

# State, Society & Citizen

Cross-Disciplinary  
Perspectives  
on Welfare State  
Development

Bremen  
Haus der Wissenschaft  
19-23 August 2024

## Keynote Speakers

Prof. Daniel Béland, PhD  
McGill University, Montréal  
Prof. Patrick Emmenegger, PhD  
University of St. Gallen  
Prof. Dr. Alexandra Kaasch  
University of Bielefeld  
Prof. Marianne Ulriksen, PhD  
University of Southern Denmark  
Prof. Dr. Carina Schmitt  
University of Bamberg

## 13TH INTERNATIONAL NORDWEL SUMMER SCHOOL

## 13<sup>th</sup> International NordWel Summer School

Jointly organized by

Collaborative Research Centre 1342 “Global Dynamics of Social Policy”, University of Bremen

The Faculty of Social Sciences and the Swedish School of Social Science, University of Helsinki

Danish Centre for Welfare Studies, University of Southern Denmark

Organizing Committee

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## Programme

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### Monday, 19 August 2024

- 14.45 - Registration and Coffee  
15.45 Haus der Wissenschaft, Sandstr. 4/5, 28195 Bremen  
Room: Foyer
- 15.45 - Opening Words  
16.00 Introduction and Guidelines for the Course  
*Herbert Obinger and Klaus Petersen*  
Room: Olbers-Saal
- 16.00 - Keynote I (Opening Lecture)  
17.15 *Carina Schmitt* (University of Bamberg, Germany)  
War and National Solidarity: Evidence from the Ukraine  
Chair: Klaus Petersen  
Room: Olbers-Saal
- 18.00 Dinner  
Restaurant: *bellini*  
(Schlachte 41, 28195 Bremen)

## Tuesday, 20 August 2024

09.00 - [Keynote II](#)

10.15 *Marianne Ulriksen* (University of Southern Denmark, Denmark)  
Social Protection for the Working Age Population in the  
Global South: Challenges and Opportunities  
Chair: Pauli Kettunen  
Room: Olbers-Saal

10.15 - [Coffee Break](#)

10.30 Haus der Wissenschaft

10.30 - [Parallel session I](#)

11.30 *Migyeong Yun* (University of Bremen, Germany)  
Learning from a peer: Tracing the agenda-setting  
process behind Korea's Adoption of Long-Term Care  
Insurance  
Commentators: Carina Schmitt, Fabienne Hansen  
Room: Olbers-Saal

[Parallel session II](#)

Søren Werther Kjaer Rasmussen (University of Southern  
Denmark, Denmark)  
Politics of Veteran Policies in a Peaceful State: The  
Compensation Act for Danish Victims of World War II  
1945-1969  
Commentators: Cornelius Torp, Tarik Biyiklioglu  
Room: Kleiner Saal

11.30 - [Parallel session III](#)

12.30 *Mara Junge* (University of Bremen, Germany)  
Selective Solidarity? How Unions Drive Immigration Policy  
in OECD Countries, 1980-2010  
Commentators: Carina Schmitt, Kathrin Jehne  
Room: Olbers-Saal

[Parallel session IV](#)

*Dominik Gall* (University of Bremen, Germany)  
The development of social policy in Argentina from 1880  
to 1949 and its links to the sugar industry in Jujuy from a  
global historical perspective  
Commentators: Marianne Ulriksen, Annemarie  
Borregaard  
Room: Kleiner Saal

12.30 - Lunch

13.45 Haus der Wissenschaft

13.45 - Parallel session V

14.45 *Tarik Biyiklioglu* (Bikent University, Turkey)

Structuring Inequalities Among Disabled Persons: Disability Policies for Veterans and Civilians in the US, Germany, and Türkiye

Commentators: Cornelius Torp, Søren Werther Kjær Rasmussen

Room: Olbers-Saal

Parallel session VI

*Annemarie Borregaard* (Danish National Archives, Denmark)

Welfare policies for people with intellectual Disability. The political and administrative history of the special care sector in Denmark from c. 1930-80

Commentators: Daniel Béland, Pär Dalén

Room: Kleiner Saal

14.45 - Parallel session VII

15.45 *Pär Dalén* (Stockholm University, Sweden)

Corporatism and the consumer share of environmental taxes revenue

Commentators: Jakob Frizell, Dominik Gall

Room: Olbers-Saal

Parallel session VIII

*Iñigo Aldama* (College Dublin, Ireland)

Unveiling the Welfare Attitudes of Minority Parties in Western Europe: Salience, Positioning and their Determinants

Commentators: Daniel Béland, Olga Sabelfeld

Room: Kleiner Saal

15.45 - Coffee Break

16.00 Haus der Wissenschaft

16.00 - Free disposal  
18.00

18.00 Dinner  
Restaurant: *Schüttinger*  
(Hinter dem Schütting 12-13, 28195 Bremen)

## Wednesday 21 August 2024

- 9.00 - [Keynote III](#)
- 10.15 - *Daniel Béland* (McGill University, Canada)  
Transatlantic Crossings in Social Policy Research:  
Comparing Europe and North America Then and Now  
Chair: Klaus Petersen  
Room: Olbers-Saal
- 10.15 - [Coffee Break](#)
- 10.30 - Haus der Wissenschaft
- 10.30 - [Parallel session X](#)
- 11.30 - Jakob Strigén (Stockholm University, Sweden)  
Social Policy from Above? Europeanisation of Swedish  
Social Policy 1990-2019  
Commentators: Åsa Lundqvist, Wenshan Yu  
Room: Olbers-Saal
- [Parallel session XI](#)  
*Guy Heilbrun* (King's College, London, UK)  
The effect of executive-legislative cohesion on taxation in  
developing democracies  
Commentators: Patrick Emmenegger, Anh Tran  
Room: Kleiner Saal
- 11.30 - [Parallel session XII](#)
- 12.30 - *Meika Sternkopf* (University of Bremen, Germany)  
The emergence and framing of long-term care on the  
international level: The United Nations and the European  
Union in comparison  
Commentators: Alexandra Kaasch, Tobias Schillings  
Room: Olbers-Saal
- [Parallel session XIII](#)  
*Fabienne Hansen* (Albert-Ludwigs-University Freiburg,  
Germany)  
The Great Municipal Social Policy Remix: Mapping a  
Network of Concepts towards the *Moeda Social*  
*Arariboia* in Niterói, Brazil  
Commentators: Åsa Lundqvist, Migyeong Yun  
Room: Kleiner Saal



- 12.30 - Lunch  
13.45 Haus der Wissenschaft
- 13.45 - **Keynote IV**  
14.45 *Alexandra Kaasch* (University of Bielefeld, Germany)  
Global Social Crisis Management: Comparing Ideas on  
Social Protection at Times of Global Crisis  
Chair: Herbert Obinger  
Room: Olbers-Saal
- 14.45 - **Parallel session XIV**  
15.45 *Kate O'Donnell* (Erasmus University Rotterdam,  
Netherlands)  
Institutionalising Poverty Targeting? An examination of  
the institutional and political implications of the social  
registry model in Kenya  
Commentators: Alexandra Kaasch, Pauli Kettunen  
Room: Olbers-Saal
- Parallel session XV**  
*Sara Jayne Mizzi* (University of Malta, Malta)  
Empathy with a healthy dose of scepticism: Low-income  
attitudes towards welfare-related issues  
Commentators: Markus Tepe, Javier Sanchez Buso  
Room: Kleiner Saal
- 15.45 - **Coffee Break**  
16.00 Haus der Wissenschaft
- 16.00 - **Social**  
18.00 Get together at the *Bremer Schlachte*
- 18.00 **Free disposal**

