

## 1.2 Research profile of the Collaborative Research Centre

### 1.2.1 Summary of the research programme

The developmental dynamics of social policy can be explained by the interplay between national determinants and international and transnational interdependencies. Such interdependencies can be horizontal, i.e. between states and societies, encompassing the exchange of ideas, economic relations, migratory flows, violent conflicts and pandemics; or vertical, i.e. interdependencies in the form of political-organizational linkages between states and international organizations active in social and education policy. The central thesis of the Collaborative Research Centre “Global Dynamics of Social Policy” (CRC 1342) is that the type and density of these interdependency networks – in interaction with the national constellation in politics, society and the economy – shape the dynamics and patterns of national social policy.

During its first phase from 2018 to 2021, the CRC showed how the developmental dynamics and patterns of public social policy can be analysed globally and in historical comparison. This was demonstrated by explaining the introduction of social protection and education programmes. However, at the core of social policy research is, without doubt, the study of the inclusiveness and scope of provision of social protection programmes. The key objective of the 15 projects during the second phase is measuring, describing and explaining the developmental dynamics of these two dimensions of social policy. The groundwork for this work was laid during the first phase by constructing the web-based Global Welfare State Information System (WeSIS). WeSIS is being coordinated by an Information Management Project and will be expanded by adding global and historical data on the scope of provision and the degree of inclusiveness. Towards the end of the second phase, WeSIS will be made available to the international scientific community.

The internal structuring of the CRC into two project areas has proven successful and will be retained in the second phase. An Information Management Project (Project INF) will offer central services to the whole CRC and will coordinate WeSIS’s further development across the project areas. The six projects in Area A focus comprehensively on the developmental dynamics of inclusiveness and scope of provision in specific social policy fields from a global and historical perspective. A total of eight policy fields are being studied in Project Area A. All six projects are collecting data on inclusiveness and scope of provision and are feeding them into the information system WeSIS. The macro-quantitative analyses to identify the determinants of social policy dynamics in global comparison are being supplemented by more in-depth country case studies so that the special characteristics of social protection in the Global South can be taken into account in a context-sensitive manner.

Project Area B is comprised of eight projects investigating the dynamics of social policy inclusiveness and scope of provision in case studies and small-N comparisons for specific social protections programmes in selected countries or regions. As in the first phase, the main focus is on in-depth qualitative studies, although some projects are now also employing a mixed-methods approach to enrich country and regional studies with quantitative analyses. Taken together, the eight projects cover all world regions, but analytically each focuses on a specific type of horizontal or vertical interdependency: They are investigating how social programmes develop in the two dimensions under the influence of war, economic crises, pandemics, international organizations or transnational flows of ideas.

Specifically, the causal relationships between the central interdependency and certain selected social programmes are being studied, under consideration of contextual factors.

The cooperation between both project areas and the Project INF will make it possible to globally and historically expand social policy research in its central field, the investigation of inclusiveness and scope of provision, and to do so within a systematic investigative framework. The long-term, structurally constructive aim of the CRC 1342 is to establish a leading international location for global comparative social policy research in Germany.

### **1.2.1 Detailed presentation of the research programme**

The Covid-19 pandemic not only made the existential importance of global interdependencies visible to all, but also the necessity of an internationally coordinated approach to solving problems. However, the specific reactions to this pandemic remained largely at the level of the nation-state, or even the sub-national level. Global challenges – as this example confirms – require coordinated steps, but until now have only to a limited extent resulted in globally agreed policies. The historical development of social policy also shows how far removed this field is from a globally coordinated policy concept.

The Collaborative Research Centre (CRC) studies precisely this interplay between transnational interdependencies and national responses, paying particular attention to global coordination efforts by international organizations such as the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the World Health Organization (WHO). The research aim of the CRC “Global Dynamics of Social Policy” in its second phase is to clarify the role of these networks between states and societies across the globe for the development of social policy in a historical perspective and with the inclusion of all countries. This historically and simultaneously globally comparative orientation is a unique feature of the research collaboration.

The Covid-19 pandemic also highlighted the extent to which the social position of all members of society depends on the availability of social policy support programmes. Without the short-time working programmes widely introduced or used in Europe, for example, the Covid-19 pandemic would have caused uniquely high unemployment and poverty. The way that societies develop and whether or not social integration can still be ensured depend on the existence, stability and efficiency of social policy measures. In order to attain a comprehensive picture of the social and political role of social policy, the investigation of the timing with which social policy programmes were introduced conducted during the first phase is therefore being expanded to include the social reach of these programmes, i.e. their *coverage*, and the extent of social protection they offer, i.e. their *generosity*. This is the task of the Collaborative Research Centre as a whole and its constitutive projects during the second phase. Our central argument is that the global unfolding of state social policy in its historical development and with its large national differences can only be explained by analysing the interplay between national conditions, interdependencies between states and the influence of international organizations. We distinguish *horizontal* interdependencies between states or societies from *vertical* interdependencies between states and international organizations. These interdependencies encompass (1) the exchange of ideas, (2) political-organizational integration (e.g. through membership in international organizations), (3) economic relations, (4) migratory flows and (5) disruptive interdependencies such as (a) relations of violence (cold and hot wars) and (b) pandemics. The type and density of these networks of

interdependencies in interaction with the national constellation in politics, society and the economy shape the dynamics and patterns of national social policy. This *interdependence-centred* focus structures our studies on developmental dynamics in three dimensions of social policy, namely (i) the introduction and design, (ii) the coverage and (iii) the generosity of social policy programmes. The interdependence-centred analysis proved successful during the first phase of research. However, gaps were identified that will be closed in the second phase with new projects or a new thematic focus in existing projects. For instance, the projects B05 and B09 will now be analysing the great significance of the urban-rural divide in Africa and China, while new projects will study the influence of pandemics (B12) or wars (B10) on the dynamics of social policy.

### *Research programme and findings of the first phase*

Since 2018, the CRC has been analysing the developmental dynamics of public social policy in a global and historical perspective. During the *first* funding phase, the basic dimensions of social policy – the introduction and design of social protection systems in a global perspective – were the focus of the analyses. The CRC started with 15 projects in two project areas: The six macro-qualitative projects in *Project Area A* investigated the introduction of social policy programmes and their design in the traditional fields of social policy as well as education policy for as large a sample of countries as possible. Under the guidance of Project A01, Project Area A began constructing the web-based “**Global Welfare State Information System**” (WeSIS). The nine qualitative projects in *Project Area B* used country and regional case studies as well as small-N comparisons to reconstruct how transnational forms of interdependencies work together with the actions of decision-making actors in the national political arena and have determined social policy in selected world regions. Regular meetings of the principal investigators and additional workshops ensured continuous internal and cross-project communication within the CRC.

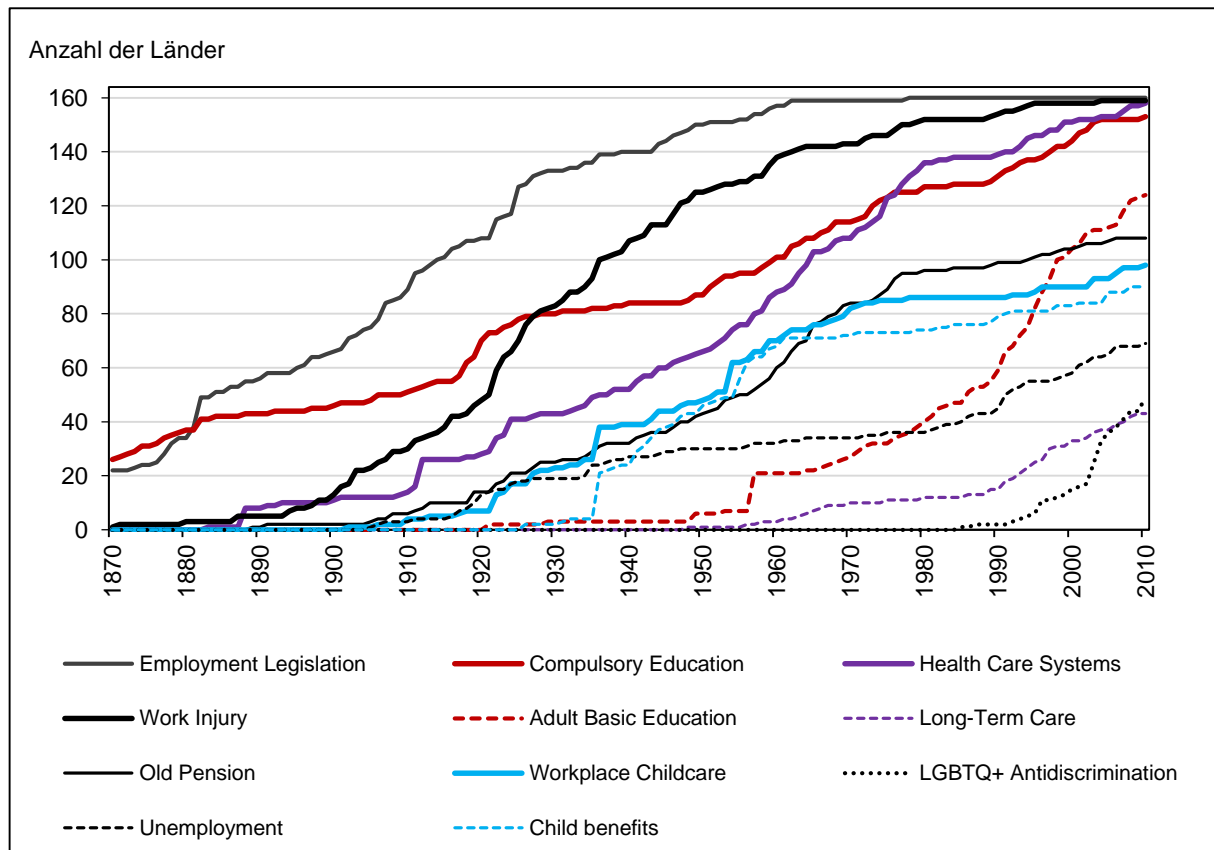
The CRC’s architecture, consisting of the two project areas, has proven very successful. In the *second* phase, projects focusing on large country samples continue to comprise the Project Area A and country or regional studies are anchored in Project Area B. However, the methodological distinction between a quantitative Project Area A and a qualitative Project Area B has been relaxed and projects in both areas are now using a mix of methods.

**Project Area A.** The central aim of the projects in *Project Area A* during the first funding phase was to analyse the *timing of the introduction* of social protection systems worldwide and – under the guidance of Project A01 – to collaboratively construct the information system WeSIS. Data collection proved to be a challenging undertaking for two reasons. Firstly, the availability of data in many countries, especially for the start of the observation period (from 1880 onwards), was unsatisfactory. Secondly, conceptual questions had to be addressed before the date of introduction could be defined. The result was that the introductory dates for numerous social protection programmes worldwide could be collected and stored in WeSIS. At the same time, various indicators and data on national constellations and on interdependencies between countries (e.g. dyadic trade and conflict data) could also be entered into WeSIS.

As Figure 1 illustrates on the basis of WeSIS data, a global introductory sequence can be discerned that shows similarities to the development of Western welfare states (cf. Bauer 1923;

Flora/Heidenheimer 1981; Alber 1982): Employment protection and legislation as well as compulsory schooling were introduced comparatively early, followed by work-injury compensation, healthcare and old-age protection. Today, these programmes are the most widespread. Unemployment insurance and family allowances were introduced relatively late. Today, these programmes are established in only about half of the countries. Long-term care systems and anti-discrimination programmes have only been created in the recent past and are currently only found in a minority of the 164 countries considered.

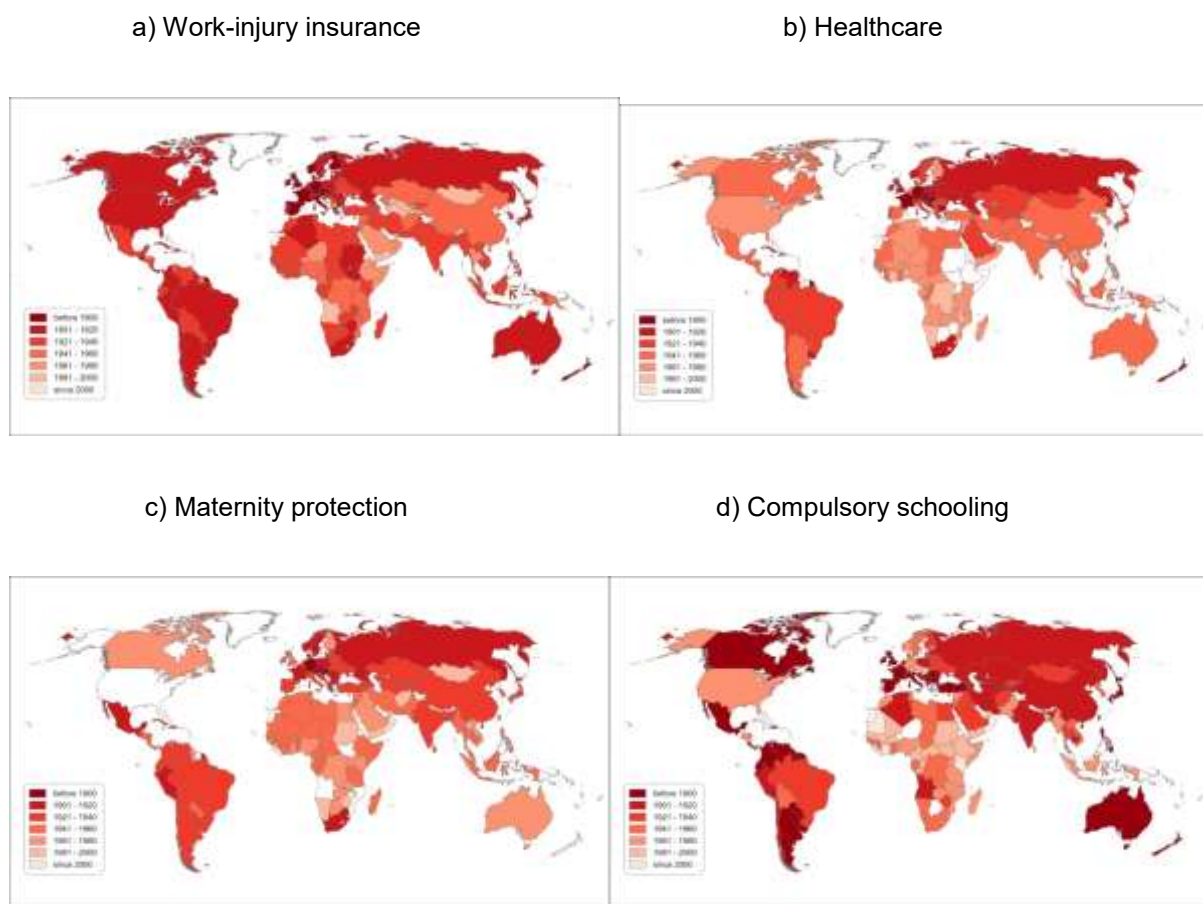
**Figure 1.** The introduction of eleven social policy programmes in 164 countries.



