

THIRD ANNUAL BAGSS CONFERENCE

BAMBERG, GERMANY. 20-21 JULY, 2016.

WHEN THE STATE INTERVENES

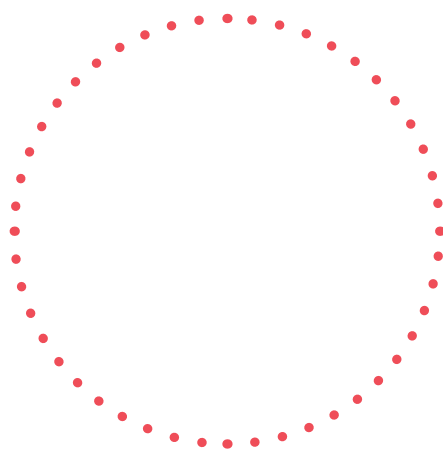


CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

BAMBERG
GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



**A CONFERENCE ORGANIZED
BY DOCTORAL STUDENTS
FOR DOCTORAL STUDENTS.**



BAMBERG, GERMANY. 20-21 JULY, 2016.

**WHEN
THE STATE
INTERVENES**



// LIBRARY 4, HEUMARKT

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FOREWORD

*by Simon Christoph, Diana Klose,
Agata Maria Kraj and Marc Saur*

Governmental decisions and the resulting state interventions, although seemingly far removed from everyday experiences of ordinary citizens, constantly influence and change our lives and shape the social reality we live in. Therefore, state interventions can be viewed as one of the defining issues that cuts across all social science disciplines. As researchers, we have the opportunity, and even an obligation, to review and potentially influence the debate about measures. Their substance is frequently based on scientific expertise, and even if researchers are not able to directly affect the legislative process, they are still able to evaluate the implementation and the results of such interventions to improve future governmental decision making processes. At the same time, considering the increasing levels of complexity imposed by globalization, it is often difficult for scientists to see a complete picture of the situation. As a result, different facets of the same topic increasingly require multidisciplinary perspectives and diverse research designs tackling the same issues. Therefore, we believe that the topic of state interventions is particularly well-suited for this year's Annual BAGSS Conference, which is intended as a platform facilitating a dialogue across different disciplines, countries, and experiences.

Beyond the corresponding theoretical underpinnings, the relevance and timeliness of the subject matter of state interventions becomes clear when one considers the current social, economic, and political climate in modern democracies. The effects of changing norms, values, and attitudes across and within those societies urgently require scholarly attention.

The subtopics of this year's ABC are closely connected to, and frequently interdependent with, one another. Matters concerning gender identity and diversity are becoming more prominent on the agendas of different European and international institutions. States are increasingly faced with the necessity to either maintain the status quo (often to the discontent of the underprivileged and excluded), or implement appropriate intervening policies promoting equality and inclusiveness among constituents. Such societal changes spark and influence the collective actions of different kinds of actors, highlighting the importance of issues like political representation of women, minorities and underprivileged groups. Moreover, the ever growing number of refugees seeking protection and safety in Europe necessitate the creation of transparent laws granting and regulating their rights within the states hosting them. They also

pose questions regarding their integration into the respective societies, both culturally and economically, demanding the creation of innovative educational systems, policies, and facilities that allow them to become active members of society. To make matters more complicated, the European (and world) economy is still recovering from the most recent recession, which exacerbated the already existing inequalities and fueled the growing wave of nationalism and populist rhetoric in the Western world.

In light of such developments, questions about the necessity of, and limits to, state interventions become inevitable, and require both empirical as well as normative input. The various angles, from which the aforementioned issues will be discussed during our conference, should be seen as different pieces of a puzzle that, put together, create a more complete picture of the rationale and effects of state interventions. Additionally, this Conference, organized by graduate students for graduate students, is designed to provide young international researchers with a platform to present their work, and receive valuable feedback from an expert panel of experienced scholars, thereby spearheading discussions on the most crucial issues in their respective fields of interest.

Before we conclude, we would like to take this opportunity to briefly thank everyone, who contributed to the successful organization of this year's Annual BAGSS Conference. We would especially like to thank Thomas Saalfeld, Cornelia Kristen, Miriam Schneider, and Katrin Bernsdorff, who tirelessly offered their support, expertise, and perspectives throughout the process. Furthermore, our special thanks go out to all the participating professors from the University of Bamberg and the external institutions, without whose interest this Conference could not take place. Equally we would like to thank the student assistants and all our colleagues at this graduate school who were on hand whenever we needed them. It was an immensely rewarding experience, seeing the conference develop from a vague idea on a piece of paper, towards a lively event full of interesting people.

We hope the ABC will spark many interesting debates and encourage young scholars to persevere in their quest for scientific knowledge. Have an enjoyable conference with many fruitful scientific exchanges, and a wonderful time in Bamberg. ■



// VIEW FROM LIBRARY 5, AM KRANEN



// UNIVERSITY OF BAMBERG, AN DER UNIVERSITÄT 2



CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

WEDNESDAY, 20 JULY, 2016

09:00 - 10:00 REGISTRATION

10:00 - 10:15 WELCOME | FG1-00.08

Patron: Thomas Saalfeld, Univ. of Bamberg
Organizers: Simon Christoph, Diana Klose, Agata Maria Kraj, Marc Saur, Univ. of Bamberg

10:15 - 11:00 KEYNOTE I | FG1-00.08

Guy Peters, University of Pittsburgh
Governing in the Shadows: The State and Its Alternatives

11:00 - 11:15 REFRESHMENT BREAK

11:15 - 13:00 SESSION 01 | FG1-00.08

EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

Chair: Steffen Schindler, University of Bamberg

Guest: Carlo Barone, Sciences Po Paris
The Case for State Intervention in Education and the Limitations of this Intervention

Presenters:

Sabrina Hahm, Humboldt Universität Berlin
Effects of the Bologna Reform on Educational Outcomes: Micro Evidence from Germany

Claudia Traini, University of Bamberg
Stratification of Education Systems – Towards a Shared Definition

Elena Mitrea, Central European Univ., Budapest
Educating the Future Citizens: The Role of Civic Education in the Attitudes Towards Citizenship of Lower Secondary Students

11:15 - 13:00 SESSION 02 | FMA-01.19

COLLECTIVE ACTION

Chair: Thomas Saalfeld, University of Bamberg

Guest: Gideon Rahat, University of Jerusalem
Party Change and Political Personalization

Presenters:

Mirjam Böhme, University of Bamberg
How Do Heuristics Shape and Influence Transport Infrastructure Planning? A Case of Unexpected State Intervention in the Bamberg Rail Extension Planning Process

Javier Martínez Cantó, University of Bamberg
Top Candidate Selection on Comparative Perspective: Party Roles as Screening and Selection Mechanisms

David Leupold, Humboldt Universität Berlin
Antagonistic Politics of Memory and State-Sponsored Collective Action in Turkey and Armenian Students

13:00 - 14:00 LUNCH

14:00 - 15:45 SESSION 03 | FG1-00.08

LABOUR MARKET I

Chair: Sandra Buchholz, University of Bamberg

Guest: Stefani Scherer, University of Trento
Labour Market Flexibilization and its Consequences

Presenters:

Elena Chincarini, University of Bamberg
Labour Market Insecurity and Household Instability. The Consequences of Labor Market Flexibilization and Unemployment on Couple Dissolution in Italy

Lisa Steinberg, University of Bremen
Family-Centred Youth Unemployment Policies in Spain and Germany

Zein Kasrin, University of Ulm
The Role of Family Background for Labor Market Participation of Egyptian Women

14:00 - 15:45 SESSION 04 | FMA-01.19

NORMATIVE ISSUES

Chair: Johannes Marx, University of Bamberg

Guest: Ira Katznelson, Columbia University
On the Edges of Liberal Democracy

Presenters:

Frederik Wilhelmi, University of Bamberg
Autonomy and Utility – Can Both Be Reasons for State Intervention?

