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**The Hegemony of Political Power underlying the Development of
Supra-State Institutions**

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Abstract

This diploma thesis attempts to provide a multi-disciplinary based framework to illustrate the underlying dynamics of the social structures which influence supra-state institutions via case studies in the operation of the European Union and the World Bank. The paper focuses on the role of the individual within the expansionary power of institutions in determining social structures. More precisely, this paper focuses on the hierarchy of powers and the activity within the negotiated creation of supra-state global institutions the influence of *epistemic communities* within the Triple Helix of industry, government, and knowledge sectors of society.

Abstrakt

Tato diplomová práce si klade za cíl poskytnout multidisciplinární náhled na porozumění komplexní dynamiky současného světa. Bude nahlíženo na dynamiku sociálních struktur, které přímo formují nadnárodní instituce – jako příklad nadnárodních institucí byla zvolena Evropská unie a Světová banka. Však zaměřuje především na roli jednotlivce uvnitř institucí, které determinují sociální strukturu. Orientuje se tedy nejen na hierarchii moci a proces tvorby nadnárodních institucí, ale zkoumá také roli a motivaci nadnárodních společností a národních států jako aktérů v tomto procesu. Tato diplomová práce se v neposlední řadě také snaží poukázat na skutečnost, že rozšiřování znalostí prostřednictvím vzdělávacích sítí a výzkumných center může sloužit jako příklad vzrůstajícího vlivu *epistemického společenství* v rámci tzv. triple helixu - průmyslu, vlády a akademického sektoru.

Klíčová slova

epistemického společenství, structuration, triple helix, supra-state instituty, social constructivism

Keywords

Epistemic Communities, Structuration, Triple Helix, Supra-State Institutions, Social Constructivism

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Declaration of Authorship

1. The author hereby declares that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.

2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.

3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

Prague

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An economic system does not arise spontaneously owing to the operation of an invisible hand and in the absence of the exercise of power. Rather, every economic system rests on a particular political order; its nature cannot be understood aside from politics.

- E. H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis: 1919-1939*

I. Introduction

Transnational theorists argue that with increasing globalized nation-states are “disaggregating”, which means, for example, that distinct parts of the government and other power centers of a society can pursue their own particular transnational interests often in conflict with other forces within their own nation regarding its national sovereignty. Regarding social structures and institutional systems of interconnected networks, the trans-nationalist actors believe that national and its respective transnational institutional hegemonic power can and should use their interpretative powers to promote the development of a global legal system.¹ Politics is primary in all topics of power distribution; “The disaggregation of the state creates opportunities for domestic institutions, particularly courts, to make common cause with their supranational counterparts against their fellow branches of government.”² Political coercion via the various instruments in which political power can manifest itself in the realm of international and transnational interactions.

The influence of American military and economic institutions in all its public, private, and corporate varieties is an unquestionable power explicitly and implicitly shaping the distribution of power which determines the specific decision making processes and participants related to public policy issues, especially in the international and transnational systems. And more importantly, as the role of transnational institutions and the networks of individuals and sub-related institutional structures are increasingly transnational in nature, the power instruments in which transnational power maintain relative dominance within the evolving dynamics of the international order is strengthening and deepening as the systems expands.

The focus of this paper is on the interdependent role of nation-states, transnational corporations, and epistemic communities in the development of supra-state institutions. The development of the European Monetary Union through the second half of the twentieth century

¹ Kohn, Harold. (2006), p 749

² Slaughter. (1997)

as the precursor to the single currency Eurozone and finally an illustrative policy dispute based on epistemic cleavages regarding the operation and normative behavior of the World Bank during the 1990s will both be analyzed separately to provide practical applications of the role of Epistemic Communities. The exploration of the historical function of these knowledge based ideologies will function as a complementary analytical method to Anthony Giddens' *Structuration Theory* to explain the role of individual actors, knowledge disseminators, and nation-states, as well as international special interest groups in the developmental process of supra-state institutions.

This paper will argue that supra-state institutions specifically in the case studies of the World Bank and the European Union, and other such entities such as the World Trade Organization and NATO, are of similar qualities to be categorized as supra-state institutions, which operate as environments in which competitive participants wield varying degrees of negotiable coercive political and financial power in shaping the world system. Thus, actors which hold dominant positions within the supra-state institution usually operate according to Pareto-Maximizing strategies. There are clear linkages and derivations which show a clear evolution over the past several decades as the new international system of international relations has been institutionalized and normalized via global supra-state entities and global and regional governing bodies.

This paper will concentrate on the increased concentration of cooperation and codependency of the private, government and research sectors of the global economy and the immense influence on the structuring of institutional and social norms. International organizations are cooperating, supporting, and engaging actively in the creation of complementary structures of governing the various levels of power hierarchies.³ This paper secondarily examines the historical innovations to the education institutions particularly the science and applied science fields from the 19th century to the digital revolution that occurred most recently in the creation of new forms of organization. The development of technocracy is derived from its role in the creation and dissemination of knowledge and the structure of networks and the norms and roles of the particular positions within the administrative hierarchies of the powerful political, financial, and military institutions operating today and tomorrow. The consequence is the emergence of an ever more powerful technological infrastructure, which

³ Abbott, K. W., & Snidal, D. (2010).

facilitates the transmission of the whole range of social communication and transactions of information and commodities on a scale previously unimaginable.

Economic and Military security has become the standard concern of the international order. The European Union and NATO grew out of the idea of collected security as a binding force in which supra-national governance would alleviate conflict through mediated negotiation and cooperation. The subsequent government steps which are taken demonstrate a much different approach to these types of interventionist roles. And also today we see a countermovement within government administrations throughout the developed world reanalyzing the types of public policy directives which need to reshape the instruments of security provision in all its diverse variations. The EU, and NATO are umbrella-like transnational institutions which are designed in politically determined rounds of negotiation, cooperation, and conflict and opposition are frequently present in varying degrees of strength as transnational institutions which are increasingly politically relevant in the distribution and balance of power which constitutes the international order. The political dynamic within and between the multilayered structures of international order is best understood through *structuration theory*.

This paper will utilize the agent-structure analysis of structuration alongside the growing literature concerning the influence of epistemological communities to demonstrate that the international order is increasingly transnational in nature and corporatized via benefit-enhancing incentives. From that perspective, the transnational institutions act as the primary means of structuring the further development of the international order according to the predominant ideology of financial capitalism as pronounced from the network of epistemological communities. The role of epistemic communities in controlling and legitimizing the application of public policy at the international and transnational levels is a further type of analysis which helps the United States and other strategically aligned interest groups maintain the dominant power position. The last two decades of globalized capitalism has demonstrated a remarkable shift of power to transnational organizations. In fact, one might conclude that this is the preferred status from the perspective of the United States and the wide spectrum of internationally-focused institutions and corporations which benefit from the balance of power being, in practice, quite out of balance, in favor of those states that hold more dominant positions during the negotiation procedures which lead to the establishment of such supra-state institutions.

This paper attempts to provide a multi-disciplinary based framework for understanding the complex dynamics of the contemporary world. The lengthy and sophisticated negotiations which determine the creation and constitutive features of supra-state institutions are examples of this type of paradoxical situation that can be illuminated by the application of economic history and aspects of sociology that pertain to the formation of social structures, rules and the subsequent behavior of individuals and groups within those “structures of determination”. As external conditions are influenced most significantly by changes in the technology, it becomes necessary to reanalyze the underlying power dynamics of the globalized world’s social structures.

The great advances in communication and transportation technology has changed the nature in which life is organized at every level of the social system. The advancements and revolutions in all aspects of human and social relations have demanded a set of institutional innovations above and below as well as at the state level of interactions. The specific instrumentation of determination has to be explained. To understand the binding by consensus of converging globalized societies, one must understand the reciprocal nature of the agents and structures of transnational entities within the social space of international social behavior. The economic and political circumstances that enable such transnational actors to play their semi-independent role in international affairs must be analyzed. The argument of this study is that the primary determinants are heavily influenced by non-state actors, both individuals and institutions, which comprise the larger configurations of power among nation-states which directly and indirectly manage transnational entities such as the World Bank, the European Union, and NATO.

The role of traditional international entities such as the United Nations General Assembly is merely a stagnated institution which exists mainly as a precedent of international law and as a debate society for the traditional power blocs of the 20th century. The major weakness of the UN and its subordinate agencies is that within that international system, the nation is perceived as the sole power wielding authority within a politically malleable system of power distribution which favors the relatively stronger states over the weaker states. Dominant states such as the United State or China may move unilaterally if so desired because such states may also act outside the international collective entity.

Recently, the need to reevaluate Neorealism and the emergence of transnational organizations has demanded that the analysis conceptualize the role of politics and practice at the varying levels of decision-making in these bureaucratic institutions. Due to the increase in population in terms of individuals, firms, and nation-states in our contemporary world is also included among the many prescient insights of Prof. Masaryk, “There is therefore an increase in the number of social functions and states are becoming more complex in character; hence the need for unification, amalgamation, division, and organization of function and work... A new State in particular increases its functions in economic and social development. Intensive economic and social development is one the special features of the modern age; today every corporation and every individual must pay increased attention to economic and financial welfare. The same applies to the State.”⁴ This trend of critical discussion implies the need to re-conceptualize the role of states in an international order which increasingly includes supranational or transnational institutions and systems. Just as the United Nations was designed to meet the needs of a previous era of international world order based predominantly on the premise that nation states are the sole constitutive elements, so too is neorealism no longer capable of encompassing the complete dynamics of the international system which has been installed to complement the needs and demands of the current evolution of global millennium capitalism. The limits of neorealism are described by Alexander Wendt:

*in both its decision and game-theoretic versions, neorealism, like micro-economics, is characterized by ‘situational determinism’ by a model of action in which rational behavior is conditioned or even determined by the structure of choice situations. This definition leads to an understanding of system structures as only constraining the agency of preexisting states, rather than, as in world-system and structuration theory, as generating state agents themselves.*⁵

I.a Methodology

Wendt utilizes the sociologist Anthony Giddens’ theory of *structuration* as a springboard in applying his methods of sociological analysis to the inter-dynamics of the agent-structure relationships at work within social institutions as way to a more sophisticated understanding of international relations. The construction of an institution, such as the World Bank, is politically determined through rounds of public policy negotiation and compromise. The legitimacy of the policies and theoretical conceptions upon which the World Bank is based, is derived by the accepted validity of authority by the consensus of actors within the structure. This principle

⁴ Masaryk, T.G. (1928): Speech on the Tenth Anniversary of Independence

⁵ Wendt, p. 357

characteristic requires a more sophisticated model in which a thorough understanding of *structuration* is crucial. In *His Constitution of Society*, Giddens establishes a set of definitions which is crucial to understanding the specific meaning and more importantly the distinction between and among terms used quite interchangeably in other less clear commentary regarding the application to the varying levels of the multi-dimensional nature of social relations. He distinguishes between *system* and *institution*, in that social *systems* refer to reproduced practices and *institutions* refer to reproduced rules and resources.⁶ ‘*Systems*’ and ‘*institutions*’ do not exist independently of individual activity rather they only exist insofar as they are continually produced and reproduced via *the duality of structure*.⁷ Giddens concept of the ‘duality of structure’ needs to be understood in a context where structure both enables and constrains actors.⁸ At this transnational level of analysis, the actual proceedings and behaviors between and amongst the individuals who are representatives of the various institutional executive branches of the institution demonstrate how varying special interests shape the Norms of the institutions.