## Thursday 22 August 2024

09.00 - [Keynote IV](#)

10.15 *Patrick Emmenegger* (University of St. Gallen, Switzerland)  
Yesterday's Model for Tomorrow's Economy? The Effect of Dual VET on Wage Inequality in the Knowledge Economy  
Chair: Åsa Lundqvist  
Room: Olbers-Saal

10.15 - [Coffee Break](#)

10.30 Haus der Wissenschaft

10.30 - [Parallel session XVI](#)

11.30 *Tobias Schillings* (University of Oxford, UK)  
Spaces of Equality: A Global Analysis of Healthcare Universalism and Social Trust from 2000 – 2020  
Commentators: Sebastian Haunss, Meika Sternkopf  
Room: Olbers-Saal

[Parallel session XVII](#)

*Javier Sanchez-Buso* (Pompeu Fabra University, Spain)  
The Production of Welfare Communities. How social policies influence our status and why does it matter for welfare politics  
Commentators: Markus Tepe, Sara Jayne Mizzi  
Room: Kleiner Saal

11.30 - [Parallel session XVIII](#)

12.30 *Olga Sabelfeld* (Bielefeld University, Germany)  
Comparing Comparisons: Semantics of Welfare Policies in Postwar German and British Parliaments  
Commentators: Klaus Petersen, Iñigo Aldama  
Room: Olbers-Saal

[Parallel session XIX](#)

*Anh Tran* (University of Bremen, Germany)  
Informal workers' access to social protection transfers amid crisis and reform: Evidence from Cambodia and the Philippines  
Commentators: Marianne Ulriksen, Guy Heilbrun  
Room: Kleiner Saal

12.30 - Lunch

13.45 Haus der Wissenschaft

13.45 - Parallel session XX

14.45 *Kathrin Jehne* (University of Hamburg, Germany)

On the traces of policy gaps: A cross-national comparison of equal pay policies in European welfare states

Commentators: Patrick Emmenegger, Mara Junge

Room: Olbers-Saal

Parallel session XXI

*Robin Huguenot-Noel* (EUI Florence, Italy)

Liability no more? Welfare provisions and EU economic coordination in the era of Labour Shortages

Commentators: Pauli Kettunen, Cecilia Ivardi Ganapini

Room: Kleiner Saal

14.45 - Coffee Break

16.00 Haus der Wissenschaft

16.00 - Social

18.00 Guided City Tour (German & English)

18.00 Dinner

Restaurant: *Alexander v. Humboldt*

(Schlachte 1a – Martinianleger, 28195 Bremen)

## Friday 23 August 2024

10.15 - Coffee Break

10.30 Haus der Wissenschaft

10.30 - Parallel session XXII

11.30 *Cecilia Ivardi Ganapini* (University of St. Gallen, Switzerland)

Narrating state intervention: an in-depth study of

discourses on skill formation in France and Germany

Commentators: Herbert Obinger, Robin Huguenot-Noel

Room: Olbers-Saal

Parallel session XXIII

*Wenshan Yu* (University of Helsinki, Finland)

Monitoring as a guarantee of quality: A meta-

ethnography review of the impact of early childhood

care and education (ECCE) monitoring system

Commentators: Tobias Böger, Jakob Strigén

Room: Kleiner Saal

11.30 - Certificate of Completion and Goodbye

12.30 Herbert Obinger and Klaus Petersen

Room: Olbers-Saal

12.30 Lunch packages to take away

## Keynote Speakers

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### Prof. Daniel Béland, PhD

Director of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, Montréal

Daniel Béland is Director of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada and James McGill Professor, Department of Political Science, McGill University. A student of politics and public policy, Professor Béland has published more than 20 books and 180 articles in peer-reviewed journals and his work has been cited more than 13,000 times, according to Google Scholar.

Professor Béland holds a PhD in Political Sociology from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Paris), where he returned as a visiting scholar in the spring of 2014. A Part-Time Professor at the University of Southern Denmark from January 2014 to December 2017, he has been a visiting scholar at Harvard University, the University of Nagoya and the National University of Singapore, a visiting professor at the University of Bremen, the University of Helsinki, the University of Southern Denmark, and a Fulbright Scholar at The George Washington University and the National Academy of Social Insurance.

### Prof. Patrick Emmenegger, PhD

Professor of Public Policy and Comparative Political Economy, University of St. Gallen

Patrick Emmenegger is Professor of Public Policy and Comparative Political Economy at the University of St. Gallen. His research interests include Public Policy, Social Science Methodology and Comparative and International Political Economy.

He is the chair of the PhD Program in International Affairs and Political Economy (since 2016) and serves on the Federal Commission on Vocational Education and Training of the Swiss Government (since 2016). From 2017 to 2022, he was a co-editor of the Socio-Economic Review, and from 2015 to 2018, he was the President of the Swiss Political Science Association.

**Prof. Dr. Alexandra Kaasch**

Professor of German and Transnational Social Policy, University of Bielefeld

Alexandra Kaasch is Vice-rector for Science and Society at the University of Bielefeld and Principal Investigator and Deputy Speaker of the RTG World Politics: The emergence of political arenas and modes of observation in world society. Her current research topics include global social policy, international organizations and social policy in times of uncertainty and crises.

Her recent publications include "International Organizations in Global Social Governance" and "Management of crisis or crisis of management? The Thai government's "policy as discourse" handling of the COVID-19 pandemic". She holds an PhD from the University of Sheffield, United Kingdom.

**Prof. Dr. Carina Schmitt**

Professor of International Comparative Public Policy, University of Bamberg

Carina Schmitt is Professor of International Comparative Public Policy at the Department of Social Science, Economics and Business Administration of the University of Bamberg.

Her research interests focus on international comparative political economy and social policy, diffusion and convergence of social policy, quantitative methods, privatization of public companies, social security systems in emerging and developing countries, colonialism and social policy, war and social policy. She worked several years on the privatization of public enterprises in rich democracies. She is mainly concerned with the comparative analysis of social policy and more concretely with the diffusion and convergence of social policies.

**Prof. Marianne Sandvad Ulriksen, PhD**

Associate Professor of Public Administration, Welfare and Politics,  
University of Southern Denmark

Her overall research focus is comparative welfare studies in the Global South. More specifically, she works on social justice and development, poverty and inequality, social protection, resource mobilization and taxation, and state-citizens relations in developing countries. Prof. Ulriksen mainly conducts comparative and single-case studies in Southern and Eastern Africa.

In addition to the above topics, she also teaches and supervises on comparative politics, public policy, democratization, development studies, and Global South studies.

## Discussants

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### Prof. Dr. Sebastian Haunss

Professor of Political Science at SOCIUM, University of Bremen

Sebastian Haunss is Project Director of project “Global Developments in Health Systems” at the Collaborative Research Centre 1342 “Global Dynamics of Social Policy”. Furthermore, he is Head of Working Group “Social Conflicts” at the Research Center on Inequality and Social Policy (SOCIUM).

