

T21P03 / Social Policy Instruments Beyond the 'Three Worlds': Substantive Findings, Conceptual Issues and Methodological Challenges

Topic : T21 / OTHER

Chair : H. Tolga Bolukbasi (Bilkent University)

Second Chair : Kerem Gabriel Oektem (Bielefeld University)

GENERAL OBJECTIVES, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

Over the past two decades or so, many countries in the Global South have radically transformed their social protection systems. In some cases, this transformation entailed a massive expansion of new policy instruments, such as conditional cash transfers, and a simultaneous retrenchment of older instruments that we now label 'social policy by other means' or the 'hidden welfare state'. Furthermore, in key social policy areas, such as pensions and health, countries introduced far-reaching reforms that helped them make headways towards achieving the goal of universal social protection coverage enshrined in the Sustainable Development Goals. At the same time, however, these reforms often also meant a severe retrenchment of social rights for citizens who had traditionally been protected by the social security system.

This janus-faced transformation of social protection systems in many areas of the Global South has led to a new scholarly interest in social policies beyond the 'three worlds of welfare capitalism'. The 'geography of comparative welfare state research' (Hort, 2005) has clearly shifted from the 'eighteen to twenty rich capitalist countries' in the OECD area (Esping-Andersen, 1994: 713) to a more diverse set of countries including parts of Latin America, East Asia and Africa (Huber and Niedzwiecki 2015). As a result, accounts of the emergence, expansion and reform of social policies in the Global South have proliferated. Scholars have produced authoritative accounts in particular of developments in Latin America and East Asia. Today, we know far more about social policy beyond the three worlds.

Yet, we believe that the study of Southern social policy has more to offer than just provide insights into Southern social policy. We believe that existing scholarship on the 'three worlds' has the potential to transplant classic methodologies, concepts and theories used in comparative social policy to the study of these new areas. The classics grew out of the study of the 'three worlds', which were at that time seen as the most advanced social protection systems in the world. The methodologies and measurements used to study these worlds have been devised with the goal of understanding Northern welfare states. The concepts they used grew out of an attempt at making sense of dynamics in classic welfare states. For example, the Swedish case, viewed widely as the ideal-typical welfare state, has had an outsize influence in shaping the research agenda. It remains an open question whether and to what extent these measurements, concepts and theories that have been developed for the study of the classic welfare states really allow us to understand the new cases and thus help us make valid comparisons between old and new 'worlds'.

CALL FOR PAPERS

The past decades have witnessed a janus-faced transformation of social protection systems in many areas of the Global South. Many countries made headways toward universalizing basic social protection. While developing new social protection instruments, they also retrenched old instruments of social protection. We invite submissions that study these developments of social policy beyond the 'three worlds of welfare capitalism'. We invite both single case studies as well as comparative papers. Comparisons of Northern and Southern countries within a single framework are welcome. Papers should be theoretically informed and empirically grounded. Contributions could – but need not – tackle some of the following issues:

First, papers could deal with the emergence, development and reform of social policy beyond the classic welfare states. For instance, papers could deal with policy change or institutional change in new and old instruments of social protection. With regard to policy change, studies could trace shifts in the intensity and density of policies. With regard to institutional change, studies could trace how institutional change takes place in settings quite different from the classic welfare states. Moreover, how do established theories regarding the drivers behind social policy change fare beyond the classic 'three worlds'? For instance, is it meaningful to study developments from a power resources or partisan politics perspective? Papers that

focus on unconventional instruments of social protection found in the Global South are particularly welcome. For instance, studies on severance pay, food subsidies or access to informal housing would be most welcome.

Second, papers could deal with issues that arise when applying well-established concepts to the new 'worlds'. Most concepts in comparative social policy and welfare state research have been developed to explore classic welfare states. Can these concepts be meaningfully applied to new cases without taking concept stretching too far? For instance, does it make sense to study Latin American or East Asian countries, which at least partly have highly elaborate social protection systems, as 'welfare states'? Similarly, is it meaningful to study countries in the Global South under the concept of 'welfare regimes'? If so, should we develop new dimensions to account for particular unaccounted features of these new cases? Moreover, how should we study 'social policy by other means' that these countries typically pursue? Are these policies part of their welfare states or welfare regimes? Papers that deal with such conceptual issues in the study of Southern social policy are welcome.

