



Global Dynamics  
of Social Policy CRC 1342



Universität Bremen

# Testing Social Solidarity: A Comparison of Policy Preferences in France, Germany, Japan and South Korea

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# Social Solidarity

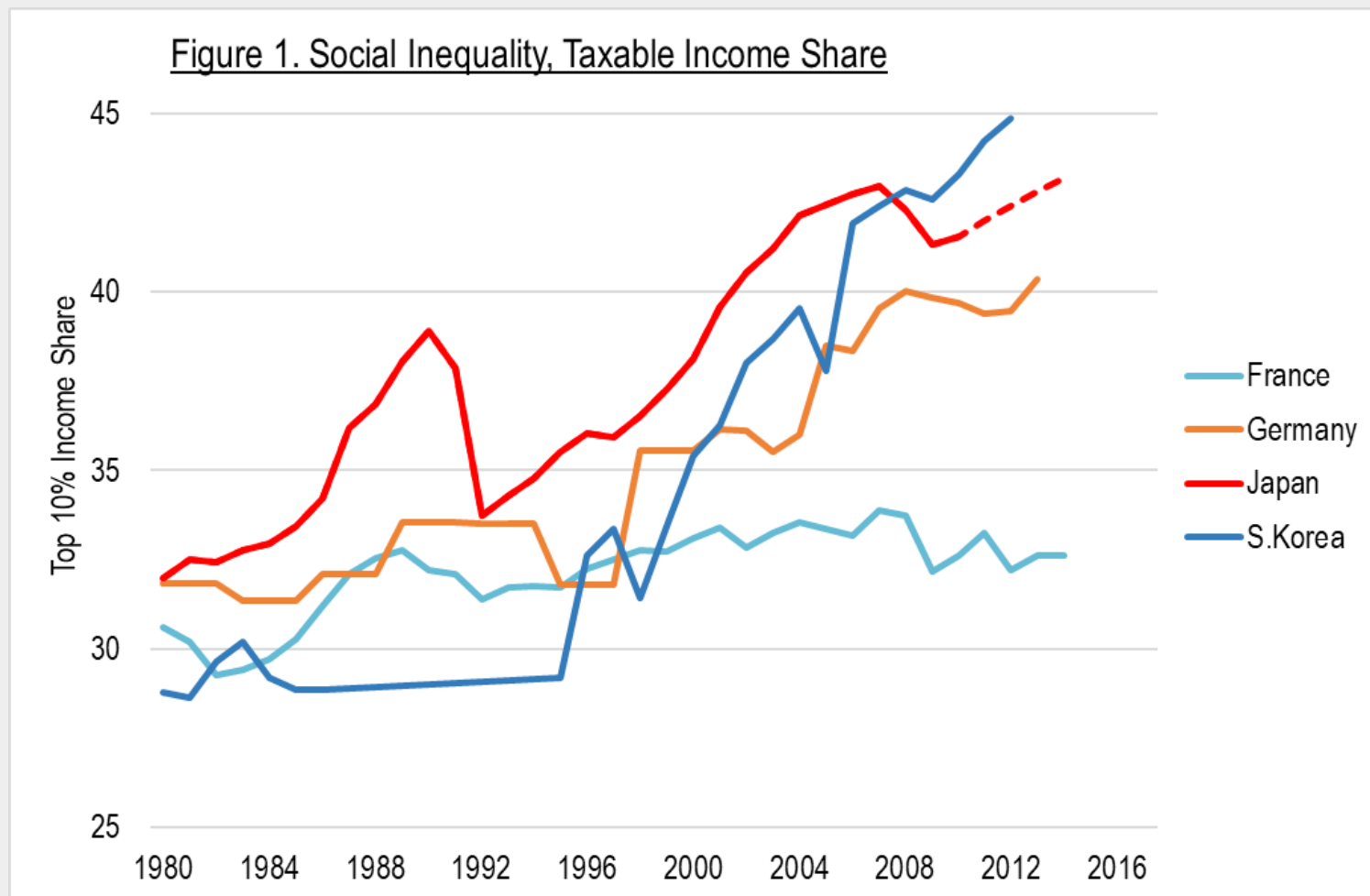
- » The State –
  - › Centralized regulation and provision of welfare, e.g., redistribution, insurance for common risks (Weale 1990)
  - › Full membership in society (Baldwin 1990)
  - › Stability a goal
  - › Equality not a goal (not necessarily)
- » The Individual –
  - › Normative preference to support members of the society (e.g., distributive justice; Arts and Gelissen 2001)
  - › Equality is a goal

# Other Solidarities

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- » *Labor Market –  
Class, Segment, Skill-set, Industry*
  