His latest publications include “Local Protest Event Analysis: Providing a More Comprehensive Picture?” in *West European Politics* (2024) and “Multimodal Mechanisms of Political Discourse Dynamics and the Case of Germany’s Nuclear Energy Phase-Out” in *Network Science* (2023).

### Prof. Dr. Pauli Kettunen

Professor Emeritus of Political History

Pauli Kettunen was Professor of Political History at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University Helsinki from 2003 to 2020. He was the Director of the Nordic Centre of Excellence NordWel (The Nordic Welfare State - Historical Foundations and Future Challenges, funded by NordForsk in 2007-2014).

He has published widely on welfare state, labour relations and education policies; nationalism and globalisation, and the conceptual history of politics. His most recent publications include “Modern citizenship and nation-state building” in *Encyclopedia of Citizenship Studies* (2024) and “Democratic welfare nationalism and competitive community: changing ideals of social harmony in the regulation of capitalism” in *Nationalism and Democracy in the Welfare State* (2022).

### Prof. Åsa Lundqvist, PhD

Head of the Sociology Department, Lund University, Sweden

Åsa Lundqvist’s research interests are broadly concerned with welfare politics and family relations. She has studied gender relations and the historical development of the Swedish labour market- and



family policies, lone mothers' strategies to combine paid work and family life, the development of parenting support policies, and, more recently, older female workers' wellbeing in the labour market. Her teaching subjects include historical sociology, qualitative methods, social policy and gender studies.

### **Prof. Dr. Herbert Obinger**

Professor of Comparative Public and Social Policy, University of Bremen

Herbert Obinger is Professor of Comparative Public and Social Policy and Spokesperson of the CRC 1342. Furthermore, he is Professorial Member of the Board of Directors of the SOCIUM Research Center on Inequality and Social Policy and Project Director of CRC project "Armed Conflict and Dynamics of Social Policy".

He is working in the fields of comparative welfare state research and political economy. His articles were published in journals such as *Journal of Public Policy*, *West European Politics*, *Journal of European Social Policy*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Comparative Political Studies* and *World Politics*. Refereed books appeared with leading university presses such as Cambridge University Press and Oxford University Press.

### **Prof. Klaus Petersen, PhD**

Professor of Welfare State History, University of Southern Denmark

Klaus Petersen is Professor of Welfare State History and Director of Danish Centre for Welfare Studies at the University of Southern Denmark. His research has focused on the historical development of welfare state with special emphasis on Denmark and on the Nordic model. He has published widely on topics such family policy, old age pension, parties and the politics of the welfare state, Nordic social political cooperation, methods in welfare state studies, social policy language (and concepts) and on immigration and the welfare state.

### **Prof. Dr. Markus Tepe**

Professor of Political Science at SOCIUM, University of Bremen

Markus Tepe is a Professor of Political Science / Political System of Germany at the SOCIUM Research Center on Inequality and Social Policy at the University of Bremen. He holds a Dr. rer. pol. from the

Freie Universität Berlin, and a MA in Political Science, Public Law, and Economic Policy from the University of Münster. He spends more prolonged research stays at Yale University in the Leitner Program and the European Center at Stanford University. His research focuses on political decision-making in comparative public policies, behavioral public administration, political sociology, and research methods (see ORCID, Scopus, Google Scholar, Research Gate, SSRN).

Since the beginning of his academic career, he has volunteered for the German Political Science Association (GPSA). He served as a spokesperson of the GPSA Working Group on Analytical Political Theory (2016-2022) and currently serves as Vice-Chair of the GPSA.

### **Prof. Dr. Cornelius Torp**

Professor of Modern and Contemporary History, University of Bremen

Cornelius Torp is a Professor of Modern and Contemporary History at the University of Bremen. Furthermore, he is Deputy Spokesperson of the CRC 1342 and Project Director of project "Protectionism and Social Policy in the Americas, 1890-2020".

His current research interests include European and Global History from 1800 to the present, History of the Welfare State, the Correlation of Social Policy and Protectionism and Globalization Processes in Modern History. He is Project Director of "Casino Gambling in the Federal Republic of Germany (1949-2020): A History of Emotions" funded by the DFG.

### **Dr. Tobias Böger**

Research Fellow, CRC 1342 "Global Dynamics of Social Policy", University of Bremen

Tobias Böger is Postdoctoral Researcher at the University of Bremen. He has studied sociology and completed his PhD thesis on the "Political Economy of Social Assistance in the Global South" at the University of Bielefeld. A recurrent topic of his research is the problem of collective action in redistributive politics. He has published on the institutional features and geographic spread of social policies, e.g. non-contributory pensions, maternity leave and care entitlements, across the Global South.

**Dr. Jakob Frizell**

Research Fellow, CRC 1342 “Global Dynamics of Social Policy”,  
University of Bremen

Jakob Frizell is Postdoctoral Researcher at the Collaborative Research Centre 1342 at University of Bremen in project B10: Armed Conflict and Dynamics of Social Policy. His research focuses on the political economy of taxation and public spending, particularly in relation to warfare.

## Participants and Abstracts

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### Aldama, Iñigo

School of Social Policy, Social Work and Social Justice University,  
College Dublin, Ireland

#### Unveiling the Welfare Attitudes of Minority Parties in Western Europe: Salience, Positioning and their Determinants

Parties that claim to represent the interests of territorially based ethnic communities have emerged as relevant actors, as they intervene in shaping welfare policies and institutions at both the sub-national and national levels of government. Despite their growing influence, very limited attention has been devoted to exploring how they approach and impact welfare policymaking. This article investigates the factors influencing the professed attitudes of ethnonational minority parties from 1990 to 2018 in Western European national-level elections using a comparative perspective. As ethnonational parties are characterized by seeking nationalist agendas, I contend that they utilize the significance of welfare institutions to foster ideas of a common identity, past, and future. The results confirm that they are less prone to emphasizing welfare expansion, but their positioning is not significantly distinct from that of statewide parties. In addition, times-series-cross-sectional analysis robustly suggests that, while

authority devolution to regional levels of government positively influences their pro-welfare preferences, average regional wealth and ethnic competition negatively affect them.

### **Biyiklioglu, Ahmet Tarik**

Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Bilkent University, Turkey

#### **Structuring Inequalities Among Disabled Persons: Disability Policies for Veterans and Civilians in the US, Germany, and Türkiye**

States around the world generously cover vital but very expensive assistive technologies for disabled veterans. Only a fraction of these costs is covered for disabled civilians, however. From the US to Turkey, from Germany to Timor-Leste, these stark disparities in social rights among disabled veterans and civilians have been categorically defining disability policies across different regions of the world during the past century. The disparity in compensation ranges from one to infinitely greater amounts in Türkiye and the US.

In the age of SDGs where disability policies are guided by human-rights principles, how and why are these policies resulting in surprisingly similar inegalitarian outcomes? Which similar institutional arrangements across so wildly different cases are responsible for producing such similarities? Indeed, the US, Germany, and Türkiye are characterized by completely dissimilar institutional features such as the welfare regimes, policy legacies, political systems and regimes, and citizenship regimes. In this paper I aim to identify the ways in which a set of formal and informal rules, which operate in opposition to one another, interplay so as to structure starkly inegalitarian disability policies across the US, Germany, and Türkiye.