Third, papers could deal with the methodological challenges that arise when studying Southern social protection systems. Most measurement tools of the research areas (e.g. SPIN, CWED, SOCX) have been developed to capture and compare classic welfare states. Does it make sense to measure the new cases with the same measurement tools we use for the old cases? What can we gain by measuring cases beyond the classic welfare states with established measurement tools? Are there any pitfalls of these measurement tools alongside the evident promises? What unconventional instruments of social protection might be overlooked? Would scores based on state-of-the-art measurement tools still be valid?

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Session 1

Wednesday, June 26th 14:00 to 16:00 (MB S1.255)

THE ORIGINS OF SEVERANCE PAY IN UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Umut Ozkan (Université de Montréal)

This article contributes to an under-developed field in the social policy literature through an analysis of the origins of severance pay (SP)/redundancy pay schemes and, more specifically, their first designs in nine countries—Canada, the United Kingdom, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal. It has two objectives: first, to identify the key actors who shaped the design of the first SP schemes; second, to explain variations in terms of their mode of regulation, generosity, and coverage. By building on the state-centric and power-resource perspectives, it identifies the conditions under which the state had an autonomous role vis-à-vis organized labour in SP reforms and the circumstances under which organized labour was the main actor. When the state was the key actor, it preferred legislation for the regulation of SP either to legitimize its apparatus in a 'revolutionary'/'potentially revolutionary' context or to facilitate structural transformations of the economy in a 'reformist' context. When organized labour was the key actor, its preference was to regulate SP through 'only collective bargaining' or 'legislation', subject to the degree of unionization. Lastly, the paper argues that key actors (the state or organized labour) took into account the distributive structure of existing UI schemes when designing the coverage and generosity structure of the first SP schemes during the post-war era.

HOW POLICIES SHAPE POLITICS: EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WELFARE EXPANSION AND DEMOCRATIC BACKSLIDING IN TURKEY

H. Tolga Bolukbasi (Bilkent University)

Ebru Ertugal (Ozyegin University)

Kerem Gabriel Oektem (Bielefeld University)

The literature on democratic backsliding has been overly focused on formal institutional changes (such as 'executive aggrandizement' (Bermeo, 2016) or court packing (Levitsky and Ziblatt 2018) as causal variables. In contrast, the sources of backsliding in public policymaking and implementation have received scant attention, if any. How would-be autocratic leaders build up bases of electoral support among groups of citizens through using specific policy programs, which legitimize and hence disguise the incremental slide into autocracy usually go unnoticed. To explore whether there are policy roots of democratic backsliding this paper examines the social assistance policy in Turkey between 2002 and 2018. It focuses specifically on the Fund for the Encouragement of Social Cooperation and Solidarity. We adopt a policy structure approach, dissecting and analyzing the policy in four components: objectives, principles, procedures and instruments. In focusing on a specific program that distributes financial resources, we aim to show different 'policy feedback' Pierson (1993) effects that lay the ground for backsliding. Such feedback effects may affect the incentives or political strategies of social groups and/or reshape political identities and ideas about what to expect from government. Moreover, feedback effects define political membership, create new social groups, crowd-out capacities for civic and political engagement, shape perceptions of problems and possible solutions, increase dependency on the state, shape perceptions of legitimate participation and shape political identities (Mettler and Soss, 2004).

Policy change in a hybrid regime – the case of retirement protection in Hong Kong

Yuen Vera (University of Hong Kong)

This paper uses the case of retirement protection reform in Hong Kong to show how hybrid regime accounts for social policy changes. Hong Kong is known for meager social security provision. Starting from 2004, civil society organizations and the opposition have launched a campaign to fight for a state-run universal retirement protection scheme. The long fight has failed to introduce a reform of a new instrument public state pension but resulted in policy change of an old instrument - two increases of generosity and coverage of the original means-testing social assistance scheme in 2013 and 2018. Partisan politics plays a small role in agenda setting; instead, the state-opposition hybrid regime framework is of use to explain the policy change in this case beyond the classic welfare states. A three-level framework of structural factors, hybrid regime institutions, and actor interaction is utilized. The impact of each hybrid regime institution (elections, the legislature, authoritarian consultation, and political participation) on policy change and the way establishment, opposition, and civil societal actors make use of them are studied in depth by systematic qualitative crawl over newspaper reporting, government, and legislature records. It posits that the work of civil society organizations made a universal scheme a viable agenda. Majority public opinion driven by societal and opposition mobilization and electoral pressure created constraints on establishment parties and state elites, leading to their retreat and compromised expansion of the existing targeted policy regime. Specifically, although the CE election was closed to open competition and most residents have no right to vote, the limited competition among state elites already induced a 'race to the top' effect in welfare expansion. On the other hand, the state control over the skewed legislature through establishment parties prevented societal proposal from legitimizing without the consent of the authoritarian state. The use of authoritative consultation and the work of establishment actors provided state elites the leverage to sway public opinion to eventually turn down a universal retirement protection proposal and closed the policy window. The case study reflects the nature of hybrid regime institutions, for being both a stabilizing and controlling device but at the same time a vulnerable point for opposition to elicit change in an authoritarian context. The neo-institutionalist hybrid regime explanation also accounts for the timing of policy change, in which other theories may fall short in doing so.