R. Farinha & T. Reinert, University of Bremen
An Ethical Evaluation of Public Debts – The Need for a Global Discussion

Dadao Hou, Texas A&M University
An Organizational Political Economy Analysis of Bank and Securitization

15:45 - 16:15 REFRESHMENT BREAK

16:15 - 17:15 PANEL DISCUSSION | FG1-00.08

Moderator: Dominik Klein, Univ. of Bamberg

Guests: Guy Peters, Ira Katznelson, Elmar Rieger, Gideon Rahat
Public Opinion vs. Public Policy - Converging Input Across Disciplines on the Nature of State Interventions

19:00 CONFERENCE DINNER

Restaurant Salino:
Schillerplatz 11, 96047 Bamberg

Announcement of the Best Paper Awards

09:00 - 09:15 NETWORKING / COFFEE

09:15 - 10:00 KEYNOTE II | FG1-00.08

Francesco Billari, University of Oxford
The Digitalization of Life and the Life Course

10:00 - 10:15 REFRESHMENT BREAK

10:15 - 12:00 SESSION 05 | FG1-00.08

EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Chair: Monika Heupel, University of Bamberg

Guests:

Stefanie Bailer, University of Basel
Signals to Their Parliaments? Governments' Strategic Use of Votes and Policy Statements in the EU Council

Markus Jachtenfuchs, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin
Accommodating Diversity in European and Global Governance

Presenters:

Elena Ríos Camacho, University of Bamberg
The EU's Last „Grand Bargain“? Decision-Making in the Integration Process of the European Banking Union

Elisabeth Winter, Freie Universität Berlin
Networks in Times of Transition – Trade Agreements as Safety Nets Under the Auspices of a Changing World Order

Jiangtian Xu, University of East Anglia
The Battle Between EU and China on the Leadership of International Environmental Regime Making of International Civil Aviation Organization of United Nations: Game Theory Analysis on EU Civil Aviation ETS (Emission Trading System)

12:00 - 13:00 LUNCH

13:00 - 14:45 SESSION 07 | FG1-00.08

LABOUR MARKET II

Chair: Uwe Blien, University of Bamberg, IAB

Guest: Hans Dietrich, IAB Nuremberg

Presenters:

Paul Löwe, University of Bamberg
Active Labour Market Policies and Deprivation in Germany – What Are the Effects of Sanctions on Deprivation for the Long-Term Unemployed?

Leonard Geyer, University of Bamberg
Measures and Capabilities to Tackle Youth Unemployment in European Countries

Marie-Christin Fregin, University of Tübingen
Employment Policies and Skill Mismatch in an International Comparison

14:45 NETWORKING / COFFEE & CAKE

10:15 - 12:00 SESSION 06 | FMA-01.19

MIGRATION

Chair: Cornelia Kristen, University of Bamberg

Guest: Jörg Dollmann, MZES Mannheim
Positive Choices for All? SES- and Gender-Specific Premia of Immigrants at Educational Transitions

Presenters:

Eleonora Vlach, University of Trento
Tracking the 'North-South Divide' in Integration Outcomes: Children of Immigrants' Educational Achievement in Five European Countries

Lucas Geese, University of Bamberg
The Substantive Representation of Immigrant-Origin Citizens in Germany's Mixed-Member System

Olga Griaznova, European University Institute
Adaptation of Redistribution Preferences or Cultural Resistance. A Study of Migrants in Germany

13:00 - 14:45 SESSION 08 | FMA-01.19

FAMILY AND GENDER

Chair: Corinna Kleinert, LIfBi Bamberg

Guest: Marcel Raab, University of Mannheim
Pathways to Death and Adult Children's Well-Being Following the Loss of a Parent

Presenters:

Francesca Zanasi, Tilburg University
Public Spending, Grandparenting and Mothers' Employment Decisions. Evidences from Italy

Ansgar Hudde, University of Bamberg
Fertility Is Low When There Is No Societal Agreement on a Specific Gender Role Model

KEYNOTE I

Wednesday, 20 July, 2016

10:15 - 11:00

Room: FG1/00.08

GUY PETERS

The prominent US political scientist is currently a professor both at the University of Pittsburgh and the Zeppelin University in Friedrichshafen. He has authored and co-authored over 60 books, mainly in the field of American public administration and comparative public policy. In addition to visiting scholar positions in over 20 countries he also consults for prestigious institutions such as the European Commission or the World Bank. Guy Peters' achievements have been widely acknowledged. He received various awards, such as the NISPAcee Lifetime Achievement Award, and holds three honorary PhDs from the Universities of Vaasa, Gothenburg and Tallinn.

GOVERNING IN THE SHADOWS: THE STATE AND ITS ALTERNATIVES

SESSION 01

EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

Wednesday, 20 July, 2016
11:15 - 13:00
Room: FG1/00.08

Educational systems are usually regulated by states. Their institutional setups differ considerably between but also within countries. The identification of the ways in which educational institutions or policies make a difference is of particular interest to the field of educational research.

The three papers selected for this session address various outcomes and their associations with different kinds of educational policies or institutions. The first paper conducts an assessment of the effects of the Bologna Reform on study duration in Germany. The second paper investigates the effect of school curricula on attitudes on citizenship by drawing on country-comparative data. The third paper of the session is concerned with educational stratification and aims at developing a theoretically founded measurement of this concept. ■

Steffen Schindler

CHAIR:

STEFFEN SCHINDLER University of Bamberg

INVITED SPEAKER:

CARLO BARONE Sciences Po Paris

The Case for State Intervention in Education and the
Limitations of this Intervention

PRESENTATIONS:

SABRINA HAHM Humboldt Universität Berlin

Effects of the Bologna Reform on Educational Outcomes:
Micro Evidence from Germany

CLAUDIA TRAINI University of Bamberg

Stratification of Education Systems – Towards a Shared
Definition

ELENA MITREA Central European University, Budapest

Educating the Future Citizens: The Role of Civic
Education in the Attitudes Towards Citizenship of Lower
Secondary Students

SESSION 02

COLLECTIVE ACTION

Wednesday, 20 July, 2016
11:15 - 13:00
Room: FMA/01.09

If Political Science is ‘the study of the authoritative allocation of values’ in a society (Easton), methods of collective choice and preference aggregation (ranging from democratic voting and bargaining to hierarchical coordination) are defining questions. Modern actor-centred Political Science tends to explain policy outputs (‘the authoritative allocation of values’) by analysing the preferences of individual actors, which may be constrained by exogenous factors and institutional rules. Such models of collective choice are typically based on a rationalist ‘unitary actor assumption’, even where the actors are relatively large and heterogeneous entities such as interest groups, political parties or states. However, the particular ways the preferences of individual members of collective entities are aggregated still provide a number of puzzles.