Notes: The data come from WeSIS. The introduction of old-age protection refers to 118 countries.

It is also noteworthy that the number of established social protection systems has not declined significantly at any time. Social policy programmes are therefore increasingly spreading globally. When considering individual programmes, only the speed of the diffusion varies, although the data on the introduction of a programme do not contain any information on the coverage and generosity of the programmes. Furthermore, considerable regional differences exist in terms of the dates of introduction, as the examples in Figure 2 show for four programmes. While European countries, Russia (the Soviet Union) as well as many states in Latin America created these programmes relatively early, states in Africa only introduced them much later or not at all. In the Global North, the USA is a latecomer and therefore represents an outlier.

**Figure 2.** The date of introduction of four social policy programmes according to country.



Notes: The darker the colouring of a country, the earlier the introduction of the programme.

The projects in Area A have not only ascertained the date when social policy programmes were introduced, but also investigated their determinants. The CRC's analytical schema has proven itself in these analyses: not only the known components of the national constellation are important for a comprehensive explanation, but also international and transnational interdependencies whose significance varies according to programme and date of introduction. Across both project areas it could be shown that the likelihood of introducing social protection programmes increases if neighbouring countries (in the case of work accident insurance, compulsory schooling and health and long-term care systems) and/or countries in the same cultural sphere (in the case of work accident insurance and compulsory schooling) have introduced such programmes. In addition, a colonial legacy (family policy and old-age protection) as well as wars and economic crises (unemployment insurance) lead to an earlier date of introduction (Windzio et al. 2021). We could also trace the influence of international organizations such as the ILO on the date of programme introduction. However, these interdependencies are not only a factor in determining whether and when a programme is introduced, they also shape its structural design. In detail:

In the first phase, *Project A02* investigated national and international determinants of the introduction of work-injury, unemployment and old-age pension insurance worldwide. In addition, basic characteristics of the initial programmes (e.g. type of programme and its mode of financing) were

classified and investigated. In regard to unemployment insurance, it could be shown for both Western countries and a global sample that was increased the likelihood of introducing this politically highly contentious protection system (Obinger/Schmitt 2020a; 2020b). In a global perspective, the ILO supported the introduction of programmes. Furthermore, the spread of unemployment insurance was expedited by policy diffusion between neighbouring states. In regard to old-age pension insurance, important effects of the political regime and colonial influences on the type of programme, the (formal) level of inclusion and the generosity of the initial legislation could be identified. Thus, a clear preference among autocracies and former French colonies for social insurance systems could be established. The initial old-age protection systems were significantly more inclusive in democracies than in autocracies, while the reverse relation holds for generosity. In both the West and in a global perspective, work-injury insurance was not only the first social protection programme to be introduced but was also introduced in all states. The formation of nation-states, trade networks and the workers movement not only expedited the introduction of employer liability for work injuries, but also the implementation of collective work-injury insurance.

*Project A03* investigated the genesis of protection norms in employment law as part of public social policy. The regulatory patterns relevant to employment relationships first emerged in Europe during the nineteenth century. At the international level, global trade flows, the workers movement and the ILO, including its forerunner organizations, contributed to the diffusion of protective norms in labour law. While the colonial powers installed their own models (e.g. the UK's "master and servant" legislation), from a material-functionalist perspective, a cross-imperial "colonial" standard developed initially, particularly in Africa, which foresaw the recruitment of male labour in highly formalized, fixed-term employment relations enforced by sanctions. But in Europe as well, the concept of "protection" in employment law contained gender segmenting features. A typology was developed on the basis of the three fundamental functions of standard-setting (S), privileging (P) and equalizing (E), which globally describes the introduction and further differentiation of labour law systems by means of eight basic types and 10 mixed types (Dingeldey et al. 2021). It could be shown that protective standards in the Global South are also permanently expanding, while at the same time certain groups are being excluded or their protection is being decreased by means of "legal segmentation". From the mid-1970s onwards, a global process of equalization in norms for employment relationships began, which was subjected to mutually reinforcing national and international influences and that partially contained the spread of atypical employment (e.g. via the principle of equal treatment for fixed-term employees regarding pay). In addition to democratization and decolonization, the driving factors were global emancipatory movements and epistemic communities. So-called flexibilization was supported by the spread of the neoliberal paradigm and above all by international organizations beyond the ILO (Mückenberger 2021). Following a historical-institutional understanding, today – in the sense of layering – the equalizing strata of the regulation of employment relationships overlays the still persisting and even more differentiated segmenting strata.

In the first phase, *Project A04* aimed to record and explain the timing of the introduction of social protection systems for illness and long-term care. The project also aimed to describe and explain which types of healthcare and long-term care systems emerged. Healthcare systems in public responsibility can be found today in nearly all countries of the world. Their development in the Global North has

already been well researched (see, among others, Immergut et al. 2021). In order to better consider the particularities of the Global South, a classification was developed deductively from an actor-centred typology (Frisina Doetter et al. 2021). The empirical analyses showed that from a global perspective, the introduction of healthcare systems proceeded relatively continuously and overall was not particularly strongly shaped by single events nor by policy learning dynamics. In contrast, it could also be clearly shown that healthcare systems were introduced first in economically highly developed countries, but were also already established in poorer countries from the 1920s onwards. A close relationship between political independence and programme introduction could be shown for countries in Africa. The classification of healthcare systems at the date of their introduction was based on the three dimensions of regulation, financing and service provision, which yielded 14 types of systems that can be summarized into six clusters if only regulation and financing are considered. If only the dimension of regulation is considered, two “worlds” of healthcare systems emerge: one state-regulated (113 countries) and one regulated by societal actors (51 countries). Overall, including countries from the Global South results in a markedly greater variance in types of healthcare system than in the Global North alone. It is noteworthy that societally-regulated healthcare systems were largely established before the middle of the twentieth century, while systems introduced later are nearly all state regulated and financed. In explaining each system type, transnational policy learning, particularly with recourse to historical role models, national policy traditions and path dependencies, as well as colonial legacies play a significant role.

*Project A05* investigated the influence of horizontal and vertical interdependencies on the global developmental dynamics of education systems. Overall, the findings demonstrate the importance of cultural spheres (measured by indicators for rights to political freedoms, the rule of law, gender role orientations, dominant religion, language groups, government ideology, types of civilization and colonial ties) for the diffusion of education policy. Furthermore, it could be shown that regional and culturally-specific international organizations (IOs) in part conduct their own discourses on education policy (Martens/Windzio 2021). *Horizontal interdependencies* between cultural clusters were investigated using network diffusion analysis, and their influence on the diffusion of compulsory education since 1880 could be empirically demonstrated. Differences were particularly apparent between predominantly Muslim and (Southeast) Asian countries that, in contrast to countries in the Global North, show a delayed timing of introducing compulsory education. Even after controlling for the countries' economic development level, contacts within the network of cultural spheres still had significant positive effects on the diffusion of compulsory education. *Vertical interdependencies* were investigated for the 30 IOs that concern themselves with education policy. Qualitative methods and standardized methods of text analysis were employed (Seitzer et al. 2021). Two central findings stand out: First, since the turn of the millennium, the tension between the IOs that had originally focused on economic issues (such as the World Bank or the OECD) and those that traditionally engaged with education (UNESCO for example) attenuated. Both types of education IOs increasingly present an integrative understanding of education. Second, the density and quality of cooperation between the investigated IOs has increased. These two developments can also be observed in parallel for education IOs that only operate in specific regions of the world, such as the Islamic ICESCO, or the Southeast Asian SEAMEO. Today, these organizations

advocate an understanding of education which is often close to the guiding principles of global IOs but that still reflects their specific regional, culturally-anchored values, norms and traditions.

*Project A06* investigated the historical determinants of the introduction of family policy in global perspective. While family policy is a more or less coherent policy field in many European states in the twenty-first century, its historical origins lie in individual, patchwork-like interventions. They related to paid maternity protection, child benefit, and the regulation and provision of local and workplace childcare. These interventions arose as a reaction to different problems and with varying motivations before they became part of an independent and explicit family policy. With few exceptions, the introduction of these programmes did not follow a uniform logic. There were, however, overlaps that highlight the particularities of family policy in comparison with other social policy fields (Böger et al. 2021): Firstly, a positive relationship between (early) family policies and democracy could not be established. The state's interest in the functionality of the family is equally present in all types of regimes and is even stronger in autocracies in some cases. In contrast, secondly, the introduction of transfer payments can be clearly traced back to demographic changes, specifically as a reaction to a (perceived) fertility crisis. France was not only the pioneer of this pro-natalist family policy in Europe, but also, thirdly, disseminated its family policy in Africa and Asia as a colonial power. Only the Soviet model of family policy had a similarly large influence, spreading via horizontal (member state) interdependencies to Central Asia and Eastern Europe. The influence of global norms and organizations, i.e. vertical interdependencies, was, fourthly, restricted to maternity protection where three ILO conventions (C003, C103, C183) played an important role.

**Figure 3.** Comparison of the number of indicators in WeSIS geographically and temporally (as of June 2021)



All of the projects in Area A were involved in constructing the web-based information system WeSIS. *Project A01* was responsible for coordinating and technically developing WeSIS as well as conducting its own information science research and contributing to data collection. A “co-creative” approach was



taken in the form of participative software development in order to include the users' needs from the very beginning (Molina León/Breiter 2020). In contrast to standard procedures, this not only encompasses the user interfaces but also the structure of the database system, evaluation algorithms as well as interactive data visualization. The process itself was also the focus of several user studies and the results were published (further details on the research results can be found in A01's final report). In cooperation with the other projects in Area A and according to the CRC's analytical schema (see Figure 4 below), data for three blocks of variables for the entire period under study (1880–2020) were collected for all countries with more than 500,000 inhabitants. Furthermore, existing databases were fed into WeSIS. The first block of variables consists of social policy indicators; during the first phase the focus lay on the dates when specific programmes were introduced. The second block of variables includes data on the political, economic and socio-structural conditions in the countries studied ("national constellations"). The third block of variables provides information on the interdependencies between countries, such as dyadic data on trade interdependencies (Mossig/Lischka 2021) or vertical interdependencies such as membership in international organizations, but also geographical information such as the distance to the capital city and shared national borders. The systematic documentation and tagging were recorded in WeSISpedia – a Wiki in which all indicators and coding rules are described in detail. Figure 3 shows WeSIS's current data content in geographical and temporal comparison.

As a result of this co-creation, WeSIS can be used for (i) targeted searches for and univariate observations of indicators and contains (ii) a data explorer for interactive data visualization and the analysis of multi-dimensional data patterns. Furthermore, (iii) users can view country profiles and (iv) export any data for their own research. In addition, (v) WeSIS checks data as they are uploaded with the aid of an automated validation tool, which was also developed co-creatively. WeSIS is a central, project-overarching product and the flagship of the CRC whose further development will be coordinated by Project INF in the second phase. In the final 18 months of the second phase it will be made available to the scientific community (see also Project INF's WP 2).

**Project Area B.** In order to find out how the factors comprising the national constellation as well as the horizontal and vertical interdependencies influence the introduction of social protections systems, *Project Area B* investigated the underlying causal mechanisms. The results of the individual projects were related to each other by means of the concept of *causal mechanisms*, as it has been used for several years, especially in qualitative policy research. Causal mechanisms map out the causal relationships that occur between a cause (or an independent variable) and the effect or the outcome (as a dependent variable). Investigating the *causal effects* between independent and dependent variables does not explain how causes and consequences are specifically connected. Opening this black box means exploring the causal mechanisms that create this linkage. However, much of the previous research literature on process tracing and causal mechanisms has focused more on methodological questions and less on the question of how it is possible to work with the concept of causal mechanisms in a specific field of inquiry, such as social policy research. In its Project Area B, the CRC has set itself the task of answering the question of whether and to what extent the causes of social policy expansion can be elucidated across its projects for all historical periods, countries and

policies by means of in-depth qualitative studies and the concept of causal mechanisms – representing a level between general regularities, statistical correlations and causal effects while emphasizing individual factors. In this way, explanations for individual cases in different types of political regimes can be placed in a comparative perspective to quite different regions, historical phases and fields. In view of the different understandings of causal mechanisms in the literature, it was first necessary to clarify this concept. Therefore, the CRC worked with a framework concept that connects the focus on actors (concentration on the key social policy actors) with modularity (a single social policy programme can only be explained with a combination of several mechanisms). Single causal mechanisms can arise at different times in different regions of the world. Therefore, there are certain bundles of causes for the expansion of social policy that occur more frequently, but no one valid fundamental explanation for all programmes and countries that can draw on single factors (strength of the workers movement, the role of political parties, diffusion etc.) (Kuhlmann/Nullmeier 2021).

The individual case studies in Project Area B have shown that this framework can be used to analyse social policy in a wide variety of contexts. It can be used to compare, for example, the activities of the medical profession in South America during the 1920s with those of doctors in Central Europe after 1990, but at the same time also the interaction between political elites, medical professionals and representatives of international organizations during the transition to a social insurance system (González de Reufels/Huhle 2021; Kaminska 2021). The inclusion of additional actor groups, such as medical doctors, but also the military, represents an important opening in contrast with, e.g. the power resource approach which focuses on the actors trade unions, workers' parties and employers' associations. The institutional interplay between different policy levels is key to understanding social policy. In an analysis of the multi-level Chinese system it could be shown that the forms of experimentation with international policy models at the regional level enable a far more active and selective approach than that suggested by the notion of diffusion processes.