This paper utilizes the methodology of applying Giddens’ concepts of structuration to the inner workings of large bureaucracies which owes credit to Alexander Wendt and the numerous other scholars and researchers who have convincingly applied perspective of structuration theory to the agent-structure concept. This paper will follow the examples set by Joanne Yates, who presents a cogent argument for the application of Giddens’ theory to business history and proposed that such concepts are valuable in applying a theoretical framework to the inner workings of large bureaucratic institutions.⁹ Amy Verdun also uses the concepts of structuration while also reinforcing the analysis via her application of the literature on Epistemic Communities in relation to the political negotiation of public policy during the development proceedings which led to the formation of the European Monetary Union.¹⁰ In this paper, the European Union and the World Bank are the specific transnational institution which will be investigated. They are supra-national institutions, which play an essential role in the structuring of the international order. Individuals and groups within and beyond this institution’s authority structure are able to exert power via various channels. This paper investigates historical incidents of negotiated process of institutional structuring.

⁶ Giddens, p. 9

⁷ Ibid, p. 25

⁸ Ibid, p. 25

⁹ Yates, Joanne. (1997) “Using Giddens Structuration Theory to Inform Business History”. *Business And Economic History*

¹⁰ Verdun, Amy (2000)

As Alexander Wendt clearly argues the agent – structure conception offered by *Structuration*, regarding the reciprocal and recursive nature of the establishment of NORMs and the strategic application of benefit maximizing motives within the institutional based decision-making process appropriately describes the nature of the organizing phenomena.¹¹ The social space and behavior of transnational institutions are readily applied to Giddens’ concept of *the duality of structure*, which describes the relationship between human actors and the structure itself being recursive, in that each plays a role in determining the practice of norm building and thus acceptable political behavior is consensus based.¹² Structurally derived participation and behavioral norms are then influenced by the recursive effect of individual agent’s action. Both intended and unintended consequences must be understood within the duality of structure proffered by Giddens and applied to the field of international relations by Alexander Wendt. A further step in this theory involves the ever evolving learning process of individual actor’s within the structure. This part of the theory is also supported by the reflexive and recursive nature of epistemic communities. Peter Haas offers a concise *definition of epistemic communities* as “a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy relevant knowledge within that domain or issue area.”¹³

Utilizing arguments drawn from sociology, philosophy, political science, and economic, this paper attempts to account for the endogenous development of new forms of organization and an environment favorable to it through a historical examination of the development of bureaucratic careers. This paper aims to show how the same profit-oriented institutions are also influential in the development of institutions in the formation global governance norms and structures, both legal and commercial. Individuals within institutions play vital roles related to enforcing, restricting, supervising, and evaluating normative behavior. This paper focuses on the social structures which act as conduits of influence on the creation of supra-state institutions.

The processes of competition, cooperation, and negotiation amongst institutions and the negotiation of representatives of different policy cleavages within each have produced multiple modes of careers within local regional, national and now supra-national administrative structures. There have been significant effects on the selection pressures from the “nurturing” “teaching” environments, which led to the eventual development of bureaucratic careers based

¹¹ Wendt, p.336

¹² Ibid, p.350

¹³ Ibid p.362

upon systematic and networked university education and advancement through administrative hierarchies, whether they be corporate, government, and research institutions or a blending of all three.

This paper demonstrates an illustrative framework for understanding the underlying dynamics of power which function as negotiating hegemonic powers in the creation of the trans-national and supra-national levels of government. Figure 1 illustrates the multiple layers of the social structure and how the various components of one level, such as a multi-national firm the nation state interact with those above and below.

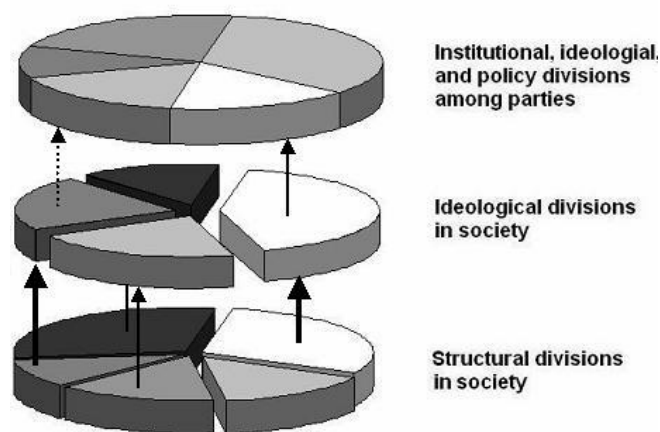


Figure 1: (Kostelecký, Tomáš. (2004), p. 52)

The International Economics and Political Studies curriculum has provided this author with a well-rounded set of analytical tools which has been used in this attempt to incorporate a wider understanding of the role of power and the significance of the particular hierarchy of power centers in the state and private sectors of the international scope of establishing social structures which operate at various levels of social interactions. More precisely, this paper focuses on the hierarchy of powers and the activity within the realm of supra-state global institutions, namely multi-national firms and nation-states.

The paper also addresses the existence of the principle agent problem. The increased dominance of the corporate management styles is an example of the dissemination of knowledge via corporate management networks and the interaction of government and private firms in regards to technical laboratories and research universities in the creation and positioning of individuals who contribute to the operation and existence of influential *epistemic communities*. This necessity of agreement on fundamental concepts of the world is described by Durkheim:

If people do ...not have the same conceptions of time, space, cause, number, etc., all contact between their minds would be impossible, and with that, all life together. ... The necessity with which the categories are imposed upon us is not the effect of simple habits whose yoke we can easily throw off with a little effort; nor is it a physical or metaphysical necessity, since the categories change in different places and times; it is a special sort of moral necessity which is to the intellectual life what moral obligation is to the will.¹⁴

Kant's essay *Perpetual Peace* refers to republics as the governing structure that would lend itself to this idealized state of global peacefulness. Epistemic Communities are based on typologies of knowledge. The term, epistemology, is based on the Greek word for knowledge, epistimeme. The word meme has come to the forefront of the cultural use of computer based communications which allow certain images or ideas, most often attempts successful attempts at humor. The photo of the flag raining of Iwo Jima is also a *meme* in that it conveys the expression of hard-fought victory and collective teamwork. In the current lexicon of the twenty first centuries these are blips on our daily experiences with social communication which allows for easy editing of a photo with a creative caption and then send it out and see how far, how fast, and how frequently gets passed. The term viral pertains to the intrinsic nature of the biological virus. The transmission of biological information is the means by which virus can influence or mutate existing genetic codes.

Increasingly multinational firms with production facilities in a variety of geographical regions are influential in maintaining diplomatic conditions which allow their corporate operations to continue to run effectively. Human agency and social structure are recursively organized, that each is both a condition for, and a consequence of, the other. Human actors simultaneously govern and are governed by social structure in action, and thus it is only through human actions that social structures arise at all, are reproduced and perhaps transformed over time.¹⁵ Searle's *The Construction of Social Reality* (1995) had implications for the ontology of economics, as well as important to the revival of the tradition of institutional economics. This thesis paper demonstrates the multi-layered interests within institutions and how the institutions and their administration can be influenced by individuals who hold positions of authority within the power centers that operate at the supra-state level of global competition.¹⁶ Searle asserts and this paper seeks to further apply his inquiry in a field of study that one could even argue that the most influential single strand in the Western philosophical tradition is its political philosophy.

¹⁴ Durkheim (1912: 29-30)

¹⁵ Lawson Tony Lawson's (1997) *Economics and Reality*

¹⁶ Searle John. (2005) "What is an institution?" *Journal of Institutional Economics*

This branch of philosophy has an extra interest because it has had at various times an influence on actual political events.¹⁷

Searle is critical both of rule-described and the rule-governed interpretation of human interactions and activity. He suggests that actors often act in accordance with rule structures without following the relevant rules consciously or unconsciously. People should not be perceived as they are following rules of an institution. Searle suggests that we might interpret them as behaving the way they do because (1) they have a structure that disposes them to behave in that way, and (2) they have become disposed to behave in that way because that is the way that conforms to the rules of the institution.¹⁸ By collective intentionality Searle means the capacity of humans and some species of animals to engage in cooperative behavior and specifically to share intentional states such as beliefs, desires and intentions. A social fact, according to Searle, is any fact involving collective intentionality.¹⁹

II. Neo-Realism and Social Constructivism in the 21st Century

One reason for creating the European Community was to enable Europe to play its full part in world affairs'
- Walter Hallstein.²⁰

This paper's explanatory framework is based on the fundamental tenets of Social Constructivism as it is presented in the succinct work of John G. Ruggie (1998). This thesis follows his emphasis on using the concept of Max Weber that humans are social beings, which have a capacity and a will to form particular attitudes about the surrounding world and that this gives the individual's perception significance. Neo-Realism still holds that the formation of supra-state structures is heavily influenced by this competition for Hegemonic power which is distributed amongst the major players of the world stage at varying degrees of strength and that strength is determined by the competition and negotiation of coercive actors. The most recent innovation in this conception of the dominant actors is the need to incorporate the transnational coercive powers of private firms and individuals. The realist doctrine still remains true to its Hobbesian roots in that morality is taken out of the equation when actors are involved in decision making processes. This is often described as the "state of nature" explanation for the self-seeking activities of the actors

¹⁷ Searle, John (2003)

¹⁸ Searle, John (1995)

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ Walter Hallstein was born in Germany in 1901. After presiding over the German delegation that negotiated the Plan Schuman, 1st January 1958 he became the first president of the European Commission. He maintained in that post until 1968. The quote is cited in Bindi, Federiga M. (2010) p 13

at all levels of human social interactions. The desire to maximize one's own best interest is the accepted modus operandi. In the following sections, this paper will develop an argument which demonstrates that all actors, whether individuals or institutional actors seek to maximize their benefit and eliminate as much loss or cost as possible. For example, the nature of a transnational corporation is no longer restricted to owing allegiance to its domestic nations, where it was first established. It is more and more common for corporation to conduct its separate business activities in a variety of geographical locations, respective to which offers the best environment for lowering cost and maximizing benefit.

Furthermore, in describing the previous era of international relations scholars such as Michael Mann considered the geographical limitation of a nation state, "states have the organizational distinction of being bound to a particular geographical space"²¹ This is no longer applicable in the consideration of the realm of a state actor in the international sphere of activity. Even small, relatively weak states are able to maintain dominant positions in various geographical areas through decision-making voting rights in regional or supra-state institutions. In *Power and Interdependence*, Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye introduced the term "complex interdependence" to describe a condition in which independent states are connected by an increasing number of channels-political, social, economic, cultural, and others.²² They and other authors argued that complex interdependence led to a weakening of security issues, which had been the dominant set of issues defining the relationships among states in the international system, but the power wielding ability of states is still dominant at the transnational level, but the relative gains in coercive power of large corporate entities has been the most striking change in the environment of international relations.