The contributions to this panel revolve around such puzzles: they examine a number of important mechanisms including delegation of decision-making powers to leaders in political parties, narratives and frames that states may use for the mobilization of potential supporters or the importance of heuristics in the interpretation and evolution of collective decisions in planning processes. □

Thomas Saalfeld

CHAIR:

THOMAS SAALFELD University of Bamberg

INVITED SPEAKER:

GIDEON RAHAT University of Jerusalem
Party Change and Political Personalization

PRESENTATIONS:

MIRIJAM BÖHME University of Bamberg

How Do Heuristics Shape and Influence Transport
Infrastructure Planning? A Case of Unexpected State
Intervention in the Bamberg Rail Extension Planning
Process

JAVIER MARTÍNEZ CANTÓ University of Bamberg

Top Candidate Selection on Comparative Perspective:
Party Roles as Screening and Selection Mechanisms

DAVID LEUPOLD Humboldt Universität Berlin

Antagonistic Politics of Memory and State-Sponsored
Collective Action in Turkey and Armenia

SESSION 03

LABOUR MARKET I

Wednesday, 20 July, 2016
14:00 - 15:45
Room: FG1/00.08

This session addresses the role and quality of labour market participation from different analytical perspectives. The first two papers investigate the situation of young workers in Southern Europe. It is well-known that the traditionally highly regulated insider/outsider labour markets of Southern Europe have applied a selective deregulation of employment at the expense of young adults. One paper studies the effect of employment flexibilization on union dissolutions in Italy; the other one analyses the relationship between labour market policies and youth unemployment in Spain and compares it to Germany. The third paper of this session focusses on Egypt and investigates the role of family events on female labour market participation. A particular aim of this study is whether or not the effect of family events on female labour market participation in Egypt follows the same principles as it does in developed countries. □

Sandra Buchholz

CHAIR:

SANDRA BUCHHOLZ University of Bamberg

INVITED SPEAKER:

STEFANI SCHERER University of Trento

Labour Market Flexibilization and its Consequences

PRESENTATIONS:

ELENA CHINCARINI University of Bamberg

Labour Market Insecurity and Household Instability.
The Consequences of Labor Market Flexibilization and
Unemployment on Couple Dissolution in Italy

LISA STEINBERG University of Bremen

Family-Centred Youth Unemployment Policies in Spain
and Germany

ZEIN KASRIN University of Ulm

The Role of Family Background for Labor Market
Participation of Egyptian Women

SESSION 04

NORMATIVE ISSUES

Wednesday, 20 July, 2016
14:00 - 15:45
Room: FMA/01.19

It is part of the definition of the liberal state that it is organizing, regulating and controlling many domains of social, political and economic life. The default strategy of liberal states is non-intervention and containment. Sometimes for example in the markets its function is to protect property, guarantee fundamental rights and – more controversial – to assure that the market outcomes are in the public interest. State interventions are justified only if one or more of these criteria are violated. Thus even re-distributional politics can be justified and realized. Thereby, it is necessary to define what violations allow for state interventions and how to properly balance different goals these interventions ought to realize. In democratic states restrictions defining legitimate means of intervention are part of the constitutional set-up.

These issues are getting much more complicated in the international area. International relations are not embedded in a clear hierarchical structure of justice and power that is characteristic for states. There is no agent who wields the legitimate power to intervene in order to defend individual rights. These conditions create different problems for realizing justice due to different feasibility conditions for legitimate state intervention. ■

Johannes Marx

CHAIR:

JOHANNES MARX University of Bamberg

INVITED SPEAKER:

IRA KATZNELSON Columbia University, New York
On the Edges of Liberal Democracy

PRESENTATIONS:

FREDERIK WILHELMI University of Bamberg
Autonomy and Utility – Can Both Be Reasons for State Intervention?

**RICARDO FARINHA &
THOMAS REINERT** University of Bremen
An Ethical Evaluation of Public Debts – The Need for a Global Discussion

DADAO HOU Texas A&M University
An Organizational Political Economy Analysis of Bank and Securitization

PANEL DISCUSSION

Wednesday, 20 July, 2016
16:15 - 17:15
Room: FG1/00.08

**PUBLIC OPINION
VS. PUBLIC POLICY -
CONVERGING INPUT
ACROSS DISCIPLINES
ON THE NATURE OF
STATE INTERVENTIONS**

IRA KATZNELSON is an Americanist whose work focuses mainly on comparative politics and political theory as well as political and social history. He is currently the Ruggles Professor of Political Science and History at Columbia University and president of the Social Science Research Council. He completed his PhD at the University of Cambridge in 1969, the year in which he also co-founded the journal 'Politics and Society'. His books have received numerous prizes, amongst them the American Political Science Association's Michael Harrington prize.

DOMINIK KLEIN is currently a postdoc at the Political Theory Group at the Institute for Political Sciences of the University of Bamberg and at the Department of Philosophy of the University of Bayreuth. He is also an external member of the Tilburg Center for Logic, Ethics and Philosophy of Science. Focusing on logic and game theory, his areas of specialization include foundations of game theory, decision theory and formal epistemology. His expertise ranges from philosophy of science, voting theory, epistemology to formal political philosophy.

GIDEON RAHAT is currently professor of Political Science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, having completed his PhD here in the same field. His expertise is highly cherished in Israel where he has been a member of several councils and forums on political reform. Additionally, he is a senior fellow at the Israel Democracy Institute. His areas of research include Israeli politics, political parties, electoral reform and candidate selection.

ELMAR RIEGER has been one of the University of Bamberg's professors for Sociology, especially Europe and Globalization Research, since 2008. He received his diploma in Sociology from the University of Mannheim and, prior to his habilitation at the same University, completed his PhD studies at the European University Institute in Florence. His research interests include comparative historical welfare research, the sociology of international law and international relations and sociological theory.



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// MENSA, FELDKIRCHENSTRASSE

KEYNOTE II

Thursday, 21 July, 2016

09:15 - 10:00

Room: FG1/00.08

FRANCESCO BILLARI

is both Professor of Sociology and Demography at the University of Oxford and President of the European Association of Population Studies. In these capacities, his research interests revolve mostly around demography, human development, ageing, globalization and statistics. The latter was also his specialisation during his Laurea studies in Economics at Bocconi University prior to completing his PhD at the University of Padua. His plentiful activities further include being Editor-in-Chief of the journal 'Advances in Life Course Research', fellow of the European Academy of Sociology and one of the founding members of Population Europe.

THE DIGITALIZATION OF LIFE AND THE LIFE COURSE

SESSION 05

EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Thursday, 21 July, 2016
10:15 - 12:00
Room: FMA/01.19

International institutions are not static but constantly change. There are different theories of institutional change, such as the three new institutionalisms (Hall/Taylor), that rest on different assumptions as to what the key drivers of institutional change are. In line with the conference theme, this panel will look at one specific driver of change in European and international institutions, namely state intervention.