- » *General Groups –  
Religion, Race/Ethnicity, Age, Sex*

# Social Solidarity. Necessarily

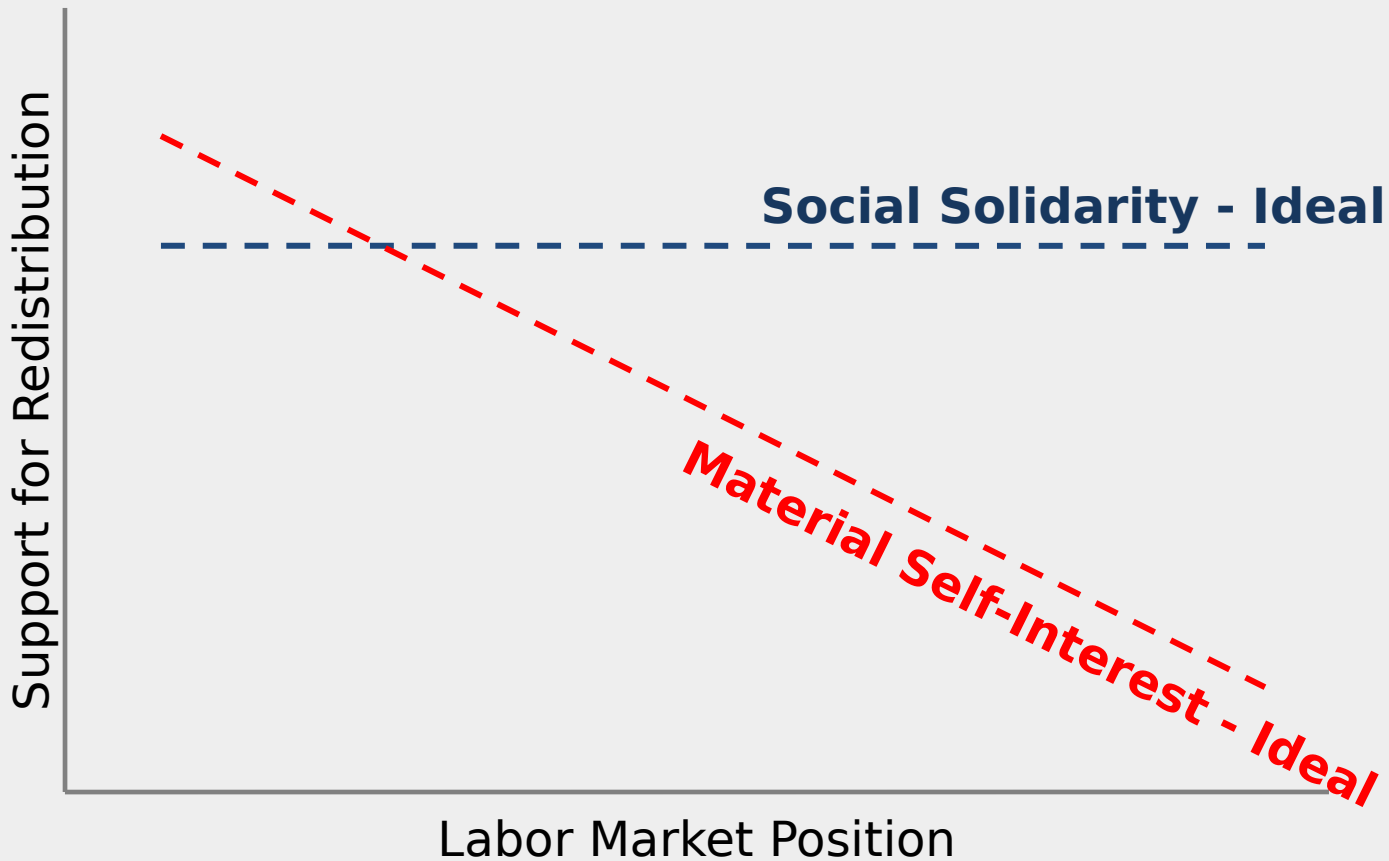


# Key Assumption

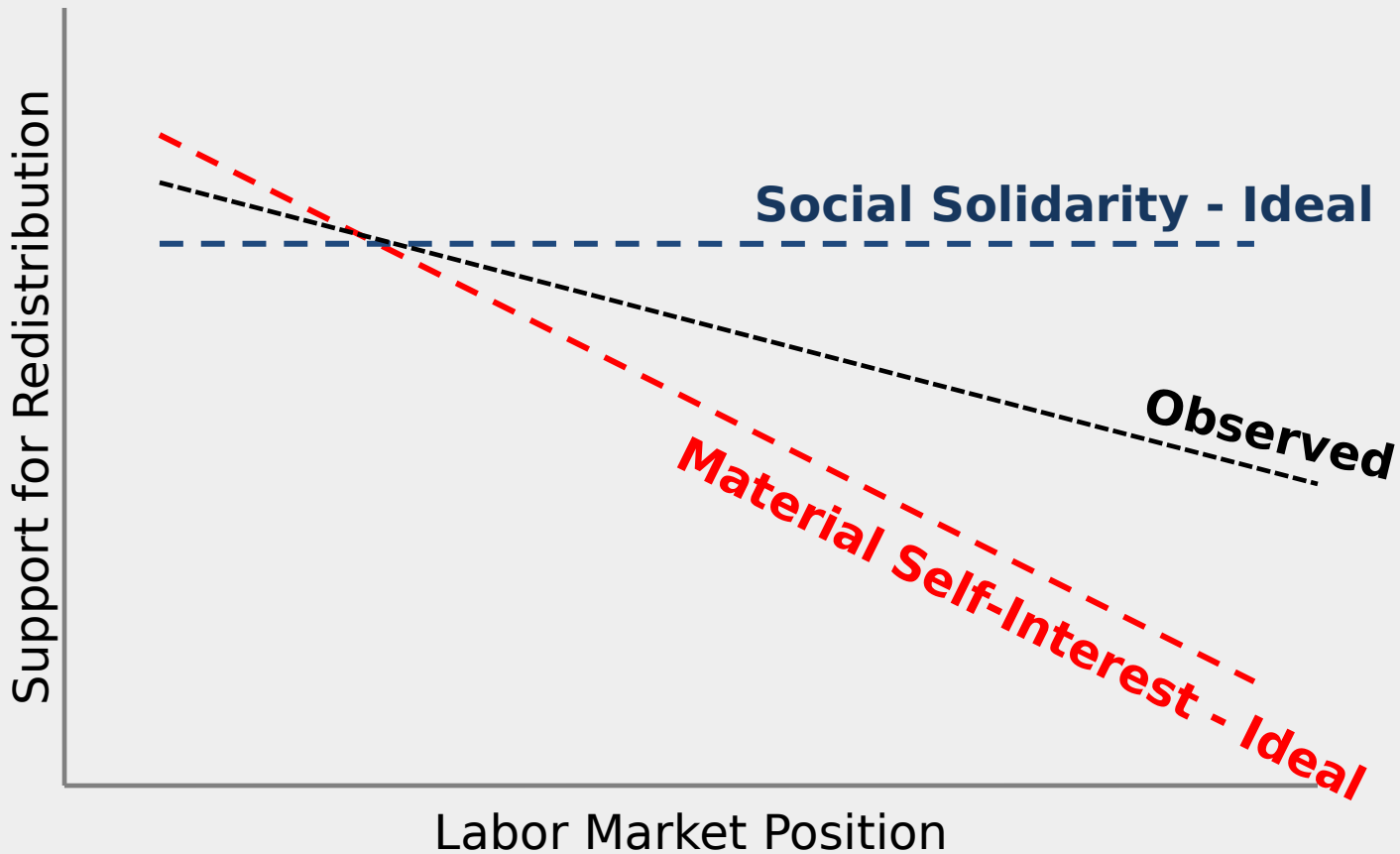
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- » Solidarity from above not possible without public support.