Combining case studies with the mechanism concept means that diffusion research can be enriched through refinement and also corrections: The empirically verifiable forms of exchange and dependency relations between countries or between countries and international organizations can often not be adequately captured with the usual diffusion categories. If international organizations want to persuade countries to implement a certain form of social policy ideally, materially and through organizational assistance, it can be shown that if national elites have conflicting interests they can find “evasion mechanisms” that avoid open opposition, but rather assert the conformity of national plans with the international ideas and only represent a vague approximation of the IO's wishes as a compromise. This does not correspond to any of the four standard forms of diffusion (Kuhlmann et al. 2020). Certain mechanisms can only occur with certain forms of social policy, e.g. the CRC's studies identified the “alarmed middle class mechanism” in relation to social insurance systems: If the proportion of informal work is high, only a smaller stratum of the formally employed benefit from social insurance. If the attempt is made to include further social groups in this social insurance system, then the formally employed, who belong to the middle class in their society, perceive this as a loss of their privileges via an increase in contributions or a deterioration in the quality of provision. Politically, the expansion of coverage then encounters corresponding resistance. Similarly, the “double benefit mechanism” could be shown for social insurance funds with a high level of capital coverage. The capital flows into government

investment projects or fulfils other purposes, and in doing so the social insurance system it stabilized and expanded. In this way, it was possible to relate the different case studies in Project Area B to each other via the concept of causal mechanisms and also to discover surprising similarities. Although it is too early to present a 'catalogue' of generally effective mechanisms for the developmental dynamics of social policy, the mutual referencing of the case studies in Project Area B will enable new insights into the dynamics of social policy to be gained from the interplay between quantitative macro-analysis and the modular application of causal mechanisms. The conceptual coordination of all the projects in Area B in the search for causal mechanism occurred in *Project B01*.

The individual results of the other projects are presented below. In particular, they correct several assumptions regarding the interplay between transnational interdependencies and national social policy.

*Project B02* studied the development of social policy measures in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay between 1850 and 1939, focusing on the role of the military, the medical profession and their interaction in the early development of the healthcare system. Both groups of actors not only became involved because of the problems of the poor physical condition of recruits and soldiers, but also because of the idea of state modernization. Building hospitals and public health structures are considered a hallmark of developed state formation. The medical profession's continental conferences were therefore characterized by the shared pursuit of expanding medical provision and modernization, but also by competition with Europe, which they sought to emulate but at the same time to exclude Europeans as potential competitors (González de Reufels/Huhle 2021). And finally, national competition between the three states shaped the development of their healthcare systems: in addition to the specific political conditions, the transfer of ideas – especially via the relocation and emigration of experts – led to changes in the national social policies.

In 2018 and 2019, *Project B03* organized representative surveys on voters' attitudes towards social policy in Mexico and Brazil. The analysis of the Mexican and Brazilian citizens' social policy preferences by means of a standardized household survey after the presidential election in each country showed for Mexico that although fear of protectionism led to more employment uncertainty, this was not reflected in a higher demand for social policy. Perceptions of migration processes can also influence social policy preferences. The perception of returning emigrants as a labour market risk for the well-educated contributed to a low demand for social policy solutions. By means of a survey experiment, it was possible to analyse when a person's access to the Brazilian state pension programme is considered deserved and just. The results showed that people who lost their jobs because of offshoring would frequently be granted access to the pension system, while immigrants would not. Citizens of the Global North react differently to the impacts of interdependencies between states based on trade and migration than citizens of the Global South. While in Mexico the response to tougher immigration rules and thus a restriction of labour migration from the USA resulted in a move away from the welfare state, in the USA a growing demand for social policy investments (better education policy) and compensatory measures could be shown, although this demand is nationalist and inclusively oriented. It could be shown in an online experiment that information on the effect of American social policy on reducing poverty led to respondents being more likely to support restrictive immigration policy. Thus, if social policy is perceived

as offering protection, the consequence seems to be that protectionist economic policy is also supported, which indicates a strengthening of welfare chauvinism (Berens 2020).

These relationships between social, economic and migration policy were also investigated for Mexico and Argentina in a historical perspective. Social policy in both countries at the start of the twentieth century can be considered the result of the interplay between interest groups and the emergence of mass politics. A pluralistic political system with competitive elections developed in Argentina, while in Mexico the victors of the revolution established an undemocratic political system. While the political developments had divergent effects on social policy, the influence of economic interdependence was the same. In both countries certain occupational groups received extensive social policy benefits linked to key sectors of the commodity exporting economy. Despite the interruption of international trade flows between the Great Depression and the end of the Second World War, this policy of an alliance of the urban working class and other forms of clientelism have persisted to this day.

*Project B04* investigated how cross-border labour migration and the policies of regional organizations affect the national design of social protection systems (Römer et al. 2021a). In the member states of the three regional organizations studied (ASEAN, the EU and Mercosur) very different importance is attached to unifying social protection systems and labour standards, which is also due to the varying degrees of regional inequality. While in the EU, the coordination of social protection across member state is considered highly important and intraregional migration is regulated differently to third-country migration, in the Global South, regional agreements hardly play any role for the design of national social protection systems – even though migration from outside the regional organization comprises a considerable share of total migration in all three regions. To compare the rights of these migrants, a dataset on migrants' welfare rights was extended to include the member states of Mercosur and ASEAN for the entire time period 1980–2018 (Römer et al. 2021b). The European welfare states are the most inclusive overall, not only towards EU citizens but also towards third-country nationals. In the Mercosur member states, there is a trend towards increasing inclusion, for both intraregional migrants and third-country nationals. Finally, Southeast Asian countries afford the least rights. An analysis of the relationship between immigration and the welfare state in EU member states demonstrated that there is no evidence for a long-lasting negative effect of migration on the level of social expenditure or the design of the programmes. Within the EU, welfare states do not generally react to migration with benefit cuts.

*Project B05* studied the introduction of social insurance in the People's Republic of China by investigating the mechanisms through which international interdependencies affect the national development of social policy. The focus was on old-age provision and healthcare; in addition, research was also conducted on the interplay between national and international factors in the reform of the vocational training sector. The research provides evidence of elaborate and autonomous policy learning and experimentation among Chinese functionaries and social policy experts (ten Brink et al. 2020; Müller 2021). Social policy building blocks were selectively adopted from different institutional contexts and cultures and incorporated into the internal normative and institutional structure. However, borrowing from Western societies and vertical influences from international organizations were less dominant than initially anticipated. Horizontal influences from East Asia, in particular from Japan and Singapore, were almost equally significant, expressed for example in the mixture of social pooling and individual savings

accounts in the pension and healthcare insurance systems for formally employed urban workers. The mechanism of strategic experimentation with regionally limited programmes was especially important, but forced forms of elite cooperation could also be found. With regard to differences within the programmes, different extents of policy learning and thus different effects on the implementation of policy imports could be observed. In the case of the transfer of Western models for improving efficiency (e.g. fixed payments per case), their efficacy is extremely limited: in the insurance scheme for formal workers, a substantial proportion of the financial resources remains tied up in the individual saving accounts; in contrast, the level of benefits offered by the universal insurance is too low to effectively influence the efficiency of hospitals.

*Project B06* investigated how Western reform models were evaluated by political decision-makers and the public in the post-Soviet region and which influence that had on social policy reforms. The results showed that the international influence of neoliberal models (“Washington Consensus”) has been overestimated up until now. Contrary to the corresponding assumption of a successful propagation of radical economic reforms by the IMF and the World Bank, an extensive content analysis of their recommendations to the countries studied showed that they repeatedly, and often unsuccessfully, warned against overly radical reform measures, often addressing the social consequences. Therefore, the shift at the start of the twenty-first century emphasized in the literature to a pragmatic “post-Washington Consensus” that takes national contexts into account, does not represent a fundamental change of strategy. Above all, *Project B06*’s results very clearly show that the influence of international policy recommendations does not simply depend on the strategy of the particular international organization or the appropriateness of the specific policy recommendations, but rather that the strategies of national governments towards international policy recommendations have to be included in the analysis (Pleines 2021). In a joint analysis together with *Project B05*, a total of five national government strategies for dealing with policy recommendations from international organizations were identified. The mediatized public sphere did not play any role in social policy debates in the countries studied. At the same time, a content analysis of parliamentary debates in Russia and Ukraine revealed a fundamental cross-party opposition to social policy reform projects. Opponents nearly always refused to table alternative proposals and made blanket accusations of corruption; proponents in the national executives primarily countered by referring to financing constraints. A key consequence of the lack of debate is that laws for far-reaching reforms were passed without an understanding of their implications or means of ensuring the measures necessary for their implementation. Consequently, the actual design of the welfare system is primarily decided during the implementation phase. The result is that conflicts over competences between various state actors (especially over financial responsibility) as well as informalization and corruption on the part of the state and non-state actors involved become a frequent reason for why social policy reforms fail.

In *Project B07*, the transnational interdependencies in long-term care insurance systems in the form of mainly female labour migration were studied in detail for Germany, Poland, Italy and Sweden. The date of programme introduction, social policy regulations and the levels of care insurance vary just as much as the role of migrant care workers for each dominant form of service provision in long-term care. Consequently, typical country-specific constellations can be identified: for Germany, the coexistence of the “migrant in the family” and the “migrant in formal care” models, for Sweden the model “migrant in

formal care” dominates, and for Italy and Poland a dominance of the “migrant in the family” model (Rothgang et al. 2021). The explanation for the development of these constellations shows that in the context of the established gender regime and type of welfare state, specific interactions of care policy with labour market and migration policy are relevant. Within this framework, the economically, politically and socially-influenced availability of labour in the origin and destination countries plays an important role, and labour market intermediaries between care workers and employers (especially private households) are gaining importance as new actors. Thus, a starting situation characterized by a rather conservative and familialistic welfare and gender regime as in Germany, Poland and Italy where cash benefits are important to care policy favours more informal service provision in the family. In contrast, in the service-intensive, social democratic and egalitarian welfare state regime in Sweden, formal service provision also dominates in long-term care. Migrant workers not only play an important role in providing care in private households, where they represent a cheap alternative to female family members, but are also relevant to the growing demand for qualified workers in the formal care sector. In contrast to Germany, where recruitment targets qualified foreign workers, in Sweden, migrant care workers are usually employed in lower-skilled and lower-status assistant positions. In conjunction with ethnicity and (male and female) gender, this form of labour deployment leads to new lower strata in the labour market. At the same time and in regard to employment relations in private households, especially in Italy but possibly also in Germany in the future, trends towards formalization of informal employment relationships and the role of the household as an employer are emerging.

*Project B08* aimed to investigate whether and how healthcare reforms in Central and Eastern Europe were influenced by international interdependencies in the form of dissemination of ideas and legal norms. Numerous international organizations were active during the early transformation phase from the late 1980s onwards, which means that their influence could be presumed. With the exception of Latvia, all Central and Eastern European countries that had introduced a centralized, state-run Semashko system under the communist regime decided to introduce compulsory contributory health insurance. In contrast, Yugoslavia’s successor states, that had insurance-based financing for the health system during the communist period, decided for centralization and privatization after the end of communism, which led to a hybrid form of healthcare financing. One of the project’s key findings was that the introduction of compulsory contributory health insurance was precipitated by national factors. In the post-Semashko healthcare systems in Albania, Latvia and Poland in particular, the paradigm shift in healthcare financing that occurred with the introduction of health insurance represented an explicit reaction against the previous communist system, although in Latvia this was only of short duration: the OECD, WHO and EU were unable to directly intervene during the agenda-setting phase of the reform of healthcare financing (Kaminska 2021). The World Bank was even confronted with resistance from national politicians who rejected the “old” health system and wanted to replace it at any price. Even politically and economically weak and vulnerable states that were partly still in the process of state building and dealing with the aftermath of the Yugoslav Wars were able to ignore the international organizations’ policy recommendations and conditionalities and to simultaneously instrumentalize these for national political objectives. The governments oriented themselves more strongly towards the German and French model of health insurance and relied heavily on the advice of West European experts. Above all, domestic doctors played a decisive role in the introduction of insurance-based

healthcare systems by means of their professional associations as well as their high positions in ministries and parliaments.

*Project B09* studied the history of social policy in Africa by means of case studies on six selected countries (Egypt, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda). Social policy programmes for broad population groups were usually only first introduced during decolonization. Previously, only small urban groups associated with the functional exigencies of colonial rule benefitted from state social policy measures. This was the case for war veterans, civil servants and organized workers. During the first decade of independent statehood (around the 1960s), social policy systems were usually expanded extensively, above all in urban areas (Thyen/Schlichte 2021). South Africa remained the exception to this dynamic, which can be explained by the non-opening of social policy measures at the end of the Second World War and an intensification of racist rule towards formal apartheid. Restrictions on social reform measures during the debt crisis and structural adjustments (1980s and 1990s) led to massive, but country-specific retrenchments. The Arab upheavals of 2010/11 showed which long-term consequences the lack of the inclusion in social policy and inadequate political representation of younger population groups can have. Formal social policy measures such as access to schooling or healthcare are consistently more pronounced and of better quality in urban centres than rural regions. Rural life chances remain subjected to the rules and limits of agricultural production. In the course of several waves of agrarian commodification, a large part of the rural population remained without effective access to state benefits, trapped between peripheral subsistence farming and capitalist displacement pressure (Thyen/Karadag 2021).

In the sum of the results of the projects in Area B, the influence of international organizations at the level of national legislation is lower than initially presumed, while the relevance of informal forums (Daase 2018) has received too little attention until now. International organizations are a player in national political constellations and are drawn into negotiation processes or strategic interactions, and in some cases simply instrumentalized. Consequently, when they are in a country or in formulating their country-specific recommendations, international organizations often act more pragmatically than their own programmatic documents would suggest. Horizontal international exchange often plays a greater role than the advice and influence of international organizations. The consequences of the post-communist transformation processes after 1990, the changes in the structure of world trade in the 1980s and then again in the early 2000s have had consequences for the set of options available to national actors that not only include governments, political parties, associations, companies and workers, but also medical professionals and the military among others, and the specific way they are affected by international interdependencies.