I compare the policy structure of post-war disability policies in the US, Türkiye, and Germany with the help of the Most Different System Design focusing on the US and Türkiye as the most different cases. In order to maximize comparative analytical leverage, I also bring in the case of interwar and post-World War II Germany as a shadow case. I show that the disability policies of not only contemporary Türkiye and contemporary US, but also of interwar and post-World War II Germany are surprisingly similar. What these three states in different time periods share is very high levels of patriotism at a time of recent or ongoing military campaigns. These are times and places

when and where I observe stark inequalities in terms of disability compensation for veterans and civilian disabled persons. When these high levels of patriotism alongside military campaigns fade (as in the case of latter periods of postwar Germany), however, so do these stark inequalities. In order to show these similarities and differences within this comparative research design of most different cases, I conduct a qualitative content analysis on programming documents, congressional and parliamentary debates, legislative documents, and semi-structured interviews.

### Borregaard, Annemarie

Danish National Archives, Denmark

[Welfare policies for people with intellectual Disability. The political and administrative history of the special care sector in Denmark from c. 1930-80](#)

This paper examines and discusses the role of ideas in the political and administrative history of the special care system in Denmark from the 1930s to the end of the 1970s. The focus is on the part of the welfare state system that provided care for people with intellectual disabilities. This paper analyses how the care system for people with intellectual disabilities was influenced by changing ideas of 'welfare' and changing perceptions of the relationship between the individual and the state. I combine theories from sociology and political science with archival-based historical research to give a broader understanding of the ideas and their influence in the political process of making policies with the aim of providing welfare to one of the most deserving groups in the Danish society. The Special Care sector was a part of the welfare system under the Ministry of Social Affairs. It was state- financed and -administrated and various types of public, self-governing, or private institutions provided care. Regarding the welfare work among people in the time categorised as mentally deficient the state delegated the welfare work to non-public actors in most of the years I study.

Through historical analysis and policy evaluation, this paper argues that the political response to the idea of welfare for intellectual disabled and demands for change was two-sided. The state wanted to provide care but it also aimed at preventing the intellectual disabled from reproduction by enforcing eugenic laws from the 1930s. These

two ideas: welfare and eugenics lived side by side in many years even when a new idea, human rights, was introduced after WW2.

Over the years, the special care sector deviated too much from the lives of the rest of the population. Demands for change came from both from inside the Special Care system and from outside: from the responsible politicians, actors in the sector, from the best off among the intellectual disabled and their relatives. The welfare state had developed, but parts of the special care sector was lagging behind and changes had to be made.

### Dalén, Pär

Department of Sociology, Swedish Institute for Social Research (SOFI), Stockholm University, Sweden

#### Corporatism and the consumer share of environmental taxes revenue

This study investigates the relationship between the level of corporatism (i.e., government-business-labour cooperation) and the share of environmental tax burdens borne by consumers. Building upon previous research linking corporatism to green taxation, I examine how corporatism specifically influences the distribution of these burdens, an area that has remained under-explored in the literature. Drawing on theories of interest group influence and policymaking, I hypothesise that stronger corporatist arrangements are associated with a higher share of environmental taxes levied on consumers. Using panel data from the OECD Policy Instruments for the Environment (PINE) dataset, covering 28 European countries from 1995 to 2018, I employ country fixed-effects models. The results provide strong empirical support for my hypotheses, demonstrating that higher levels of corporatism and increases in corporatism over time are associated with a greater share of environmental tax revenue derived from consumers. These findings enhance our understanding of how institutions shape tax policy in the environmental domain and have implications for the design of equitable and effective climate policies. Further research could explore the mechanisms behind this relationship and examine whether these findings hold in other policy areas or regions.

**Gall, Dominik**

CRC 1342: Global Dynamics of Social Policy, University of Bremen, Germany

The development of social policy in Argentina from 1880 to 1949 and its links to the sugar industry in Jujuy from a global historical perspective

The history of social policy cannot be satisfactorily explained and analysed from a purely national perspective as transnational and global relations and entanglements play a crucial role in its development. This paper examines therefore the global interdependencies in the development of Argentinian social policy from 1880-1949 with a particular focus on the sugar industry in the province of Jujuy, which grew strongly during this period partly due to protectionist measures and had a major impact on the formation of local welfare policies. To this end, the paper adopts a perspective informed by global-historical insights that attempts to trace and analyse globally intertwined events and networks and their influence on local political and social configurations.

**Hansen, Fabienne**

Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Albert-Ludwigs-University Freiburg, Germany

The Great Municipal Social Policy Remix: Mapping a Network of Concepts towards the *Moeda Social Arariboia* in Niterói, Brazil

When the city of Niterói made the *Moeda Social Arariboia* a permanent social policy in January 2022, it built on three distinct conceptual streams that already had a significant history in Brazilian policy: the solidarity economy (*economia solidária*), the national social protection program Bolsa Família, and the unimplemented idea of a citizen's basic income (*renda básica de cidadania*). While all three share common points in addressing social vulnerability and the responsibilities of the welfare state, their initial discursive influences on the municipal program varied widely and continue to evolve within the city's socioeconomic composition and policy landscape. These various dynamic elements create opportunities for ongoing exchanges with similar policies and those aspiring to become estab-



lished. Furthermore, this flow of ideas and normative beliefs, constantly debated among actors in the policy landscape, fosters a flexible municipal policy paradigm. The dynamic interplay offers opportunities for dialogue and adaptation with similar policies.

This paper examines the exchange within the network of social policy concepts in Brazilian welfare through the lens of critical social policy ethnography. Employing a multimethod approach, it traces the ideational factors that have shaped the *Arariboia* policy in Niterói. It explores the program's roots in past Brazilian social policy debates and its evolution by tracing the historical movements of ideas about the solidarity economy, poverty alleviation, and economic and social development. Through this examination, the paper aims to establish a network of concepts that defines the current municipal policy discourse in Niterói. Moreover, it illustrates how policy diffusion factors—namely people, money, and procedures—significantly impact the formulation and dissemination of ideas and the establishment of municipal initiatives throughout the last decades of Brazilian policy development.

### Heilbrun, Guy

King's College, London, United Kingdom

#### The effect of executive-legislative cohesion on taxation in developing democracies

While the relationship between regime type and taxation has been widely studied, relatively little is known about the effect of political power on tax collection across different democratic settings. This article addresses this issue by examining how the legislative position of the government affects tax revenues in 61 developing democracies during 1980–2020. Drawing on matching methods with difference-in-differences estimation, I find that greater political cohesion between the executive and the legislature brings about a significant fiscal dividend. Specifically, the shift from minority to majority government leads to an increase of almost 1% in tax revenues as a share of GDP. The effect is driven by higher revenues from indirect taxes. In contrast, the formation of a minority government has no considerable impact on the tax take. The analysis also suggests that majority governments in which the chief executive's party dominates the legislature are particularly likely to boost tax collection. Finally, there are strong indications that majority governments increase public

spending on social protection. These findings illustrate the importance of executive-legislative cohesion in explaining variation in the fiscal performance of contemporary developing democracies. More broadly, the consolidation of welfare states in these countries appears more likely when governments have significant legislative power.