John Mearschmeir states that there are five assumptions about the international system that depict a world of ceaseless security competition according to the tenets of Structural Realism:

(1) the global structure operates in an anarchic system. It simply means that an individual state acts on self-help and there is no authority interference. Hierarchy is on the contrary.

(2)all states possess some varying offensive military capacity.

(3)states can never be certain about the intentions of other states. And since intentions are in the minds of policy-makers, it is almost impossible to discern another state's intention of whether they are about to use force to alter shift

²¹ Mann, Michael (1993) p 27

²² Keohane, R. O., & Nye, J. S. (1977).

the balance of power or whether they are satisfied with what they have. As a result, there always exists competition for power among states.

(4) top priority goal of a state is survival, i.e. states tend maintain their domestic order before pursuing any other goals, like prosperity, protecting human rights and so forth.

(5) states are rational actors. They are able to come up with sound strategies with a view to maximising their prospects for survival. According to Mearsheimer, a state can attempt to operate for full power only when all these five assumptions are satisfied.²³

The development of supra-state level institutions of global governance is also influenced by the power of multinational firms and the more powerful states in relation to the other members of the negotiating participants. The policy making system takes the form of codified system of laws and the fact that a consensually accepted interpretation of the law exist is a fundamental example of how the negotiations and appeals and regulation of the network of self-serving profit oriented social organisms which are influential in building institutions and the legal infrastructure which shall be the law as interpreted and perceived differently by the interested parties and every opportunity is used to impose influence via politically administered hegemonic power. The nation state as a sovereign authority will continue to exist due to the various cultural geographical and technical conditions of each respective state. This code of legal conduct and the enforceability of penalties and the transparent access to the contract bidding and the actual changes in the budget that might improve a giving problem has usually been established and has been overloaded or unprepared to approach addressing the necessary steps to improve the social conditions. The demographic of countries and the location of labor opportunities will be shaped differently according to the specialization or the competitive edge of the geographical networks of its various allied partners, along with wholly owned subsidiaries of important multi-national private firms and their respective strategies for improving the Pareto maximizing efficiency.

In a monarchy, power was inherited; the officials were appointed by the monarch or maintained their office during the transition of sovereign authority from one “divinely appointed” ruler to the next. Contrarily the concept of democracy claims that the authority to rule is conducted by the people; however, modern democracies are only attempts at democracies. Democracies are of various kinds and the importance of the electoral system and the general cultural value of citizens influence the institutions and social structures. T.G. Masaryk stated on the tenth anniversary of Czechoslovakia independence, “All laws are really only in skeleton form

²³ Mearsheimer, John J. (2006)

and are intended for their time and for special conditions hence there is everywhere a natural demand for laws to be supplemented, amended, and revised”²⁴. He also emphasizes a growing need for dependence on the knowledge sector, “An elected parliament must of necessity recognize the need for expert knowledge” This is an insightful comment that pre-shadows the emergence of the links between the knowledge community and government. He demonstrates the novelty of such cooperation in his highlighting of this fact by the parallel use of the American form of this cooperative dynamic, “To be sure, the institution of parliamentary committees, which correspond on the whole to the various ministries, constitutes an attempt to introduce the special knowledge that is essential to politics and in the administration. President Wilson drew attention to the growing influence and predominance of committees in American parliamentary life.”²⁵ The creation of complementary institutional structures and normative functions of the various administrative offices is illustrative of the convergence of social structures at the national level of governance which makes the interaction of autonomous states to be more effective and efficient at the supra-state level. Regimes precede institutions and the division of sovereign state powers is significant in analyzing how supra-state level of governing institutions is created.

The interlocking of political interests and the capitalist structure makes the system enormously difficult to understand in terms of the recursive dynamics of cooperation and conflict through various degrees and type of coercive power. The policy makers and the interests that maintain coercive influence over the positioned individuals often push for legislation that is not rational from one perspective. The explanation for such seemingly irrational behavior have a conflict of interest as elected representatives of the citizenship who are often coerced to maneuver and negotiate decision making processes for their own or some benefactor’s gain.

The structure of the institutions, which make up the supra-state level of interactions of nation states, firms, and NGOs, as well as individuals, has been steadily influenced by the managerial innovations of America’s corporate world. Today, many of the principle agents of high level governmental departments are civilians who were recruited from elite corporate executive posts. This paper will analyze the immersion of corporate structures and corresponding profit seeking protocols within and among the hierarchical structures. The

²⁴ Masaryk, T.G. (1928): Speech on the Tenth Anniversary of Independence

²⁵ Masaryk, T.G. (1928): Speech on the Tenth Anniversary of Independence

decision making processes can better investigated by applying a historical analysis of international relations through a framework, which focuses on the social relations and the institutional and normative structures that are determining the fundamental dynamics of our globally converging society.

The people of influence who walk the corridors of power change but the systematic process of filling the positions of officialdom with like-minded men and women is at the center of the importance of epistemic communities. A culture influenced by the pomp and circumstance and corresponding high regard for the position allow the individual who fills the institutional seat are often motivated that he has most likely been a profit-maximizing agent working as an employee of a large institution within the so termed Triple Helix²⁶. According to Structuration theory, structure has a dual nature, in that it is intrinsically related to action and vice versa. Structure and action are united through social practices. Practices consist of action and structure, and moreover, “Structure is not external to action rather it is internal to the flow of action which constitutes social practices.”²⁷ How do the internal power politics of “benefit maximizing” self-interested agents determine policy specifics? The fact that some results even though are perceived failures from majority standpoint can be seen as strategic successes by certain actors within the hegemonic hierarchy as well as amongst the many interrelated and interconnected transnationally focused institutions which are characteristic of the changing nature of the international order.

Other pillars supporting this thesis are the case studies in sections V and VI regarding certain historical aspects and incidents of power conflicts in the negotiation process of the European Union and the executive level administration of the World Bank as examples of supra-state institutions as social constructions determined by the duality of structure described by structuration theory. The components of the triple helix system at the national are able to compete at the transnational level because of their respective institutions fulfillment of the Structural Realist definition of dominant powers. The satisfaction of these criteria allows institutions or individuals to participate in the negotiation bargaining process and this is how each can influence the formation and administration of supra-state institutions.

²⁶ Ezkowitz, (2002)

²⁷ Layder , p.104

III. The Institutionalized Individual

“It is worth enquiring why so many technical experts are to be found in the front ranks of the planner”²⁸ Similar enquiries will be applied as a key focus in this analysis of the Exchange Rate Mechanism as an instrument in the institutions and legal framework of the European Monetary System: How do highly appointed agents within the European Community’s framework institutions attempt to negotiate political dynamics in order to implement instruments of monetary control? Are these economic instruments and their respective operations based on sound Economic Logic or are they based on other specialized interests? The increasing influence of the individual and the expansion of the power of the institution is the focus of this section.

The role of ideas and knowledge exerts a powerful influence on the transition of the Institutions of the EEC as the EEC progressed towards a European Monetary Union. In Brussels, often politically motivated technocrats only need to find a well-argued economic hypothesis and as well as some correlating datasets to push their ideas through the bureaucratic pipeline. The European Union operates as a postmodern nation-state or a Supra-National state. Robert Cooper, an EU diplomat, developed the theory of the postmodern state. In his juxtaposition describes “nations like the United States, China, and India are *modern* states that exercise full sovereignty, whereas the states of the EU are *postmodern* states which “pool” sovereignty with other states and accept supranational legal authority above their own national law.”²⁹

In the 20th century, the industrial revolution’s systemized production processes and management hierarchies developed out of necessity to enable the rapidly expanding organizations to maintain functionality. The role of the top-man in the organization was to delegate responsibility and monitor overall performance and progress, while enjoying the leisure and society that his wealth and position awarded. Moreover, the implementation and oversight of the day-to-day business operations of the corporate entity were the duty of a new breed of men. William H. Whyte’s analysis of this sweeping social and professional phenomenon culminated in the landmark study, *The Organization Man*. The subject of the sociological examination is the predominant role of managers in the corporate structures.

²⁸ Hayek p.59

²⁹ Cooper, R. (2000).

In 1956, Whyte describes the unique position this emerging segment of professional men as, “Although they cannot bring themselves to use the word bureaucrat, the approved term--the "administrator"--is not significantly different in its implications. The man of the future, as junior executives see him, is not the individualist but the man who works through others for others.”³⁰ The resemblance of this statement to the defining ideal of the Society of Jesus; the motto *men for others* reflects the life affirming quality that certain men derive from the nature and location of their profession. The self-affirming role of the career man, of General Electric’s or IBM’s administrators, is an objective worthy of a lifetime of dedication. The underlying business philosophy that is the subject of analysis in Whyte’s *The Organization Man* replaced the simple pragmatism of the Protestant Ethic.

The major managerial innovations that occurred within the White House Executive staff were necessary reactions to the increasing number of decisions related to the orchestration of the U.S. involvement in World War II. FDR’s White House was the first modern executive branch apparatus. During his extended tenure as President, Franklin D. Roosevelt implemented some of the advice of committee chaired by Louis Brownlow. FDR designed the entire organization schematic to seamlessly complement his style of management.³¹ The so-called *Brownlow Report* recommended that the President should engage several qualified men as administrative assistants. The report famously coined the phrase “passion for anonymity” to describe an important prerequisite for candidates for this newly created administrative position. Whyte remarks on this characteristic in *The Organization Man*.

In recent decades, Eisenhower’s years as Commander-in Chief have been the subject of reconsideration by various scholars, especially in regard to his ability to delegate responsibility to the right people in the area of national security.³² The great former general marked his leaving of the oval office with a noteworthy speech. His farewell address to the nation focused on the need to make society better on the whole via a consideration of the international scope of interstate relations and the modernizing of technology across the entire spectrum of human experience. He reserved the right to offer constructive criticism of the type of government administration that was now very necessary due to the need to maintain an American force capable of balancing the Soviet Union’s state structure, ideology and vast resources. In His

³⁰Whyte, William H. (1956). *The Organization Man*.

³¹ Neustat, Richard E. (1963).

³² Immerman, Richard H. and Greenstein, Fred I. (2000)

farewell address, Eisenhower also issued a warning regarding the focus on large structured research programs on behalf of industry. With this in mind, Eisenhower remarked on the predominance of the Defense Department's budget and inventory,

*"we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. ... This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence - economic, political, even spiritual - is felt in every city, every Statehouse, every office of the Federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."*³³

The above passage is a fine semi-argument for the future presidents to retain the methods and procedures that Eisenhower himself had implemented during his tenure. He utilized the highly skilled organizational men, who were employed by the National Security Council. Within the National Security Council (NSC), Eisenhower was able to construct a highly organized system for dividing responsibility amongst a rigid hierarchy of subordinates, which allowed for an effective analysis of information that would then inform the final decision making processes that he supervised.³⁴ Thus, the NSC was responsible for delivering policy planning to the White House' small cadre of advisors. Final decision making power remained in Eisenhower's disposal. The NSC should be viewed at this time in history as it stood in Ike's opinion as an intelligence agency operating outside *the military industrial complex* of military brass and defense contractors.