# Social Solidarity & Material Self-Interest



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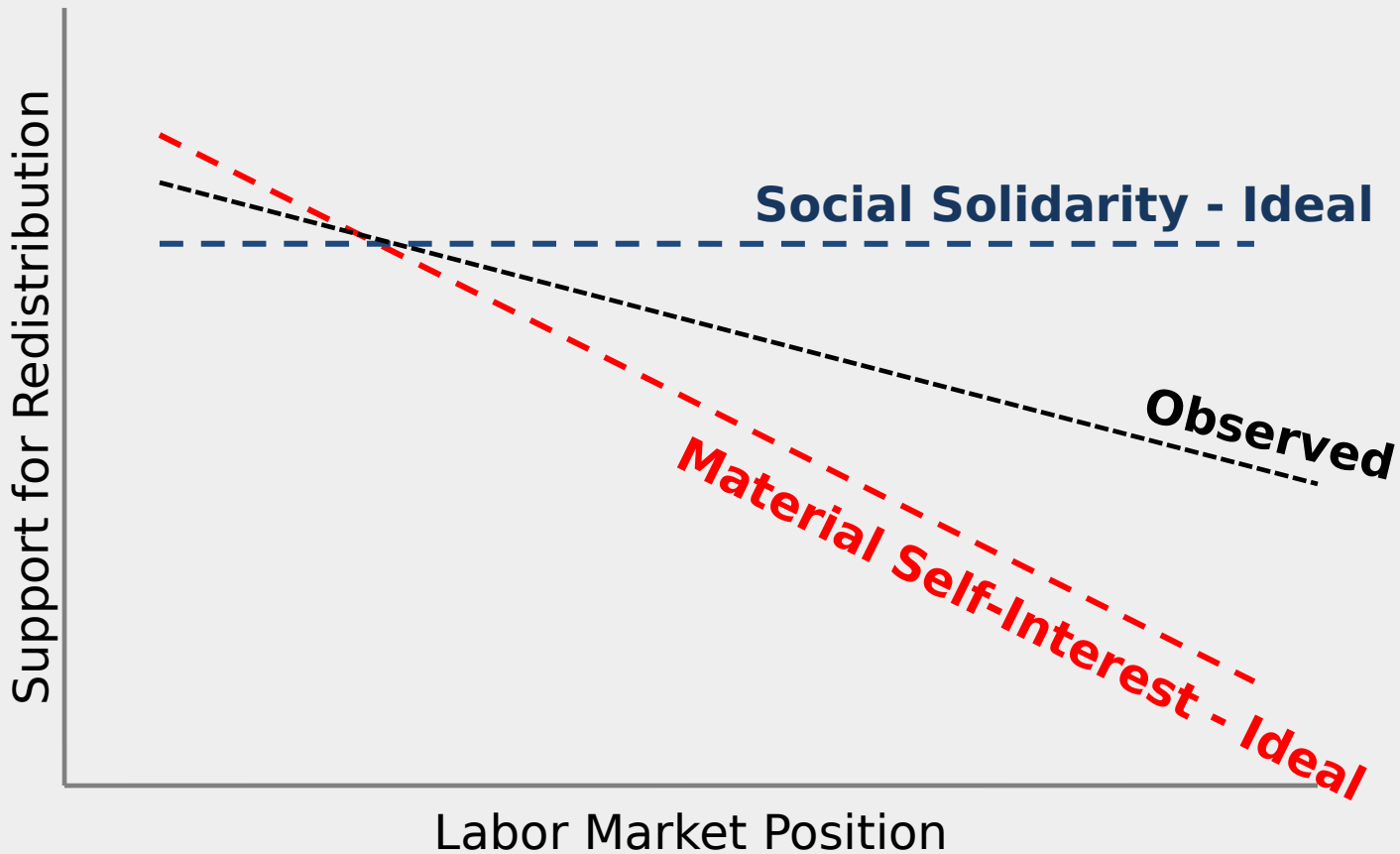