**Publications by the CRC.** Significant findings from the whole CRC have been published in pertinent international and peer-reviewed journals and in the book series “Global Dynamics of Social Policy”, edited by the CRC (see also the publication lists of the individual projects). The CRC book series is published by Palgrave Macmillan and thanks to a co-financing from global CRC funds and the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen it is available as an open access series. The book series is edited by Lorraine Frisina Doetter, Delia González de Reufels and Kerstin Martens (all CRC 1342) as well as

Marianne S. Ulriksen from the University of Southern Denmark. The first volume was edited by Carina Schmitt and titled “From Colonialism to International Aid. External Actors and Social Protection in the Global South”. It arose out of a cooperation between the CRC and the ERC Project “The Legacy of Colonialism” in which Armando Barrientos and Stephen Devereux were involved as Mercator Fellows at the CRC.

An anthology edited by Kerstin Martens, Dennis Niemann and Alexandra Kaasch analyses the extent to which international organizations are active in global social policy (“International Organizations in Global Social Governance”, Palgrave MacMillan 2021). A further volume, edited by Frank Nullmeier, Delia González de Reufels and Herbert Obinger and with the title “International Impacts on Social Policy: Short Histories in a Global Perspective” brings together case studies from all CRC projects on the way that individual forms of transnational interdependencies work in different historical periods and fields of social policy.

The volume edited by Michael Windzio, Ivo Mossig, Fabian Besche-Truthe and Helen Seitzer “Networks and Geographies of Global Social Policy Diffusion. Culture, Economy and Colonial Legacies” (Palgrave Macmillan 2021) presents research findings from Project Area A. The projects in Area B have also jointly published their findings. In the Palgrave series, the 2021 anthology edited by Johanna Kuhlmann and Frank Nullmeier “Causal Mechanisms in the Global Development of Social Policies” presents a mechanism-based approach to international comparative social policy illustrated by numerous single studies. The special issue of *Social Policy & Administration* edited by Johanna Kuhlmann and Tobias ten Brink “Causal Mechanisms in the Analysis of Transnational Social Policy Dynamics: Evidence from the Global South” collects contributions from seven projects in Area B which highlight how the identification of causal mechanisms can be fruitful for analysing social policy developments in the Global South.

The Palgrave-Macmillan series also provides the opportunity to publish dissertations (monographs) completed in the context of the CRC, thus making them visible internationally. Due to being open access, the series has attracted substantial attention: by 30 June 2021 the inaugural volume edited by Carina Schmitt had been downloaded 39,000 times. In addition, the series will contribute to better networking of research on global social policy and also includes volumes that arose outside of the CRC, such as the monograph “One Hundred Years of Social Protection” by Lutz Leisering (University Bielefeld) and the volume by Gaby Ramia (University of Sydney) on “Governing Social Protection in the Long Term”.

In late-summer 2021, Oxford University Press published the second edition of the “Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State”, which CRC members contributed to as editors and authors (Béland et al. 2021). For the second funding phase, cooperation is planned with Armando Barrientos (University of Manchester), Matthew Carnes (Georgetown University), Leila Patel (University of Johannesburg) and Huck-ju Kwon (Seoul National and Oxford University) on a new edition of a further Oxford Handbook, this time on social policy in the Global South (“The Oxford Handbook of Global Social Protection”). Individual projects will be able to publish their research findings in this volume and so become internationally visible.

Additionally, the CRC has also established further publication series: in addition to a *Working Paper Series* in cooperation with SOCIUM (“SOCIUM SFB 1342 Working Paper Series”) there are also a



*Technical Paper Series* as well as the *CRC 1342 Social Policy Country Briefs*. The Working Paper Series publishes current research findings from CRC members, Mercator Fellows and cooperation partners. All papers are subjected to a double-blind peer review. The Technical Papers Series is also a part of the documentation of WeSIS. It provides details on the measurement of newly collected data and is especially intended to provide information and support to WeSIS users. The Social Policy Country Briefs focus on social policy developments in single countries. Finally, the Covid-19 pandemic prompted a further series of working papers (*CRC 1342 Covid-19 Social Policy Response Series*) focusing on the worldwide social policy consequences of the pandemic.

The series is closely related to the CRC-internal project that started in summer 2020 on the social policy consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic and which was conducted in cooperation with the CRC's global expert network. Thanks to the global funds it was possible to react flexibly to current social policy challenges and provide initial funding for this project. It investigates the social policy reactions to and the consequences of Covid-19 in the Global South. The CRC has been publishing a blog on this topic on its website since January 2021. The University of Bremen funded the staff who coordinated the expert network and supervised the country reports. This supporting position will continue to be funded during the second phase. The country reports on the social policy reactions to the pandemic will be reviewed and then published in the new Covid-19 working papers series. In the long term, these reports will be fed into WeSIS and will also be considered by the new Project B12 on the role of international organizations in the Covid-19 pandemic. The project was developed in close cooperation with Alexandra Kaasch (University of Bielefeld). In this way, the CRC is reacting to the current challenges to social policy posed by the coronavirus pandemic.

The funding for visiting professors has also proven to be conducive to publication activities because it gave principal investigators who are professors more time for research and publishing. At the same time, the visiting professorships also promoted early-career researchers and equal opportunities. Johanna Kuhlmann and Dennis Niemann took on the CRC visiting professorships. The projects also profited greatly from the visiting researchers and Mercator Fellows, for instance Armando Barrientos in Project B01 who continued the cooperation even during the pandemic. The intended Mercator Fellows Ben Ansell and Nita Rudra were unable to take up their fellowships due to Covid-19 (see below), but outstanding researchers such as Gita Steiner-Khamsi (A05) or Stephen Devereux (A02) could be recruited as Mercator Fellows. Furthermore, in cooperation with SOCIUM, two "Hans Koschnick Visiting Professorships for Global Understanding and Justice" could be filled and integrated into the CRC in 2018 and 2019. These fixed-term professorships were established and are funded by the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen in memory of its former mayor. With John W. Meyer (A05) and Daniel Béland (A02) leading representatives of the discipline answered the call and were involved in various CRC events on site (training PhD candidates, CRC workshops, lectures and the CRC Summer School) and in joint publications with CRC members (e.g. the new edition of the Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State).

***The CRC's adaptation strategy to extraordinary circumstances.*** The Covid-19 pandemic that began in early March 2020 in Europe and with a time delay in the Global South brought massive restrictions for the CRC's work. In spite of intense efforts to keep communication channels open within the CRC and

to continue the research work by shifting to digital formats, it was not possible to compensate for all the consequences of the pandemic. Due to the worldwide travel restrictions that continued into summer 2021, all in-person workshops that had been planned for August 2020 and August 2021, the already organized Summer Schools for PhD candidates and all trips to conference had to be cancelled. Nor was it possible to invite visiting scholars such as Mercator Fellows, our Advisory Board or the members of the CRC country expert network to Bremen. Also due to the worldwide travel restrictions, planned research visits abroad (archive visits, interviews etc.) could not take place. All projects were affected, but especially those in Project Area B. In addition, from mid-March 2020 until well into the summer the University of Bremen was on lockdown, which meant that all CRC members had to work remotely. In autumn 2020 the university again imposed strict restrictions on entering its buildings and a second complete closure from December 2020 until summer 2021 was imposed. At the same time, teaching had to be rapidly transferred to online formats, which was a time-consuming challenge for many staff members. Until July 2021 entry to university institutes was either heavily restricted or not permitted at all. Given the parallel closure of schools and childcare facilities, followed by highly restricted childcare over the whole year and partially also of schools, staff members with children in particular suffered from massive limitations to their ability to work. The projects reacted very flexibly with individual solutions for those thus affected. Covid-19 also affected internal communication and cooperation because in-person formats such as project meetings and retreats were cancelled or could only accommodate a very limited number of people. Digital meetings and workshops were organized, but they are not always an adequate replacement for in-person formats. The university's existing digital infrastructure performed very well in maintaining daily operations, but the Covid-19 pandemic very clearly highlighted that especially for a large research consortium, additional eScience service are necessary. In the second phase, these will be provided by a separate Project INF.

*Changes in the project structure and personnel changes.* While the basic structure of the CRC, consisting of the two Project Areas A and B, remains unchanged in the second phase, at the level of the projects and the principal investigators some adjustments have been made. There are two reasons for this.

Firstly, calls and retirements have led to changes among the principal investigators. As a result of calls from other universities, three of them abroad, Mirella Cacace, Sarah Berens, Laura Seelkopf and Tao Liu will no longer be principal investigators in the second phase. Furthermore, Karin Gottschall and Johannes Huinink reached retirement age, necessitating additional changes among the principal investigators and to project design. Due to Karin Gottschall's retirement, the previous Project B07 on long-term care will not remain in Project Area B but long-term care moves to Project Area A as the new project A07 where it will be led by the previous co-principal investigator Heinz Rothgang and the new co-principal investigator Simone Leiber (University of Duisburg-Essen). After Johannes Huinink's retirement, Sonja Drobnič will be the sole principal investigator in Project A06.

Three of the four calls went to women who had been co-principal investigators. We are trying to fill this gap by giving outstanding female postdocs the position of co-principal investigator. On the one hand, this is an important measure to promote the career development of younger researchers, on the other hand we want to maintain the very high proportion of women among the principal investigators in

the second phase. Due to Sarah Berens accepting a call from abroad, Project B03 cannot be continued in the second project phase. This also means that the University of Cologne is no longer a cooperation partner in the research consortium. Despite Tao Liu's departure, the University of Duisburg-Essen will remain in the consortium due to Simone Leiber's participation in the new project A07.

Secondly, with the new projects we want to close research gaps identified during the first funding phase and at the same time to respond to the current social policy challenges posed by the Covid-19 pandemic. The pandemic is a prime example of a global interdependence relationship with already foreseeable massive consequences for social protection worldwide. Under the principal investigators Alexandra Kaasch, Monika Ewa Kaminska and Kerstin Martens, the new Project B12 focuses on the reactions of international organizations to the Covid-19 pandemic. With Alexandra Kaasch's participation, the University of Bielefeld becomes a new partner institute.

The new Project B10 headed by the principal investigators Herbert Obinger and Carina Schmitt investigates the influence of wars on social policy, and with its focus on violent conflicts considers a form of international interdependence that was not studied systematically in the first phase. The new Project B11 focuses on the relationship between trade protectionism and social policy and, at the same time, strengthens the role of historical scholarship, or more precisely, global historical research in the consortium.

Herbert Obinger and Carina Schmitt's move to Project B10 caused a change in the leadership of Project A02, where the previous principal investigators were Herbert Obinger, Carina Schmitt and Laura Seelkopf. Laura Seelkopf accepted a call from St. Gallen and will leave the CRC in the second phase. In the second phase, the principal investigators in Project B02 will be Simone Scherger, Sebastian Fehrler and Nate Breznau. Simone Scherger and Sebastian Fehrler accepted calls to the University of Bremen during the first funding period and have agreed to become principal investigators. Nate Breznau was already involved in Project A02 during the first phase as a postdoc. Continuity of personnel in the project will also be assured with Aline Grünwald who completed her PhD in the project during the first phase and will work as a postdoc in the second phase. In addition, Herbert Obinger and Carina Schmitt will remain consultation partners.

In Project B01, Frank Nullmeier and Delia González de Reufels will remain principal investigators. They are joined by Johanna Kuhlmann, an outstanding young researcher who worked as a postdoc in the project during the first phase. Klaus Schlichte will concentrate on the research in Project B09 where, after Alex Viet's departure (due to the *WissZvG*), he will lead the project together with Roy Karadag. With Friederike Römer, another excellent young researcher could be won as principal investigator for Project B07. She already worked in the project during the first phase as a postdoc. The previous principal investigator Susanne Schmidt is leaving the CRC due to numerous other commitments (including becoming Dean).

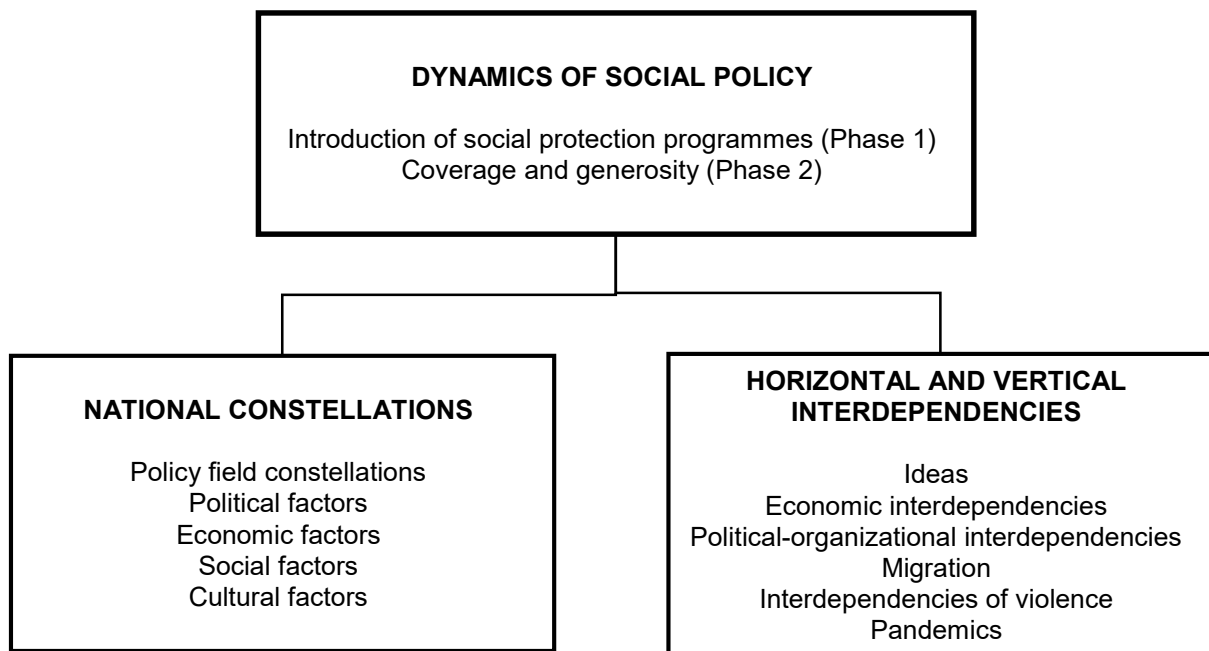
Finally, there is a change to the previous central hub of Project Area A. Project A01, whose major objective was to construct the Global Welfare State Information Systems (WeSIS), will become an information management project (hereafter Project INF) and led by Andreas Breiter and Ivo Mossig alone. Project INF forms the foundation for both project areas and will take the lead in coordinating the further expansion of the WeSIS information system. The reason for this step is that the specific research questions from information science and geography studied by Project A01 in the first phase have been

completed. In particular, the close cooperation with the projects has led to a user-oriented development of WeSIS. Transforming Project A01 into a Project INF will strengthen its service character for the whole research consortium and the project team will significantly support the expansion of the WeSIS databases by collecting data on their own. The key tasks of Project INF will be the professional preparation and interactive visualization of information as well as securing and managing the quantitative and qualitative data collected by the whole research consortium. In the second half of the second phase, WeSIS will be made available to the scientific community. In addition, Project INF will ensure the later use of the data, coordinate research data management and support the projects in using advanced computational science procedures.

