
The European Social Model under Pressure

Romana Careja · Patrick Emmenegger ·
Nathalie Giger
Editors

The European Social Model under Pressure

Liber Amicorum in Honour
of Klaus Armingeon

 Springer VS

Editors

Romana Careja
Department of Political Science
University of Southern Denmark
Odense, Denmark

Patrick Emmenegger
Department of Political Science
University of St. Gallen
St. Gallen, Switzerland

Nathalie Giger
Department of Political Science
University of Geneva
Geneva, Switzerland

Additional material to this book can be downloaded from <http://extras.springer.com>.

ISBN 978-3-658-27042-1 ISBN 978-3-658-27043-8 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-27043-8>

Springer VS

© Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden GmbH, part of Springer Nature 2020

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

This Springer VS imprint is published by the registered company Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden GmbH part of Springer Nature

The registered company address is: Abraham-Lincoln-Str. 46, 65189 Wiesbaden, Germany

Table of Contents

Tabula Gratulatoria	IX
<i>Romana Careja, Patrick Emmenegger and Nathalie Giger</i> The European social model under pressure: Introduction	1
Part I Transformation of Neo-Corporatism	
<i>Marius R. Busemeyer</i> Neo-corporatism and the responsiveness of democracy	15
<i>Benedikt Bender and Bernhard Ebbinghaus</i> Social concertation in Europe during the Great Recession: A fsQCA-study of social partner involvement	33
<i>André Mach, Frédéric Varone and Steven Eichenberger</i> Transformations of Swiss neo-corporatism: From pre-parliamentary negotiations towards privileged pluralism in the parliamentary venue	51
<i>Paul Windolf</i> Aufstieg und Auflösung der Deutschland AG (1896-2010): Unternehmensverflechtung in Deutschland, Frankreich und in den USA	69
<i>Rafael Labanino</i> State-labour relations in illiberal times: The dissolution of social dialogue in Hungary	89

Part II

Politics of Welfare State Reform

Markus Hinterleitner and Fritz Sager

Governing elites under pressure:

Blame avoidance strategies and welfare state retrenchment 109

Carsten Jensen and Georg Wenzelburger

New evidence on the effect of partisanship on the welfare state

123

Duane Swank

The partisan politics of new social risks in advanced postindustrial democracies:

Social protection for labor market outsiders

139

Christine Trampusch

The politics of shifting burdens: German fiscal welfare corporatism

159

Kees van Kersbergen and Barbara Vis

Social acceleration and social investment

177

Giuliano Bonoli

Social investment, active labour market policies and migration

193

Herbert Obinger

Die sozialpolitischen Folgen des Ersten Weltkriegs:

Deutschland, Österreich und die Schweiz im Vergleich

207

Part III

Political Determinants of Socio-Economic Outcomes

Evelyne Huber, John D. Stephens, and Kaitlin Alper

The varied sources of increasing wage dispersion

231

Lionel Marquis

Lay explanations for poverty:

A multilevel analysis of European public opinion (1976—2014)

253

<i>Stefano Sacchi, Dario Guarascio and Silvia Vannutelli</i>	
Risk of technological unemployment and support for redistributive policies	277
<i>Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen</i>	
How does working time flexibility affect gender-specific work intentions?	297
<i>Wolf Linder</i>	
Soziale Selektivität in der Bildung - kein politisches Problem?	313
<i>Philipp Lutz</i>	
Welfare states, demographic transition and immigration policies	331
<i>Manfred G. Schmidt</i>	
Staatstätigkeit in Demokratien und Autokratien: Befunde des internationalen Vergleichs	349
Part IV	
Democracies in Hard Times	
<i>Uwe Wagschal</i>	
Polarisierung der Parteiensysteme in Zeiten des Populismus	365
<i>Sarah Engler and David Weisstanner</i>	
Income inequality, status decline and support for the radical right	383
<i>Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck</i>	
Wie „AfD-bewegt“ sind die Gewerkschafter?	401
<i>Hans Keman</i>	
Indirect democracy in EUrope: The challenge of new political parties	425
<i>Pascal Sciarini</i>	
The dilemma between bilateral agreements and immigration control: How would Swiss voters decide?	447
<i>Kai Guthmann and Anna Fill</i>	
Who cares? The limited effect of liberalization on satisfaction with democracy in Europe	461