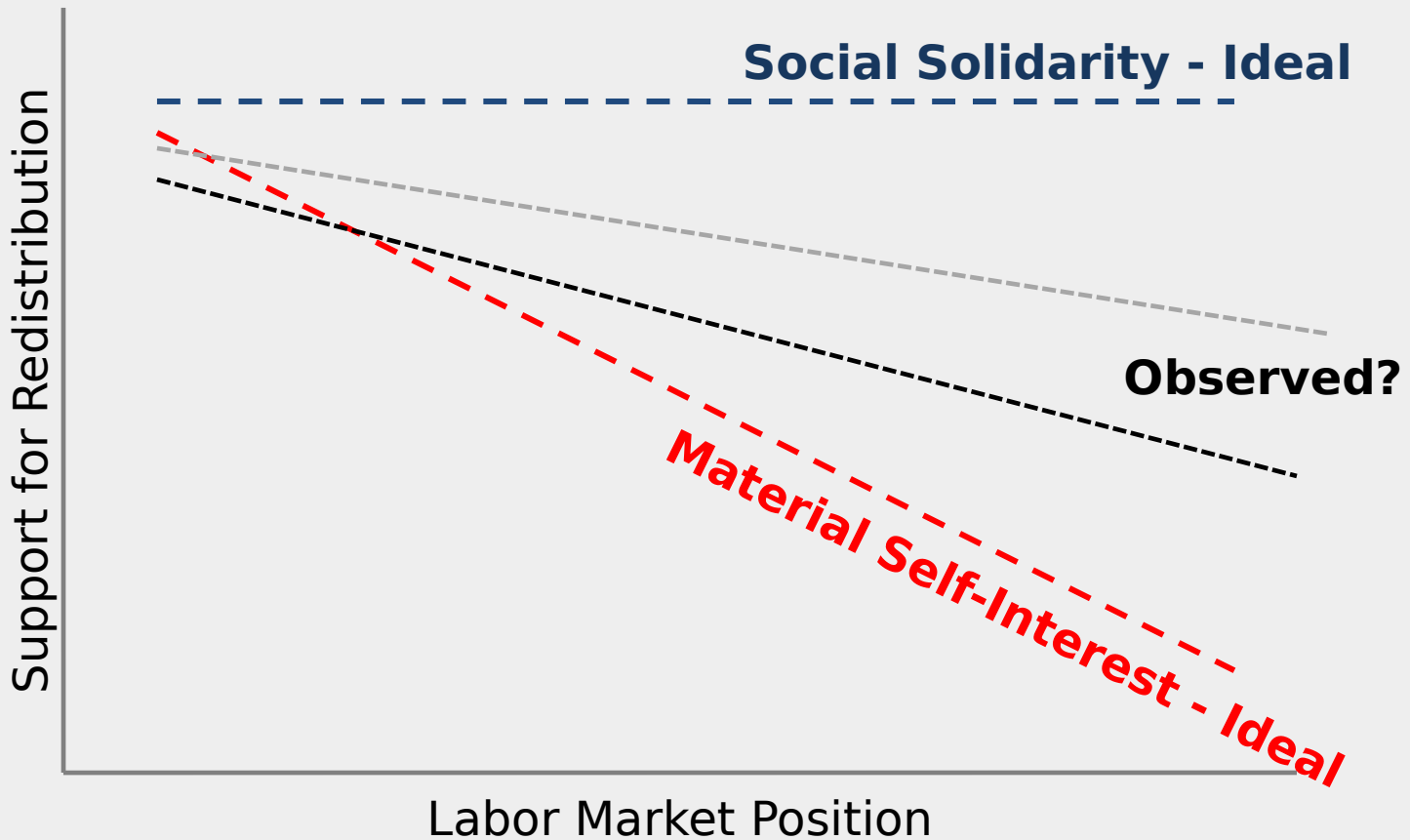
# Economic Crisis



# Economic Crisis



# Economic Crisis



# The Great Recession Period

<i>growth '05-'15</i>	France	Germany	Japan	S.Korea
GDP	∅	++	+	+++
Debt	++	∅	+++	+
Foreign-born %	++	+++	∅	∅
Redistribution	--	+	+	+++
Youth Unemp	+++	--	-	+
Great Recession	++	-	+++	∅

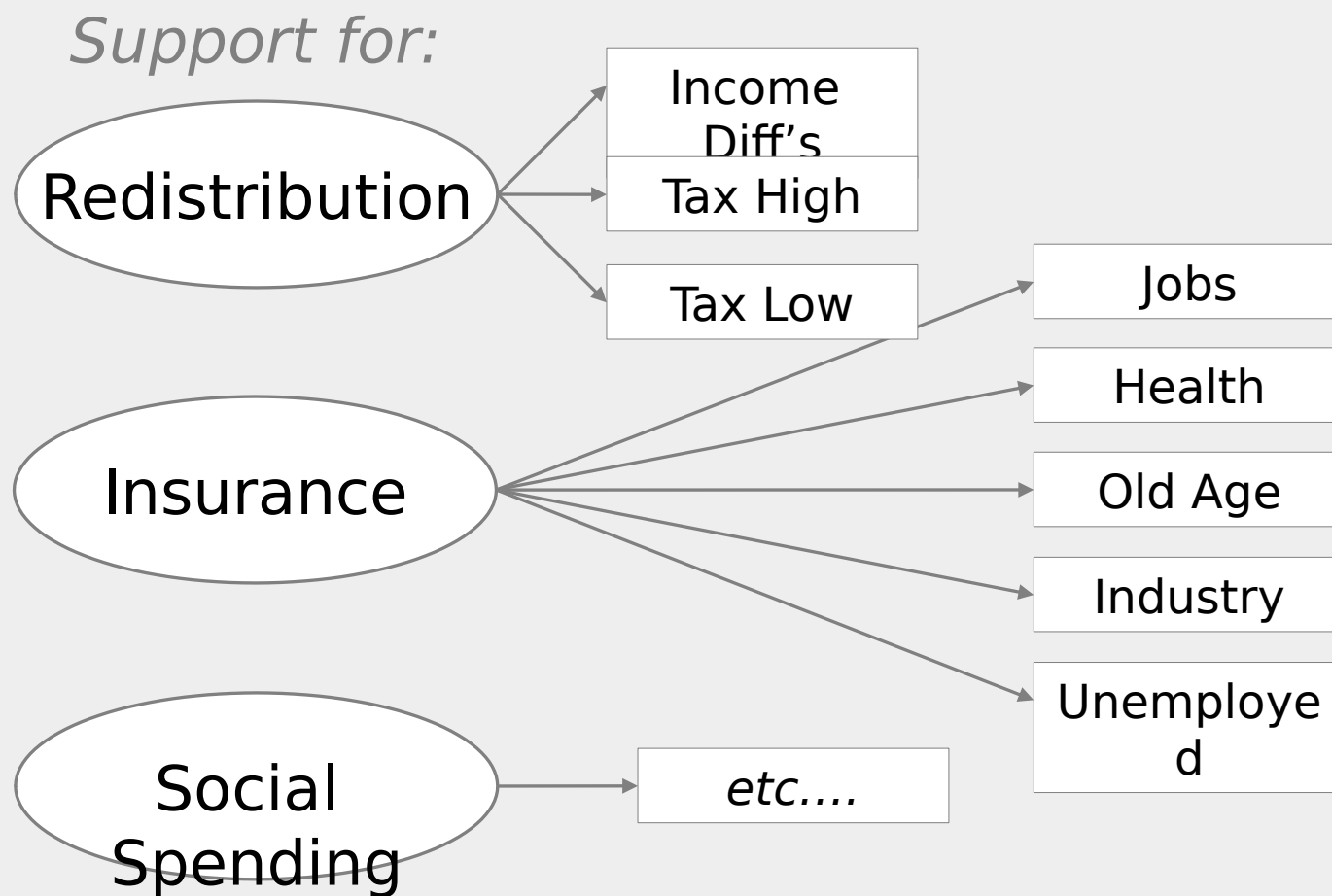
# Hypothetical: The Need for Social Solidarity

<i>growth '05-'15</i>	France	Germany	Japan	S.Korea
GDP	∅	+++	+	++++
Debt	++	∅	++++	+
Foreign-born %	++	++++	∅	∅
Income Inequality	+	+	∅	++
Redistribution	--	+	+	++++
Youth Unemp	++++	--	-	+
Great Recession	++	-	++++	∅
Solidarity Need	++++	∅	++	∅
<i>growth '05-'15</i>	France	Germany	Japan	S.Korea
GDP	∅	+++	+	++++
Debt	++	∅	++++	+
Foreign-born %	++	++++	∅	∅
Income Inequality	+	+	∅	++
Redistribution	--	+	+	++++
Youth Unemp	++++	--	-	+
Great Recession	++	-	++++	∅
Solidarity Need	++++	∅	++	∅