### Huguenot-Noel, Robin

European University Institute (EUI), Italy

#### Liability no more? Welfare provisions and EU economic coordination in the era of Labour Shortages

Labour shortages are back across Europe. Driven by demographic changes, rapid industrial shifts, and the lasting effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, this trend has prompted EU policymakers to set a new focus on labour market policies. In the EU's multilevel complex, this new reality also begets questions for economic policy coordination: Is the new promise of an 'employment-rich' recovery associated with a socialisation of the EU agenda, reupraising labour rights – or is it nothing more than a new push for further commodification? As EU economic governance is moving from a rules- to a resources-based approach, is its employment agenda more likely to translate into domestic reforms? To assess evolutions from this agenda from the Great Recession to the Covid-19 pandemic, this article proposes a mixed research design: Coding 344 Country Specific Recommendations (CSRs) issued between 2011 and 2022 first reveals that, though at a different pace for each country, EU employment policy prescriptions progressively departed from a 'hierarchical' understanding of the relationship between macroeconomic and social objectives to embrace a more 'holistic' logic. Notwithstanding this, measures supported in the Recovery and Resilience Facility (RRF) unequally reflected this socialisation of EU economic coordination. Relying on an in-depth analysis of National Reform Plans and 17 elite interviews with national and EU policymakers, our reconstruction indeed points to different usages of Europe by governments of continental welfare states: Whereas Spain and -to a lesser extent- Germany, embraced a holistic job recovery strategy, a more hierarchical logic prevailed in Italy and France, where measures strictly took a supply-side ambit. These deviations from the structural trend points to limits of the new 'cash-for-reform' logic championed

across EU institutions for Europe's recently revived social integration agenda.

### Ivardi Ganapini, Cecilia

School of Economics and Political Science, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland

#### Narrating state intervention: an in-depth study of discourses on skill formation in France and Germany

Increasingly, political-economic analysis emphasises the state's role in policymaking and discusses the extent to which state interventions balance the goals of economic efficiency and social equality. Underlying this work is the assumption that a consolidated state position exists and can guide policymaking as an organized process. This paper focuses on the process through which a state position becomes consolidated and operationalises the contestation processes that underlie the state intervention scholars observe.

Building on insights from multi-level governance and discursive institutionalism, this paper starts from the notion of contestation in discourses, where actors exchange views on which rules are appropriate and which should change in light of external pressures (Schmidt, 2008). I focus on public discourses as a critical arena in which state actors compete (among each other and with others) for preferred interpretations of issues as they have the role of accountability forums for public officials in democracies. I choose the case of discourses on the knowledge economy in France and Germany.

I analyse the debates through Social Network Analysis, first, model the discourse networks through an Exponential Random Graph Model (ERGM). Second, I apply the Louvain clustering algorithm to time slices of the debates and qualitatively inspect community membership of discourse coalitions. I show that there is variation in how parts of the state participate in discourses on problems and solutions related to the ambiguous issue of the knowledge economy. I find that the central government in France and the federal states in Germany are statistically more likely to share their views with other state actors than other state parts. Moreover, I investigate the contestation present in public discourse between state actors and other actor types. Even if the central government is more likely than

other actors to share views with others in the public debate, its positions are fragmented across time and not always in line with its political orientation.

I show that state actors join discourse coalitions with other actors types, creating contestation through discursive frames and converging on 'coalition magnets' that try to capture multiple interpretations of the same policy issue (Béland & Cox, 2016). Thus, the state is a composite unit and state intervention is no less conflictual than other processes that analysts have been studying in political science.

### Jehne, Kathrin Johanna

Faculty of Business, Economics and Social Sciences, Department of Social Sciences, Sociology of Cultural and Institutional Change, University of Hamburg, Germany

#### On the traces of policy gaps: A cross-national comparison of equal pay policies in European welfare states

While gender-based pay discrimination is recognized as one factor driving the gender pay gap, there is limited understanding of how welfare states address this issue. This study illuminates the type of policy through which welfare states tackle gender-based pay discrimination – equal pay policy – while elucidating the following questions: Are there different types of equal pay policies across European welfare states? And if so, to what extent do they differ in their equalizing potential? The equalizing potential of equal pay policies refers to their capacity to influence workplace behavior patterns to reduce the risk of gender-based pay discrimination. This study assesses this potential based on the design of the underlying institutions and the control instruments they contain. Using real-type methodology and based on document analysis of underlying legislation, the research provides an in-depth analysis of equal pay policies in the UK, Switzerland, Germany, France, Sweden, and Finland. The findings offer a nuanced typology of these policies, identifying equal pay policies with low, moderate, high, and very high equalizing potential. Furthermore, the paper reveals the central policy gaps, i.e., institutional loopholes, in equal pay policies that reduce their equalizing potential across European welfare states.

**Junge, Mara**

DeZIM/CRC 1342: Global Dynamics of Social Policy, University of Bremen, Germany

**Selective Solidarity? How Unions Drive Immigration Policy in OECD Countries, 1980-2010**

Unions' approaches to immigration are ambiguous, it remains unclear to what extent and in which direction unions drive policy change. We hypothesize that union strength is positively associated with more restrictive entry but less restrictive rights policies for both regular and illegalized labor migrants. However, this relationship may be further mediated by the types of resources unions have at their disposal. Especially unions with lower membership may resort to curbing immigration qua policy lobbying. As a higher level of institutional involvement enhances the success of unions' lobbying efforts, we expect that low membership combined with high institutional involvement has the strongest restricting effect. We use data on immigration policy for 21 OECD countries for the years 1980-2010, applying entropy balancing and fixed-effects regression. Whereas we find no significant and robust association between membership and an overall aggregate measure of immigration policy, in line with our first set of hypotheses, strong unions tend to be associated with more restrictive entry and more generous rights policies for regular labor migrants. An interaction between union density and their routine involvement in policy making revealed that when unions are institutionally embedded to a greater extent, an increase in union membership is associated with restrictions regarding illegalized entry. This is evidence that also unions with strong membership resort to influencing policy, focusing on the immigrant group that is not easily reached through equalisation efforts.

**Kjaer Rasmussen, Søren Werther**

Department of Political Science and Public Management, University of Southern Denmark, Denmark

**Politics of Veteran Policies in a Peaceful State: The Compensation Act for Danish Victims of World War II 1945-1969**

This article analyzes the creation of the Compensation Act for Danish victims of World War II and the political debate surrounding it. A

central claim in this article is that the political debate was not only about legal technicalities and the standard distribution of aid in social policies but also about the overall national narrative concerning the war. This narrative, known as "the consensus myth," posited that all Danish citizens stood united against the German occupiers. As a result, the legislators ended up creating one of Europe's most inclusive compensation acts, which contradicted the wishes of the Danish resistance movement who wanted an exclusive act that recognized them as the nation's sole heroes.

**Mizzi, Sara Jayne**

University of Malta, Malta

[Empathy with a healthy dose of scepticism: Low-income attitudes towards welfare-related issues](#)

Public support for a country's welfare state rests in part on the implicit social contract between the individual, the state and his fellow citizens, which can be inferred from citizens' expressed attitudes on related issues. There is, at present, a lack of knowledge regarding what Maltese respondents want from their country's welfare state, and how they think about their fellow citizens when considering welfare issues. This paper uses European Values Study data to consider the attitudes of persons who are financially most vulnerable, namely those with lower incomes and who have experienced prolonged unemployment and/or dependence on welfare, using the EVS data to develop indices of social trust, empathy for welfare beneficiaries, willingness to justify welfare fraud, and preferences for state involvement ( $\alpha > 0.6$  in all cases).