### *Research programme for phase two*

In phase two, the CRC is continuing to study the global dynamics and patterns of social policy and we are seeking to explain them by the interplay between national and international or transnational determinants (Figure 4).

**Figure 4.** The CRC's explanatory schema



Following on from the investigation of the introduction and spread of social policy programmes during the first phase, the focus for the second phase is on the question of how and with which dynamics these programmes developed after their introduction. We are concentrating our research on two developmental dynamics of social policy that represent the different dimensions of social protection: in the individual dimension we are investigating the *inclusionary and exclusionary dynamics*, and in the material dimension the *dynamics of the provision* of social policy. We explain both dynamics with our interdependence-centred analytical approach (Figure 4), i.e. the interplay between the national constellations and horizontal and vertical inter- and transnational interdependencies.

From a static perspective, we speak of *inclusiveness* in the individual dimension and *scope of provision* in the material dimension (cf. Figure 5). *Inclusiveness* refers to the circle of beneficiaries, i.e.

the persons covered by social protection. At issue is the extent to which certain population groups are included in social protection programmes or excluded from them. The focus here is on what is usually referred to in the literature as the level of coverage of social protection systems or protective norms in labour legislation, or the school enrolment rate in education policy. The circle of beneficiaries can be drawn very widely, e.g. the entire resident population, or be restricted to certain groups (e.g. miners, farmers, children or lone parents). The *scope of provision* represents the material dimension of social policy and is divided into cash benefits, in-kind benefits and regulations. In the case of regulations pertaining to the behaviour of private actors (e.g. labour law norms), *inclusiveness* signals the areas in which the legal norms are valid (e.g. according to industries, company size, employment status, seniority, ethnicity, age, working hours), while *scope of provision* refers to the extent of regulatory protection (e.g. strengthening protection against dismissal, maximum weekly or annual working hours).

**Figure 5.** Dimensions of social protection in static and dynamic perspective

	<b>Inclusiveness</b>	<b>Scope of provision</b>
<b>Dimension</b>	Individual (who?)	Material (what?)
<b>Variables</b>	Inclusiveness in the dimensions related to: employment and occupation life course and age residential status (e.g. citizenship) gender ways of living together (marriage, community of need, household)	Types of provision:  Cash benefits In-kind benefits Regulations
<b>Dynamics</b>	Inclusionary and exclusionary dynamics	Dynamics of provision

**State of research.** *Scope of provision:* Comparative social policy research found its first quantifiable indicators in *public social expenditure*, unleashing a wave of studies based on compiling data on public expenditure and their ever more refined statistical analysis (Zöllner 1963; Wilensky 1975). This macro-quantitative approach largely supplanted the previous, historically broader but rather descriptive research focusing on comparatively few cases. However, the availability of appropriate data restricted the use of social expenditure analyses and, not least for this reason, virtually ignored the countries of the Global South. Furthermore, concentrating on expenditure also meant that many other aspects of social policy received little attention. For example, *social policy regulations* – the “regulatory welfare state” (Leisering 2011; Levi-Faur 2014; Benish/Levi-Faur 2020) – and especially labour law, “social policy in the area of production” (Kaufmann 2003) – were not considered. Employment regulations in particular cannot be described in terms of state payments of cash or in-kind benefits, but rather in the definition of material norms and procedural rules in the labour market (Pries 2019). Furthermore, *service provision*, even in the social services, dropped out of view and became the “neglected dimension of comparative welfare state research” (Alber 1995). A further blind spot that arose from the fixation on expenditure was the *financing of social expenditure* (Schmitt et al. 2020), without which it is not possible

to fully understand the redistributive effects that are often described as the significant features of social policy and welfare states (Briggs 1961: 25; Korpi 1983: 184–185; Alber 1989: 30). In particular, the broad field of subsidizing forms of social protection via tax relief or tax exemptions was not considered. With its restricted database, welfare state research had itself ensured that this part of the welfare state was regarded as the “hidden welfare state” (Howard 1997). Even for early social expenditure research, it was also clear that what mattered for beneficiaries was not the total level of state expenditure but level of the benefits paid to individuals. This was and is significantly simpler to ascertain for monetary social benefits compared to social services, infrastructure or exclusively regulatory protection. However, the total sum of social expenditure does not say anything about the level of benefits for individual recipients if their number is not controlled. Thus, social expenditure does not increase in an economic crisis because the social protection systems are being expanded and the benefit levels increased, but because benefits are being claimed by a wider circle of people.

The breakthrough in systematically researching the scope of provision came with the work on the power resources approach (starting with Korpi 1983). Two terms guided further development: decommodification and generosity. Esping-Andersen's (1990: 22) *decommodification* is oriented on Marx's understanding of labour as a commodity, uses Polanyi's (1944) and Marshall's (1950) terminology and then develops the idea of social rights as the possibility of voluntarily forgoing wage labour. Consequently, the highest level of generosity is achieved in strongly decommodifying welfare states. This conceptualization was strictly tied to paid employment as the foundation of social protection systems and was empirically based on data collection called “SSIB” that began in 1981 on the areas of old-age pensions, sick pay, unemployment benefit, work-injury compensation and family policy (Esping-Andersen 1990: IX). This database was later continued by Korpi and Palme as the Social Citizenship Indicator Program (SCIP). Consequently, the indices that were constructed to measure the degree of decommodification were largely based on data on the wage replacement rates of social benefits. Decommodification as a theoretical concept and replacement rates as a measure both described the monetary distance of the social benefit from wage income, also considering the duration of benefit receipt. The wage replacement rates indicate the level of the benefit in the event of the occurrence of a social risk, such as illness or unemployment, in relation to the wage income that workers achieved before the social risk occurred. Thus, the attempt is made to grasp “the extent to which, in the event of claiming social benefits, workers have to forgo income in relation to wages in employment relationships” (Jahn/Helmdag 2019: 561). This strategy is the dominant approach in the research, but it is not without alternatives: a subsistence minimum or average income could also be used as the denominator in determining generosity. The ‘socialist’ aspect of the decommodification concept as the decoupling of social protection from wage labour was therefore accompanied by a measurement concept that only analyses generosity in relation to wages.

The further development of the research on the generosity of social benefits initially focused on refining the datasets, including additional countries and social policy programmes, and calculating the wage replacement rates for different household constellations. The SCIP project played a key role. The last data were published in 2013 but were restricted to 18 Western countries and five programmes at 16 points in time beginning with 1930, 1933, 1939, 1947, 1950 and every five years since then until 2005. Currently, the project is working on collecting annual data for the whole dataset. In addition to the

replacement rates, the indicators also include coverage, i.e. inclusiveness, as well as access to and duration of benefit receipt. This database is being continued in the Social Insurance Entitlements Dataset (SIED) that covers the same programmes (old-age pensions, sick pay, unemployment benefit, work-injury compensation) but now encompasses all EU member states from 2005 onwards. Together with four further databases measuring the generosity of individual social protection programmes such as social assistance or parental leave benefit, SCIP and SIED are part of the Social Policy Indicators Database (SPIN, <https://www.spin.su.se/datasets>; Nelson et al. 2020).

The second seminal data collection since the early 2000s is the Comparative Welfare Entitlements Dataset by Lyle Scruggs, which was continued as CWED 2 by Scruggs, Jahn and Kuitto at the University of Greifswald until 2017. CWED was closely aligned with SCIP and measures the generosity of old-age pensions, sick pay and unemployment benefit. The difference is that CWED operationalizes fundamental concepts such as the replacement rate somewhat differently to SCIP (Wenzelburger et al. 2013; Ferrarini et al. 2013; Scruggs 2013; Danforth/Stephens 2013). Furthermore, the indicators are aggregated in a methodologically more refined way than in Esping-Andersen's Decommodification Index to a Benefit Generosity Index (Scruggs 2014). The overall result is significant differences at the level of both the indicators and the index (Bolukbasi/Öktem 2018). However, CWED 2 also maintains the basic focus on paid employment, cash benefits and replacement rates. This version contains data for 22 countries with calculations for replacement rates for eight types of households (<http://cwed2.org/>).

Further data collections on replacement rates have also been generated, for example by the OECD on old-age pensions and unemployment benefits, but also on family policy measures. In contrast to the approaches taken by SCIP and CWED, the OECD sometimes uses replacement rates as a synonym for generosity (OECD 2018a). Due to differences in the operationalization of the concept, the comparability of the OECD's measurements with those of SCIP and CWED is limited. In addition, Van Vliet and Caminada (2012) have collected data on replacement rates of unemployment benefits that also includes different types of income.

In recent years, several attempts have been made to geographically extend the measurement of generosity in order to do justice to the shift in the "geography of comparative welfare state research" (Hort 2005). While SCIP and CWED originally contained data on the 18 core countries of comparative welfare state research, in the latest revisions the attempt was made to include as many EU member states and OECD countries as possible (Kuitto 2018). This yielded a more heterogeneous sample which also includes welfare states in Eastern Europe and East Asia that, despite their long history of social policy (Leisering 2021), are often termed "new" or "newly emerging" welfare states. This raises fundamental questions regarding the global applicability of generosity measures that use the replacement rate methodology. The core concepts of decommodification and replacement rates are ultimately only meaningful in those countries where formal employment is relevant to a very large part of the working population. In countries where *informal work* dominates, the measurement concept becomes problematic (Gough 2004; Rudra 2008; Böger/Öktem 2019). In these contexts, the concepts can be applied and replacement rates calculated, but the question arises of the extent to which the data thus calculated can really permit conclusions to be drawn about the generosity of social policy in that country. Several problems can be discerned (Bolukbasi et al. 2021) which can also be found to some extent in the Global North, but are less significant there.

The first problem with measuring generosity via replacement rates is the determination of the *type of people* who form the point of reference for the measurement. Usually, a (male) industrial worker is taken as the reference point and it is assumed that he is in continuous, formal, full-time employment. In the Global South however, this reference point is not very representative. In comparison to the average wage worker, industrial workers have a higher income and a stable history of contributing to social insurance programmes (ILO 2012). This means that the replacement rates calculated for the reference worker diverge strongly from the replacement rates for an average wage worker.

A second problem is that in many countries of the Global South, *informal practices* blur the boundaries between formal and informal employment. For instance, many people who are formally employed also receive cash payments (called “envelope wages” [Williams 2014]) in addition to their normal wages. This allows employers to reduce their non-wage labour costs. Since the calculation of the replacement rates is based on official wages, a problem arises: by not including informal cash payments, replacement rates cannot capture “the extent to which wage workers, in the event of claiming social benefits, have to forgo income” (Jahn/Helmdag 2019: 561).

A third problem of the measurement is that the databases only concentrate on *a few programmes* that were selected for their centrality to the classic welfare state. In the Global South, however, there are often functionally equivalent programmes, or “social policies by other means” (Seelkopf/Starke 2019) that are not included in the generosity measurement. For instance, many countries have laws obliging employers to make generous severance payments. These laws often serve to provide workers with financial protection against unemployment. The situation is similar in regard to rigid protection against dismissal, although this often only applies to employees in formal key industries. Consequently, unemployment insurance is often less well developed in these countries (Holzmann et al. 2011). Other examples of “social policies by other means” in low-income countries include food and agricultural subsidies.

A fourth problem is the sometimes strong *stratification within social insurance systems*. While SCIP and CWED focus on industrial workers, there are often separate systems for other occupational groups. As long as the regulations for different groups are comparable overall, this stratification is not a major problem. If, however, broad strata of the working population enjoy only residual protection, for example via social cash transfers, while industrial workers are well protected by special social security systems, then no hasty generalizations about the overall generosity of a welfare state as a whole should be made.

In addition, for authors such as Esping-Andersen (1990: 22), social assistance systems do not provide decommodification, rather their structure of means-testing and other regulations forces people to take up work or not to quit. The usual generosity measure was therefore not applicable to this part of the welfare state’s spectrum of tasks. In contrast, poverty research does not focus on the benefit levels in individual programmes but on the overall income situation of a household and works with at-risk-of-poverty rates as a measure within the conceptual framework of relative poverty (Smeeding 2016; Ravallion 2016). Newer databases, such as the EUMin developed by Bahle and colleagues, attempt to measure the generosity of minimum income support systems by preferentially relating benefit levels to the relative poverty threshold. Alternatively, average wages or average income are also used as a reference point (Bahle et al. 2011: 156–166). In contrast, the dataset “Social Assistance and Minimum Income Levels and Replacement Rates” compiled by Wang and van Vliet does contain replacement



rates for social assistance, but Wang and van Vliet (2016: 340) themselves point out that the conceptual meaning of these replacement rates is not comparable with the replacement rates in SCIP and CWED.