<i>Anja Heidelberger, Marlène Gerber und Marc Bühlmann</i> Exit oder Voice? Die Wahlbeteiligung politisch Unzufriedener	481
<i>Reimut Zohlnhöfer and Frank Bandau</i> Policy or office? The determinants of programmatic change in West European political parties	501
Part V	
Challenges for Europe	
<i>Martin Höpner</i> Die Politik der inneren Abwertung: Erzwungene Lohnsenkungen und ihre Alternativen	521
<i>Andreas Busch</i> The political economy of the German current account surplus	537
<i>Frank Schimmelfennig and Dominik Schraff</i> Light at the end of the tunnel: Eurozone bailouts and satisfaction with democracy	555
<i>Yannis Papadopoulos</i> Eurozone crisis management and the changing nature of the democratic deficit in the European Union	567
<i>Maurizio Ferrera</i> More solidarity than meets the eye? Challenges and prospects for social Europe	583
<i>Marlene Kammerer, Fadri Cramerli und Karin Ingold</i> Das Klima und die EU: Eine Diskursperspektive auf die deutsche und schweizerische Klimapolitik	599
Contributors	625

Tabula Gratulatoria

The following former and current colleagues of Klaus Armingeon wish to enter their names in this Tabula Gratulatoria as a tribute to his impact on the development of Political Science as a discipline and as a research community.

Professor Silke Adam, University of Bern

Professor Hans-Jürgen Andreß, University of Cologne

Professor Lucio Baccaro, University of Geneva and Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies

Professor Luciano Bardi, European University Institute

Dr. Fabio Bertozzi, Department for Health and Social Intervention, Canton Vaud

Professor Michelle Beyeler, Bern University of Applied Sciences

Emeritus Professor Roger Blum, Ombudsman of SRG Deutschschweiz

Emeritus Professor Dietmar Braun, University of Lausanne

Emeritus Professor Francis Castles, Australian National University

Professor Besir Ceka, Davidson College

Professor Eileen Connolly, Dublin City University

Emeritus Professor Thomas Cottier, University of Bern

Emeritus Professor Michael Cox, London School of Economics and Political Science

Professor Skyler Cranmer, Ohio State University

Professor Roland Czada, University of Osnabrück

Professor Manfred Elsig, University of Bern

Professor Margarita Estevez-Abe, Syracuse University

Professor Markus Freitag, University of Bern

Professor Steffen Ganghof, University of Potsdam

Dr. Simon Geissbühler, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland

Professor Anke Hassel, Institute of Economic and Social Research (WSI)

Professor Silja Häusermann, University of Zurich

Professor Kenji Hirashima, University of Tokyo

Emeritus Professor Ursula Hoffmann-Lange, University of Bamberg

Professor Simon Hug, University of Geneva

Professor André Kaiser, University of Cologne

Professor Ferdinand Karlhofer, University of Innsbruck

Professor Niilo Kauppi, French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS)

Professor Herbert Kitschelt, Duke University

Professor Bernhard Kittel, University of Vienna
Emeritus Professor Peter Knoepfel, University of Lausanne
Professor Hanspeter Kriesi, European University Institute
Professor Sandra Lavenex, University of Geneva
Professor Lucas Leemann, University of Zurich
Emeritus Professor Gerhard Lehbruch, University of Konstanz
Professor Philip Manow, University of Bremen
Professor Cathie Jo Martin, Boston University
Professor Wolfgang Merkel, Berlin Social Science Center (WZB)
Professor Karolina Milewicz, University of Oxford
Professor Wolfgang C. Müller, University of Vienna
Professor Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, University of Lüneburg
Emeritus Professor Dieter Nohlen, University of Heidelberg
Professor Daniel Oesch, University of Lausanne
Professor Anne Peters, Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law
Professor Vello Andres Pettai, University of Tartu
Professor Simona Piattoni, University of Trento
Professor Jonas Pontusson, University of Geneva
Professor Manuel Sanchez De Dios, Complutense University of Madrid
Dr. Lisa Schädel, Kirchliche Kontaktstelle für Flüchtlingsfragen, Bern
Professor Gijs Schumacher, University of Amsterdam
Professor Jonas Tallberg, University of Stockholm
Professor Kathleen Thelen, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Dr. Olivia Thoenen, Polsan Büro für Politikanalyse und -beratung, Bern
Professor Jacob Torfing, Roskilde University
Professor Jan van Deth, University of Mannheim
Professor Adrian Vatter, University of Bern
Dr. Emanuel von Erlach, Federal Statistical Office of Switzerland
Dr. Reto Wäest, University of Geneva
Dr. Jan Zutavern, University of Luxembourg