Among others, the panel will explore the following questions: What modes of action do states apply when they try to reform international institutions? What are the main obstacles states face in the process? What non-state actors – NGOs, IO bureaucracies – do states team up with when they try to change the institutional design or the policy output of international institutions? And in what way do rising powers challenge hegemonic states' traditional disproportionate influence on international institutions? ■

Monika Heupel

CHAIR:

MONIKA HEUPEL University of Bamberg

INVITED SPEAKERS:

STEFANIE BAILER University of Basel

Signals to Their Parliaments? Governments' Strategic Use of
Votes and Policy Statements in the EU Council

MARKUS JACHTENFUCHS Hertie School of Governance, Berlin

Accommodating Diversity in European and Global Governance

PRESENTATIONS:

ELENA RÍOS CAMACHO University of Bamberg

The EU's Last „Grand Bargain“? Decision-Making in the
Integration Process of the European Banking Union

ELISABETH WINTER Freie Universität Berlin

Networks in Times of Transition – Trade Agreements as Safety
Nets Under the Auspices of a Changing World Order

JIANGTIAN XU University of East Anglia

The Battle Between EU and China on the Leadership of
International Environmental Regime Making of International
Civil Aviation Organization of United Nations: Game Theory
Analysis on EU Civil Aviation ETS (Emission Trading System)

SESSION 06

MIGRATION

Thursday, 21 July, 2016
10:15 - 12:00
Room: FG1/00.08

This session addresses the integration of immigrants and their offspring in different spheres including education, the substantive representation of citizens of immigrant origin in parliaments, and the adaptation of preferences over time. Particular interest is on the question how institutional regulations in terms of integration policies or other institutional characteristics shape integration processes. □

Cornelia Kristen

CHAIR:

CORNELIA KRISTEN University of Bamberg

INVITED SPEAKER:

JÖRG DOLLMANN MZES Mannheim

Positive Choices for All? SES- and Gender-Specific Premia of Immigrants at Educational Transitions

PRESENTATIONS:

ELEONORA VLACH University of Trento

Tracking the ‘North-South Divide’ in Integration Outcomes: Children of Immigrants’ Educational Achievement in Five European Countries

LUCAS GEESE University of Bamberg

The Substantive Representation of Immigrant-Origin Citizens in Germany’s Mixed-Member System

OLGA GRIAZNOVA European University Institute, Florence

Adaptation of Redistribution Preferences or Cultural Resistance. A Study of Migrants in Germany

SESSION 07

LABOUR MARKET II

Thursday, 21 July, 2016
13:00 - 14:45
Room: FG1/00.08

Labour market issues are important, since for the majority of the population the labour market mediates the economic success in life. Processes developing on the labour market influence many areas of the society and are closely related to the structure and the dynamics of social inequality. Due to the focus of this conference the papers to be presented concentrate on policy aspects and treat several interesting themes. They are related to the German situation or intend to present an international comparison. In doing this they follow an empirical strategy. □

Uwe Blien

CHAIR:

UWE BLIEN University of Bamberg, IAB Nuremberg

INVITED SPEAKER:

HANS DIETRICH IAB Nuremberg

PRESENTATIONS:

PAUL LÖWE University of Bamberg

Active Labour Market Policies and Deprivation in Germany
– What Are the Effects of Sanctions on Deprivation for the
Long-Term Unemployed?

LEONARD GEYER University of Bamberg

Measures and Capabilities to Tackle Youth Unemployment in
European Countries

MARIE-CHRISTIN FREGIN University of Tübingen

Employment Policies and Skill Mismatch in an International
Comparison

SESSION 08

FAMILY AND GENDER

Thursday, 21 July, 2016
13:00 - 14:45
Room: FMA/01.19

State interventions in the field of gender and family are frequent in modern societies, but the amount and forms of benefits as well as the incentives they provide are differing widely.

For this session, two papers were selected that focus on indirect consequences of state interventions in this field. The first paper asks a fundamental question regarding the relationship between welfare state and family: do increased public services and transfers corroborate or complement support by family members? By supporting specific work and care arrangements, state interventions in the field of gender and family also may influence the social diffusion of gender role models, which in turn affects fertility. Against this backdrop, the second paper tests whether this relation also holds on the micro level, between partners. ■

Corinna Kleinert

CHAIR:

CORINNA KLEINERT LIfBi Bamberg

INVITED SPEAKER:

MARCEL RAAB University of Mannheim

Pathways to Death and Adult Children's Well-Being
Following the Loss of a Parent

PRESENTATIONS:

FRANCESCA ZANASI Tilburg University

Public Spending, Grandparenting and Mothers' Employment Decisions. Evidences from Italy

ANSGAR HUDDE University of Bamberg

Fertility Is Low When There Is No Societal Agreement on a Specific Gender Role Model



// VIEW OUT OF LIBRARY 4, HEUMARKT

ESSAYS

IS TERTIARY EDUCATION PUTTING THE FUTURE OF LABOUR MARKETS AT RISK?

BY SIMON CHRISTOPH

Without a doubt, education is one of the most important dimensions of status attainment. It has an immeasurably higher influence on individual's life chances and future access to the labour market than any other kinds of factors or resources. Against this background, this essay will discuss whether the role of higher education will and should remain as important in the future. Considering restrictions of length and complexity that the topic imposes, I will discuss this by referring primarily to the German labor market, since it is the biggest labour market within the European Union. At first glance, it might sound counterintuitive that higher education might not be as important as is often assumed, especially because the OECD continues to reprimand Germany for its low share of academics, but I intend to show that there are good reasons to doubt that Germany needs higher degree graduates. If the trend we currently observe continues in the future, we might be faced with a situation in which the supply of the so-called 'specialists' exceeds the labour markets' demand for them, rendering them and their expertise superfluous, and, in turn, leaving a large number of highly skilled workers professionally inactive.

In the course of educational expansion, which can be observed in all highly developed countries (though not to the same extent), society has become increasingly more qualified. Nevertheless, at the same time, many European countries still struggle with high unemployment rates, and, in some cases, also a severe problem with youth unemployment. Although not as pronounced in Germany, the question arises how this trend will continue. It is a widespread truism, which has been repeatedly proven empirically, that higher education generally protects one from unemployment. Although this seems to be true in Germany for the most part, the unemployment rate for academics has increased steadily within the last five years, although it still remains comparatively low. However, statistically speaking, people in Germany become more highly educated year after year, and university graduates are still fairly well protected against job losses.

Does this, consequently, mean that the more university degrees one gets, the better? Well, let's have a look at European countries with a high proportion of university students. For example, in every country in the EU where the amount of people with tertiary education is higher than in Germany, the unemployment rate in the tertiary sector is higher than in Germany. Putting the unemployment rate of the tertiary sector in relation to the overall unemployment rate of each country, the UK, Lithuania and Hungary are the only countries that have a lower proportion of unemployed higher educated individuals than Germany (for details and illustration, see figure 1). This implies that an increase in the number of students is likely to correspond with rising unemployment rates over time. Nevertheless, using mere descriptive statistics is not the ideal solution, as it neglects the complex interaction between educational systems and labour markets. My intention here, however, is not to draw conclusions from these data, but rather to illustrate my rationale and the preliminary evidence supporting it.

In every country in the EU where the amount of people with tertiary education is higher than in Germany, the unemployment rate in the tertiary sector is higher than in Germany.

You might be wondering whether my argument is relevant, given the well-known shortage of specialized workforce on the German labour market. Shouldn't Germany "produce" as many graduates as possible to reverse this situation? In that respect, it is very important to clarify that not everyone who holds a university degree is a specialist – to be precise, a specialist within the public and political debate is nearly always a person who is an expert in one of the so-called STEM-subjects. But what about all the other possible fields of work for university graduates? To keep things simple, let us consider my alumni friends, who graduated with non-technology-related degrees. Are there enough jobs for them at the moment? Well, the answer is, as usual, it depends. Some of them indeed found a job relatively quickly (e.g. those who stayed at the university and now work as research associates), but the others, who currently work at various companies, had to search for a position for quite a long time, while working all kinds of temporary jobs, even though most of them had good grades and/or a lot of internship/professional experience.