Across all respondents, confidence in the government, and in the social security system, is low ( $\bar{x}$  = 2.52 and 2.06 respectively, where a maximum score of 4 indicates high levels of distrust). Perhaps tellingly for this traditionally Catholic country, confidence in the Church is higher ( $\bar{x}$  = 1.77), however no significant differences were observed between persons in different income brackets, or between persons with and without direct experience of unemployment and of the social security system.

Financially vulnerable groups differ regarding their preferences for the strength of the welfare state's involvement, with the two lower income brackets holding significantly more collectivist views. There

is also a marked difference in concern towards welfare beneficiaries, potentially indicating increased empathy by those in financially vulnerable positions. Persons in the very lowest income bracket also differed from all other groups in their levels of social trust, holding significantly more sceptical views of their fellow citizens. Perceptions of immigrants as a threat are high across all citizens ( $\bar{x} = 1.87$ , with lower scores reflecting greater mistrust), however citizens earning €24,000 to €60,000 appear to be more charitably-minded ( $\bar{x} = 2.33$ , significantly differently from all other income groups). Perhaps most worryingly for policy-makers, persons in lower income brackets are also more likely to see cheating the welfare system as justifiable.

The above results suggest that, while persons in lower income brackets are not significantly more distrustful of the state and of the social security system, they do hold attitudinal patterns which suggest that, when considering the effects of one's own self-interest, identification theory holds over competition theory, even when controlling for one's position on the left-right value spectrum.

### O'Donnell, Kate

International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), Erasmus University  
Rotterdam, Netherlands

[Institutionalising Poverty Targeting? An examination of the institutional and political implications of the social registry model in Kenya](#)

Social protection has become a prominent part of the international aid architecture. In particular, cash transfers have been widely promoted and supported by multilateral and bilateral donors through technical assistance and pilot projects in many countries across the global South. One of the most prominent yet under-researched forms of social protection technical assistance are social registries. Social registries are databases which contain socio-economic data at the household level of potential beneficiaries, which are used to determine eligibility for social policy provision. The World Bank has been central to the global spread of social registries by supporting their development through financing, mainly via technical assistance provided to countries through loans, as well as producing a large amount of literature outlining the model. It is estimated that in

2013, 23 countries used a social registry in their social protection system and by 2020 this had reached 60 countries (Grosh et al., 2022). The numbers of countries building a social registry targeting system is increasing at pace, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa.

This research argues that although social registries are framed as a technocratic tool to improve administration and coordination, they have the potential to influence the trajectory of social policy systems. This can occur because they can influence fundamental features of social policy systems such as policy, institutional structures, and provisioning implementation. I argue that this influence occurs through two mechanisms; firstly, the social registry model entrenches a top-down and static form of provision. Secondly, it reduces the space for a diversity of provisioning models across state provision.

This research is based on extensive review of documentary evidence and data collected through semi-structure interviews collected between 2023 and 2024 in Kenya. The 61 interviews were with a range of social policy actors in Kenya, including civil servants from Government ministries, civil society organisations, consultants, international non-governmental organisations, and international donors. The interviewees were identified through snowball sampling. The documentary review included national social protection strategies, evaluations of donor-funded social protection projects, World Bank social protection loan documents between 2009 and 2024, and policy papers produced by international organisations.

To analyse the data, I carried out content and narrative analysis with both categorizing and connecting coding strategies (Maxwell, 2013). I utilise an inductive approach to process tracing and propose to use a theory building form of process tracing rather than theory testing approach (Beach and Pedersen, 2019). This inductive approach is justified because social registries have not been studied widely and thus the potential mechanisms that explain the implications they could have on institutions, are yet to be proposed. This paper aims to develop the arguments and empirical evidence for two chapters of my PhD thesis. The PhD project explores the evolution of the social registry model of targeting at the international level amongst global social policy actors, how it emerged in Kenya and the implications of this model on the social policy institutions in Kenya.



The remainder of the paper is organised as follows. First, the global spread of social registries is discussed, followed by a review of relevant literature and a brief outline of the development of the social registry in Kenya. The methods used in this analysis are then presented. Lastly, the two core arguments of this paper are elaborated, as well as a conclusion and discussion.

### Sabelfeld, Olga

CRC1288 Practices of Comparing, Bielefeld University, Germany

#### Comparing Comparisons: Semantics of Welfare Policies in Postwar German and British Parliaments

Social policies follow wars. The occurrence of extreme events permanently changes social coexistence and as a result, these periods of prolonged hardship are characterized by enormous instability and thus act as catalysts for social transformation. Herein, the expansion of the welfare state is often interpreted as part of the seemingly “self-fulfilling” modernisation or other narratives of social progress (e. g. democratisation, urbanisation etc.). Turning away from these interpretations, I rather draw attention to the social policies’ capacity to (re)organise society and institutionalise conflicts. In doing so, the legislative assemblies strengthen political legitimisation which is particularly necessary in post-war periods. In other words, welfare policymaking is always – and especially in post-war times – driven by the effort to achieve stability and simultaneously by the production of change. I use this phase of social and political reorganisation as framework to understand how the political representatives in West Germany and Britain conceptualized their political agendas by using comparisons in parliamentary debates. These processes of reconceptualization are particularly visible in major legislative projects of the post-war periods in the two countries: the National Health Service in Britain and the so called “Equalization/Balancing out of Burdens”, the *Lastenausgleichsgesetz* (abbreviated as LAG), in West Germany.

In the humanities, comparison has received attention primarily as a tool and its application with varying degrees of awareness (what one might call “comparatism”). A more recent phenomenon is comparison as an object of investigation. In this context, comparison is understood as a practice that is carried out by actors by placing two or more objects of comparison (*comparata*) in relation to each other

with regard to one or more criteria of comparison (*tertium/tertia*). This highly preconditioned activity not only structure information but shape our comprehension of the world. Through the exploration of the historical semantics of comparing in parliamentary debates, one is able to attain the intermediate level of social policymaking between macro-processes and everyday discursive practices/speech acts. In my paper, I will explore the dominant semantic patterns of comparing in the British and West German debates. While in West Germany, *spatial* relations articulated the aspects of belonging for social groups as well as for the FRG in general; in British NHS debates, *temporal* relations prevailed and primarily served to express assertions of progressiveness and backwardness.

### Sanchez Buso, Javier

Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Spain

The Production of Welfare Communities. How social policies influence our status and why does it matter for welfare politics

Traditionally, welfare institutions have provided individuals with variable safety nets that go beyond the labour market. This process is however able to stratify societies by doing so. This paper will provide preliminary evidence of a potential new explanation not only of how social policies produce inequalities, but also of how these effects can be self-sustaining.

Individuals compound an assessment of their own self-esteem and ability through the comparison with others. The perception of one's self-position in society, i.e., subjective social status is the result of such a comparison within a specific context. Welfare institutions draw distinctions in the social structure that produce different welfare communities. They are not only based on whether individuals are welfare recipients or not, but on the specific rights and duties attached to the membership of that community. These distinctions are the means through which welfare institutions unequally distribute social status within and across societies.