The Various elements of the US Military services and State department and Intelligence Agencies are the modern apparatus of National power. U.S. foreign Policy is unique due to the relative high level of Economic, Military, and Cultural powers, which enables it to operate around the globe more effectively and quickly. The Executive Branch has increasingly become more powerful due to interpretations of federal laws and the new legislation and infrastructure changes within the national network of institutions. The foreign policy aspects of the President role have always been of upmost concern. This is due to the powerful role which America has had since its growth from a network of UK colonies. Whyte also reserved an entire chapter to the effects that industry has on the educational system of society, likewise this paper includes an exploration of the role of knowledge and research development as a power resource through the framework of the Triple Helix.

³³ Eisenhower, Dwight D (1961) "Farewell Address" speech delivered on 17th of January

³⁴ Immerman, Richard H. and Greenstein, Fred I. (Autumn, 2000), p. 337

The preceding section has illustrated the increased power of the individual within institutional structures as well as the increased size and scope of private industry in the realm of national government. This is additional evidence of the importance of personality, attitude and ability regarding the individual who is in authoritative positions within the hierarchies of power centers. The measure of force and dynamic of an individual's power wielding ability determines the concentration of power by the office holder. In Searle's terminology, status functions are constitutive facts which exert an influence on a given scenario. Semantics of declarations creates a situation where the reality goes beyond the reality. They can be declared explicitly or implicitly in that certain positions or objects are assigned certain forms of power in the form of rights duties, authorities. *Deontic Powers* are derived from repeated applications of status functions, which are accepted make people committed that are reasons for acting that are independent than our intentions.³⁵ Once people accept them, their existence as a valid reason for doing something is created either as an obligation or promise via a form of rationality, but at times people can disregard them. The desire is based on the reason. Furthermore, there exists a special kind of assignment of function where the object or person to whom the function is assigned cannot perform the function just in virtue of its physical structure, but rather can perform the function only in virtue of the fact that there is a collective assignment of a certain *status*, and the object or person performs its function only in virtue of collective acceptance by the community that the object or person has the requisite status.³⁶ Status function indicators are symbols of signifiers of authority; for example the varying degrees of hierarchical authority bestowed on certain members of any military is designated by their rank and corresponding variation of uniform.

Collective intentionality is Searle's underlying argument for normative action as the structure of civilization, in which language is the most fundamental institution.³⁷ Collective intentionality covers not only collective intentions but also such other forms of intentionality as collective beliefs and collective desires. One can have a belief that one shares with other people and one can have desires that are shared by a collectivity. Collective intentionality is the basis of all society, human or animal. Humans share with many species of animals the capacity for collective intentionality and thus the capacity to form societies. Most of the phenomena we discuss in economics, such as money, financial institutions, corporations, business transactions,

³⁵ Searle, J. R. (2003). "Social Ontology and Political Power" p 14

³⁶ Ibid,

³⁷ Searle, J. R. (1995). *The Construction of Social Reality*, p 9

and public offerings of stock are all observer relative.³⁸ One can say that, in general, the natural sciences are concerned with observer independent phenomena and the social sciences with *observer relative* phenomena.³⁹

The concept of a collective social unconscious which operates in human societies as first posited by Karl Jung in the field of psychology is essential to understanding the role of perceived constitutive facts according to the desire of the individual as aligned with the tenets of John Searle's constitutive philosophy in *The Construction of Social Reality*. The Jungian concept of the collective unconscious are applicable in the study of how social structures and the perceptions and those actions are thus derived from the particular experience and understanding are helpful to understand the role and influence of the particular hegemonic powers of the Triple Helix model of inter-sector positions and functions. F.A. Hayek makes similar claims regarding the relationship of an individual person's perspective being in some degree of consensus predominant in the particular society:

Not only man's action towards external objects but also all the relations between men and all the social institutions can be understood only in terms of what men think about them. Society as we know it is, as it were, built up from the concepts and ideas held by the people; and social phenomena can be recognised by us and have meaning to us only as they are reflected in the minds of men.

The structure of men's mind, the common principle on which they classify external events, provide us with knowledge of the recurrent elements of which different social structures are built up and in terms of which we can alone describe and explain them. While concepts or ideas can, of course, exist only in individual minds, and while, in particular, it is only in individual minds that different ideas can act upon another, it is not the whole of the individual minds in all their complexity, but the individual concepts, the views people have formed of each other and the things, which form the true elements of the social structure⁴⁰

The Social Unconscious acts as a catalyst, a driving force behind much of human social activity. Jung claims that dreams were not yearning for individual level of stimuli, but rather the urge of the pre-epocryphal variations of social systems.⁴¹ The nature of interaction and communication and their relation to the determinacy of authority and the execution of power is the central focus of this paper. The role of significant strides forward in various fields of scholarly inquiry has made a multi-disciplinary knowledge of the previous epoch's respective social shifts in the framework of the historical development of government various schools of doctrine regarding administration of the state and the emergence of the corporate institutions.

³⁸ Searle, J. R. (1999). *Mind, Language and Society*

³⁹ Searle, J. R. (2003).

⁴⁰ Hayek (1942) p 283-4

⁴¹ Barr, Deirdre (2010) *Jung* p 418

Self-identification is a result of how much information one wants to reveal and how accurate or precise certain facts for security or for other motives. “I despise politics whole heartedly... I am a neutral Swiss and even in my country I am uninterested in politics because I am convinced that 99% of politics are mere symptoms and anything but a cure for social evil. About 50% of politics is definitely obnoxious inasmuch as it poisons the utterly incompetent mind of the masses.”⁴² This is what is interesting in the seemingly unconscious level of understanding as suggested by the works of Jung; many individuals and participants within institutionalized hierarchies are not directly aware of their actions are based on decision making processes which they are aligned in their actions and beliefs but they themselves are not actively making decisions based from a higher plane of perspective.

IV. The Triple Helix and the role of the role of epistemic communities:

John Maynard Keynes explained the type of knowledge which was needed to study economics to physicist Max Plank, who had just confided that he did not envy the profession of an economist due to its difficulty, describe the process of “economic understanding required an amalgam of logic and intuition and a wide knowledge of facts, most of which are not precise: a requirement ‘overwhelmingly difficult for those whose gift mainly consists in the power to imagine and pursue to the furthest points the implications and prior condition of comparatively simple facts, which are known with a high degree of precision’”⁴³ This thesis has taken a “policy stream” approach to problem delimitation, in that its basic aim is to understand how and why certain societal conditions get defined.⁴⁴ The fundamental concepts must be perceived through some framework of understanding regarding the role of individuals and social dynamics in terms of problem structuring, in that “policy makers show the inclination to move away from unstructured problems to more structured ones, at the cost of losing touch with the true complexity and the normative volatility of the problems as experienced by other groups.”⁴⁵

The epistemic communities interconnected web of consensus execution of policy doctrines according to fundamental frameworks of how best to administer an effective navigation toward their targets. Machlup (1962) first pronounced the United States economy as a knowledge

⁴² cited in *Jung*, (2003) Deidre Barr p.418

⁴³ Keynes, J.M. (1972), cited in Kay, John (2010) p.133

⁴⁴ Vesely, Arnost. (2007), Table 2, p 89

⁴⁵ Hisschmoller and Hoppe. (1995) p. 44

economy, rather than an industrial economy.⁴⁶ “Despite the separation of interests, the discoveries of engineers working on military contracts gradually seeped over to commercial enterprise. Knowledge cannot be compartmentalized. Engineers talk.”⁴⁷ This is illustrative of the knowledge society as described in their respective eras by Machlup and Drucker. In his book *Post-Capitalist Society*, Drucker’s main argument is that new streams of wealth is being derived from knowledge and information and that these new methods of wealth creation is transforming fundamental features of the social order. Drucker uses a historical retrospective of the groundbreaking work of Frederick Taylor in the scientific management of labor. “Taylorism” was empirically deep with evidence of the vast increases in economies of scale that could be derived via specialization and conformity of the labor force; such improvements are still actively sought out by industrialists and entrepreneurs.

The increasing multinational model of the largest corporate powers has led to a new era of cooperative activity that has been described as the Triple Helix. Etzkowitz (2003) describes the beneficial interdependence of the industry-government- knowledge sectors of a society. The close interaction and cooperation is derived from the frequent interaction of institutional structures and moreover by the possibility and historical fact of a person’s ability and willingness to make sequential moves from one sector to another over the course of an individual’s career. This comingling of past, present, and future special interests will be the focus of the case study on the role of individuals within and from beyond the hierarchy of the World Bank’s administration in section VI of this paper.

The combination and blending together of the role and targets and splitting the profit margins of the industries that make up the intertwined sectors of the management labor individuals and the government and private sectors. The independent entrepreneurial venture is the result of a innovate approach to selling a product or by inventing a whole new technology itself. The term office hours means something different amongst the educative class of institutional workers as well as the salaried employees and scientific minds with a nose for increasing profit margins. Usually these two targets of discovery and profit go hand in hand. The improvements on the capabilities and capacities of labor and the technical know-how which

⁴⁶ Machlup, F. (1962), *Production and Distribution of Knowledge in the United States*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ

⁴⁷ Reich, Robert. (2007) *SuperCapitalism*. p. 58

emerged during the Industrial Revolution were thanks to the educated, experienced, and versatile mechanic.

Just as America's wealthy elite from the southern tobacco and cattle farmers and the northern merchants, manufacturing and maritime tycoons needed make to way for the oil men and railroad capitalists in the Industrial Age, soon there emerged another powerful financial group, namely: the stock market watchers consisted of those men wealthy enough to use their surplus incomes reasonably soundly as a coercive power. Whether they were stock owners or stock speculators which acted either by rational intention or by irrational heart-felt emotion, the development of the financial services industries in the financial hubs in the world is an interesting area for application of this paper's framework of understanding the nature of power at the institutional and social structural level.

The relationship between the market firms and individuals follows a reciprocal diagram in which there are outflows and inflows of labor and product, in terms of corresponding wages and price levels. The role of the government has also existed as an employee and consumer in a similar recursive relationship. The mantra of Lee Iacocca of what is good for GM is good for America is changing in this increasingly converged global system where national loyalty is often in conflict with the profit motives of transnational organizations that operate at the supra-state level of competitiveness. Certain nation-states are also joined by transnational corporate interest at this level of operation and their respective allotment of negotiating power is significant to understand how the institutions and normative behaviors of global systems are being more stabilized through interpretation of powers and legally codified rules of engagement and regulation. Policy regimes develop due to the existence of cleavages which often leads to empirically based policy debates.

The epistemic influence is in the expansion and solidification of a world view and the perceived norms of behavior of a giving social system. The administration of governance has always been of utmost concern to those most powerful to come to the throne of power or at the commission board. The paper explores the psychological components of social behavior the role of media as the fourth estate which has been usurped in the conglomerate media titans of the 21st century. The role of communication technology and the exponentially increasing computing power and miniaturization of hardware has demonstrated that the age of machines has been joined by the information age. Just as the knowledge and the spread of the chemistry knowledge

that made gun powder and explosive weapons a determining coercive power in the competition over territory and the resources throughout the past centuries, so too as financial powers proved to be the secondary “*hard power*”, to borrow the designation used by Nye.