Such observations are seemingly quite common and have been extensively documented in the scientific literature. However, upon closer inspection and a few minor exceptions aside, a pattern emerges behind the job searching activities of such young graduates. Namely, they are all highly motivated at the onset of their search, applying for the best positions they could possibly hope for, but over time, they progressively lower their expectations, so that by the time they actually do find a job, it is far from the ideal they had hoped to land in the beginning. Of course, everyone heard those university teachers and professors, who warned us at the beginning of our studies that it is not very easy to find a job if you're majoring in sociology, political science, communication science or the like. It is a typical argument that there are very few job advertisements explicitly looking for these graduates. However, there is one problem with these warnings: when you are young and idealistic, and have just begun your studies, you usually do not care about your future career prospects. Why? Because the internet is full of examples of exciting-sounding job titles for social and cultural scientists, and experts from the humanities, including "opinion and market researcher", "public relations manager", "advertising specialist", "human resources manager", or "marketing manager"¹. Based solely on these examples, yes, one could conclude that at the moment there are certain positions out there with a very high demand for academics.

These jobs, however, are highly competitive. The labour market offers a large variety of positions with flexible and generic job descriptions that can be performed by graduates from a number of different majors. The consequence of such a state of affairs is that these jobs are highly coveted and difficult to attain (e.g. this applies to jobs suitable for business scientists, communication scientists, psychologists, social scientists, humanists, mathematicians, etc.). This highly competitive environment necessitates that only the very best can prevail. All in all, competition between graduates of different fields of study is clearly recognizable and, therefore, has

We don't need people who just study for the sake of studying. Education, after all, is not exclusively the domain of universities. They only provide highly specialized knowledge and skill training, which are not useful or desirable for all of us.

to raise the following questions: will the increase in our society's higher education levels continue to such a degree that there will be less demand for the same amount of university graduates than today (except for technology-related graduates)? Will this end in the progressive marginalization of less educated people by highly educated people, who will, henceforth, be performing the jobs of the formerly less educated? What can the less educated then do? Will there be enough (new) jobs for them? Will the labour market regulate this by itself? A glance at the overall unemployment rate – and especially an international comparison of the overall unemployment rate – can help answer this question. In short, it doesn't seem very likely.

Considering that there are already a number of bottlenecks in the employment market for academics, including the fact that part-time work and temporary contracts are common phenomena, not only at universities, where they are considered standard, an improvement seems barely conceivable. Have we reached an impasse? What can we do to overcome it? My impression is that education, especially higher education, has a mighty – and almost incomparable – importance in our society. Allow me to add a personal example at this point: When I began studying Sociology, everyone without an academic background looked up to me, and I always had the feeling that they thought I have a bright future ahead of me, and will earn much more money someday than they do. Well, this could still be true, but I think the actual demands of the labour market for a lot of the scientific disciplines are often dramatically overestimated among the wider population (to generalize: the ones without a specific job profile). I would probably not be exaggerating if I said that studying tends to be viewed as a panacea for most problems in our society. Hasn't anyone ever given you the advice to "Study! Do something worthwhile with your life, so that you don't have to worry later"? While true in principle, I would say the problem is that many young people study because it simply seems like something that they have to do. And if they don't have any clear career aspirations, they study whatever sounds interesting to them, simply for the sake of studying.

This is precisely where we need to reexamine the society's deeply held systems of beliefs. Has the increasing academisation of training professions, for example, really opened up the right path? Considering the increasing number of university graduates, and the difficulties posed by the complex and demanding structure of the labor market they have to navigate, I think we should shift our focus and encourage people to focus more on disciplines the different sectors of the labour market currently lack, but really need to thrive. The technical sector requires particularly highly educated people, for instance. However, we will continue to require increasing numbers of caregivers, educators, tradesmen, artisans, etc., which means we need to make sure that they receive a fair payment and respect for their work, thus increasing the attractiveness of such professions. And this should definitely not be read as a plea for less education: we definitely need experts in non-technology-related fields, but we don't need people who just study for the sake of studying. Education, after all, is not exclusively the domain of universities. They only provide

**PROPORTION OF THE
OVERALL POPULATION
THAT GRADUATED IN THE
TERTIARY SECTOR, AGE
GROUP 30-34:**

Germany: 31.4%
Croatia: 32.2%
Hungary: 34.1%
Greece: 37.2%
Latvia: 39.9%
Austria: 40.0%
Slovenia: 41.0%
Poland: 42.1%
Spain: 42.3%
Estonia: 43.2%
France: 43.7%
Belgium: 43.8%
Netherlands: 44.8%
Denmark: 44.9%
Finland: 45.3%
UK: 47.7%
Sweden: 49.9%
Ireland: 52.2%
Cyprus: 52.5%
Luxembourg: 52.7%
Lithuania: 53.3%

**PROPORTION OF
UNEMPLOYED IN TERTIARY
SECTOR, AGE GROUP 25-64:**

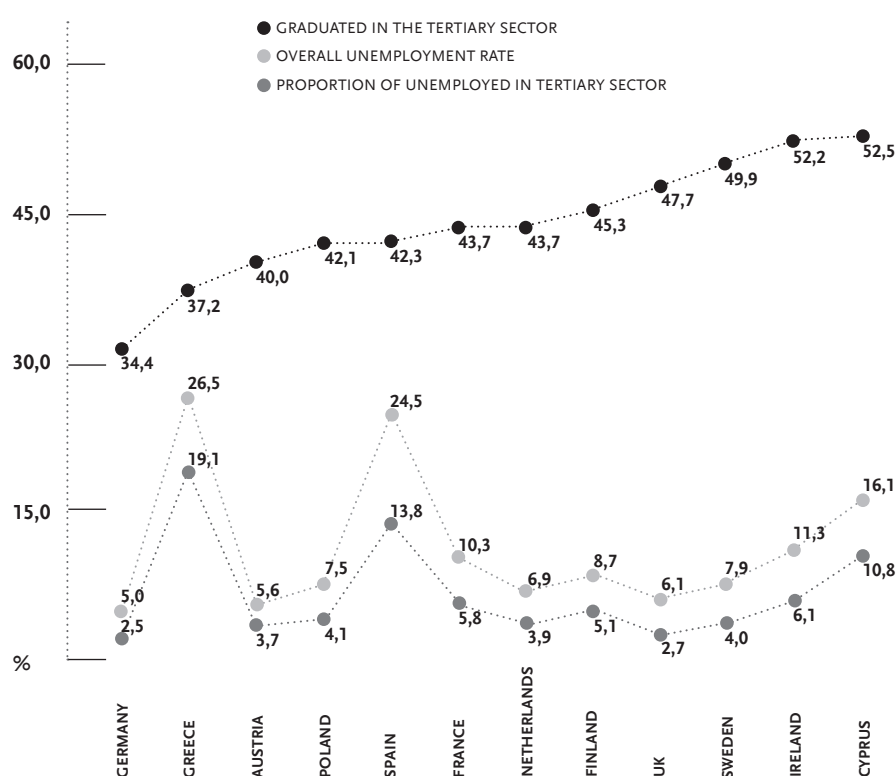
Germany: 2.5%
Hungary: 2.7%
UK: 2.7%
Luxembourg: 3.6%
Austria: 3.7%
Lithuania: 3.7%
Netherlands: 3.9%
Sweden: 4.0%
Poland: 4.1%
Belgium: 4.2%
Denmark: 4.5%
Estonia: 4.7%
Finland: 5.1%
Latvia: 5.1%
France: 5.8%
Slovenia: 6.0%
Ireland: 6.1%
Croatia: 9.0%
Cyprus: 10.8%
Spain: 13.8%
Greece: 19.1%

highly specialized knowledge and skill training, which are not useful or desirable for all of us. Trade schools and vocational trainings, with their different focus, also prepare young people for their entry into the labor market. In my opinion, we need an educational system that will not only equip its graduates with specialized, subject-related knowledge, but one that will give them a sense of purpose. An educational system, which will indicate the multitude of paths that young people can take; that will take into account the current needs of the labor market, and help hone the young professionals' goals against this backdrop. ■