Individual's subjective social status is correlated with objective socio-economic status, but they tap into different dimensions of the self. Benefiting from social institutions such as unemployment protection benefits, pension schemes, or healthcare systems will thus have

a complex impact on individual's status. Those systems that minimize the benefits that are targeted to the poor, i.e. more universalistic institutions, will be associated with higher mean levels of subjective social status and lower variances at the country level. Furthermore, in more universalistic institutions, income, education and occupation will be more weakly correlated with objective social status. These claims will be tested using large-N multilevel techniques. Welfare dimensions will be distinguished between the extent to which they produce differences across groups in societies or not. This measurement will be based on the distinction between universalistic and targeting institutions developed by Jacques & Noël (2018). It will be combined with data from the ESS Round 6 (2012) on individual's self-placement in society (variable 'plinsoc') in a set of European countries.

This paper addresses the stratifying capacities of welfare institutions. These insights can guide future research towards unveiling the political implications that the structuring capacities of the welfare state can have.

### Schillings, Tobias

Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford, United Kingdom

#### Spaces of Equality: A Global Analysis of Healthcare Universalism and Social Trust from 2000 – 2020

This paper explores the association between universal healthcare and social trust by conceptualising universal social policies as 'spaces of equality' that shape citizens' relationship both vertically with the state and horizontally with society. In using healthcare as a case study of wider universal welfare programmes, it contributes to a growing literature on the macro-social impacts of universal social policies and the political economy of welfare expansion. In relying on the novel Healthcare Universalism Index (Schillings and Sánchez-Ancochea 2023) to measure varieties of universal healthcare provision across the world, and on data from the World Values Survey (WVS) and the European Values Study (EVS), the theorised relationship is tested across a global sample of 105 countries from 2000 to 2020.

Leveraging variation on the national, individual, and temporal level, the paper provides robust estimates of the impact of between- and

within-country differences in universal healthcare by employing a multilevel modelling approach. The analysis further adds to the literature by exploring the role of different dimensions of welfare efforts for building trust – specifically universal coverage, government spending and privatisation – and by assessing if these differ across stages of development.

The results show that universal healthcare is a significant predictor of social trust, with estimates for a one percent increase in the Healthcare Universalism Index being associated with a 1.0 to 1.5 percentage points increase in the likelihood of individuals expressing trust in most people. The dimensional analysis further reveals the significance of all types of welfare efforts, with greater coverage, higher government expenditure and less privatisation being associated with higher levels of trust, though their role appears to change across levels of development. Universal coverage and government spending matter more for fostering trust in countries in the Global South, while privatisation has a stronger effect of diminishing social trust in the Global North.

### **Sternkopf, Meika**

CRC 1342: Global Dynamics of Social Policy, University of Bremen, Germany

**The emergence and framing of long-term care on the international level: The United Nations and the European Union in comparison**

International discourse on ageing and long-term care (LTC) policies has gained momentum in recent decades, examples being the United Nations (UN) adopting the International Action Plan on Ageing in 2002, which has subsequently led to increasing engagement by its regional organizations, or the European Union (EU) launching the Open Method of Coordination in 2004. While these more recent developments at the international level show that international organizations (IOs) are taking an active role in addressing LTC as a social risk, little is known about when ideas on LTC entered the international agenda and how these ideas developed over time.

In this paper, we explore and compare the development of ideas on LTC by two leading IOs – the UN and the EU – each which serves as a normative authority in diverse areas of social protection. But what are their specific ideas on care, ageing and public responsibilities?

When did long-term care for the elderly first become a policy issue into international governance arenas? How did the policy field evolve over time and comparatively in these two leading international organizations – the EU and UN?

To answer these questions empirically, we conduct a systematic analysis of policy documents such as resolutions, decisions and major reports of each organization and compare them to each other. Focusing on the early period of the long-term care discourse (1948-2005) we contribute to a better understanding of the development of international ideas on LTC and their potential influence on national discourses and policies.

### Strigén, Jakob

Department of Sociology, Swedish Institute for Social Research (SOFI), Stockholm University, Sweden

[Social Policy from Above? Europeanisation of Swedish Social Policy 1990-2019](#)

At the same time as the European Union's (EU) influence has grown, path-breaking changes in Sweden's social policy characteristics have appeared. Previous research gives contradictory evidence on whether and how these developments relate, and it remains unknown to what extent the EU contributed to the changes observed in Sweden.

By operationalising four theories on the mechanisms of social policy change (institutionalism, power resources approach, new politics, and new social risks), using the EU as a driving force, and two diverging policy developments as outcomes, this paper cast the net wider than previous research and applies process tracing methods to a selection of 339 policy documents to answer: (i) How has Europeanisation affected unemployment policy and family policy in Sweden, 1990- 2019? (ii) To what extent can Europeanisation sufficiently explain the retrenchment in unemployment policy while family policies were expanded in the same period of time?

I find no support for the mechanisms of institutionalism and new politics, limited support for new social risk, and mixed support for the power resource approach explaining the Europeanisation of Swedish social policy. Although I found empirical support for parts of several, I conclude that no theory can sufficiently explain the complete

causal chain of how the EU influence the two Swedish policy outcomes.

### Tran, Anh

CRC 1342: Global Dynamics of Social Policy, University of Bremen, Germany

#### Informal workers' access to social protection transfers amid crisis and reform: Evidence from Cambodia and the Philippines

Different kinds of coverage gaps have existed in many social protection programmes in countries in the Global South. Those gaps have come to the fore since the Covid-19 pandemic triggered a global wave of social protection expansions. Expansions were largely pursued in existing institutions and systems to target households for support. The crisis disproportionately affected job and income losses among informal workers and families, particularly women in vulnerable work concentrated at the lower end of the income distribution. Comparing the stronger institutionalised context for targeted social assistance in the Philippines to the fragmented context in Cambodia, this paper analyses nationally representative household survey data from 2021 to address the question: How inclusive are expanded social protection programmes of informal workers and their families? We estimate the association between employment status and sex of the household head with receipt of social protection transfers among households with children using logistic regression models. We find that in the Philippines households with a head as a vulnerable worker are more likely to receive the Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program, though this effect does not exist for female headed households and these effects are no longer detectable when we consider the expanded coverage of transfers during Covid-19. We also find a negative association between women workers as household heads on the likelihood and receipt of the 4P. In Cambodia, female headed households were much more likely to receive any (including the Covid-19) transfer, but there was no difference across employment status.

**Yu, Wenshan**

Faculty of Educational Sciences, University of Helsinki, Finland

Monitoring as a guarantee of quality: A meta-ethnography review of the impact of early childhood care and education (ECCE) monitoring system

This study reviews qualitative research focusing on the impact pathways of monitoring systems on early childhood education quality. This review employed the meta-ethnographic method to locate, critically evaluate, and synthesize the results of these studies. Based on an extensive search of the Web of Science, this review includes 18 articles. The results are categorized into four sections: (1) micro pathways related to individuals; (2) meso pathways related to organizations; (3) macro pathways related to systems; and (4) the effectiveness of the monitoring systems. Finally, the absence of children in the monitoring system, the feasibility of large-scale monitoring, and the collaboration of multiple subjects are discussed.