Bacon’s reliance on empiricism was refuted by the work of F.A. Hayek. In the 18th century, Sir Petty’s *Politica Arithmika* was the first widely read scholarly work in the field of statistics. This early step was a simple tracking and enumerating of various measurements. His being granted a professorship of music must be viewed as being aligned with the consensual significance given to numbers and the possibility of an empirical treatment of the sonic art form could lead to improvements. In 1773 the Society of Jesus controlled 30 astronomical observatories.⁴⁸ The dissemination and creation of knowledge has been at the core influence of education and religious ventures in vastly far flung geographic parts of the globe, as well as disparate cultures. Scientific Know-How is an applied science. New techniques emerge from the nourishing environment for scholarly research in the 18th century. Like Augustine who had a moral and ethical doctrine of how best to manage a Christian life in a multi-ethnic of various levels of adherence to religious dogma and moreover the sovereign interests of political power. The Jesuits received acceptance as a part of the Chinese society not due to any evangelical success but due to the display of their sophisticated understanding of Astronomy and their willingness to share information. This scientific knowledge was what the Chinese scientific elite of the court system appreciated as a valuable tool and admired as a valuable demonstration of the integrity of a social system. The collectivized sections of a society such as the Jesuits were able to control and carryout scientific explorations in otherwise non-interested societies in regards to religious convergence. It is an example of applied theory. It is also evidence of the influence wielded by epistemic communities. Often the power of invention and discovery is an example of the *sticky power* of knowledge.

A theory of global system’s various dynamics of interaction is often represented as models of markets and various conditions that demonstrate the perceived need or want, which is often rendered simplistically statistically, often only as demand and supply. While corporate and political advertising budgets show that suppliers, retailers, politicians are interested in increasing the rise of demand and every business must consistently maintain and fulfill demand with their supply of labor, product or service. The sellers and the administrators are often led according to a

⁴⁸ Wright, Jonathan. (2004) *The Jesuits* , p. 198 Harper Collins

stratified interest of profit sharing. There is compelling evidence of the political dynamic of this interconnected negotiations of categorized powers wielding authority in terms of economic, politic or military force and most often the most dominant seeks to seize, maintain and control of the authority position which grant him the very best “opportunity benefit”.

What is an *opportunity benefit* as opposed to an opportunity cost? It is a simple probability based statistical index regarding the significance, correlation and probable act and policies which benefit the one group or individual or coalition of multi powers to create the momentary “powers that be” create the legislation and through their actions and decision set a precedent for subsequent holders of that position to further expand upon and use as legal support for future policy decision within the jurisdiction of that particular position of authority. This has led to the increased influence of corporate style management of almost all components of the Triple Helix. The profit margin is the target in order of priority for the individuals of the group to achieve some desired benefit from their participation and their style of behavior.

IV.a The Influence and Distraction of Corporate Media:

The books we read and more importantly the books we study influence, especially the trained academic and technological sector of the population, the specialization of law, accounting, engineering degrees. The our individual day to day decision making sequence and the previous history can be viewed as past attempts at the motivations which caused the action to be positive or negative. The trending of personal experience is also blended in the social construct of the reflected rational decision making process is also complemented by the Social Norms and Constructs of expected behavior. The Human Resources department displays some of the collective behavior as expected by role. The institutionalizing of individuals is succinct in the description of how hierarchical power is a phenomenon which operates at varying levels. For example, this author finds Noam Chomsky’s role as a linguist by education title and profession as a leading influence and proponent of a significant voice of paradigm or conceptualization of the American Political Left and also throughout the World. As described in the Methodology section above, this paper utilizes the conceptions of constitutive knowledge and rules according to the work of social scientists John Searle and also Anthony Giddens in providing a framework for understanding the underlying dynamics in the creation of social structures.

The corporatized media have always attempted to maintain image of separation from their corporate ownership. The growth of Corporatism in the media age has allowed the

mainstream oligopolized media outlets in particular those various subsidiaries under the ownership of Rupert Murdoch, to take a larger authority role regarding the formation and dissemination of information. Media outlets would like the perception that these corporate institutions do not associate in a collusive nor adversarial manner. But rather, they merely observe disinterestedly and disconnectedly from the various components of the sovereign and industrial “states of affairs” and then subsequently report an objective and independent treatment of the news. The news industry is a for profit business, even though it has been historically been described as the necessary fourth estate of the pillars of institutional social structure of a well-functioning democracy.

Media institutions have positioned themselves as a beneficial actor in that they provide a space for public discourse. Most people associate the veritable nature of the factual information it receives through state or corporate media of communication. The truthfulness of the fact as perceived by the society is based on the reputation of the source of the information. The earliest radio and black and white television news broadcasters in the U.S. held a so called objective view of the goings on in the world. That the pure nature of journalism as a completely objective pursuit is most definitely a non-reality if one looks at the historical framework which this paper follows in the analysis of the globalized world, in fact its increased corporatizing via expansion and conglomeration are example of how the interconnected power streams of political authority and corporations have acted as a conduit of information to a given society. The control of the press has long stood as a measure of a society’s level of freedom. As a de-facto regulative institution of their knowledge authority and independence the former fourth estate has lost a great deal of its own sovereignty.

The most reputable media outlets which once formed the fourth estate of the American democratic structure in terms of providing stability via the system of “checks and balance” . Firms have been influence by the need to draw ratings (namely, statistical information of television the demographic details of viewers) and has become a huge segment of the retail consumer advertising which in essence sponsors the content or at least approve of the content which falls in the temporal gaps of the program itself. The need to succeed in the competitive negotiations for advertising revenue the corporate executives act according to the maxims of their understanding of how mechanisms of control need to be utilized to maximize profit. The print and online editions have become a blend of shorter commentary blogs about trending news

stories or ongoing service such as the N.Y. Times. in the words of the website of the *New York Times* now features *Sinosphere*, a blog dedicated to issues related to China, “delivers intimate, authoritative coverage of the planet's most populous nation and its relationship with the rest of the world. Drawing on timely, engaging dispatches from The Times’ distinguished team of China correspondents, this blog brings readers into the debates and discussions taking place inside a fast-changing country and details the cultural, economic and political developments shaping the lives of 1.3 billion people.”⁴⁹ These blogs conveniently fit into the interface design of the newest portable devices that have become a constant series of successive waves in the technological surge of the 21st century. Do such forms of communication create a meaningful influence to the bottom-line of the company’s balance sheets?

The recent purchase of traditional print newspapers such as The Washington Post and The Boston Globe, separately and respectively by Bezos and Henry. The Amazon founder and a hedge fund titan have since gone about responsibly putting their money to good corporate use and most often creating a media friendly public relations image while making money as we and as a priority. As we have seen in the above section on the legally mandated profit-seeking priority of corporations is able to perform a public service if it does in fact provide an objective supervision of the various power center of the local, national, and world powers. For many this would be a much preferred option as opposed to the current trend towards increasing superficial tabloidization of the media of all forms in order to attract the widest audience possible and try to maintain a profitable market share and the marketing revenue that wide audience statistical results in the preferred demographic segments derives the largest income from the price for advertising rights. As a historical framework of investigation demonstrates, the form and or function of the media have changed due to the conglomeration and mainstream business interested profit-oriented decisions is evidence of the growing importance.

The Public Relations role in the promotion of the Tobacco industry was instrumental in granting psychologically based public relations campaigns and the style and importance of the Madison Avenue Firms in the development of a central component of the U.S economic function till this day. The process of branding products is done by marketing and advertising campaigns, which create a public consensus derived from the increase exposure this individual or concept behind the product. The debate of tobacco as a non-hazardous health issue has gone through

⁴⁹ sinosphere.blogs.nytimes.com: accessed 29-12-2013

several phases from introduction to scientifically proven and tobacco lobbyist and lawyers and tax consultant based tactic of the corporate organism that is a profit seeking entity by legal function. The tobacco industry's long maintained position that their research had proven that there no such scientific evidence of damage caused by tobacco exists. The industry as whole clung to this concocted theory, then when approached further claims of the large risk involved with cigarette use the industry's public relations machine issued disdainful no evidence studies with the same attitude of ignorance as their argument against the independent medically accepted warnings against the damage of second-hand smoke.

The end of 2013 may or may not be pivotal to the future health of the Chinese people. The government of China is initiating efforts to ban smoking in public places by ordering Communist Party officials to "lead by example" and refrain from smoking in government offices, schools, hospitals, sports and cultural venues and on public transport. Party officials have also been ordered to ask others not to smoke in public. The new directive forbids government offices from spending public funds on tobacco and bars tobacco companies from sponsoring government or Communist Party events.⁵⁰

V. **Convergence as a collective benefit - The Supra-State System**

The national flag is an important representative symbol but the national currency is a more powerful instrument of national standing within the world economy. The national currency is an important symbol and instrument of national sovereignty. If an outside force controls the money supply, it does not matter who controls the domestic government. This concept leads to a disconnection between the political agents and the economic conditions of the sovereign nation-state. Furthermore differences in institutions and policies may reflect diversity in preferences and political orientations across communities in a currency area, consistent with the democratic nature of our societies.

In the 19th century the convergence process of Greater Germany commenced with the peace settlement, which consisted of treaties which were agreed upon by the Prussian King and the leaders of sixteen German states. During the time between the 18th of August, 1866 and the 25th of November, 1870, eight separate public treaties which were signed by the Prussian monarch and the other monarchs, and these agreements solidified the unification of a German

⁵⁰ Ibid

authority as supra-state entity. The treaties created a legally binding commitment to both a defensive and offensive political union which would preserve the independence and integrity of the membership of this German confederation.

In the post-war twentieth century, the increased influence of technocrats and expert knowledge based on economic theorizing and the various case studies and empirical data which accompanied much of the public policy agenda setting and subsequent design and implementation of public policy across and above nation states. Bernard Connolly's *The Dirty War for Europe's Money* and *The Road To Maastricht* by Dyson and Featherstone are detailed accounts of the formation of the instruments and institutions of the European Union, which contemporary analysts must rely on to gauge the nature and means by which transnational institutional structures emerge from public policy negotiations. They are both of great historical importance as a record of events and furthermore as a starting point for further theoretical research because they are in fact documented histories and complementary commentaries of the bureaucratic proceedings of the various governing bodies which operated according to an ever evolving political balance of internal and interconnected power hierarchies. These types of insider accounts give detailed descriptions of the varying special interests influence and provide insight into how and to what degree particular public policy problems are defined and how and to what degree is the accompanying debate, originated, shaped and ultimately resolved via the policy making/ decision making competition of negotiation.