OVERALL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE:

Germany: 5.0%
Austria: 5.6%
Luxemburg: 6.0%
UK: 6.1%
Denmark: 6.6%
Netherlands: 6.9%
Estonia: 7.4%
Poland: 7.5%
Hungary: 7.7%
Sweden 7.9%
Belgium: 8.5%
Finland: 8.7%
Slovenia: 9.7%
France: 10.3%
Lithuania: 10.7%
Latvia: 10.8%
Ireland: 11.3%
Cyprus: 16.1%
Croatia: 17.3%
Spain: 24.5%
Greece: 26.5%

FIGURE 1: GRADUATES IN THE TERTIARY SECTOR, OVERALL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE & PROPORTION OF UNEMPLOYED IN TERTIARY SECTOR, 2014



Source: Eurostat Database: <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/de/data/database>, checked on 22.06.2016, unfortunately there are no better corresponding age groups.

Acknowledgements: This essay benefited from the very helpful comments made by Ansgar Hudde, Prof. Dr. Ilona Relikowski, Prof. Dr. Michael Gebel and Agata Maria Kraj (names in order of commentary).

¹ Marketing and advertisement has the highest academia unemployment rate (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2013), what can be seen as an obvious indicator for how many graduates want to work in this area and that there already is a surplus of these graduates on the labour market.

ON THE PERILS OF SOCIAL MINDLESSNESS

BY AGATA MARIA KRAJ AND DIANA KLOSE

OPPRESSION HAS NO LOGIC – JUST A SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY, JUSTIFIED BY A SELF-PERPETUATING SYSTEM.

- Gloria Steinem

People are social animals, and have a natural tendency to form groups. From an evolutionary perspective, this was likely an adaptation that allowed our ancestors to protect themselves more effectively from predators and potential villains. And although our reality has changed immensely since the times of Lucy the Neanderthal, our instinct to form communities has remained, and continues to profoundly shape all of its aspects. How far we have gone since then is quite striking when we look back at the achievements of our society, including the technological and engineering advancements, or the cultural and societal accomplishments. Yet, despite all the innovations and changes, in some ways, we are still like our ancestors when it comes to our mindset and, if we learned anything from Charles Darwin, it is that changing this will require quite a bit of time, but also some effort on our part. The purpose of this essay is to outline certain cognitive and motivational mechanisms that, for better or for worse, guide us in our daily lives and our interactions. Most importantly, we focus on whether or not there are ways for us to adapt or modify them when we recognize they no longer serve us.

One of the clearest demonstrations of our communal past is exemplified by a line of social psychological studies indicating that people's concept of self, the personal identity they create for themselves, is very much intertwined with the types of groups that they belong to. Psychologists maintain that everyone has

multiple selves, which are related to the different social contexts they operate in, and different group memberships they possess. Those multiple selves can be defined as individual perceptions of the features that define the group and make it a coherent whole. Different social contexts are likely to temporarily increase the salience of, or activate in psychological lingo, particular identities that make a person feel, think, and act in line with the demands of the situation. Therefore, our individual notions of who we are stem in part from the kinds of groups that we belong to.

The downside of the motivational perspective described above is that maintaining such an outlook is likely to result in behaviors which favor the group we belong to, or in-group, at the expense of the out-group, the group we are not members of. This happens even when people are artificially assigned to so-called minimal groups, that is groups distinguished by characteristics as meaningless as the colors of their shirts or preferences for certain types of candy! Even such simulated circumstances instigate what is called in-group favoritism and compel people to act in ways that boost their self-esteem through placing their in-group in a more positive light and derogating the out-group at the same time, based on an arbitrary dimension.

But what does all this mean, you might ask? Are we inherently flawed for trying to sort the people, the events, and the things we encounter into categories? Not at all! It's an absolutely normal, and, most importantly, a very useful cognitive strategy to deal with the myriad of stimuli that we encounter every minute of every day, potentially more so than ever, considering how many personal devices a statistical consumer uses. Categorization is a cognitive tool that people use in order to quickly make sense of the world around

them. Without such shortcuts, the simplest decisions would likely take us ages, and our functioning in the society would be seriously compromised.

Such a tendency becomes more pronounced when groups are forced to compete for scarce resources, as is emphasized by the line of research, which takes an economic perspective on the matter.

They do, however, come with a caveat – stereotypes. While they can be positive or negative in nature, they nevertheless do not allow for the possibility of seeing the out-group members as individuals with their own preferences, personalities, talents, or even vices for that matter. And before you know it, you begin to effortlessly place people in neat, black and white categories, which either evoke empathy and understanding, or only instigate condemnation instead. Such a tendency becomes more pronounced when groups are forced to compete for scarce resources, as is emphasized by the line of research, which takes an economic perspective on the matter. This competition oftentimes gives rise to ethnocentrism and nationalism, and may instigate outgroup stereotyping and behaviors that would normally be frowned upon, or downright condemned by our moral code. The fear of the other, or sometimes simply the unknown, begins to permeate many people's thinking, precluding empathy towards and

commiseration with the out-group. Different customs, traditions, language, even cuisine, serve as reminders of their otherness, and make it difficult to see how similar people are deep down. Because, at our core, we all wish for the same things – to be loved, appreciated, cared for, fed, and to have a roof over our heads.

To some degree, the apparent unwillingness to show empathy can also be justified by our limited cognitive capacity. After all, we simply cannot empathize with everyone we encounter, and attune ourselves to the suffering of the whole world. And, the further away the suffering is from us, the easier it is to keep it out of sight and out of mind. The problems begin when it appears right in front of our doorstep. Even a cursory glance at the current events gives us plenty of illustrations of the mechanisms we have just described. The coverage leading up to the Brexit referendum, and its aftermath, present us with a discourse filled with animosity towards immigrants. Such sentiments are also very much a part of the rhetoric concerning the influx of refugees that Europe is struggling to solve now. Both discourses contain elements of more than mere xenophobia, of course, and partially play on people's fear of an unstable economic future. Many people dread the high unemployment rates and the constantly increasing costs of living, and are apprehensive about the influx of immigrants, who might put a further strain on the economy, and potentially “steal” jobs away from the locals.

Such fears are oftentimes exploited, not only by the media, which are becoming more sensationalist than ever, but also by different political actors and institutions. As Gloria Steinem's timely quote in the beginning of this essay points out, discrimination is perpetuated by a system which allocates its resources in asymmetrical and unjust ways. Particularly the

far right-wing and populist parties know how to use fearmongering tactics to whip votes in their favor, turning different societal groups against one another, under the auspices of creating a better, more just society. In reality, however, much like any of the other actors who wield power in their hands, their goal is to maintain the status quo and the privilege that they have come into.

Having said that, what can we do? How can we remedy the situation? Let us not give into this disenchanted view of the status quo. There are a number of ways that the problems of discrimination can be tackled on the macro level. Legislation is one very powerful means to do that. Introducing quotas to combat the persistent underrepresentation of women and ethnic minorities in parliaments. Constitutional amendments guaranteeing equality for all members of the society, regardless of their gender, sexual orientation, ethnic or religious backgrounds, to name a few, give people who are discriminated against a legal basis to demand better treatment. Equally important, working towards social equality and the redistribution of resources and power should be a priority for countries seeking to diminish discriminatory behaviors. If history is any indication, support for extremist parties is highest at times of economic turmoil, giving them leverage to fuel people's fears of poverty and hardship. In the process, such parties picture themselves as the only viable alternative to set things right, and, more often than not, provide scapegoats to be blamed for the adversities and austerity. Jewish people in Nazi Germany, Polish immigrants in the UK or refugees from Syria in Europe are all illustrations of such political propaganda that come to mind.