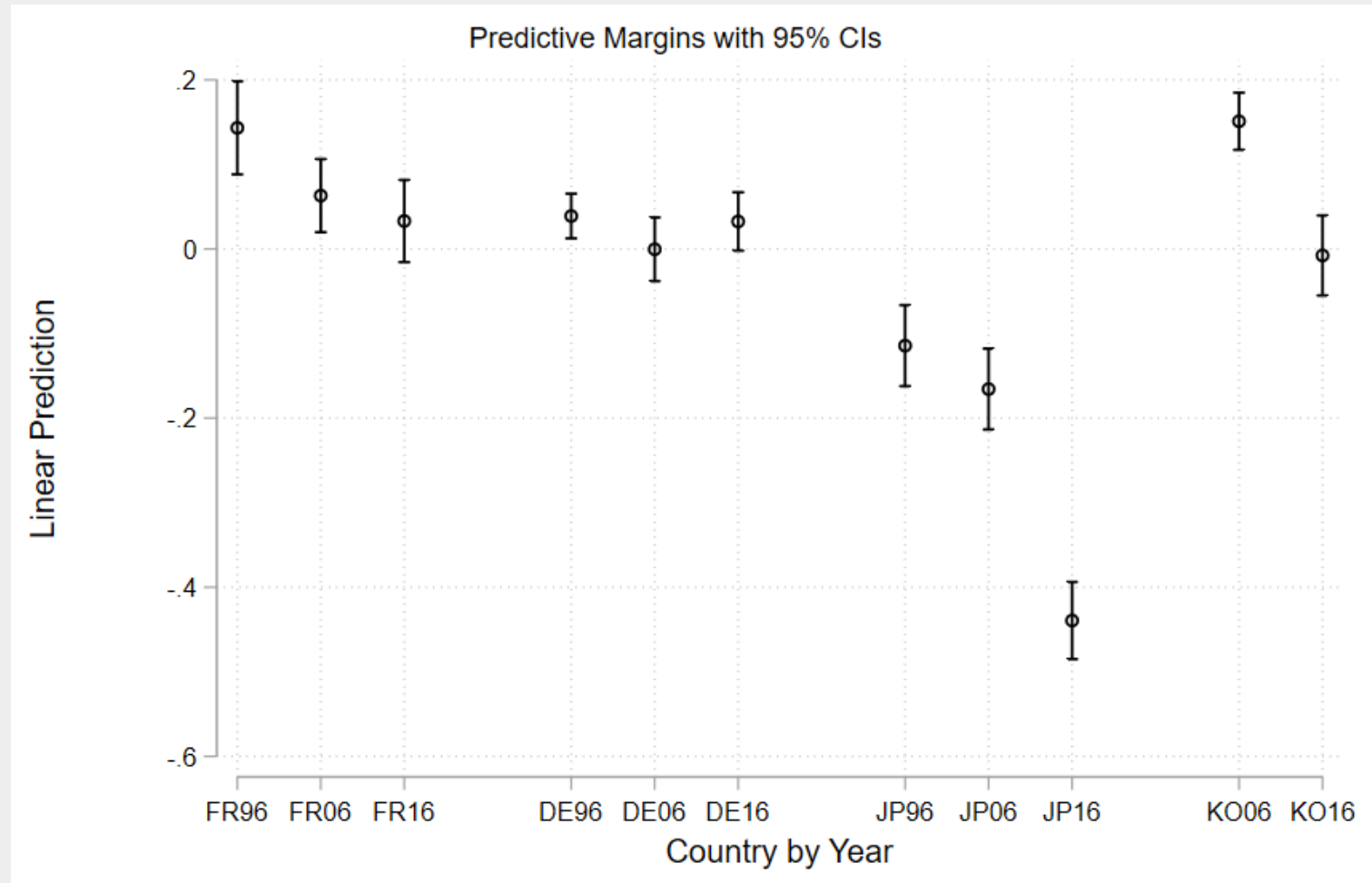
# Measurement

- » From Above –
  - country-level labor market and welfare state institutions
- » From Below –
  - attitudes toward social protection and insurance
  - › ISSP ‘Role of Government’ 1996, 2006 & 2016
  - › Other ISSP modules (for later)