A combination of these insider-derived accounts as well as an application of the main concepts of the social theory of *structuration* is a helpful guide in establishing a valid methodology in an attempt to illuminate the shape and nature of international and transnational balances of power. Robert and John Toye propose a modified Weberian theory of bureaucracy, which asserts that, inside all public organizations, authority stands in potential tension with power.⁵¹ There is a crucial distinction between authority and power: authority is hierarchical, and is formally delegated downward in a very precise manner while on the other hand, "power - the ability to make others act as one requires may be distributed differently. It will be exercised from above only to the extent that those in authority at the top have the resources of power - personal leadership skills, access to information, incentives and sanctions with which to

⁵¹ Toye, John and Toye, Richard p 3

motivate, control and appropriate the efforts of those below them in the hierarchy.”⁵² This potential tension sets the scene for the outbreak of power struggles. This concept of hierarchical authority and multi-dimensional power is integral to a full understanding dual relationship between the interconnected transnational institutions and the epistemological community which attempts to steer a collected orchestration of public policy initiatives towards a special interest maximizing target. Both the particular institution and the epistemic community are by nature political entities, whose members are concerned with generating as much benefit and advantage from their power. The design, consensus approval, and implementation of public policy is primarily a political process, in that the various groups and individuals are attempting to maximize their relative benefit based upon their existing power available to utilize at each procedural stage of enacting public policy. The concept of the principle-agent problem connects the need to achieve to conquer, to enjoy the fruits of their labor to a better degree personally if they make a decision that is not in the best interest of the institution as a whole or another component of the Triple Helix network.

In 1944, F.A. Hayek published *The Road to Serfdom*. He wrote it in his free time during WWII between 1940 and 1943. He warned that the manipulation of foreign exchange rates by state actors was the most significant step towards loss of individual freedom, and of the potential to overlook or underestimate the influence of this monetary policy mechanism, “nothing would at first seem to affect private life less than a state control of the dealings in the foreign exchange, and most people would regard its introduction with indifference.”⁵³ The power of foreign exchange rates is demonstrated by the fact that within supra-state structures, such as the European Economic Community, planned exchange rate regimes significantly weaken national sovereignty because “Central Planning means that the economic problem is to be solved by the community instead of by the individual; (thus) it must be the community, or rather its representatives, who must decide the relative importance of the different needs.”⁵⁴ More than a decade before the Treaty of Rome, Hayek had just described the style of planning which would become common in the administrative and executive committees which meet regularly in Brussels.

⁵² Ibid, p 7

⁵³ Hayek, (1944) p.101, footnote

⁵⁴ Ibid p.101

European economic integration prior to the European Monetary System was characterized by the fact that the original European Economic Community was weak regarding currency and monetary policy mostly because France led by DeGaulle who refused to expose national sovereignty to external forces. However, in 1969, new leaders in France and Germany, respectively, Georges Pompidou and Willy Brandt perceived the EMU in the context of improved East/West relations on the continent. In 1970, the Werner Report defined economic and monetary union as, “comprising irrevocable convertibility of the member states’ currencies, free movement of capital, and the permanent locking of exchange rates” Initially, French leader Debre and the Gaullists refused to accept the Werner Report conditions, but in March 1971, experimentation with monetary union May 1971, Germans want to return to floating exchange rate , but France and Italy refuse for two main reasons: (1.) France and Italy want to protect exports by keeping exchange rates low. (2.) Both countries had a policy preference for exchange controls rather than float. Finally, August ’71 marked the end of Bretton Woods System.

The Emergence of the European Monetary Union as a Prime Goal of the European Community was a political gambit as a means of securing a more inter-dependent European economy and thus a Europe less likely to become antagonistic in regards to political and economic power. In 1977, Roy Jenkins, British president of EU commission, inspired by Jean Monnet’s example, renewed active efforts to reassert the stagnating hypothesis of an integrated monetary union as a possible cure to the common problems of the countries of Europe, namely: unemployment, inflation, and exchange-rate divergence. Belgium had pushed Jenkins’ agenda ahead in December ‘77, and in February ‘78 German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt told Jenkins that he wanted to take major steps forward to a monetary union based on a common reserve pool. The idea of the EMU was a big influence. August’78, Schmidt and French Prime Minister Giscard d’Estaing finalized the German – Franco deal. In 1979, The European Monetary System was founded; the United Kingdom was the only member state which opted not to participate. The political machinations of the UK would repeatedly frustrate those within the pro-European monetary convergence camp for years to come. As always politics and a fundamental refusal to harm the strength of the pound as well as the perceived need to maintain monetary sovereignty kept the UK on the edge of the EMU Pool, sometime it would start to wade in but easily frightened it would quickly return to the safety of full control of both fiscal and monetary policies. This coincides with Masaryk’s fifty years previously, “In view of the universal

endeavor to improve economic and social conditions, industry, and especially big industry is becoming a great social power and can directly and indirectly exert influence upon Parliament and the government. It is the duty of true democracy to be independent of financial rulers”⁵⁵

Hayek notes that the physical sciences typically advance by replacing the classification system provided by our senses with new classification systems.⁵⁶ The increase in the number of small countries in existence since the end of World War II has led to a new degree of economic disequilibrium in the international economic system. What is a nation? Does a national economy have the ability to support a domestic currency? These are two distinct questions from completely different perspectives. The first is a political and philosophical question. The second is an economic quandary. The modern analysis is derived from (Mundell, 1961). The basic rationale underlying the OCA as it applies to the EU is that Europe as a whole is far – better suited for economic integration rather than only a select few European states operating in tandem while being surrounded by unaligned economies.⁵⁷ According to William Wallace integration is, “the creation and maintenance of intense and diversified patterns of interaction among previously autonomous units”⁵⁸ The EU’s integration experience was also inherent in Ernst Haas’ definition that, “The process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new center, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing national states.”⁵⁹

Various institutional and social changes would need to take place to allow for regional currencies to be established. The Maastricht Treaty, ratified in 1993, which limited member states’ budget deficit to 3% of gross domestic product (GDP), somehow contains European national governments’ macro-economic policy. Since the countries must accept the common rate within the whole zone, this means that they might have to manage their budget with a common regional policy and try to confine their inflation rate together. However, not all countries are at the same level of strong or stable economies. And if one state is on the verge of default, it is impossible for the others to ignore her because once a member’s economy fails, it is likely to drag the rest down with it. The political reorganization of Western Europe as well as the post-

⁵⁵ Masaryk, T.G. (1928) “Speech on the Tenth Anniversary of Independence”

⁵⁶ Hayek (1952) p 31–37

⁵⁷ Baldwin, Richard & Wyplosz, Charles. (2004)

⁵⁸ Cited in Rosamond, Ben. p 12

⁵⁹ Haas Ernst, (1968), cited in Rosamond, Ben. p13

cold war independence of Central and Eastern European countries gave opportunity for the establishment of a Common Market and eventually a common currency. “The arrival of the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and the introduction of a single currency, the euro, in 1999, have demonstrated a readiness and capacity to surpass all the usual limitations of other regional trade organizations, most of which have yet to progress beyond the initial stages of a free trade area or a customs union. From the perspective of regional integration, Europe evidently ‘leads the pack’.”⁶⁰

In *Postwar: A History of Europe*, Tony Judt describes Brussels as, “an appropriately anonymous headquarters for an undefined administrative entity, neither democratic nor authoritarian – governed only through the consent of its member governments.”⁶¹ The initial conception of the European Economic Community (EEC) by Jean Monnet and subsequent work by like-minded successors didn’t imagine, much less implement, representation based on a democratic or federal system. Both supporters and critics of this proposal within institutional committees dedicated their energies towards the technical modernization of Europe from the top -- down. This is a characteristic of a planned economy. The wielders of political and legislative powers also seemed to contradict the spirit of the Democratic Capitalist/Free Market ideals, as preached by Milton Friedman and others of the school of thought most closely associated with the Economic and Political Science Faculties of the University of Chicago.

European Parliament, with 732 members, is the weakest of all EU institutions. Real Power lies with the Commission appointed by national governments and Council of Ministers comprising their representatives.⁶² The European Commission presidency of Jaques Delors was marked by a “harmonizing passion”⁶³ The Delors Report, like the Werner Report before it, proposed a three-stage process to Monetary Union, due to culminate in the abolition of national currencies in the year 2002.

V.a The treaty and the theory: The EEC and The OCA

The “science of politics” shows what kind of political action follows from the people holding certain views on the nature of society and for which these views would have to be treated as data. But while in man’s actions towards social phenomena, i.e. in explaining his political actions, we have to take his views about the constitution of society as given, we can on a different level of analysis investigate their truth or untruth. The fact that a particular society may believe

⁶⁰ Molchanov, Mikhail A. (2007)

⁶¹ Judt 728

⁶² Ibid, p.731

⁶³ Jundt, p 728

*that its institutions have been created by divine intervention we would have to accept as a fact in explaining the politics of that society; but it need not prevent us from showing that this view is probably false.*⁶⁴

The OCA Theory was an economic logic which nicely complemented the political logic of a European Monetary System. In 1957, The Treaty of Rome created a cooperative framework for the convergence of the six member states' economies. In 1961, Robert Mundell published his ground-breaking work *Optimum Currency Area*. He attempted to synthesize an economic theory which answered the question: "What is the appropriate domain of a currency?" OCA is an alternative to fixed rate regimes which inherently have periodic balance of payment crises. The economic theory holds that the existence of highly interdependent economies creates an area in which a single currency is more efficient than multiple currencies limited to geographic and legal boundaries of a nation-state.

The Benefits of a common currency within an OCA

- Removal of Foreign Exchange costs
- Reduction of Reserve Requirements
- More efficient use of money and allocation of savings
- Increase in Business Confidence due to elimination of exchange risk

As the Theoretical Principle behind the ERM of the European Monetary System the following question must be investigated. Do these benefits justify sacrificing the right of each state to conduct a macroeconomic policy tailored to its specific needs? The ERM operated as the driving force towards European Monetary Unification. Across Three time periods (1975-1979) (1979-1985) (1986-1989) the ERM of the EMS helped to stabilize the participants' exchange rates by the 1980s. The variability in the period ('79-85) was half what it had been in ('75-'79) and it halved again in ('86-89)⁶⁵ The Battle for the ERM was won by markets, but the battle over the EMU continues. Bernard Connolly describes the ERM as a confidence trick, in that "The ERM is a mechanism for subordinating the economic welfare, democratic rights, and national freedoms of EU citizens to the will of political and bureaucratic elites". The ERM was in actuality acting as a counter-force to the stated goals of the community. Here is a brief explanation of the two views of divergent economies:

⁶⁴ Hayek (1942) p 285, n. 2

⁶⁵ Pinder p159

- (1) Neo-classical Economists: “divergent performance” is due to differing macroeconomic policies. Thus, convergence was a matter of political policies. Applications of OCA according to this view would allow governments to stabilize diverging conditions via political decisions regarding monetary policies.
- (2) The Alternative view claims that divergence is caused by differing economic structures, particularly in labor markets. Factors such as the strength and behavior of trade unions built different propensities to inflations into the individual economies. Thus, in such cases of significant divergence, monetary integration could not take the form of permanent locking of exchange rates.

In 1930, Ortega y Gasset said that “Europe for all practical purposes was a trinity of France, Germany, and England” and as the history of the European Economic Community shows it still is heavily influenced by the aims and desires as well as their propensities for economic security. In 2005, Tony Judt described the current dynamic of this trinity as, “The dominant member states - Britain, Germany, and above all France – could not count on getting what they wanted, but whatever they truly did not want, did not come to pass. Bernard Connolly and John Pinder both wrote comprehensive histories, which serve as insightful explanations of the roles which particular technocrats and politicians played in the development of the European Monetary Union regarding unfair influence which was wielded during the entire evolution of the Common Market. Bernard Connolly thanks the German economist Rudi Dornbusch, who had long taught the post-graduate economic and finance students at M.I.T. (including Lawrence Summers, who will be a subject in the policy dispute due to epistemic cleavages regarding the structural normative behaviors of the World Bank in the next section of this paper) for giving him the “moral courage” to speak out as an insider with sharp criticism and illuminating insight into the events and political dialogues that shaped the design of the EMS in the Introduction to his invaluable 1996 book, *The Rotten Heart of Europe*, much of which focuses on the political maneuvers behind and surrounding the ERM as he tells the tale about what happened on the road during the negotiating process which led to Maastricht.

