It is based on a renaissance of

traditional social security claim-bases and their parallel, mutually independent usage. This actually comes to reality not only through the traditional "welfare-mix" concept (i.e. through parallel work of several welfare sectors), but it can also take place even within one precisely instrumental two-level ("binary") public benefit scheme (a detailed version of such a basic social security benefit scheme is presented by Konopásek [1992]).

Figure 2. On the way to institutional universality: certainly a "mix" - but of what kind?



Certainly, Social Democratic tendencies in welfare instrumentation do not directly represent a classical totalitarian, state-socialist approach. Social Democratic social security concepts are certainly not "bad". They are inevitably part of considering and creating welfare in Europe. However, in a certain sense, state socialism is not "bad" either. Nothing is entirely "bad". And, however it is unpleasant for us today, state socialism has even been an organic part of the whole European story.

What I have only done here is propose an unusual dimension for describing welfare regimes (given by two fundamental modes, currently inevitable, of welfare mixing) and found some formal (technological) similarities between the institutional regimes of the Social Democrat benefit model and East-European State Socialism of the XXth century. Maybe, socialist technologies limited to a clearly defined range of institutional schemes, such as social security, can be benign. Maybe not.

ix.

The presented paper is in fact a reaction to the question: what can be done with a relative concept of social problems in a situation where the "invasive", initially simple course and one-dimensional social relativity (as a corner-stone on the way to institutional universality during the period of massive industrialization) gradually turns refined and complicated, constituting no longer an "interventional" but rather "integral" element of culture? What should one do with institutions that were built on a simple and overall supposition that there is no problem in inter-measuring people when considering each of them to be "absolutely-relative"?

It has been shown that these questions are, in fact, questions related to the phenomena called "welfare mix" and "new uncertainty", both observed generally in the field. To sum up, it seems that it is only the sharpening of contradictions between the two "eroding" industrial types of institutionalized claims on welfare that is behind the current trend toward the various forms of "welfare mix". And, especially the two controversial ideal modes of the "mixing" lay the groundwork for a "new uncertainty" in discussions about welfare regimes.

ZDENĚK KONOPÁSEK is a research fellow at the Institute of Social and Political Sciences, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University, Prague. He is currently active in two fields of social research - biographical sociology and sociology of the welfare state: he often interconnects them. As regards the topic of the welfare state, he is now working on a theory of "institutional regimes" as a key concept of his doctoral thesis *Welfare State Aesthetics*, which is now in preparation.

References

- Abrahamson, P. 1989. *Postmodern Welfares: Market, State and Civil Society Towards Year 2000*. Research Rep. No. 6/1989. Inst. of Economics and Planning, RUC.
- Abrahamson, P. 1991. "Welfare and Poverty in the Europe of the 1990's: Social Progress or Social Dumping?" *International J. of Health Services* 21: 1991.
- Alan, J. 1989. *Etapy života očima sociologie* (Stages of Life in the Sociological View). Praha: Panorama.
- Balbo, L. 1990. *Strategy of Social Citizenship*. Paper prepared for the First All-European Dialogue on Social Policies, Helsinki, March 1990.
- Berghman, J. 1991. "Basic Concepts of Social Security." In *Social Security in Europe*, ed. by D. Pieters. Maklu & Bruylant.
- Boje, T. 1990. *Flexibility and Fragmentation in the Labour Market (Recent Trends in the Structuring of Unemployment and Industrial Relations)*. Research Rep. No. 6/1990, Inst. of Economics and Planning, RUC.
- Brose, H. G. 1989. "Coping with Instability - The Emergence of New Biographical Patterns." *Life Stories* 5: 3-26.
- Clark, T. N., S. M. Lipset 1991. "Are Social Classes Dying?" *International Sociology* 6: 397-410.
- Dahrendorf, R. 1988. *The Modern Social Conflict*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Dahrendorf, R. 1990. *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe*. London: Chatto & Windus.
- De Deken, J. J. 1992. "Social Policy and the Politics of Solidarity: Are There Any Prospects for Social Democracy in East-Central Europe? Some Reflections with Particular