**Yun, Migyeong**

CRC 1342: Global Dynamics of Social Policy, University of Bremen, Germany

Learning from a peer: Tracing the agenda-setting process behind Korea's Adoption of Long-Term Care Insurance

This research aims to investigate the role of policy diffusion in the relatively early adoption of LTCI by tracing the process whereby a universal long-term care system was pushed onto a government agenda in South Korea. Drawing on the multiple-stream framework in conjunction with a policy diffusion perspective, this research traces the process to provide comprehensive insights into the case. The analysis shows that amid a favorable political environment created by consecutive victories of the centrist left party in two presidential elections, policy entrepreneurs and a policy community could effectively promote the adoption of long-term care insurance. However, given that long-term care for older persons was not a socially salient issue at the initiation of governmental discussions, we also need to turn our attention to the policy and problem stream. The two streams were influenced in part by policy learning from Japan's

long-term care policy reforms during the 1980s and 1990s, culminating in the enactment of a social long-term insurance act in 1997. Perceiving similarities between Japan and Korea, Korean geriatric welfare experts and welfare bureaucrats anticipated similar challenges related to long-term care for older persons due to population aging and consequently advocated for following long-term care insurance implemented by Japan. Taking advantage of formal and informal access to political leaders, they tried to convince them of the necessity of long-term care insurance. As it seemed politically appealing, politicians were receptive to it. Furthermore, since LTCI was expected to contribute to the development of an aging-friendly industry and to create many job opportunities, economic ministries didn't also oppose it. This research shows that the ripening of policy and problem stream can be partly attributed to learning a problem and solution from a foreign country regarded as a peer or reference point, which could be a necessary condition for welfare policy change. This study also proposes a necessity of adapting the problem stream to fit the context of a country with the legacy of a strong state better when studying policy reforms by a country like South Korea back then, as bureaucrats played a major role in policymaking with close relation to experts inside and outside the government. In other words, even without public attention to a certain issue, the problem stream can ripen, which is driven by interaction between bureaucrats and experts.



## Practical information

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### Summer School venue

Haus der Wissenschaft  
Sandstr. 4/5,  
28195 Bremen

The NordWel CRC 1342 Summer School 2024 takes place in the heart of Bremen city centre. The summer school venue, [Haus der Wissenschaft](#), is located near the main market square. The walking distance from the main railway station is about 15 minutes and about 5 minutes from [Domsheide](#) tram stop.

Trams: 4, 5, 6, 8 and busses 24 and 25 all stop at [Domsheide](#)

Registration, keynote lectures, parallel paper sessions, lunch and coffee breaks listed in the programme will all be held at [Haus der Wissenschaft](#).

The registration desk: Monday, 19<sup>th</sup> August 14.45 - 15.45

The registration desk is located in the foyer of the Haus der Wissenschaft. You will receive your name tag, programme and information on-site here.

WLAN: eduroam is available.

### Summer School hotels

Motel One (keynote speakers/discussants)  
Am Brill 10, 28195 Bremen, Phone ++ 49 421 4095400

ibis Budget Bremen City Center (participants)  
Bahnhofsplatz 41b, 28195 Bremen, Phone ++ 49 421 572680

### Summer School dinners

Monday, August 19<sup>th</sup>, begins at 18:00 Restaurant bellini (Schlachte 41, 28195 Bremen)

Tuesday, 20<sup>th</sup> August, begins at 18:00 Restaurant Schüttinger (Hinter dem Schütting 12-13, 28195 Bremen)

Wednesday, 21<sup>st</sup> August, at 16:00 Get together at the Bremer Schlachte

Thursday, 22<sup>nd</sup> August, begins at 18:00 Restaurant Alexander-von-Humboldt (Schlachte 1a – Martinianleger, 28195 Bremen)

### Lunch and coffee

Lunch and coffee will be served at the Haus der Wissenschaft

### Transportation

Trams and Busses

You can buy tickets for public transport at the stations or in the trams or busses. A normal one way ticket costs 2,80 EUR. There are also tickets for short distances or a whole day available.

During the Summer School, all venues are in a walking distance.

Useful timetable sites

[www.bahn.de](http://www.bahn.de) (train timetables)

[www.bsag.de](http://www.bsag.de) (tram and bus timetable)

[www.vbn.de](http://www.vbn.de) (bus timetable)

Taxi numbers

Taxi Ruf 14 0 14

Taxi Roland 14433

### Cafés and restaurants nearby

#### Bremer Brötchen

Balgebrückstraße 3-5, 28195 Bremen

#### Müller& Egerer Bäckerei und Konditorei

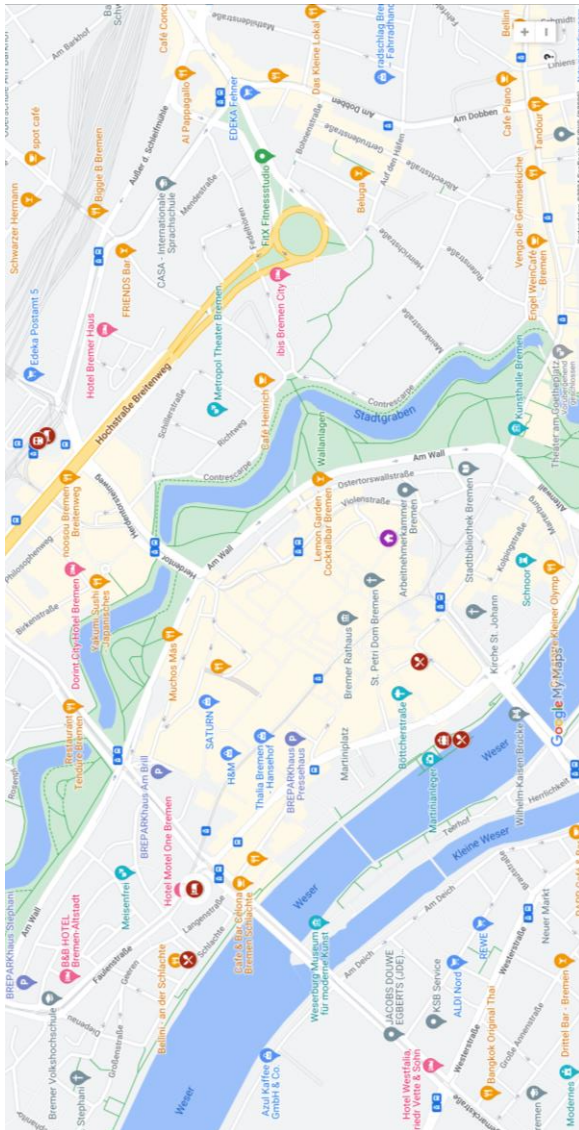
Domsheide 14, 28195 Bremen

#### Nordsee Fisch Restaurant

Sögestr. 11-13, 28195 Bremen

... and lots of restaurants along the river, at the “Schlachte” and in the “Ostertor-Viertel”, a quarter of Bremen next to the city center with a lot of student bars and cafes. Next to “Domsheide” is the Schnoor quarter, Bremen’s oldest district with a lot of 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century houses as well as cafés and restaurants.

### Map of the city centre



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