# Expression of Social Solidarity

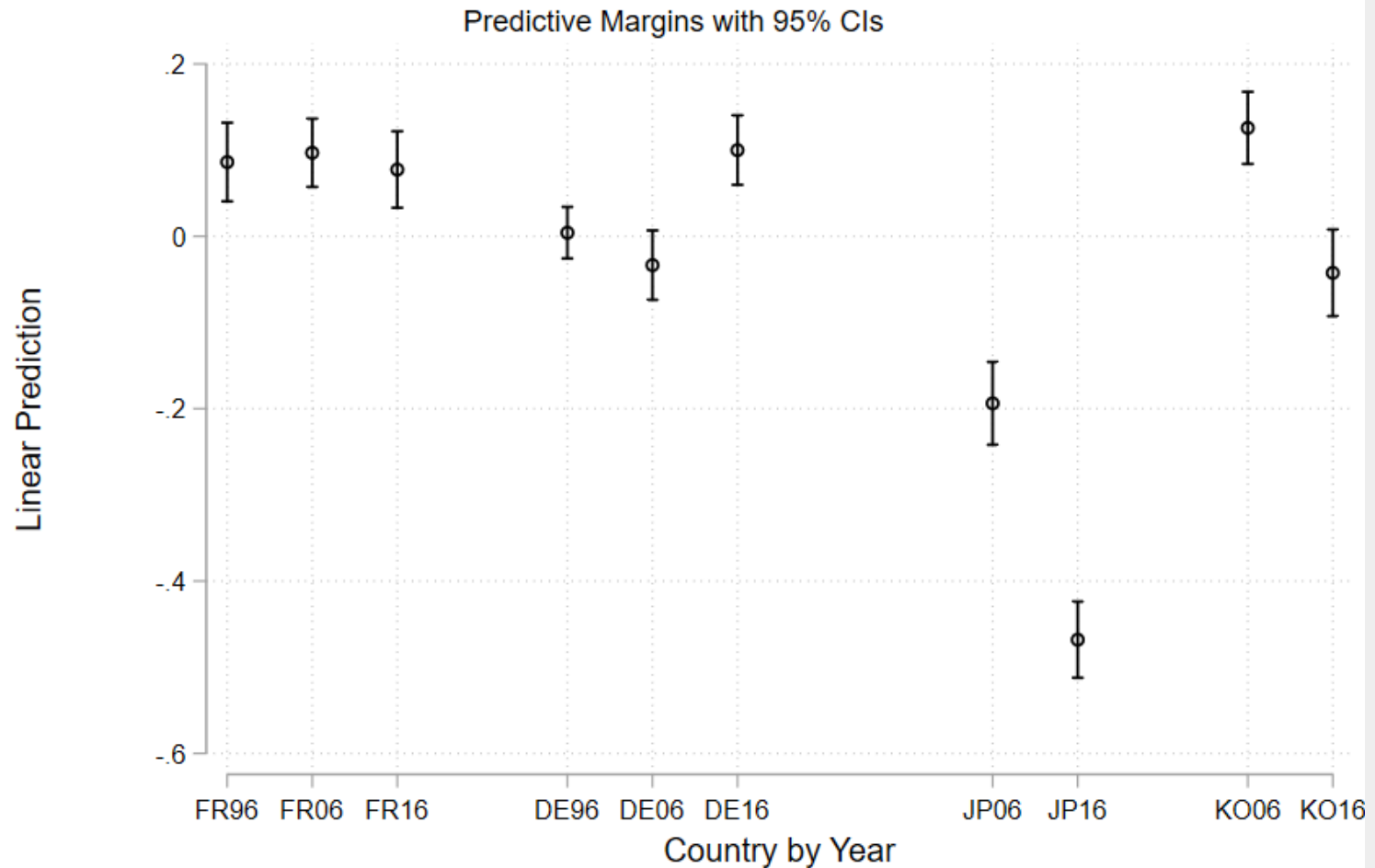


# Social Solidarity - Redistribution