But what about the things that we can do in our everyday lives? The sense of powerlessness that

ordinary citizens, individuals like you and us, the authors of this essay, feel in the face of inequality and oppression, can potentially be remedied, albeit through effortful action on our part. Research indicates that stereotypes can be particularly resistant to change. Even in the face of clear evidence that a particular categorization is untrue, rather than disconfirm it altogether, people tend to form subcategories for the particular instances negating it. So, for instance, a woman who is very dominant, or an Asian person who is not good at math, will be classified as exceptions and put into special categories of "dominant woman" and "Asian not good at math". This leaves the broader stereotype immune to disconfirmation.

While this may sound grim, we firmly believe that the first step towards any sort of change happens through awareness of the issue. Yes, our cognitive processing is selective and might lead to particular biases, but the more we stay mindful of this, and the more we catch ourselves falling into such traps, the easier it will become to steer clear of these pitfalls. Of course, we do not always possess the capacity to do that, but, as with anything else, baby steps can have a powerful effect. Furthermore, this awareness should also extend to our knowing that we share more similarities than differences. Language, cuisine, customs, dress code, are only the tip of the iceberg, most visible to us, but obscuring the true universal values that motivate our existence and our pursuit of happiness, and avoidance of suffering.

One of the most effective ways of bringing two groups together, which have a history of animosity caused by competition for scarce resources (think for instance: Schrodinger's immigrant, the paradox that immigrants are going to steal the in-groups' jobs, while at the same time, live off social benefits), is to create

superordinate goals for both groups. In other words, make both groups work towards the same goal that is more important than any goods that they may have been fighting for before. Social movements, be it those promoting LGBT rights, social equality, or women's rights, are very important in this respect, as they serve as a link between the individual and the governmental actors within the society. They have the power to raise awareness, and point out the illegitimacy of the status quo and make the creation of a new social order conceivable - conditions absolutely vital for instigating positive changes. They also have the capacity to put forward crystallized interests for each group, which facilitates mobilization and collective action.

**Wherever men or women
are persecuted because
of their race, religion, or
political views, that place
must—at that moment—
become the center of the
universe.**

- Elie Wiesel

This brings us back to the need for social equality, and the inevitable relinquishing of power that the haves will be required to do on behalf of the have nots. Most crucially, as the recently passed Elie Wiesel hints at with his profound quote, we cannot afford to look away from the injustice. We must find the strength in ourselves, as individuals and societies, to pay full attention to the instances where discrimination takes

place and where our help and empathy are needed. Even if the group we belong to might not share our opinions, at times we must take the risk and step out of our comfort zone, to honor the thoughts and feelings compelling us to act. Seeing how powerful an influence the mechanism of social comparisons described earlier can exert, we know that it is a lot to ask to support the out-group rather than to preserve our own privileges. Yet, this might just be the kind of social and human achievement that could clearly distinguish us from our stone age ancestors. ■

Notes: "The psychological concepts, theories, and research findings we refer to were checked against the information provided by a popular textbook by Thomas Gilovich, Dacher Keltner, and Richard E. Nisbett called "Social Psychology", Ronnie Janoff-Bulman's "Shattered Assumptions" regarding the discussion on stereotype disconfirmation as well as a website concerning social identity theory maintained by the University of Twente: https://www.utwente.nl/cw/theorieenoverzicht/Theory%20Clusters/Interpersonal%20Communication%20and%20Relations/Social_Identity_Theory/."

**SAFETY, FREEDOM,
RULES...
WHAT DO WE
EXPECT FROM A
STATE?**

BY ISABEL WINNWA

What is the role of a state? An important question, which occupies the minds of politicians, entrepreneurs, lawyers, scientists and population alike. There are many possible answers, and the question can be approached from many sides: there is the empirical angle, which would focus on what the state actually does - the policy, the law-making, the politics, the decisions taken by elected officials, etc. And then, there is the normative dimension, which focuses on what we actually expect from a state. In fact, we could bring both dimensions together, if we first asked ourselves what is expected of a state and then investigated what it did. From an individual point of view, our most basic expectation would probably be that a state provides us with rules and guidance for our public life and ensures the protection of our private one. Public life includes our workplace and everything that happens in the public sphere. Private life includes family, personal activities, privacy. All this should be done in the general interest and reflect the collective will, thereby being fair and equitable. This does not, however, fully answer the question concerning the expectations we have towards a state. What does providing guidance for the public and protection of the private sphere actually mean? In politics, this means making and shaping the law, regulating what can and cannot be done - both in public and in private life. In economics, it means providing a framework for a well-functioning economy. From a legal point of view, the state is to ascertain that everything is in order and that the rules are being respected. On this macro level, objectivity is key. The state should remain impartial and immune to personal preferences as much as possible.

We see that, in theory, the competence of a state to create, apply, and change rules can be extensive or restrictive. There is no general agreement on what people expect from the state: the more liberal you are, the less you would expect a state to interfere both

THE STATE IN PARTICULAR IS TURNED INTO A QUASI-ANIMATE PERSONALITY FROM WHOM EVERYTHING IS EXPECTED. IN REALITY IT IS ONLY A CAMOUFLAGE FOR THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO KNOW HOW TO MANIPULATE IT.

- Carl Gustav Jung

with public and private life; the more protectionist you are, the more you expect the state to intervene not only reactively, to solve problems, but also proactively, through different kinds of rules, policies and guidelines. Every citizen might have a different notion regarding this matter, and the aggregate individual preferences of the people often tend to be very inaccurate. Simply put, the population does not have a clear-cut collective will and therefore does not give a clear mandate for what the role of the state should be. This is what Carl Gustav Jung meant with his “camouflage”, which provides a loophole, a window of opportunity, for those who are in power. If you have a wide range of possibilities and no clear mandate, you benefit from a large amount of discretion. This applies to all domains of the state, but it is most visible in politics, economics and law. Because there is no clear definition of what we expect from a state, there is also no general rule of what its role should be.

Let's start with politics, a domain with plenty of power-wielding actors, mainly known as the politicians

and policy-makers. Let's consider two recent examples as an illustration of my argument. In Europe, we have been facing a sudden influx of migrants, which has challenged our understanding of the concepts of immigration and national borders. European states have responded quite differently to the situation. In these contexts, the concept of a state refers primarily to the current political elite and its select interests. The Eastern European countries strongly advocated a restrictive policy, closing borders and refusing a quota system for a fair distribution of migrants. Other European states, such as Germany, have adopted a more liberal approach, which resulted in a highly polarized European public opinion and an increase in fascist and extremist tendencies across the whole continent. This could lead us to the conclusion that the state did not act according to people's expectations. Another prominent example is the fight against terrorism, increasingly relevant to the European people since the attacks in Paris, Brussels, and Nice. The states are expected to protect their citizens, but the people strongly disagree as to what measures should be used for this purpose: some want closed borders, others do not; some want data storage, others are strongly against it. Again, the public opinion is polarized and the decision is left to those currently in power.