This paper contributes to understanding welfare expansion in hybrid regimes. It is assumed in some literature that authoritarian politics mainly concerns elite interest and the masses have a minimal role to play; nonetheless, this case illustrates the power of societal actors – the civil society organizations and the opposition – in bringing policy change in a hybrid regime authoritarian setting. The state-opposition-civil actor dynamics could be similar to those of that in democracy especially in the agenda setting stage, yet the interaction with and constraints posed by hybrid regime institutions could produce a different policy change from closed autocracies and specific to hybrid regime.

Changing expectations? The regulation of personal social services

Lihi Lahat (Sapir Academic College, Israel/ Azrieli Institute of Israel Studies, Department of Political Science, Concordia University, Montreal.)

In recent decades, processes such as the growth of privatization, and the involvement of different actors and networks in the co-production of personal social services demand the creation of new and better regulatory mechanisms. Consequently, these trends have created new demands on and expectations from the traditional mechanisms of the welfare state in a way that can be called the new regulatory welfare state (Benish et al. 2017; Braithwaite et al. 2007; Haber 2016; Levi-Faur 2014). In this study, I will explore the regulatory narrative to identify these new expectations.

The 'regulatory narrative' (Black 2002) defines the casual story regarding the need to develop regulations, by whom, and why. These different stories represent different power relationships and make and define claims for various actors that sometimes include blame (Stones 1989, 2012). Therefore, they reflect different demands and expectations from the regulatory mechanisms and the actors involved in them. Furthermore, these narratives shape the legitimation of the regulatory processes and can shed light on the implementation of different instruments.

To explore the regulatory narrative, I will use an exploratory case study (Yin 2003) and explore five decades of regulatory narrative in the personal social services in Israel. Israel is an interesting case due to the growing involvement of different sectors in the supply of personal social services and the ideological shift that began in the mid-1980s from a more social-democratic ideology to a neo-liberal one. Furthermore, Israel is hard to define by the classic typology of the 'three worlds' (Esping-Andersen, 1990, 2006). Gal (2010) includes Israel as one of the Mediterranean welfare states. The Israeli personal social services are known for their regulatory deficits (Lahat and Sabah 2018; Lahat and Talit, 2015). I will explore 47 State

Comptroller's reports from 1970 till 2017 that reflect the perceptions and expectations regarding the implementation and design of regulations. The State Comptroller's reports take a normative point of view that reflects the expectations from the regulatory mechanisms. Combining narrative analysis and elements of grounded theory, I will identify the different layers and development of the regulatory narrative by focusing on three central actors: 1) the government agency -the Welfare Ministry and its services, 2) the supervisors - the street level bureaucrats who are responsible for the regulations; and 3) the organization that supplies the services. Secondary analysis of articles and documents on the subject will complete and support the identification of the casual narrative. The main research questions are:

- 1) What can be learned from the regulatory narrative regarding the changes in expectations from the regulatory mechanisms?
- 2) Has there been a change in the roles and expectations from the different actors? In what ways?
- 3) Can these changes contribute to our understanding of the deficit in the implementation of regulatory instruments in Israeli personal social services?
- 4) What theoretical understandings arise from the findings that can contribute to the welfare state perspective?

This work hopes to make a theoretical contribution to the understanding of the regulatory welfare state in a time of change.