- Reference to Czechoslovakia." In *Social Democracy in East-Central Europe*, ed. by M. Waller, B. Coppieters, K. Deschonwer. London: Frank Cass (forthcoming).
- Esping-Andersen, G. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Esping-Andersen, G., J. Micklewright 1991. "Welfare State Models in OECD Countries: An Analysis for the Debate in Eastern Europe." In *Children and the Transition to the Market Economy*, G. A. Cornia, S. Sipos. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Evers, A., H. Wintersberger (eds.) 1990. *Shifts in the Welfare Mix - Their Impact on Work, Social Services and Welfare Policies*. Eurosocal, Campus/Westview.
- Flora, P. (ed.) 1986. *Growth to Limits: The Western Welfare States Since World War II, Vol. I*. New York: De Gruyter.
- Flora, P. 1990. *The European Welfare States and European Integration. Some Lessons from the Theory of European State and Nation-Building*. Paper for the World Congress of Sociology in Madrid, Spain, July 1990.
- Hayek, F. A. 1973. *Law, Legislation and Liberty*. London: Routledge Kegan Paul.
- Heidenheimer, A. J., H. Hecl, C. T. Adams 1990. *Comparative Public Policy - The Politics of Social Choice in America, Europe and Japan*. New York: St. Martin's Press (3rd ed.).
- Ireland, N. J. 1990. "The Mix of Social and Private Provision of Goods and Services." *Journal of Public Economics* 43: 201-219.
- Jallade, J. P. 1990. *Issues Facing Social Security Systems in Western Europe*. Paris: European Institute of Education and Social Policy.
- Jouvenel, H. de 1988. "Europe at the Dawn of the Third Millennium. A Synthesis of the Main Trends." *Futures* 20: 505-518.
- Kangas, O., J. Palme 1990. "Public and Private Pensions: The Scandinavian Countries in a Comparative Perspective." In *Welfare State Regimes*, ed. by J. E. Kolberg. New York: M. E. Sharpe.
- Kangas, O., J. Palme 1991. "Statism Eroded? Labour Market Benefits and the Challenges to the Scandinavian Welfare States." In *The Welfare Trends*, ed. by R. Erikson, E. J. Hansen, S. Ringen, H. Uusitalo. New York: Sharpe.
- Kohli, M. 1986. "The World we Forgot: A Historical Review of the Life Course." In *Later Life: The Social Psychology of Aging*, ed. by V. W. Marshall. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Konopásek, Z. et al. 1992. *Basic "Family Policy" Benefit System (With Special Regards to the Benefits Related to Childhood and Parenthood)*. Prague: Research Institute of Labour and Social Affairs.
- Lister, R. 1990. "Women, Economic Dependency and Citizenship." *Journal of Social Policy* 19: 445-467.
- Myles, J. 1990. *Markets and Welfare States*. Paper prepared for the First All-European Dialogue on Social Policies, Helsinki, March 1990.
- Navarro, V. 1987. "The Welfare State and Its Distributive Effect: Part of the Problem or Part of the Solution?" *Intern. Journal of Health Services* 17: 543-566.
- O'Connor, J. S. 1990. *Gender, Class and Citizenship in the Comparative Analysis of Welfare States*. Paper presented at ISA Congress, Madrid, July 1990.
- Olsson, S. E. 1988. "Decentralization and Privatization: Strategies Against a Welfare Backlash in Sweden." In *Testing the Limits of Social Welfare: International Perspectives on Policy Changes in Nine Countries*, ed. by R. Morris. Hanover & London: Univ. Press of New England.

- Pemberton, A. 1990. "Rescuing the Good Samaritan - An Exposition and a Defence of the Samaritan Principle in the Welfare State." *Journal of Social Policy* 19: 281-298.
- Piachaud, D. 1991. "Revitalising Social Policy." *The Political Quarterly* 62: 204-224.
- Pieters, D. 1991. *Future Perspectives of Social Policy in E.C.* Lecture in the Roskilde Univ. Centre, Denmark, April 1991.
- Rowland, D. T. 1991. "Family Diversity and the Life Cycle." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 22: 1-14.
- Spicker, P. 1991. "The Principle of Subsidiarity and Social Policy of the European Community." *Journal of European Social Policy* 1: 3-14.
- Stoesz, D. 1989. "A New Paradigm for Social Welfare." *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 16: 127-150.
- Taylor-Gooby, P. 1989. "Welfare, Hierarchy and the 'New Right': The Impact of Social Policy Changes in Britain 1979-89." *Int. Sociology* 4: 431-446.
- Taylor-Gooby, P. 1991. "Welfare State Regimes and Welfare Citizenship." *Journal of European Social Policy* 1: 93-105.
- Titterton, M. 1992. "Managing Threats to Welfare: The Search for a New Paradigm of Welfare." *Journal of Social Policy* 21: 1-23.
- Toffler, A. 1981. *The Third Wave*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Williams, F. 1992. "Somewhere Over the Rainbow: Universality and Diversity in Social Policy." In *Social Policy Review 1991-2*, ed. by N. Manning, R. Page. Canterbury: SPA.
- Wiman, R. 1987. *From the Welfare State to a Welfare Society*. Helsinki: National Board of Social Welfare.

Clip Here

Name: _____

Institution: _____

Address: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

The **Sociologický časopis** (The Sociological Review) comes out quarterly with each issue containing around 144 pages of articles, reports on sociological research, methodological information, reviews of current titles, local news and information and debates and responses to recent articles. Each article has an abstract and summary in English.

Yearly subscriptions cost \$ 65 (or 100 DM) for institutions, \$ 44 (64 DM) for individuals, and \$ 25 (38.80 DM) for students.

The **Czech Sociological Review** offers around 144 pages of the most interesting articles about Czech society, problems of nationalism, new forms of inequality, political change, etc., selected from the pages of the **Sociologický časopis**, translated into English, twice a year.

Yearly subscriptions cost \$ 16 (24 DM) for institutions, \$ 10 (16 DM) for individuals, and \$ 6 (10 DM) for students, and are published by the Institute for Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague. Orders can be placed with:

Sociological Review
Jilská 1
110 00 Praha 1
Česká republika

Clip Here

I would like to subscribe to the:

Sociologický časopis (Sociological Review)	yes	no
Czech Sociological Review	yes	no
Both Sociologický časopis and Czech Sociological Review	yes	no