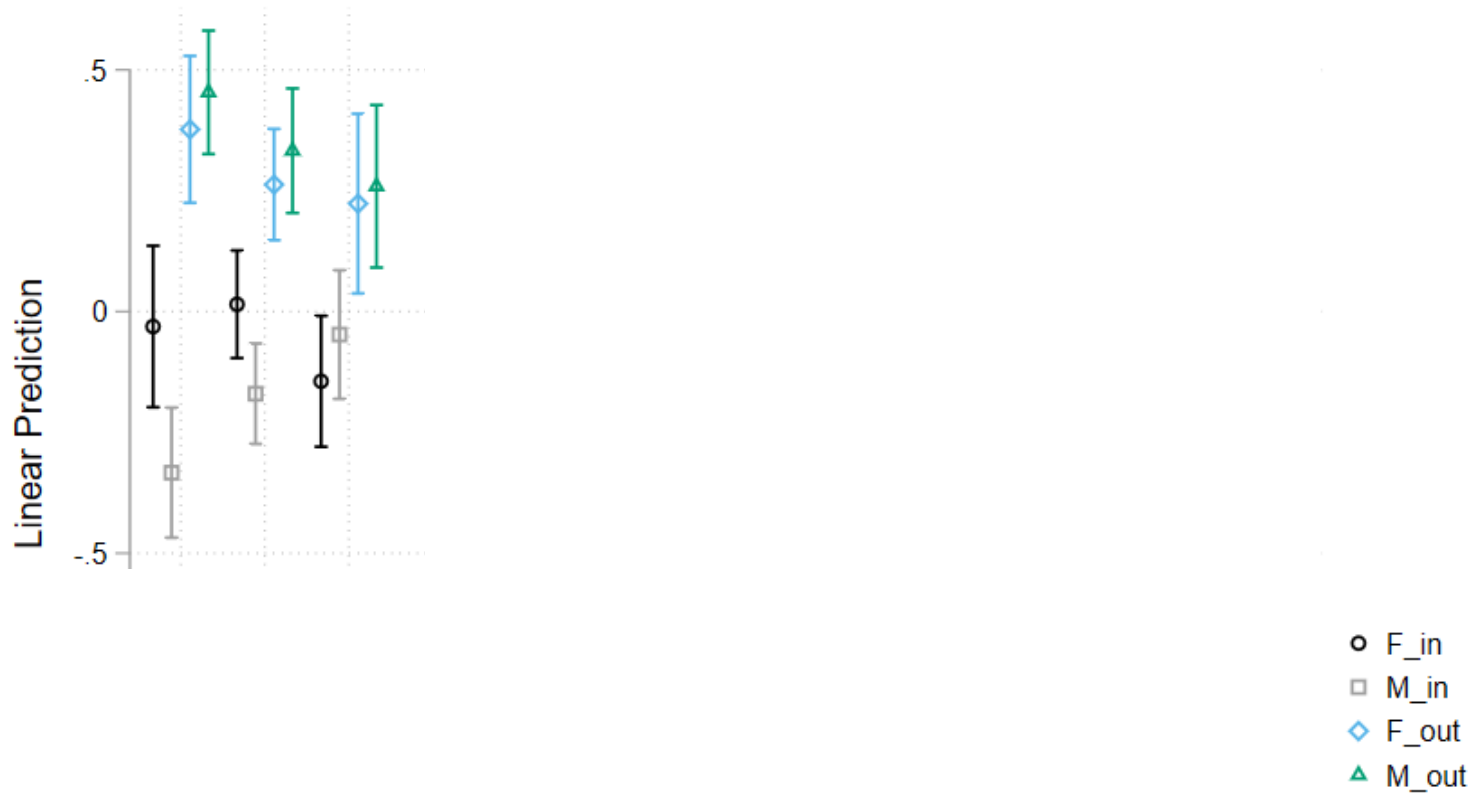




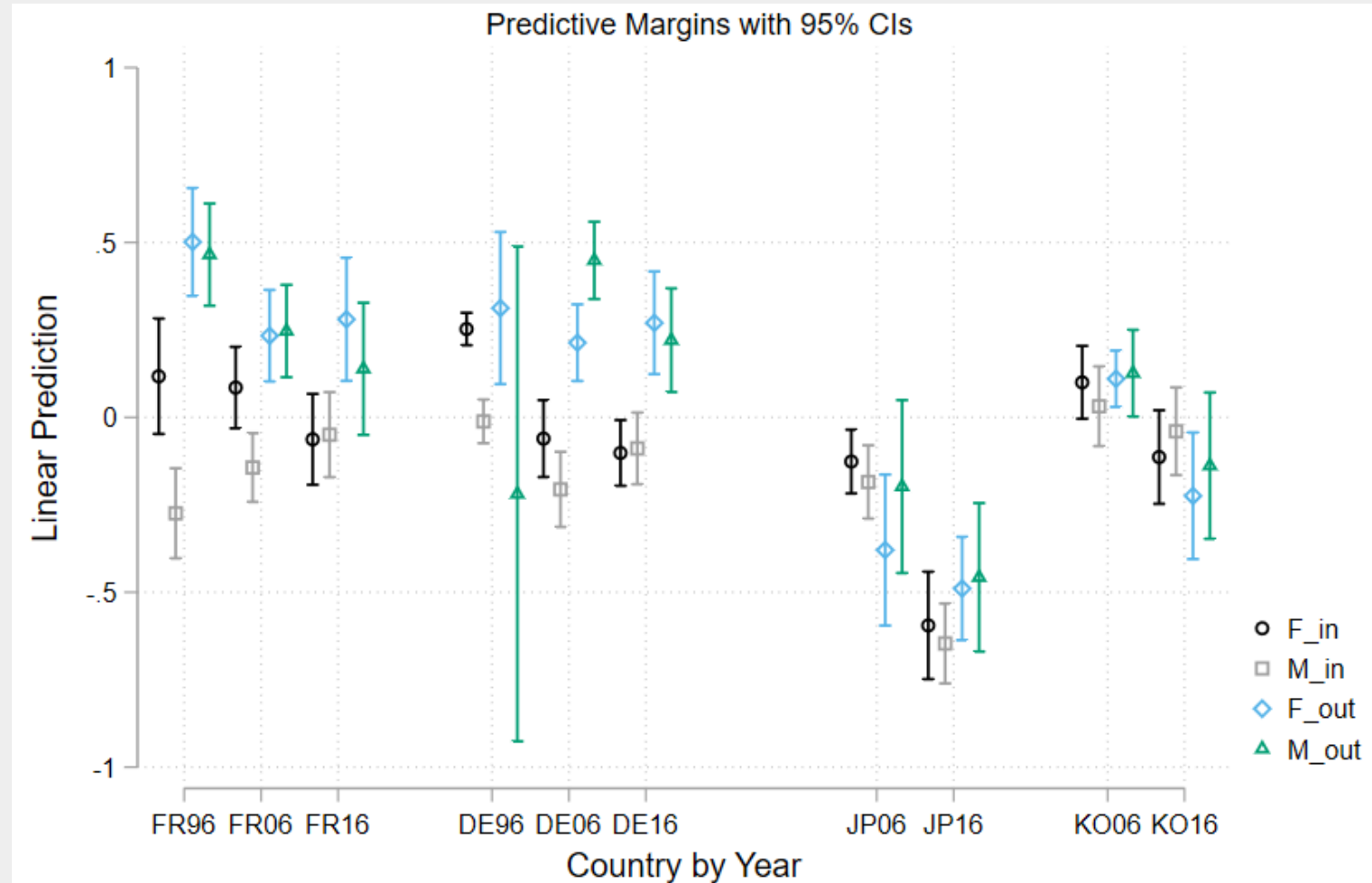
# Redistribution - 'all else equal'