Perhaps we should have begun our discussion with the economic perspective, as the business and finance sectors have arguably become much more important than the political sphere, and state affairs are mostly dictated by economic matters. The global banking crisis has occupied politicians', as well as economic experts' and citizens' attention ever since it first hit in 2007. Individual banks had to be bailed out at first, and, eventually, even an entire country - Greece. Decisions involving large sums of public money and significant breaches of state sovereignty were made without public consent - be it in Germany, or in Greece. Understandably, this also greatly polarized the

public: expectations went from forgiving Greece's debt and putting a solidary European safety net in place to letting the Greek economy fail, and even excluding the country from the Eurozone. Ultimately, decisions were made by very few select actors, and they made many ordinary citizens very unhappy.

The law always seems to be the least exciting object of discussion, and wrongly so. As Foucault so eloquently pointed out, the state possesses a huge legal power over its population by the simple fact of being able to decide over crime and punishment. Deficiencies and malfunctions in the legal system might be less obvious to the untrained eye, but their consequences can be truly dire. Let's just focus on one example: racial profiling. Caucasians are not incessantly required to produce their IDs, visas, or residence permits. They are not harassed by police patrols or, worst of all, shot dead because of their skin color. But these things happen every day. The law seems to be on the side of the fair-skinned members of the population. Non-whites are more likely to be accused of crimes than white people - and more likely to die of police violence. Little has been done on the state level to remedy the situation. And sadly, this issue also strongly polarizes the public opinion, as the majority of the privileged citizens do not see an immediate need for state intervention in favor of protecting the citizens of ethnic origin. Once again, the issue is left to the goodwill of those in power.

Admittedly, this is a very general and maybe also somewhat biased description of what has been and is being done in the name of the state. But even if different examples were picked, the question always remains: is this what we expect? Certainly, not always. A safe assumption, given the decrease in voter participation and the general dissatisfaction with politics, the grievances against greedy businesses, the corrupt finance sector, and the complaints about malfunctioning legal systems. We seem to be unhappy

with the state, either because it does too much, or because it acts too little on behalf of its citizens, or simply makes the wrong decisions in their opinion. Yet, we still seem to be quite attached to the idea of a nation state. So much so that we increasingly demand for it to be protected from potential threats. This is nicely reflected in the current debate about 'Brexit' and the future of the European Union. The British people have, by a slim majority, voted to exit the European Union. The main argument of the leave camp was that, if Britain gets its sovereignty back, the British state could take decisions, which are more favorable to its people. Half of the British fervently supported this, the other half did not. And now that they are actually bound to exit, the leave camp has acknowledged that most of the promises were not likely to be upheld and most of the leading politicians shied away from the responsibility of seeing 'Brexit' through.

This seems to be a good moment to circle back to one of the main questions raised in the beginning: what do we expect from state? And by now, it should be abundantly clear that there is no clear-cut answer to this. The "we" does not have one will, but many. And to paraphrase Carl Gustav Jung again: the state is not a big caring, protective Leviathan, but a camouflage for the interests of the most powerful groups. Jung also seems to be right when he says that we expect everything from state and more often than not, we blame it for any kind of failure. We blame the state for failing in school, losing our job, paying too much tax, not having a place to put our kids when we work, not being safe from terrorist attacks. But do we want to profoundly change the education system? Provide for stricter employment laws and regulate business more rigorously? Decrease public spending or live on credit to be able to lower taxes? Legislate on whether or not parents should be encouraged to return to work immediately and use child-care services? Allow the

authorities to screen, use and store data to monitor potential serious criminal offenders? The somewhat defeatist conclusion is that there will always be two sides to the proverbial medal that is the role of the state. To get what we want from the state, we often have to accept quite a few things that we actually did not bargain for. The slightly more optimistic one is that we can have a say in defining the role of the state. As regards politics, however limited our power as people might be, once we have cast our vote, we actually get to elect those who represent us and if we think carefully about what we expect from the state and what this entails, our vote will matter: majorities and policies can change. In economics and law, direct influence by the population at large is slightly more difficult, but let's not forget that often we are leaders ourselves, at present or in the future. We, or the people we know, are the CEOs, judges, hedge fund managers, policemen and -women of today and tomorrow. Thinking carefully about what we expect and how we define our role will impact how we perceive and shape the role of the state. ■

**THE STATE IS NOT
A BIG CARING,
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THE INTERESTS OF
THE MOST POWERFUL
GROUPS.**





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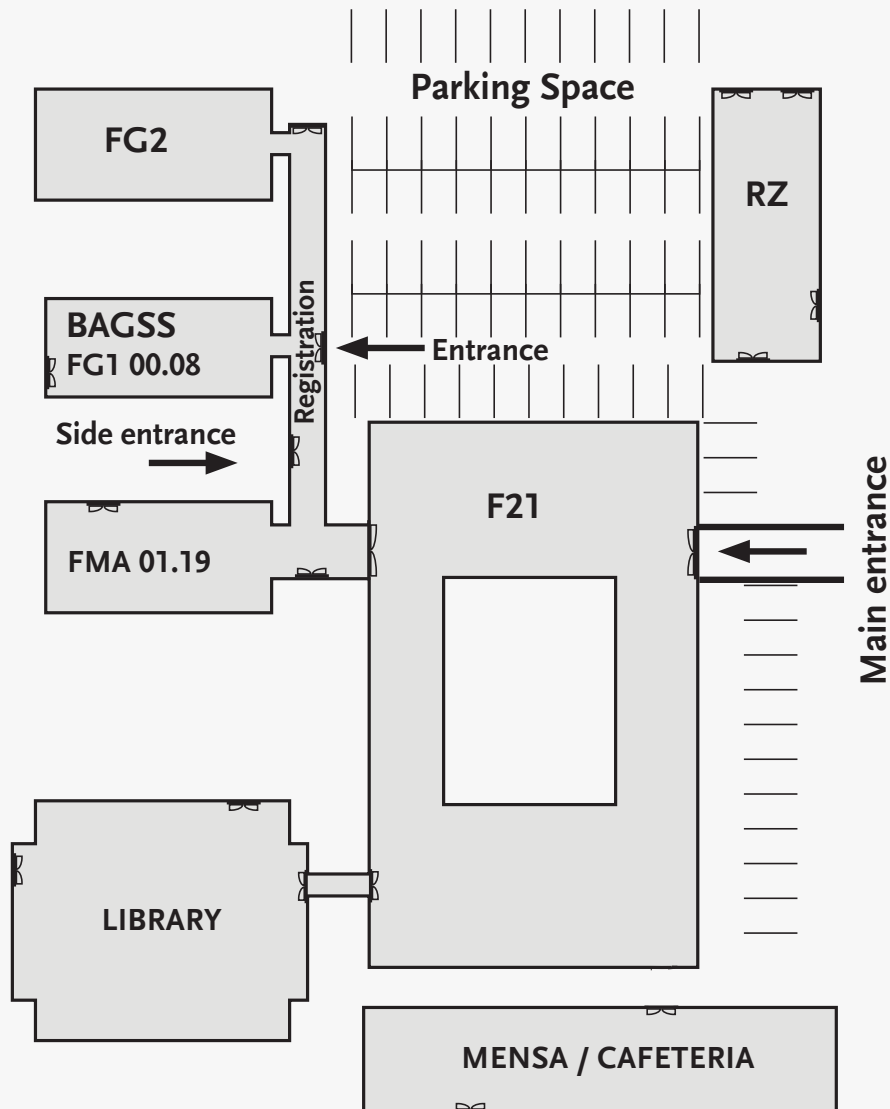
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