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Session 2

Thursday, June 27th 08:00 to 10:00 (MB S1.255)

FOUR WORLDS OF GLOBAL WELFARE

Yörük Erdem (Koç University and University of Oxford)

Gabriela Ramalho Tafoya (Koc University)

This paper makes a contribution to the welfare regimes literature by illustrating that there are now four global “Worlds of Welfare”. The expanding “Three Worlds” literature has suffered from a number of drawbacks: (i) It is radically slanted towards OECD countries, (ii) globalist studies tend to focus only on non-OECD countries, (iii) the main focus is on geographical/cultural clusters and (iv) the globalist literature has certain theoretical and methodological shortcomings, such as its failure to combine multiple domains of social policy and its use of development rather than welfare indicators. These limitations have undermined the possibility of developing a global welfare state theory despite innovative social policy development in a variety of countries, most notably in Emerging Market economies. To address these challenges, we introduce a novel dataset that contains welfare policy variables across the traditional decommodification components in 52 welfare states: pensions, unemployment schemes and sickness benefits. Additionally, we include social assistance as a crucial fourth component of decommodification, as a novelty in the literature. To date, studies focusing on social assistance have done so in isolation rather than alongside with the traditional programs that are the focus of welfare studies. We illustrate the existence of a fourth world of welfare by cluster analyzing 52 countries from the Global North and South, using 18 welfare policy indicators from 2013. In this first global welfare regime cluster analysis, our research reveals four global welfare regimes: European, Liberal, Emerging Market and less developed Emerging Market regimes. These regimes combine varying levels of the traditional social security pillars with innovative social assistance policies to different degrees. Together, these four global regimes capture the diversity of welfare across the developed and developing worlds.

POWER AND CULTURE IN EGYPT’S PENSION REFORM

Asya EIMeehy (UN-ESCWA)

Egypt, by third world standards, traditionally boasted a relatively generous egalitarian insurance-based welfare regime centered on contribution-based pensions and a universal food subsidy system. The onset of neoliberal reforms since 1991 has been associated with hidden retrenchment in the country’s social policies, marked by dilution of universal subsidy benefits and introduction of a new layer of targeted productivist welfare, as a parallel track benefiting segments of the lower middle classes, without overhauling the welfare regime or restructuring its main programs. On the eve of the January 25 th uprising, in collaboration with the World Bank Mubarak’s regime took tentative steps towards more explicit restructuring through semi-privatization of Egypt’s pension system, or gradual transitioning from the the Pay As You Go system to the individual accounts system. The controversial bill was approved by Parliament in June 2010 and was expected to voluntarily affect new labor entrants starting from 2012, but was never signed off by the then head of state. The uprising, which called for “bread, freedom and social justice,” ushered in continuation of earlier patterns of welfare reforms through minimizing leakage, and limiting benefits without undermining access, as well as expanding targeted productivist initiatives. However, post-Mubarak elites refrained from seeing through the enactment and implementation of a new pension system. What are the underlying political economy dynamics that have constrained the pension reform process in Egypt pre and post the uprising? The paper draws on: in-depth interviews with current and ex-officials in charge of the social insurance and pension fund, senior decision-makers at the Ministry

of Finance, and specialized technocrats, who were involved in drafting the reform bill under Mubarak. I argue that the dominant coalition maintenance imperatives and cultural norms of citizenship shaped the acceptable contours for policy reform while pressure from labor unions and pensioners' associations played a limited role in shaping pension reforms in Egypt.

RE-CONCEPTUALIZING WELFARE STATE TRANSFORMATION IN CLASSIC WELFARE STATES AND BEYOND

H. Tolga Bolukbasi (Bilkent University)

Kerem Gabriel Oektem (Bielefeld University)

Since the 1980s, governments have shifted from direct provision of welfare state programs towards non-state provision. In big-ticket items like pensions and healthcare, one government after another expanded room for private actors through what we call regulatory layering. This new layer operates through incentivizing private actors. These changes have often been framed as unidirectional transformation (i.e. retrenchment) in what we conventionally see as a monomorphic welfare state. We believe we need to re-conceptualize the welfare state through a polymorphic approach to capture these complex multidimensional transformations. We bring together insights from comparative politics of institutional change and comparative public policy of regulation to study these multi-dimensional transformations. We rely on original empirical evidence on pensions, healthcare and unemployment insurance we collected from two 'most different' worlds of welfare states – Germany representing 'classic welfare states' and Turkey representing 'emerging welfare states'. We argue that what might look like a retreat of the state from the conventional perspective of monomorphic welfare state is often a multi-faceted process involving expansion of social regulation through regulatory layering. What we saw as privatization of social programs has not always meant states really retreat from these areas. On the contrary, the new regulatory layers may potentially even lead to expansions in policy outputs (such as social expenditures and social rights) with surprising implications for policy outcomes such as poverty and inequality. All these complex multi-dimensional transformations can, therefore, be captured by re-conceptualizing welfare state transformation through focusing on the changing nature of social regulation.