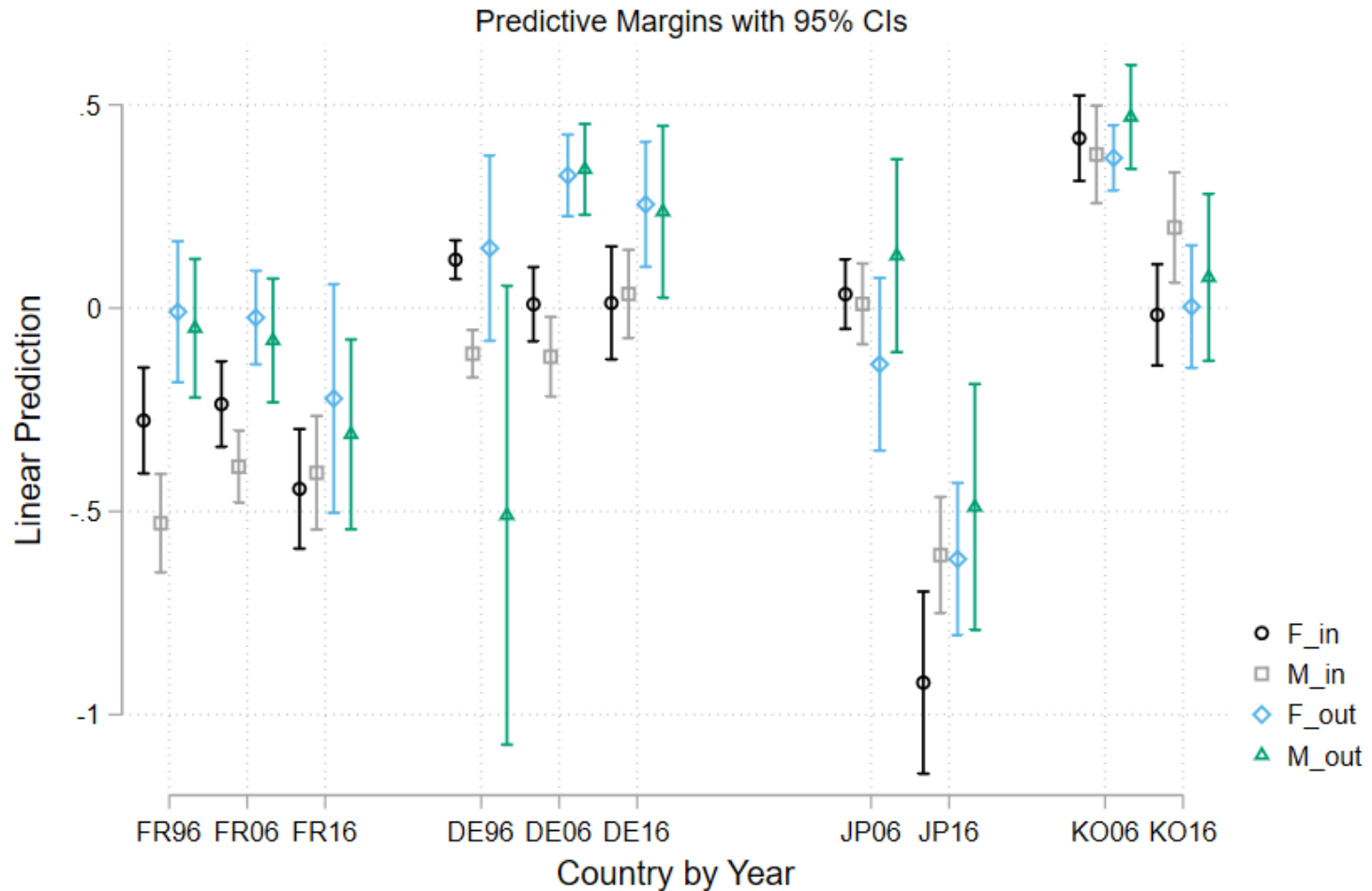
# Redistribution - Insiders & Outsiders



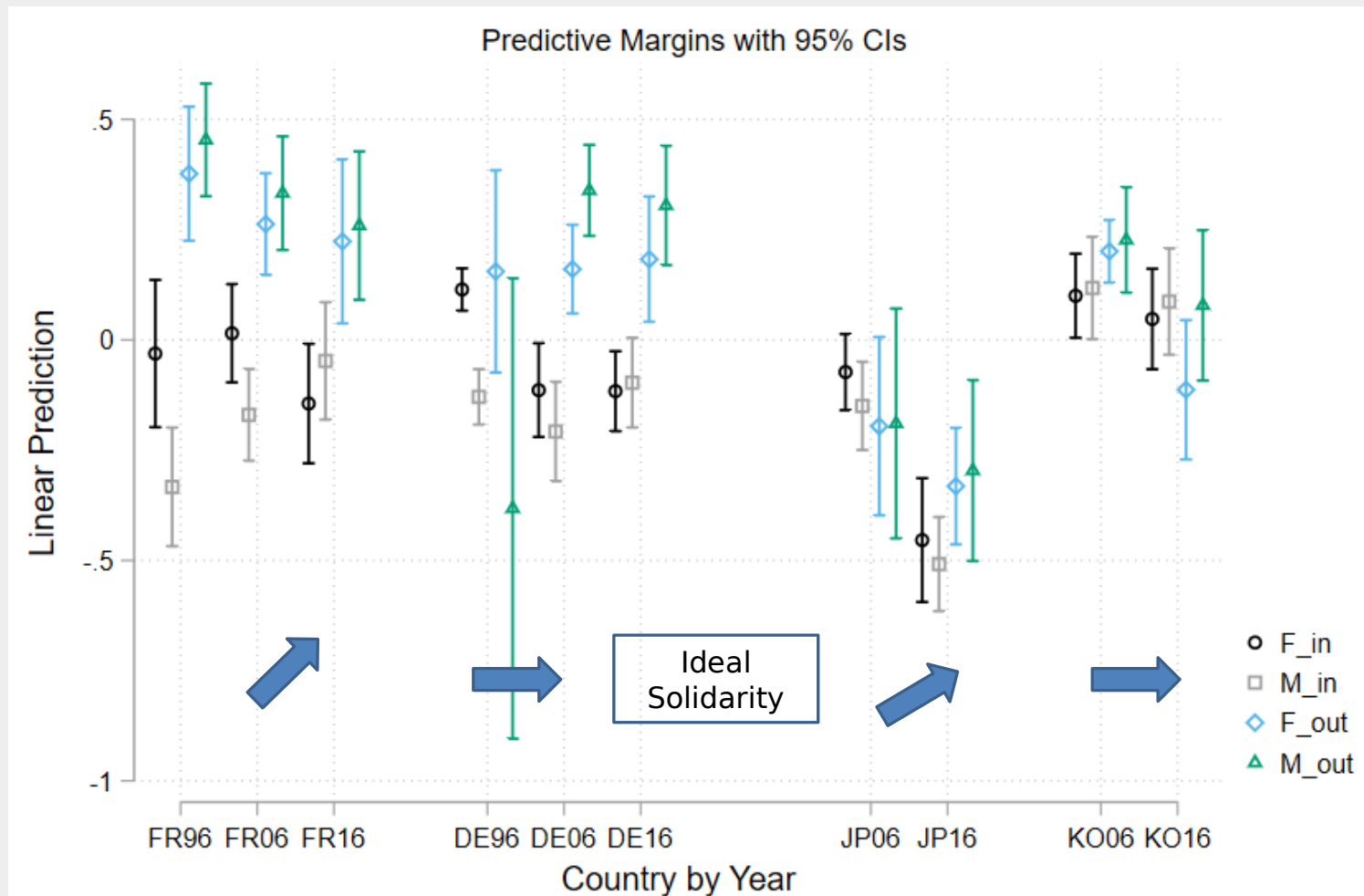
# Social Insurance - Insiders & Outsiders



# Social Spending - Insiders & Outsiders



# Redistribution - Insiders & Outsiders



# Social Solidarity Balks

- » Overall no strong evidence of social solidarity
  - › At least not in resp. to Great Recession
  - › Although maybe in Germany, partly Korea
  - › Further deepening of
    - › Social inequality <or>
    - › Insider-outsider gap

# Thank You

- » This is a work in progress, comments welcome
- » For PowerPoint Presentation and [Stata Code](#):  
see: [My Professional Website](#)  
([sites.google.com/site/nbreznau/](https://sites.google.com/site/nbreznau/))

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# The Economic Model

- » Utility = function of:
  - › Individual Income
  - › Income-tax rate / government spending rate
  - › Individual's location in the income distribution
  - › Income utility + solidarity utility = welfare state preferences
- » Solidarity = function of:
  - › Ethnic diversity
  - › Unemployment
  - › Social distance
- » All actors are rational, no exogenous features

# Institutions / Sociological Model

- » Solidarity is multidimensional (e.g., Kaufmann 2008)
- » Group membership is multidimensional  
(Hogg 2006; Reicher 2004)
- » Individuals shaped by institutions and culture
- » Ethnic diversity is a ratio

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- » Solidarity is multidimensional (e.g., Kaufmann 2008)
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(Hogg 2006; Reicher 2004)
- » Individuals shaped by institutions and culture
- » Ethnic diversity is a ratio
- » Devising new tests:
  - › Case comparisons – single countries
  - › Exogenous shocks – e.g., Great Recession

# Four Cases

	FLP	Pay Gap	% foreign-born	<u>Decomm- odification</u>	TWA	GDP	% Tertiary
France	68	10	12	38	15	41k	44   22
Germany	74	16	13	32	14	49k	31   26
Japan	69	26	2	26	13	42k	60   40
South Korea	59	37	3	15	22	37k	70   20

<b>source:</b>	2017 - % females active in the labor market as a % of all females age 15 to 64 (OECD)	2015 (or latest) - % women earn less pay compared to male median income (OECD)	2016 – (OECD)	2010 – welfare state generosity, replacement rates index (CWED)	2012 – Temporary work arrangement (OECD <sup>1</sup> )	2016 – GDP at 2016 US dollars (OECD)	2016 - % completed tertiary education (25-34 years   55-64 years)
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NOTE: Percentages rounded to the nearest whole number for ease of viewing; “FLP” is female labor force participation; “TWA” is temporary work arrangement

# Preferences for Redistribution

'Low Status' (ISEI < 40, no full-time)

'High Status' (ISEI > 60, full-time)