In summary of this historical exploration of the role of individuals and transnational institution, the various OCA theorists had not reached any consensus regarding whether or not the European Economic Community composed such an area, but it was applied as an appropriate model for future monetary union. The economic reality post Euro Adoption has not lived up to the hypothesis of OCA Theory as it pertains to the diversity of its expanded membership. What are the advantages and disadvantages of common currency unions? Alesina and Barro (2002) find that “currency unions tend to increase the co-movement of prices but are not systematically

related to the co-movement of outputs.”⁶⁶ There is a significant basis supporting this author’s claim that the role of OCA was a scientifically devised, yet politically wielded instrument of coercion in terms of negotiating a collective structure for benefits that has not been shared by all participants equally. One man’s opinion, Vaclav Klaus’, was given in an official endorsement of John Fonte’s *Sovereignty or Submission* (2011) where he wrote that “the currently popular notion of world citizenship is only mystification and manipulation. My experience with one of its variants, the European Union, is not positive at all.”⁶⁷

The clumsy application of the MUNDELL – FLEMING model as the basis for rationalizing supporting the benefits of a common monetary union for political and economic benefits and perceived social values of the concept of peace through the operation of a market system is an example of a political mechanism of applied technocratic power negotiations. The mutual benefactors of a single perceived system theoretically will allow the proper conditions for efficient market economics of scale and satisfy the convergence criteria. However, the political machination underlying the avoidance of closer scrutiny of Greece’ rubber stamp inclusion amongst the membership, has recently shown the dramatic outcome of the national and international interests at work attempting to sort out and resolve the Greek economic disaster that has come to symbolize this current era of 21st century capitalism.

In the United States there was little focus outside the scholarly departments which were still studying and testing and refuting and rethinking the theoretical work of Mundell’s OCA theory outside certain academic departments, while other departments of research institutions were more focusing on technological invention and innovation. The MIT Entrepreneurial model and the Drucker-inspired corporate style of management takes into consideration the ability of the agent to have a more incentivized investment of brain and time power to the problem or the discovery, if there exists a streamlined and mutually beneficial cooperation; money is a motivation that has for time immemorial has proven effective. Within this management style a potential moral hazard exists specifically regarding the firm – client relationship, especially when the individual who is representing the firm is also seeking his or her own self-maximizing Pareto principle. The predatory nature of the unregulated market is a wild vicious entity.

⁶⁶ Alesina and Barro (2002)

⁶⁷ August 30, 2011 – www.klaus.cz/clanky/2913

There was a revolutionary shift from the mid-20th century to the new millennium. In the previous era, notably in the 1970s, the U.S. Government funded half of the research and development activities related to the telecommunications industry, including fiber optics, satellites and automated switching equipment.⁶⁸ Furthermore the government sector was concerned that the giant commercial oligopolies were moving too slowly in terms of innovation and this slowdown could potentially lead to a negative impact on the security capability of the American military. So government expenditures in the form of a \$75 million program to establish the technological means of automated manufacturing process were approved.⁶⁹ There was a great deal of concern due to the increased American appetite for imported goods which were manufactured abroad. M.I.T's Commission on Industrial Productivity report of 1989, "certain American industries that once dominated world commerce ... have lost much of their market share both at home and abroad; in a few industries... the American presence has all but disappeared",⁷⁰

The transnational nature of corporate institutions had led to a transnational supply-chain and manufacturing, transportation, and communication improvements were the fundamental reasons behind this revolution. Private firms were not as concerned with the national interests as they were with their balance sheets. Economist Robert Reich illustrates the real influence of the process of globalization in the fact that between 1969 and 1983, the total value of American imports from American owned factories abroad rose from \$1.8 billion to 22 billion, adjusted for inflation.⁷¹ Transnational activity and the formation of multi-national subsidiaries of corporate oligopolies was responsible for this reduction of economies of scale and the dissemination and consensus of corporate management styles, such as the Harvard M.B.A program which Peter Drucker has help shaped and the entrepreneurial technology engineers at M.IT, were of upmost importance in determining the convergence of policy regimes throughout the world. The increasing trend of encouraging social systems which can be programmed to function along the preferred standard of political and consumption and management/employee compensations in exchange for labor and the prioritizing of multiple interests in the individuals role as a power wielding representative of an institutional component of a power center.

⁶⁸ Reich, Robert, *Supercapitalism* p 59

⁶⁹ Ibid

⁷⁰ Dertouzos, M et al. (1989)p 1

⁷¹ Reich, Robert, p.62

VI. Conflicting Epistemic Cleavages at the World Bank: U.S. v. Japan

This final historical investigation of an important incident along the path of supra-state institutional structuration an example of the competitive nature and actors involved in the supra-state level of institutional governance, which illustrates the role of the particular individual in the official position of an institution and how the theory of structuration is helpful in gaining insight into the reciprocal roles of structural norms and individual behaviors and their influence on institutional norms and structures.

The role of Epistemic Communities, which are instrumental in the converging ideology of research institutions and universities and other intellectually focused institutional agencies, including those roles which Larry Summers has played in various roles as a powerful position in the United States Department of Treasury, as well as the World Bank hierarchical structure. His appointment to such pivotal roles is due to his ability to implement the various political coercive and tactical techniques. What is determinant is the interplay of national interests amongst transnational institutional structures. As for the concept of "national interest," the national interest of a given nation-state is, of course, what its political and economic elite determines it to be. The second core characteristic is how Epistemic Communities, both explicitly and implicitly, influence and at times actively seek to manipulate the conditioning of both agents and structures relating to the extent to which political power is distributed. As Risse-Kappen argues:

The more the respective issue-area is regulated by international norms of cooperation, the more permeable should state boundaries become for transnational activities. Highly regulated and cooperative structures of international governance tend to legitimize transnational activities and to increase their access to the national polities as well as their ability to form 'winning coalitions' for policy change. Transnational relations acting in a highly institutionalized international environment are, therefore, likely to overcome hurdles otherwise posed by state-dominated domestic structures more easily.⁷²

The political context of the inner workings of the World Bank as an authority wielding body whose jurisdiction and power is based transnationally and it attempts to dictate public policy decisions through its role as the sole lender of developmental financing to the developing world. Such power based actions indicates that The World Bank and its representatives attempt to attain benefit maximizing positions. Such practices are exemplified by individual representatives who seek to attain for the institution the consensus derived *norm* as the legitimate provider of development related finance. The Banks dual function as a finance credit and as a disseminator of expert opinion offer agents within and beyond the institutional hierarchy to operates on behalf of special interest groups which seek to continue and expand and deepen the neo-liberalist conceptualization of the global international order.

The perception of a single way forward attempts to coerce all participants of global capitalist system to operate and organize behaviors and structures which closely mirror the institutions of the United States. The World Bank has continually been used as a conditioning constructivist instrument

⁷² Risse-Kappen: p.6-7

within developing states and also transnational/ supra-national entities. The World Bank should be viewed in its institutional capacity as a provider of both developmental finance and also as a leading institution in terms of knowledge creation and promotion. The Bank has also increasingly and with much caution demonstrated what is best described as an implicit demand for good governance related criteria, despite the condition in the institutional Charter that the Bank should lend financing without any consideration of the political nature of the potential borrower state. The battle over the need of redefining what development was, the Bank offers this comprehensive view, that “development in a broader sense is understood to include ... equal opportunity and political freedoms and civil liberties.”⁷³

In his analysis of and commentary on Japan’s economic and industrial transformation, Robert Wade describes how the World Bank has an influential position within the international system where, “political agents within and outside the power structure of the World Bank are able to frame debates on development issues, and how such institutional power is derived:

*1) its ability to influence the terms on which low-income countries gain access to international capital markets, 2) a research and policy-design budget far larger than that of any other development organization, and 3) its ability to attract global media coverage of its major reports.*⁷⁴

In the 1980s and 1990s the dynamics in conflict were specifically due to the interactions of the Japanese and US governments, specifically the Ministry of Finance and the U.S. Department of Treasury and their various representatives and behavioral and ideological standpoints. The World Bank was the instrument wielded to demonstrate the US hegemonic power. Basically, the US wanted free-market capitalism to drive the needed financing of industrializing strategies in developing nations. Lawrence Summers joined as chief economist and vice-president in January 1991. From January to June 1991, drafts of the Bank’s *World Development Report 1991: The Challenge of Development* underwent discussion within the Bank. Despite the Japanese success and the correlating supportive empirical analysis, the World Bank under the leadership of Larry Summers refused to validate such strategies with the World Bank’s stamp of approval.

Robert Wade presents a landmark case against such conflicts of interest regarding how the World Bank actively discouraged the Japanese government from intervening on its neighbors behalf in the construction of international public policy relating to development aid focused on industrializing states in the South East Asia region according to the models and ideals which were implemented by the government of Japan and is perceived as the catalyst for Japan’s rise as

⁷³ World Bank, 1991

⁷⁴ Wade, (1996) p 5

a world economic power.⁷⁵ Japan wanted to structure industrialized convergence in stages as the reciprocating conditions which would motivate the further dovetailing of these geographically linked states. This induced a public and private battle between two knowledge agencies, namely the World Bank and the Japanese Ministry of Finance. The central question which set off the polarizing debate between two different ideological approaches to the public policy issues of Development, specifically modernization and economic growth concerned How should credit be extended and conditioned to states in the ASEAN alliance? At that time Japan was the number two stakeholder in the World Bank behind the US and Japan. Furthermore these two states were increasingly interconnected as Japan linked monetarily with US economic power base vis-a-vis the balance of credit/ trade deficits.