In view of these problems it is not surprising that many of the existing data collections on social protection in the Global South have chosen a different approach to measuring the generosity of social transfers that takes greater account of the different contextual conditions and types of programmes as well as the more limited availability and quality of data. However, these data are only available from the 2000s onwards and some datasets only cover specific world regions.

The World Bank's (2021) Atlas of Social Protection Indicators of Resilience and Equity (ASPIRE) includes data on generosity and the groups covered as well as on expenditure on social assistance, social insurance and labour market programmes. These data are available for 125 countries and are based on national surveys. ASPIRE also quantifies the contribution of these programmes to combating inequality and poverty. The focus is on absolute poverty, which is also increasingly being used for measuring poverty in OECD countries (Gaisbauer et al. 2019).

The Social Protection Database der Asian Development Bank (<https://spi.adb.org/spidmz/>) provides data on the same three programme areas, but only for Asian and Pacific countries. In this dataset, generosity ("depth of social protection") is measured by average social expenditure per beneficiary. The expenditure per beneficiary is aggregated with data on beneficiaries ("breadth of social protection") to form a Social Protection Index.

Other data collections on social protection in the Global South focus on single programmes, primarily old-age protection and social assistance. The Social Pension Database from Pension Watch (<http://www.pension-watch.net/social-pensions-database/socialpensionsdatabase>) measures the generosity of non-contributory social pensions for over 100 countries by relating pension levels to average income (GDP per capita). In addition, the dataset also contains information on the number of people receiving a pension.

Social assistance in the form of non-contributory social cash transfers to needy and vulnerable individuals and households are the focus of the FLOORCASH-SocCit-Datensatz – The Social Citizenship Dataset on Social Cash Transfers in the Global South (Weible/Leisering 2020; see also Böger/Leisering 2017; Weible et al. 2015). In June 2021 the data were transferred to the CRC 1342 and in the future the CRC will continue data collection and make them available in WeSIS. The dataset includes information on conditions for entitlement, number of beneficiaries and benefit levels for a total of 282 programmes in 148 countries as of 2012/13. Data on social assistance in the Global South can also be found in the Social Assistance in Low and Middle Income Countries Dataset (SALMIC) by Armando Barrientos (2018). This dataset also contains information on benefit levels and the circle of beneficiaries of social assistance over the period 2000–2015. Finally, the Non-contributory Social Protection Programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean, ECLAC (<https://dds.cepal.org/bpsnc/index-en.php>) should also be mentioned. ECLAC covers 21 countries and three programmes (conditional cash benefits, social pensions, and labour and productive inclusion programmes) and also contains data on benefit levels and number of beneficiaries.

It is far more difficult to develop generosity measures for *regulatory programmes* and *social services*: regulatory programmes are largely still neglected in the research, partially due to significant problems with data collection. Databases such as SCIP and CWED concentrate on benefits provided by public

law. Programmes that the state regulates but does not implement itself only appear in the margins (e.g. sick pay or company pensions). For the “regulatory welfare state” beyond financial benefits, it is possible to measure the density of regulations with indices such as the OECD’s Employment Protection Legislation Index or, especially in regard to legal requirements and prohibitions, to dichotomize. The CBR-LRI dataset (Adams et al. 2017) already goes beyond this dichotomization and lays the foundations for the type and extent of the functional differentiation of labour law.

For a long time, *social services* have been glossed over in comparative welfare state research (Alber 1995) – not least because considerable conceptual challenges are associated with measuring their generosity. Although there have been isolated attempts to make the concept of decommodification productive for health policy for example (Bambra 2005), this approach has not gained traction. For a long time, research instead concentrated on constructing complex typologies based on indicators specific to health policy research in order to compare healthcare systems (Böhm et al. 2013; Wendt 2009; Reibling et al. 2019). However, in the last decade one approach to representing the generosity of the healthcare system has gained importance. In addition to health expenditure in relation to GDP, the three dimensions of the “coverage cube” are used: breadth (who is covered?), depth (which services are covered?) and height (which proportion of the costs has to be covered by co-payments?) (WHO 2013: 7; OECD 2018c: 172; Toth 2019). Generosity is recorded indirectly, which can lead to distortions in country comparisons because higher proportions of co-payments in the Global North do not mean that the generosity of public systems is lower, but could rather be the result of greater ability to pay.

*Inclusiveness.* Since T. H. Marshall’s concept of social rights and social citizenship (1950), the universalization of entitlement to social protection has served as a normative guideline for comparative social policy research. Relatively early, this led to comprehensive measurements of the inclusiveness of social protection, for instance in the HIWED project (Historical Indicators of the Western European Democracies) by Peter Flora (1986). Since the 1970s, this project has been collecting extensive data on the coverage of social insurance (work-injury, health, old-age pension and unemployment insurance) in Western Europe. The ratio of the number of members of each social insurance scheme to the working population was used to quantify inclusiveness (Alber 1976; Flora 1983).

The inclusiveness of social policy also played a prominent role in Esping-Andersen’s analysis of welfare state regimes, although in conjunction with other concepts. Inclusiveness is a decisive dimension in the analysis of decommodification that reflects the likelihood of whether a person has a right to a benefit or service (Esping-Andersen 1990: 49). For this reason, inclusiveness is an essential part of two important generosity measures: Esping-Andersen’s Decommodification Index and Scrugg’s Benefit Generosity Index. In Esping-Andersen’s conceptualization of stratification, the inclusion of the whole population in the social protection system was closely intertwined with the (in-)equality of social benefits, resulting in a complex index oriented on the models of liberal, conservative and socialist social policy and developing individual indicators for each.

Although the statistical measure *coverage* used internationally today appears relatively simple at first sight, its conceptualization and operationalization remain ambivalent (Schmitt 2019; Öktem 2020; Bolukbasi et al. 2021). The distinction between “legal coverage” and “effective coverage” (ILO 2017: 200–202) is fundamental. Legal coverage (also called statutory coverage) conceptualizes inclusiveness

via legal entitlement in social protection systems. No attempts are made to measure actual benefits and services in social protection systems (outcome level), but rather to understand which groups of people are included in the system in principle (output level). Often, the measurement of legal coverage remains at the purely qualitative level of an enumeration of categories. The most prominent example is the dataset Social Security Programs Throughout the World (SSA 2021), produced jointly by the US Social Security Administration (SSA) and the International Social Security Association. Alternatively, legal coverage is measured with an ordinal scale in order to generally distinguish between more or less inclusion without determining the level of coverage in detail. Progress has been made in this area in recent years, especially for pension policy (Grünwald 2021). The indicators that have been developed are mostly oriented towards occupational groups and include other characteristics rather partially. Rasmussen's (2016) Universalism Index for example, based on Mares (2005), counts not only the number of occupational groups included in each pension programme, but also whether the programme is means-tested or covers the entire resident population. Leisering and Weible (2019) have recently developed an innovative approach to quantifying inclusiveness in the sense of legal coverage in order to measure entitlement to social cash transfers in the Global South using three dimensions in an inclusion index: social categories (e.g. children or older people), age and geography. The ILO's (2021) data on the extent of legal coverage are often not directly based on laws but on secondary material whose quality varies considerably between countries. In the case of regulatory provisions in the countries of the Global South that have an extremely high proportion of informal work, the massive discrepancy between de jure and de facto validity of the relevant norms needs to be considered, although until now this has not been recorded in detail in comprehensive comparative data collections (ILO 2018).

Effective coverage is an alternative measure to legal coverage. The objective here is to understand whether and to what extent legal regulations are actually implemented (ILO 2017: 202). Different operationalizations can be identified for measures of effective coverage. On the one hand, inclusiveness is measured by membership in social protection systems, also called "contributor coverage". The aim here is to measure to what extent people are actually entitled to benefits or services in the event of a social risk occurring. On the other hand, inclusiveness in the sense of effective coverage is also measured via the actual utilization of benefits or services, which is also called "beneficiary coverage" (ILO 2017), "pseudo-coverage" (OECD 2018b) or, to better distinguish between entitlement and utilization, "take-up rate".

Both ways of measuring effective coverage usually aim to quantify inclusiveness as a percentage of a whole. Previous research provides different answers to the question of which reference value should be taken for entitlement or utilization (partially depending on the programme in question), for instance: working population, people over 15 (and under 64), employees, the unemployed, people over pension age, people over 65, resident population. The question of the reference value is particularly problematic when administrative data are used for measuring inclusiveness and different sources are used for the numerator (usually administrative data from the social insurance provider) and the denominator (usually data from the national statistics institute). Depending on which reference value is used in the denominator, large differences in the data can arise.

While comparative research has long focused on entitlement, in recent years there has been an increasing complementary focus on actual utilization (ILO 2017; OECD 2018b). This seems to be partially related to the wide gap between entitlement and utilization in different welfare states. In the Global South, a range of socioeconomic factors can lead to significant differences between de jure and de facto eligibility in many policy areas. In the Global North, the gap between entitlement and utilization at least partially arises from the increasing number of diverse conditions that must be met before benefits or services can be received. Knotz and Nelson (2019) have shown this very instructively for the case of unemployment insurance. At the same time, it is difficult to discern the precise reasons for the gap between entitlement and utilization, which include lack of knowledge and the stigma attached to certain benefits. Therefore, the most recent research has taken a closer look at the relationship between entitlement and utilization (Nelson/Nieuwenhuis 2021). Substantial limitations are, however, set by data availability and research resources.

A key question in measuring utilization is whether to use administrative data or survey data (van Oorschot 2013; Otto/van Oorschot 2019). While the former source is often preferred for OECD countries, surveys are more frequently used in the Global South. The World Bank's ASPIRE database (2021) is one of the most prominent examples. Especially in the context of the Global South, survey data do have advantages over administrative data, even if their quality is sometimes questionable. However, in complex social protection systems it is often difficult to relate survey results to specific social programmes.

Overall, it can be said that a nuanced understanding of inclusiveness is being sought with the different measurement variants. However, in trying to quantify inclusiveness, its connection to the social categories/group designations that play a decisive role in the legislative expansion of social policy becomes looser: social policy expansion occurs by including certain nameable categories of the population and by lowering the entitlement criteria. This social dynamic of increasing inclusion is no longer evident in the effective coverage data on entitlement and utilization. For example, it is often not possible to discern whether high coverage results from an inclusive policy design or from socioeconomic development. Therefore, in order to understand the policy dynamics and the complexity of the underlying processes it is sensible to work with qualitative and quantitative data collection.

### *Consequences for the research approach and methodology in the second phase*

The CRC is responding to these issues by specifying the measurement of indicators for coverage and generosity according to the type of social policy programme as well as by using other, especially categorical indicators that are adapted to the availability of data in the countries being investigated. This will lead to programme-specific indicators being collected that reflect the particularities of each area of social policy. Wherever possible, de jure and de facto indicators are being considered. Indicators for regulatory interventions are also being collected. Provisions in labour law are a decisive point of connection for social insurance systems in which dependent employment is a prerequisite. Furthermore, the conditions for eligibility to in-kind benefits are also being considered. In addition to quantitative indicators, categorial information is being recorded which, although it is less sensitive, does have a high degree of validity and reliability. All this means that for the first time it will be possible to include the Global South in data collection on an equal footing. The types of benefits vary strongly according to

social policy field: in-kind benefits dominate in health and education policy, while cash benefits prevail in protecting against the risks of unemployment, old age and work injuries and regulatory interventions determine labour law. In long-term care, cash and in-kind benefits as well as regulations are provided, but the mixture varies across countries and social protection systems. Therefore, when designing their studies and indicators, the projects will need to choose those that do justice to the specificities of the policy field and the realities of the Global South (including data availability).

In regard to *generosity*, *wage replacement rates* are an important concept in measuring *cash benefits*, however, they are not only difficult to determine in the Global South and historical perspective, but they are also of only limited value in view of widespread informal employment and dual labour markets. In order to reflect the multidimensional nature of generosity, it will be necessary to develop alternative indicators that can be combined with each other and then jointly observed and analysed. For instance, Project A02 not only measures the generosity of old-age protection with replacement rates but also, inter alia, by calculating the difference between remaining life expectancy at retirement and the legal pension age derives a simple measure for generosity providing information on duration of pension receipt. Instead of wage replacement rates based on model households, the absolute levels of cash benefits or replacement rates (in relation to income) listed in the relevant law could also be collected and, if necessary, be related to a reference value, such as average wages (these data are available from 1935 onwards in the ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics) or GDP per capita. Alternatively, standardized budget data could also be used, such as expenditure per beneficiary. For more recent time periods, household surveys could also be used for measuring generosity.

Ordinal indices can be used to measure *regulations* according to their strength (permissive vs. restrictive). Binary indicators can also be used to measure prohibitions in labour law (e.g. child labour, night work).

*In-kind benefits* can be measured by physical units and standardized expenditure. Population size is appropriate for standardization and is a reference value that is widely available historically. In this way, the generosity of education, health and family-related in-kind benefits can be measured by the number of teachers, doctors, nurses, hospital beds or childcare places in relation to population size. Furthermore, per capita expenditure on in-kind benefits is being collected. In education, in-kind benefits can be represented by the duration of compulsory schooling (in years). On the basis of 16 essential health service indicators outlined by the WHO, Project A04 is collecting data on which medical services are included in the service catalogues of the healthcare systems considered. When studying in-kind benefits, it is also necessary to record whether access is restricted by means-testing.

The *inclusiveness* of cash and in-kind benefits can be quantified de jure by the proportion of the total population that is entitled, and de facto by the utilization figures. In regard to regulations, the size of the group of people affected by the regulation can be determined. However, the CRC is also interested in *which* groups of people were included in social protection systems and when. The projects in Area B in particular are drawing on the conceptual work of Project B01 when representing inclusiveness by considering the range of benefit recipient *groups* and by intensively investigating specific groups in-depth, e.g. migrants (Project B04), or in relation to authoritarian regime stability (Project B06).

Overall, a variety of indicators are being employed. Due to the differences in the policy fields studied by the projects, their specific concepts for measuring coverage and generosity are presented in more detail in their individual descriptions.

