

**Title of workshop:**  
**Socio-Economic Inequalities and Political Cleavages in Post-Industrial Societies**

**Subject area:**  
**Comparative and International Political Economy of Welfare States and Labour Markets**

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## Socio-Economic Inequalities and Political Cleavages in Post-Industrial Societies

The workshop will address three questions: first, what are the major (new) socio-economic divides in post-industrial societies? Second, under what conditions, by whom and how are these divides politically mobilized? And third, to what extent do these political differences lead to changing dynamics in major areas of welfare state policy?

The workshop taps into a very prolific field of the comparative political economy of welfare states in recent years. Some of these recent works follow a rekindled interest in problems of labor market segmentation, dualization and insider-outsider divides (e.g. Rueda 2005, Emmenegger et al. 2011, Palier and Thelen 2010, Lindbeck and Snower 2002), whereas others approach the topic through an analysis of new social risks, and new political conflict lines in welfare state politics (e.g. Taylor-Gooby 2005, Bonoli and Armingeon 2006, Häusermann 2010).

Nevertheless, even though the idea of new divides, dualization and insider-outsider conflicts has spread widely in the discipline, this emerging strand of research still faces major theoretical and empirical challenges that we would like to address in this workshop. It would thereby contribute to establishing the terms of this ongoing and rapidly growing debate in the literature. There are four issues that we would like to address more particularly.

First, the theoretical specification of the 'new divides': Whereas older cleavages such as class or religion have had a clear theoretical status as exogenous determinants of (welfare-state) politics, processes of dualization, insidership and new social risks are always in part endogenous to the political process. This makes them both more 'realistic' but also more difficult to address in an analytic sense. Related to this is the question what kind of politics these potential new cleavages should give rise to. Are they part of general interest politics between larger classes of voters, or rather conflicts between interest groups with differing degrees of political representation?

Second, there are also important open empirical questions in this new field. There is a common understanding of how to observe and measure the saliency and polarization of older cleavages such as class or religion. This is not the case for dualization and insider-outsider divides. We still lack a comparative measure of the extent of dualization across countries, let alone across time. How do different forms of measurement (subjective, objective, proxies...) affect the importance we attribute to these new cleavages? This is related to the fact that there is no agreement regarding the adequate level of (dis-)aggregation of the social structure and labour markets? The new politics of welfare state and labor markets may be more complex than before, but what are adequate levels of parsimony in the empirical measurement of differences?

Third, a key question concerns the translation of these new conflicts of interests into the political arena. If the new, post-industrial economies give rise to the potential emergence of a multiplicity of cleavages, which ones will become politically activated in a given context? To what extent can domestic institutional and socioeconomic factors help explain the politicization of some of these new conflicts in some countries, but not in others?

And finally, to what extent does the appearance of these new cleavages affect the political feasibility of addressing income inequalities more broadly? What kind of political coalitions will be more likely to form, and what kind of policy demands will they exert? And to what will they contribute to the strengthening or weakening of pro-egalitarian policies in the electoral arena?

We would like to use this workshop to address some of these questions. In particular the workshop invites theoretical and empirical (preferably comparative) contributions which

- theoretically probe the consistency and generalizability of key concepts
- aim at measuring socio-economic divides and political cleavages on the individual and/ or macro level
- explain the political mobilization of these divides in the democratic process through political parties and interest organizations
- test their political impact on labor market, social policies and related fields.

We invite contributions from a broad range of theoretical and empirical political science approaches. We explicitly also invite contributions from adjacent academic fields such as labor market sociology and

economics and who study (new) forms of divides in the post-industrial labor market. We also would like to encourage contributions that go beyond OECD countries, since we believe that some of these processes/ phenomena are much better understood in developing/ emerging markets (e.g. Latin America), where welfare states from their very beginning faced problems of coverage and where informality and dualization have traditionally played a much larger role (e.g. Gough and Wood 2004).

Likely participants: mainly comparative (or international) political economists working on the subject, but also economists and sociologists. Some people who have expressed an interest in the workshop include:

Fabrizio Bernardi (EUI, Florence), Marius Busemeyer (University of Konstanz, Germany), Daniel Clegg (University of Edinburgh, UK), Johan Bo Davidsson (Lund University, Sweden), Anil Duman (CEU Budapest, Hungary), Patrick Emmenegger (University of Southern Denmark, Odense), Evelyne Huebscher (CEU Budapest, Hungary), Johannes Lindvall (Lund University, Sweden), Daniel Oesch (University of Lausanne, Switzerland), Bruno Palier (Sciences Po Paris, France), Philipp Rehm (Ohio State University, USA), David Rueda (University of Oxford, UK), Hanna Schwander (University of Zurich, Switzerland).

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#### Biographical notes on the workshop directors:

José Fernandez-Albertos is a Permanent Researcher at the Institute for Public Goods and Policies of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) in Madrid, Spain. His research spans across the fields of international political economy and comparative politics, including the study of the political underpinnings of economic and monetary integration, the institutional foundations for universalistic public goods provision, and public opinion and electoral politics. Some of his recent work has been published in *Economic Letters*, *Party Politics*, and *West European Politics*. He was awarded with the Rudolf Wildenmann Prize in 2002 for the best paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions at Turin, Italy. He is co-convenor of ECPR standing group 23 'Political Economy'.

Silja Häusermann is a Junior Professor at the University of Konstanz, Germany. Her current work focuses on comparative welfare policy, political parties, representation and dualization. Her articles have appeared in Journals such as the *European Journal of Political Research*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of European Public Policy* and *Socio-Economic Review*. She is also the author of *The Politics of Welfare Reform in Continental Europe. Modernization in Hard Times*, published in 2010 with Cambridge University Press. She is co-convenor of ECPR standing group 23 'Political Economy'.

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Achim Kemmerling is Associate Professor of Political Economy at the Department of Public Policy, Central European University Budapest where he teaches courses on methodology, political economy and development. He has published in academic journals of various disciplines (e.g. Public Choice, JEPP, EUP, and JCMS) on issues of tax policy, social and labor market policies, and fiscal federalism. His monograph "Taxing the Working Poor" (Edward Elgar 2009) deals with the political and economic tradeoffs between redistribution and job incentives for poor workers. He has worked as a consultant to the German parliament, the German Society for Technical Cooperation (former GTZ, now GIZ) and the European Investment Bank. He is co-convenor of ECPR standing group 23 'Political Economy'.