In his article, Wade posits four generalized explanations as a means to answer his own question: “What are possible reasons for World Bank’s critical view of the Japanese approach to development?”⁷⁶ The first, and perhaps most illuminating, is regards the depth of the ideological cleavages between the two consensus opinions in Japan and the U.S. Each country has long maintained a particular conceptualization of the nature of work and output. In Japanese culture there exists a “common usage distinction which demonstrates an ideological nuance that is worth reflecting upon. This nuance appears in the phrases, “money-making culture” and “thing-making culture”.⁷⁷ Thus, following this scenarios involves two non-corresponding types of epistemic thinking, in that, Japan’s Ministry of Finance was ready to implement a Japanese inspired strategy of industrialization in some of the region’s developing neighbors, while the World Bank was prepared to abandon any plans of unilateral acts of national government intervention in favor of market oriented solutions. The World Bank was recommending the structures and procedures be implemented in order to best benefit the powers of internationally based financial capitalism, namely the hegemonic financial powers based in New York and London. Secondly, the World Bank has an “organizational interest”, in that it needs to control the procedures and demonstrate its authority as an international guiding beacon for the rest of the world.⁷⁸ The third reason is national material interest. Building a powerful market position across East and Southeast Asia is a top Japanese government objective. And this reason is connected to nationalism, the fourth

⁷⁵ Ibid

⁷⁶ Ibid, p 13

⁷⁷ Ibid, p 11

⁷⁸ Ibid, p 11

reason why Japan countered the World Bank, can be seen as a resistance struggle against the US led ideology of the free-trade movement in that Japan sought to assert itself as a state power in the face of the multi-tiered transnational entity. Wade explains concisely that, “The Bank’s criticism of Japan’s concessional and directed aid schemes in Southeast Asia were aimed at what Ministry of Finance considered its greatest post-war achievement. Directed credit was its principal industrial policy instrument in the post-war renaissance of Japan”⁷⁹ Contrarily, The World Bank was pursuing its own interest seeking motives when the final draft of the 1991 World Development Report highlighted the new approach that the Bank was recommending which posited the theory that even though the national government sector did have a role in a market-friendly approach to development of supra-state structures; “faith in the ability of the state to direct development has given way to a greater reliance on market; and government action and involvement in development should be employed sparingly.”⁸⁰

The new technology and the freedom of an international marketplace and community have allowed many citizens to circumvent the expected or desired behavior of the masses. The control and order of a society has to be coerced and there has been an increasingly restricted environment in this new digital epoch in which international terrorism is the enemy which is the rhetorical target of the increasing size and scope of civil police techniques and management which have been adopted by the military sector. The increase in expenditure by the major powers in scientifically oriented defense and offensive mechanism and systems is the most crucial consequence in this new technological age.

Today the mastery of technological power that can successively deliver satellites and hold inter-continental ballistic is demonstrative of a nation’s and now more frequently private firms capability to operate as an offensive or defensive institution in the competitiveness according to Meirsheimer; while ensuring a cost reducing way to operate the private firms in which more and more frequently are becoming intertwined with or packaged as public institutions and also more and more formerly tax expenditures which was to be converted into private firms through many forms. The discussion of the private world of aerospace industry, and the big data firms have recently been exposed as having a nth degree of magnetic force which via

⁷⁹ Ibid, p 11

⁸⁰ Leftwich, p 50

email and all other types of transmission of information, especially through the corporatized public relations and marketing schemes.

The Triple Helix of interaction can be seen in the recent emergence of the significant technological ability and the willingness to execute surveillance on allied nations as well as corporate interests in terms of media. The Possible Conflict of Collective Interest inherent in the intertwined institutions of the Triple Helix is due to the recursive causal determinism of individuals which utilize the power of the position within the hierarchy of a power center, especially in the international corporate and government sectors. The nature of the 21st century supra-state system where interest oriented groups can operate on the same level as nation states and can even usurp some of the sovereign powers of nation states in certain situations such as the case of failed or fragile states. Some NGOs are capable of taking over the reins of power depending on the skillset and support of the staff and also the ability to educate and teach not only health by administration and often NATO is seen as a policing arm of a global consensus of nation-states, on the same level of global governance at the United Nations. The importance of enforcement capability, how best to secure the control of sovereign power of a nation state can be hurdled in today's world by a multinational staffed technological giant which has a vast amount of wealth to spend on research and development and cooperative efforts with private tech firms as a venture capitalist and also to plant seed money at research universities and laboratories to further their corporate duty.

There needs to be a more transparent relationship between the expert witnesses who use their titles of private education institutions without disclosing commensuration by interested parties for consultancy or advisory board committees. The practice is most significant and dangerous to the integrity of the field of education where certain participants lend the credence of the school and the position of rank within that university to attain income bearing positions in the financial modeling and statistical sector also the legal accounting auditing firms have not been always completely honest in their dealings. This pertains to how the major security firms in the global financial hub and elsewhere have been aggressive in underwriting and promoting academic work. For example, the non-transparent and murky business dealings in which actors from seemingly independent segments of the so-called Triple Helix are frequently involved when the need for the private industry to extoll and rely on expert advice from the academic sector as grounds for factual evidence of the benefits of particular practices or policy regimes.

VII. Conclusion: Possible Further Applications and Refinements

In conclusion, the main point is the existence of “the duality of structure” according to *Structuration Theory* is a highly valuable methodology in seeking to understand the political environment and interrelated behaviors transnational institutions. Individuals matter and recognizing the reciprocal and recursive ontological determinants of agent and structure are necessary to acquire a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of the contemporary world order.

The power of the irrational over the rational model determines the probability of particular activity in future situations and this information is useful and it is in the individual’s best interest to prepare for possible outcomes and readiness to maintain strength. The scope of social change and in particular the role of citizen rights compared to corporate rights of those who wield influence in the various categories of power structure. Personal power derived from the inherited status function of a particular authority position within hierarchies of authority systems is crucial to understanding the construction of institutions at all levels. The Competition of participants is often not as modeled in terms of the negotiating strategy of actors. The hierarchical hegemony is in a recursive relationship with the position of the office and the time-relevant holder of those positions. Hayek frequently posits that concepts are learned, in that shared concepts are a precondition for people to understand the activities of other people, and acknowledge that there may be differences in the concepts held by people in different societies, or societies at different stages of development.⁸¹ The concepts that Hayek is referring to are agreed upon by consensus.⁸² The importance of this feature is vital to the exploration and better understanding of our increasingly converged global society.

The argument presented in this paper can be illuminating of the real nature and social connections of the various power centers and their respective hierarchies. In a conference paper, Alex Schmid suggested that there may be connections that take the form of associations, alliances, cooperation, confluence, convergence or symbiosis.⁸³ This paper suggests further investigation into other recent struggles within the multidimensional aspects of the transnational institutions with regard to the political power of both agents and structures and their recursive ability to influence the public policy agenda and subsequent implementation of laws and norms.

⁸¹ Hayek (1942) p 280

⁸² Hayek (1942) p 284

⁸³ Schmid, Alex P. (1996) p 191

Similar research on institutional social behavior of the “agent –structure” according to the concepts of structuration as applied to the distribution of hierarchy power based on expert opinion and political motivated actions at the executive levels of consensus shaping political processes should be attached to public policy formation related to security concerns.

The changing relationship of the US-UK military alliance in further developments of NATO as a transnational entity is another illustrative example of the modern configuration of American Hegemony within a global system. In The 21st century, NATO must be viewed in the context as a growing source of both military and police actions in which a different style of engagement is applied by soldiers while providing civil and law enforcement roles in failed and or developing countries. The growing literature on SSR (Security System Reform) is also useful in applying the concepts of structuration as the public policy negotiations are influenced by both structural rules and agent practice. The enforcers must be coerced or persuaded to enforce the code of law. The SSR concept was first introduced by Clare Short while making a speech in 1998 in her role as the UK Secretary of State for International Development.⁸⁴

The postmodern delineation between civil and military issues have been blurred and increasingly intertwined to the point where it is hard to distinguish where the traditional demarcations previously existed. The contemporary conceptions have blended the traditional distinctions. SSR norms emphasize civilian control of law and order functions and the separation of civil and military functions. Sarah Penksa describes the spectrum of structural entities as, “a comprehensive SSR and rule of law programs with advisors along the whole chain of law enforcement – including police, customs officials, judges, attorneys, and human rights specialists”⁸⁵ What shapes that public policy and military enforcement practice? Politics, and as the duality of Structure demonstrates, the nature of the agency and structure of the transnational institution operates according to the Norm conceived perception of legitimacy. The implications of SSR as it relates to the expansion and deepening of international law and more directly the legitimate practice of transnational organizations such as NATO and EULUX to implement public policy initiatives and rules are due to the scope of SSR issues. SSR programs present opportunities for transnational entities to use military force and implied legitimacy in an overwhelming process of stamping into effect the rule of law. We will briefly consider the

⁸⁴ Penksa, Susan E

⁸⁵ Ibid, p 44

historical creation of the EULEX mission, with a European Union executive mandate. The first top executive decision maker to helm the largest civilian directed agency of the European Union. How did the agents within the hierarchy gain consensus regarding its autonomy? The first Head of Mission for EULEX, Yves de Kermabon insisted that EULEX would only receive instructions from Brussels and not accept any coordination on behalf of the United Nations in New York.⁸⁶ It was determined through politics, and more precisely, through the reciprocal quality of structure and agents actions during the development of public policy definitions, solutions and strategies.

This paper analyzed the roles of individuals and epistemic communities as powerful influences on the structure of transnational bureaucratic organizations. The influence of epistemic communities as a consensus building mechanism which shapes the structures and norms of transnational institutions is also part of this multi-dynamic relationship. These concepts were applied to the functions and past experiences of the World Bank, specifically pertaining to the refusal of the World Bank to support any strategies related to direct government interventions to aid industrializing developing countries. The World Bank actively discouraged the expansion of the industrializing model which Japan implemented to great success in its own borders, to neighboring countries. This case study demonstrates the value of Structuration Theory in gaining better understanding the political dynamics at work within and outside the transnational organization and how agents and structures, as well as epistemic communities, can be politically coercive instruments for special interest groups.

Also, the political and ideological incentives of a single currency Eurozone were investigated in an attempt to better understand the various influences and dynamics among the diverse interest at the national, international, and supra-national levels of policy implementation. This paper included a case study of the Optimum Currency Area as theorized and expanded upon by Robert Mundell and other academics; the main area of focus pertains to the appropriateness of the of the application of this economic model as the European Monetary Union was designed. The converging economies of the European Union have not fully demonstrated the characteristics of an optimum currency area.

This diploma thesis posits the argument that the incentivized profit-seeking corporate management structure has a dynamic influence on the dissemination of information and the signaling process of how best to take advantage an individual's position within an institutional

⁸⁶ see "Joint Action that established EULEX" *Council of the European Union*, 2008; cited in Penska, footnote no.43 p57

hierarchy which determines a codified and accepted standard of behavior. Moreover, the direct and indirect collectivized and concentrated special interest groups which collude in operation in order to achieve more power within the network of intertwined hierarchies of authority are necessary to understanding the nature of the evolving matrix of power dynamics best described by the *Triple-Helix* as first introduced to this topic of investigation by Etzkowitz.⁸⁷ Individuals operate within a system of structures and those structures influence the actions and the collectivized behavior of larger social structures to create the social reality at any given point.

Epistemic communities are an efficient means of understanding how information and modes of perception become ingrained in the function of whole societies. The reciprocal constitutive influence that exists between individuals and social structures as explored separately by John Searle and Anthony Giddens is an example of the great benefit that a sociological knowledge can allow a more informed view of the operational functions and nature in any enquiry related to the competition of coercive powers in determining institutional norms and rules. The significance of economic thought and social behavior is to analyze the functions of such networked belief systems which encompass most of the population at a given point of time and place. Economic & Political History is a field which has increasingly been viewed as a reflexive lens through which one can gain a better understanding of the dynamic of the intertwined nature of financial, political, and private industrial powers in creating the structures and institutions that influence the negotiations at the supra-state level of institutional formation.

⁸⁷ Etzkowitz, H. (2003). Innovation in innovation: The triple helix of university-industry-government relations. *Social Science Information*, 42(3), 293-337.

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