The challenges of ascertaining and measuring coverage and generosity mean that a *wide range of methods* are necessary. Therefore, all projects in Area A are supplementing their global data collection and quantitative data analyses in the second phase with in-depth qualitative studies for selected countries. In contrast to the first phase, *mixed-methods designs*, i.e. combinations of quantitative and qualitative methods, will now be employed (Maggetti 2020). Some projects in Area A follow a nested analysis (Lieberman 2005) logic. This starts with quantitative analyses and then takes an in-depth look at either typical or particularly interesting cases. These countries are then studied with qualitative methods to draw a detailed picture of the developmental dynamics of social policy in the dimensions of coverage and generosity. Since in the second phase in addition to the projects in Area B, all projects in Area A are also conducting in-depth case studies, the number of country case studies conducted by the CRC will increase significantly. All world regions are now being investigated with several country case studies. On the one hand, the in-depth country case studies now make it possible to ascertain and explain the differences between de jure and de facto coverage and generosity, which are especially large in the Global South. On the other hand, these in-depth analyses also serve to uncover causal mechanisms that illustrate how the interplay between national determinants and international interdependencies has influenced the developmental dynamics of social policy.

In regard to mixed methods, Creswell and Clark (2011: 69–70, also Creswell 2013, 2014; Kuckartz 2014; Plano/Ivankova 2015) distinguish six basic possibilities for combining quantitative and qualitative methods either sequentially or in parallel. Maggetti (2020) has suggested to interpret this line of mixed-methods literature as *triangulation*, i.e. the attempt to achieve a shared research objective with both types of methods and to compensate the weaknesses of one with the strengths of the other. In contrast, the objective of the literature on *multi-methods research* currently being pursued in the recent political science methodological literature (Seawright 2016; Goertz 2017) is *integration*. In this approach, one of the two types of methods guides the investigation and the other method type supports validity checks; the entire thrust of the study is either quantitative or qualitative, which rules out the parallel use of both types of methods. This is how the Project Area A, which was previously primarily oriented on macro-quantitative methods, is moving towards qualitative research. Macro-quantitative analyses of the determinants of the dynamics of social policy coverage and generosity will be combined with in-depth analyses (case studies and small-N comparisons) (Yin 2014). These qualitative in-depth studies serve on the one hand to investigate the causal mechanisms behind the patterns identified in the first phase. On the other hand, qualitative analyses are necessary in regard to the coverage and generosity of social policy, because in many countries of the Global South a sometimes striking difference between legal norms and the actual scope of social protection exists. At the same time, projects in Area B can profit from the data contained in WeSIS and complement their qualitative case studies with quantitative analyses while remaining qualitative studies at heart. In contrast to the projects in Area A, quantitative data are not considered at the start of the analyses. In-depth case studies will lead to results that can subsequently be related to each other and tested with quantitative methods employing the global WeSIS data. This approach, which corresponds to what Creswell and Clark describe as an “exploratory

sequential design”, is employed in Project B06 for example, because the relationships between resource booms and social policy studied in this project have hardly been considered in previous research and therefore case studies first need to lay the groundwork. By means of connecting quantitative and qualitative methods as mixed-methods or multi-methods research, the two Project Areas will be more tightly bound together so that the methodological separation of the two Project Areas characteristic for the first phase is being overcome in the second phase. In all projects we now speak of a “method mix”.

**Project Area A.** In the second phase, Project Area A is still organized according to policies, which will each be considered in a global perspective. During the first phase, the focus was on collecting the introduction dates and the design of social protection measures. Now in the second phase, as envisaged in the initial application, the dynamics of coverage and generosity of social and education programmes will be measured and analysed in worldwide comparison. This global orientation on specific protection programmes (including education) is the salient characteristic of Project Area A.

During the first phase, data on the timing of programme introduction were collected primarily. In the second phase, the WeSIS database is being coordinated by Project INF and is being extended with indicators on coverage and generosity. As in the first phase, all the projects are working closely together in different fora (e.g. the three-weekly principal investigator meetings, workshops, trainings). An international workshop on measuring generosity and coverage is planned for the start of the second phase and experts such as Lyle A. Scruggs (University of Connecticut) or Jan Helmdag (SOFI Stockholm) have already agreed to participate.

The experience of the first phase showed that for many countries of the Global South, the availability of data and sources, especially on early social policy, is problematic. Therefore, for reasons of research pragmatism, these indicators will only be collected for selected time points. Starting from the introduction dates collected during the first phase, data collection will begin with 1880 at the earliest and then proceed in steps of one decade (for 1900, 1910 ff.) to enable cross-project comparative cross-sectional and longitudinal analyses for a global sample. In two cases, years close to the start of a new decade will be selected in order to avoid breaks in the data. This will apply to the outbreak of the Second World War (data will be collected for 1939, not 1940) and the collapse of the Eastern Bloc (1989 rather than 1990). With a view to the third phase, which will focus on the current outcomes of public social policy, a systematic collation of coverage and generosity based on annual data after the year 2000 will be strived for. In doing so we will be able to draw on existing data collections (e.g. those of the ILO) and complement them with data collected by the CRC.

The main goal of all projects is to describe and explain the developmental dynamics of social policy along the two dimensions of generosity and coverage on a global and historical scale. All projects employ the interdependence-centred analytical approach of the CRC and depending on their policy field set their own theory-based priorities on the interdependencies studied. In contrast to the first phase, the projects now employ a mix of methods by supplementing their quantitative analyses with in-depth country studies. The primary aim here is to do justice to the discrepancy between legal norms and social policy practice. In detail, the projects are investigating the following questions.

*Project A02* is investigating the expansionary dynamics of coverage and generosity for work-injury, unemployment and old-age pension insurance between 1880 and 2020. As a complement, a comprehensive case study on Bangladesh will be conducted; preliminary work (Asri et al. 2020) has

been concluded. The empirical analyses are based on a new global dataset on the coverage and generosity of the three social protection programmes which records the developments in steps of one decade. Coverage is primarily measured by recording which social and occupational groups from a predefined list are covered by each programme, while generosity is measured by wage replacement rates and other simple measures. Starting from the interplay between partially different national factors (e.g. the type of political regime, workers movements, economic influences) as well as inter- and transnational factors (e.g. colonialism, trade relations, international organizations), explanations for the coverage and generosity of each of the three protection programmes singly and all three comparatively are being sought by employing autoregressive time-series analysis, network analysis and event history analysis. The complementary case study on Bangladesh traces the historical development of social protection in a country of the Global South. In addition, a randomized field experiment will be used to study how the targeting of social pensions in Bangladesh (as a form of *de jure* coverage) is implemented *de facto* and how it can be improved.

*Project A03* is using a database constructed during the first phase and methods from jurisprudence and social science to analyse the development and segmentation of standards for employment relationships in a global and historical perspective. It is assumed that segmenting regulatory patterns such as the Western standard employment relationship have spread to the Global South via horizontal and vertical interdependencies where *de facto* implementation is influenced by international and national conditions including international organizations, trade agreements, multinational companies and the employment regimes in their home countries but also trade unions and NGOs. The project is tracing asynchronous, global diffusion patterns of segmenting and equalizing forms of employment relationships over time. In addition, legal-historical analyses are being used to investigate the colonial and post-colonial arrangements of segmentation relating to employment relationships including formal and informal employment. Finally, *de facto coverage* and validity of legal norms in three countries of the Global South are being investigated using comparative case studies on production clusters for automobile production.

*Project A04* is investigating the *dynamics of inclusion and exclusion* as well as the *dynamics of service provision* in healthcare systems after their introduction. The project has three research objectives: First, to describe how healthcare systems have developed worldwide with regard to inclusiveness and scope of service provision since their introduction up to today. Second, temporal and spatial patterns in the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion as well as in the dynamics of service provision will be explained using quantitative methods of data analysis (see also Haunss et al. 2020). The assumption guiding the research is that the dynamics of inclusion, exclusion and service provision in healthcare systems can only be explained by the interplay between the national constellation and vertical and horizontal interdependencies. Relevant factors in this regard include the type of healthcare system, policy diffusion between closely integrated countries, but also international organizations such as the World Bank and the WHO. Third, a pairwise comparison of Kenya and Nigeria using process tracing methods examines how the colonial legacy shaped the introduction, design and further development of their healthcare systems.

*Project A05* is investigating the coverage as well as duration and regulation of public education programmes in the school, vocational and tertiary sectors. The guiding questions are: To what extent



do public education systems differentiate in these dimensions according to social groups and how can these group-specific inequalities be explained? Special attention is being paid to whether education in the Global South promotes female agency, to what extent vulnerable groups such as ethnic minorities and migrants are excluded from national education or remain disadvantaged, and whether the digitalization of education contributes to including or excluding school pupils. Building on the findings from the first phase, public education systems are distinguished according to different cultural spheres. The spheres' influences on the coverage and generosity of public education are now being examined in conjunction with global historical transformations. In addition to the methods of diffusion analysis and multilevel analysis, standardized and qualitative document analysis are being used to investigate the influence of the 30 international organizations active in the field of education on the coverage and generosity of public education programmes. Furthermore, case studies with a nested design on the influence of global transformation processes on education policy in Senegal, Ghana, Malaysia and Cambodia are being conducted.

*Project A06* is investigating the development of universalistic family policy on a global scale in the sense of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Where, when and how has the inclusion of all families and an orientation towards the norms of gender and social equality succeeded? Which socioeconomic and demographic conditions as well as competing ideas of social order lead to different family policy arrangements? To answer these questions, firstly, the previously collected global data on child benefits, maternity leave and public childcare are being supplemented with information on the coverage of each system in order to reconstruct the patterns by which further strata of the population were included. A special focus will be placed on the interaction between the individual elements of family policy as well as their relation to other policy fields in order to discover paths and dead-ends on the road to universalism. Secondly, the generosity of family policy will be systematically collated. Creating profiles of family policies will make their generosity comparable not only across national borders but also between household types and economic statuses. Simultaneously, the profiles can be used to gauge the stratifying elements of family policy. Thirdly, in explaining the country-specific differences it is crucial to focus on female agency, including the international women's movement, which has taken on a special role as a diffusion channel for family policy models.

The new *Project B07* is pursuing a mixed-methods approach with three aims: The first is to describe how coverage and generosity in long-term care systems have developed since they were introduced. Particular attention will be paid to the extent to which dementia is considered and to what extent the right to social participation is addressed. Second, regression analysis is being employed to explain the specific dynamics of inclusion, exclusion and benefits in order to investigate the influence of factors specific to national constellations as well as horizontal and vertical interdependencies. Third, four case studies are being conducted in order to trace the mechanisms underlying the influences of the horizontal and vertical interdependencies on system design and its subsequent expansionary dynamics. By employing document analysis and expert interviews in a comparison between South Korea and Taiwan, the role that policy learning played in the specific design of the systems (see also Leiber et al. 2014) as well as how national factors can fracture learning processes will be examined. This comparison is also instructive because the two countries additionally differ in relation to the migration of care workers. The

role of international organizations in regard to long-term care is being investigated by comparing Uruguay and Chile.

**Project Area B.** In the second phase, the projects in Area B are investigating the dynamics of coverage and generosity following the introduction of specific social protection programmes with case studies. As in the first phase, the projects are focusing on in-depth qualitative studies, but in some projects the country and regional studies will be supplemented with quantitative analyses in a mixed-methods approach. In terms of methodology, the search for causal effects with quantitative analysis strategies and the search for causal mechanisms with case studies are now more strongly interwoven.

Whereas in the first CRC period the starting point for the projects was the introduction of social policy programmes and they investigated the causes of these events, now the focus has shifted to investigating the development of coverage and generosity of specific social policy programmes in close connection with selected interdependencies. The guiding question is how the social programmes have developed in the two dimensions under the influence of war, economic crises, pandemics, international organizations and transnational flows of ideas. The causal relations between the focal interdependency and certain selected social programmes are being analysed under consideration of further contextual factors.

Considered as a whole, the projects still cover all world regions that were decisive for their arrangement in Project Area B in the first phase. In the second phase they are now sorted according to the types of horizontal and vertical interdependencies central to the CRC:

- (i) The Projects B01 and B05 are investigating the modes of action of *inter- and transnational flows of ideas*. Project B01 is concentrating on the dimension of coverage in order to historically trace the construction of categories of beneficiaries in eight selected countries. Project B05 is investigating the role of productivist ideas from the East Asian region in the strong urban-rural differentiation of generosity of social insurance in China.
- (ii) Project B10 is investigating how *relations of violence* affect the social policy profile of selected countries by comparing traditional wars, armed conflicts and situations of permanent threat such as the Cold War.
- (iii) Project B04 is investigating the significance of *migratory flows* for the development of social policy and the actor constellations driving the dynamics of expansion and restriction.
- (iv) Economic interdependencies from a special focus. Several projects are analysing *trade relations* or the form of integration into world markets as a determinant of the coverage and generosity of social policy. Project B05 is studying the most recent expansionary steps for social policy in China, including internal segmentation, as a consequence of the country's global industrial development strategy. Project B09 provides the agrarian capitalist counterpart to this study by investigating rural social policy in selected countries in Africa. Project B06 considers resource booms as a basis for the developmental dynamics of social policy in authoritarian successor states of the Soviet Union. In contrast, Project B11 is investigating protectionism as an element in the historical formation of specific social policy profiles in the USA and Argentina.
- (v) The role of *international organizations* is being studied in more detail in Projects B09, B12 and B01. In Project B09 the focus is on rural development and its consequences for social

policy in African countries, Project B01 concentrates solely on the justification patterns developed by the ILO for including further groups of beneficiaries and the adoption of these patterns in national legislative process, while Project B12 is studying ideational influences as well as other forms of intervention by international organizations.

- (vi) In response to Covid-19, *pandemics* are being analysed as a special form of interdependency additional to the other five basic forms. A substantial foundation was laid during the first phase with the CRC 1342 Covid-19 Social Policy Response Series. Project B12 is analysing the role of global and regional international organizations in national social policies during the Covid-19 pandemic.

By means of their primarily qualitative investigations of the determinants and mechanisms underlying these dynamics, the projects in Area B are making a key contribution to understanding the context-specific expansion and retrenchment of social policy coverage as well as changes in the generosity of social protection systems.

*Project B01* is studying how the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion unfold in social protection systems by means of the sequencing and discursive legitimation of group constructions. Which groups are included in social protection systems in which order – and who is left out? On what basis are these inclusions and exclusions justified? To what extent can these processes be explained by the exchange of ideas? These questions are being explored in international comparison by considering the publicly administered protection against the risks of unemployment, old age and death. The inclusionary dynamics of a social policy programme arise from incorporating certain categories of people as beneficiary groups in a pre-existing programme or by introducing a new programme that provides access to forms of social protection for precisely these groups. An increase in coverage is achieved, for example, when categories such as white-collar workers, lone parents, victims of war, the self-employed, agricultural workers or workers in firms with more than a certain number of employees are included as beneficiaries of a programme. The project is investigating 1) the temporal sequencing of such group constructions during the entire development of social policy in 20 countries selected according to the principle of maximal possible diversity; and 2) the legitimation patterns for such group constructions as well as the causal mechanisms underlying the international exchange of ideas about justification patterns for eight countries as well as the ILO.

*Project B04* is investigating the causes of immigrants' inclusion and exclusion in national welfare states. On the basis of data on the welfare rights of immigrants in 39 member states of ASEAN, the EU, Mercosur and the OECD for the period 1980–2018, in the second phase the project is analysing how political parties and civil society actors expedite the course of inclusionary and exclusionary processes, and which trajectories and actor constellations can be identified in both the Global North and the Global South, in democracies and in autocracies. Firstly, the existing dataset is being extended to cover additional years (2019 to 2021) and additional types of state benefits (de jure access to child benefits, social pensions and work-injury insurance) in order to quantitatively examine assumptions about the influence of the interplay between different actor groups, for example can civil society organizations (CSOs) only initiate inclusion processes as part of a broad coalition, especially including political parties. In the subsequent case studies, one pair of countries in the Global South (Malaysia and Thailand) and one pair in the Global North (United Kingdom and Switzerland) will be compared. All four countries have

relatively high net immigration figures in regional comparison, and there is evidence of civil society organizations (CSOs) advocating for immigrants' rights in each country. The case selection means that the activities of CSOs across but also within democracies and autocracies can be compared.

In the People's Republic of China an expansion of social insurance has taken place since the 1990s. At the same time, considerable differences continue to exist between de jure and de facto coverage, while enormous regional differences and extensive dependency on informal social protection persist. A segmentation of programmes has emerged that distinguishes between relatively generous social insurance for urban workers and a rudimentary social insurance especially for the rural population, urban job seekers or the informally employed (especially migrant workers). *Project B05* is investigating the dynamics of coverage and generosity in the risk fields of old age, illness and maternity as well as unemployment since the introduction of these social protection programmes. Has there been an alignment in the scope of benefits offered by the insurance schemes for the formally employed urban workers and the universal schemes for rural regions? To what extent do informal practices and political repression affect coverage? And how do global economic interdependencies and ideational interdependencies in the East Asian region affect coverage and generosity? When collecting data, a special focus is being placed on gender inequalities.

*Project B06* is investigating the role of resource booms for social policy in the post-Soviet region. A systematic analysis of the conditions under which higher state revenues can lead to a sustainable improvement in state social policy can be conducted by comparing a group of relatively similar countries in which several experienced a massive increase in state revenues from exporting natural resources to world markets with rising prices, while the others did not. By means of a paired comparison, countries that experienced a resource boom are compared with others with a similar level of socioeconomic development but no resource boom: Russia – Ukraine, Kazakhstan – Kirgizstan and Azerbaijan – Georgia. Since the region under study primarily includes different types of authoritarian regimes, the project will also contribute to the debate in authoritarianism research on regime legitimation, in which the role of social policy should receive more attention. The relationship between a resource boom and the legitimation of authoritarian regimes is based on the following causal chain: The export boom leads to a drastic increase in state revenues, which awakens public expectations (possibly supported by social protests) regarding the distribution of wealth. This is the starting point for political decision-making processes in the authoritarian regime about the coverage and generosity of the social programmes. Communicating an expansionary course for social policy via mass media serves as an instrument to legitimize authoritarian rule. In contrast, if there is a slump in the world market prices for the exported commodities or the social policy measures fail (e.g. due to corruption), negative consequences for the legitimation of the authoritarian regime may ensue. These assumptions are being examined with case studies and a subsequent large-N test.

*Project B09* is studying the spread of social policy in rural Africa. Welfare statehood in Africa is primarily an urban phenomenon and is only effective where formal employment relationships exist. In recent years, this "urban bias" of social policy measures in Africa's highly agrarian societies has prompted international, national and local actors to develop concepts and measures for spatially extending social policy in order to improve the life chances and social mobility of the rural population. The key question is therefore: Which answers are African countries developing to the rural social

question? Tackling rural poverty and exclusion involves the areas of agricultural and food policy, public health, schooling and social protection. The project is analysing the relevant forms of socioeconomic change as well as the agricultural and social policies of individual African states since 2000, in particular three complexes of topics: (1) the socioeconomic transformation of rural areas, (2) the political and symbolic representation of rural areas and (3) the material policies for addressing change and problems in rural areas. The results of these investigations will be related to discourses on the future of rural development, to national constellations of “peasant politics” and to new forms of institutionalized governance.

*Project B10* is using a mix of methods to investigate the extent to which armed conflicts have influenced the developmental dynamics of social policy along the dimensions of generosity and coverage, starting with the First World War. In contrast to the majority of research, not only Western countries and interstate wars are included, but also countries in the Global South in order to analyse the effects of different forms of conflict. Specifically, the project is studying the influence of interstate wars, intrastate wars and the Cold War on the dynamics of social policy coverage and generosity in the areas of old-age protection, healthcare provision, family benefits, support for the unemployed as well as benefits for veterans and war victims. The project distinguishes between the phases of preparation for war, the actual conflict and the medium- to long-term consequences after the cessation of hostilities. It is assumed that all violent conflicts have a short-term negative effect on social policy and lead to cuts in the scope of benefits and restrictions to the degree of inclusiveness. In contrast, the medium- and long-term effects of a war vary (i) according to the type of violent conflict, (ii) the intensity of the conflict and (iii) depending on contextual factors, with a country’s level of economic development likely to play a key role. On the one hand, the impact of interstate wars, civil wars and the Cold War on social policy will be investigated with quantitative analyses for a large sample of countries. On the other hand, six in-depth case studies are being conducted in order to reconstruct in detail the social policy decision-making processes and the measures taken during the three phases and for the different types of conflict.

*Project B11* is analysing the interrelation between social policy and protectionism in Argentina and the USA in the period from the Belle Époque of globalization before 1914 until the present. With Argentina and the USA the project focuses on countries that, before World War I, were both characterized by strong economic performance, a massive level of immigration and a tradition of strong protectionism reaching back far into the 19th century. Building on Torp (2015), the project aims in a first step to identify the decisive turning points and sequences in social and trade policy in both countries and to analyse the interactions between the two levels, using the inclusiveness of the measures and the extent of the protection they offered as the decisive indicators. Protectionism and social policy can act as functional equivalents to protect certain groups from the consequences of global economic integration. However, social policy benefits can also be financed by tariff revenues, and trade restrictions may have facilitated the expansion of industries whose workers demanded the introduction of social insurance schemes. These diverging assumptions are being investigated on three levels: the level the global economic framework, the level of multilateral treaties and international organizations, and the level of the transnational transfer of social and trade policy models and practices. With regard to both the welfare state and to protectionism, it can be expected that transnational influences and their specific

national adaptation were of decisive importance for decision-makers' idea repositories over the whole of the 20th century.

*Project B12* is investigating the crisis management of international organizations (IOs) during the Covid-19 pandemic. Four globally operating IOs (WHO, World Bank, OECD, ILO) and four regionally operating IOs (EU, ASEAN, Mercosur, African Union) are included. The relevant measures, programmes and recommendations in the fields of health policy, labour market policy and basic social protection are being analysed in regard to their orientation towards coverage and generosity as well as to coherence, complementarity and differentiation of tasks between the IOs. The level of the nation-state finds its place in the analysis through the examination of the specific assessments and recommendations of these IOs for four exemplarily selected countries (Sweden, South Africa, Thailand, Uruguay). The research design relies on qualitative methods and is based on a global social governance approach, drawing on the theoretical underpinnings of global social policy Research and international relations. On this basis, the project primarily studies vertical interdependencies and will offer findings on the developmental dynamics of global social policy. The extensive data collection will permit statements to be made on the action competence and effectiveness, i.e., the actor qualities of the IOs in times of crisis, so as to be able to assess which role international organizations could take in the future design of social policy.

The new *Information Management Project (Project INF)* "Advancing the Global Welfare State Information System (WeSIS), eScience Services and Research Data Management" provides fundamental services to the whole research consortium and has four central objectives: First, the web-based information system WeSIS is being expanded with new datasets and functions. This includes storing, semi-automatically analysing and visualizing textual data or developing further tools for analysing and visually presenting complex research data. Towards the end of the second phase, WeSIS will be made available to the international scientific community with Project INF supporting the launch and dissemination of WeSIS. Second, Project INF coordinates cross-project data collection on coverage and generosity of social policy programmes and is collecting additional data that fall outside the remit of the other projects but are highly relevant for the whole CRC. Third, Project INF is providing eScience services and coordinating research data management for the whole CRC. It advises the projects on organizational, technical and legal aspects of dealing with research data throughout the research data cycle while drawing on the FAIR principles (findable, accessible, interoperable, reusable) and also offers training courses. The eScience services are coordinated with the existing service infrastructure of the University of Bremen, the SuUB as well as the relevant cooperation partners at SOCIUM (QualiService and Data Centre of the Research Institute for Social Cohesion) and BIGSSS. Fourth, innovative methods in the field of computational social science and information visualization are being developed in collaboration with the other projects. Due to the ever-increasing quantities of data in social policy research, new analytical tools are being developed with the aid of artificial intelligence methods. In view of the available data and the CRC projects' research questions, the focus is on computational linguistic methods such as argumentation mining and text summarization as well as visualizing information under consideration of multimodality in the context of human-computer interaction research.

*Collaboration between the two Project Areas.* In summary, Project Area A focuses on investigating the developmental dynamics of coverage and generosity in specific social policy fields in a *global* perspective. In contrast, Project Area B analyses the dynamics of legislative reform in regard to coverage and generosity for *selected countries or regions*. The overarching collaboration in the CRC is ensured by the following communication formats that, if possible, are held in-person: The *jour fixe series* of internal and external presentations on questions of global social policy that was established in the first phase is being continued in the second phase. In addition, five *workshop formats* are planned. Firstly, in cooperation with the Project INF, the three-week *project workshops for further developing WeSIS* are being continued over the entire funding phase. Secondly, *regional workshops* in which the particularities of social policy and its measurement in specific world regions are discussed with international experts have proved successful. Thirdly, *thematic workshops* focus on selected determinants of social policy and are dedicated to either the specific national factors influencing social policy or certain forms of interdependencies. Fourthly, *methods workshops* cover conceptual questions of measuring coverage and generosity as well as qualitative and quantitative procedures for data analysis that are relevant to the whole CRC. Finally, collaborative publications from the Project Areas and the whole CRC are prepared in *publication workshops*. In autumn 2024 a major international conference on global social policy (external funding) is being organized in cooperation with the second Social Policy Biennial of the German Institute for Interdisciplinary Social Policy Research (DIFIS). The conference will also be used for author workshops to discuss contributions from authors internal and external to the CRC. Finally, two years into the second funding phase, a two-day *CRC Conclave* will critically reflect on the progress of the CRC and the projects to date and also present and synthesize initial findings from the projects.

By bringing together the data from both Project Areas and collaboratively further developing WeSIS, it will be possible to conduct analyses across projects and Project Areas that will lead to joint publications. These include the analysis of the developmental dynamics of the degree of coverage and level of generosity of different social protection systems across programmes, including cross-policy pattern and sequence analyses as well as studies on the developmental dynamics of social policy in specific world regions. At the overall level of the CRC, book publications are planned on the developmental dynamics in different social policy fields as well as the developmental dynamics of coverage and generosity in Latin America, Asia and in socialist and post-socialist countries.

Furthermore, at the end of the second phase it will be possible to cross-sectionally and longitudinally identify and explain different worlds of social protection on a global scale. In contrast to existing classifications (e.g. Abu Sharkh/Gough 2010), which are essentially based on expenditure and outcome data, the CRC can use the data on coverage and generosity collected in the second phase to present, for the first time, a policy-oriented and programme overarching measurement of worlds of public social policy. Since these data are available as long time series, it will also be possible to trace the differentiation of and changes to social policy worlds over a longer period. These analyses and the project-overarching consolidation of the finding will be continued in the third phase.

### *Outlook for the third phase*

In the third phase we will use the data on indicators for coverage and generosity that will have been integrated into WeSIS to analyse the *outcomes* of social policy in international comparison and in case studies with a mix of methods. In these analyses, public social policy will become the independent variable. Worldwide access to the data will facilitate new forms of international cooperation.

Two dimensions of effects will be foregrounded. On the one hand, the focus will be on the outcomes of *social and education policy*. The question is how specific social protection and education programmes and the resources associated with them affect elementary social indicators such as the birth rate, life expectancy or combined welfare indicators (e.g. the Human Development Index). Which contribution does social policy make to combatting poverty and inequality and to what extent do education systems succeed in ensuring educational opportunities for the largest possible part of the population and imparting elementary school competences? Which types of programmes and modes of financing lead to more successful outcomes of social and education policy and which resources are necessary to achieve this? Which other political (e.g. corruption, quality of institutions, regime type) and socioeconomic factors (e.g. GDP, social structure) affect countries' performance? To what extent are social outcomes, in addition to national social policies, also dependent on international influences (e.g. remittances, development aid, donations)?

On the other hand, the *effects of social policy on political systems* will be analysed. How does social policy affect legitimation, integration and stability, under what conditions does it contribute to political polarization processes and what are the consequences of instrumentalizing social policy for the purpose of maintaining power? Does social policy cause shifts in the system of parties and associations? Does it lead to more bureaucracy and how does it shape social movements or political discourse? On the basis of these studies we intend to strengthen our dissemination activities in the third phase and also to produce recommendations for designing social policy so that it stabilizes democracy.

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