

WZB Report 2016

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WZB Berlin Social Science Center

Essays on:
Global governance,
economics, law,
social inequality,
religion, and
democracy





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The WZB Berlin Social Science Center conducts basic research with a focus on societal problems in a globalized world. The research is theory-based, problem-oriented, often long-term and mostly based on international comparisons.

Key research topics include:

- democracy and civil society
- migration, integration, and intercultural conflicts
- markets, competition, and behavior
- education, training, and the labor market
- inequality and social policy
- gender and family
- international relations
- transnationalization and the rule of law
- innovation and science policy

160 German and international researchers work at the WZB, including sociologists, political scientists, economists, legal scholars, and historians.

Research results are published for the scientific community as well as for experts in politics, business, the media, and civic organizations.

As a non-university research institute, the WZB is member of the Leibniz-Association. The WZB closely cooperates with Berlin universities. Its directors also hold chairs at universities in Berlin and beyond.

The WZB was founded in 1969 by members of the German parliament from all parties. The WZB is funded by the Federal government and the state of Berlin.



New Perspectives

In 2015 the WZB was masked by scaffolding erected for the restoration of the 1894 façade. The building that once housed the Imperial Insurance Agency is just as much a part of the WZB as the pink-and-blue stripes of the 1988 extensions by James Stirling, Michael Wilford & Associates. Old and young belong together. As spring arrives, tables appear in the courtyard, people eat together and talk, and new ideas emerge. Little children accompanied by their fathers and mothers during parental leave are an increasingly frequent sight. Why shouldn't the family come to work now and then? After all, work comes home often enough. We recently asked a young man who was soon to become a father how much parental leave he would take. "Oh," he told us, "the same amount of time people usually take for it at the WZB: six months." That is how research on work, family, institutions, social policy, and the life courses of individuals is translated into daily practice.

This WZB annual report reveals the WZB as an institution brimming with life and energy. Alongside the familiar faces are many new ones. Long- and short-term projects run side by side. New methods are tried out, unusual perspectives adopted. The WZB is thriving—and needs more space. James Stirling and his team could not construct one of the buildings as high as they had originally intended. The remaining floors will now be added. For the WZB the consent of the shareholders for this investment is a vote of confidence for which we are very grateful. We look forward to the next sets of scaffolding, which on this occasion will bring about something new.

Jutta Allmendinger and Heinrich Baßler

Education, Work, and Life Chances

Research Unit Skill Formation and Labor Markets
Director: Professor Heike Solga

Research Unit Inequality and Social Policy
Acting Director: Professor Felix Elwert Ph.D.

Research Group Demography and Inequality
Head: Professor Anette Eva Fasang

Research Professorship Transitions to Adulthood
Professor Ingrid Schoon

Project Group National Educational Panel Study:
Vocational Training and Lifelong Learning
Head: Professor Reinhard Pollak

Junior Research Group Work and Care
Head: Lena Hipp Ph.D.

Markets and Choice

Research Unit Market Behavior
Director: Professor Dorothea Kübler

Research Unit Economics of Change
Director: Professor Steffen Huck

Research Professorship Market Design
Professor Daniel Friedman Ph.D.

Research Professorship Advice and Decision Making
Professor Andrew Schotter Ph.D.

Junior Research Group Risk and Development
Head: Ferdinand Vieider Ph.D.

WZB-FU Junior Research Group Neuroeconomics
Head: Professor Peter Mohr

International Politics and Law

Research Unit Global Governance
Director: Professor Michael Zürn

Research Professorship Global Public Law
Professor Mattias Kumm

Project Group The Internet Policy Field
Head: Professor Jeanette Hofmann

WZB-FU Junior Research Group
Governance for Global Health
Head: Professor Anna Holzscheiter

Society and Economic Dynamics

Research Group Science Policy
Head: Dr. Dagmar Simon

Project Group Globalization, Work and Production
Head: Dr. Martin Krzywdzinski

Dynamics of Political Systems

Research Unit Democracy and Democratization
Director: Professor Wolfgang Merkel

Research Professorship Theory, History and Future of
Democracy
Professor John Keane

Migration and Diversity

Research Unit Migration, Integration, Transnationalization
Director: Professor Ruud Koopmans

Emmy Noether Junior Research Group
Immigration Policies in Comparison
Head: Professor Marc Helbling

Trans-sectoral Research

Center for Global Constitutionalism
Managing Head: Professor Mattias Kumm

Bridging Project Cultural Framing Effects in
Experimental Game Theory
Heads: Professor Michael Hutter, Professor Dorothea Kübler

Bridging Project Recruitment Behavior of Companies in
Vocational Training and Labor Markets
Heads: Professor Dorothea Kübler, Professor Heike Solga

Bridging Project The Political Sociology of
Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism
Heads: Professor Ruud Koopmans,
Professor Wolfgang Merkel, Professor Michael Zürn

President's Project Group

Head: Professor Jutta Allmendinger

Structure as of April 2016

The WZB in 2015/16

Plate, knife, fork, glass: During Advent 2014 the WZB website pictured a table setting and an invitation for viewers to take pictures of their Christmas dinner and send the photographs to the WZB for research analysis. The appeal bestowed myriad images on WZB economist Stefan Huck and Julia Schubert, student at the Berlin University of the Arts, both of whom were participating in the Visual Society Program. However, it was completely unclear at first what, if anything, might result from the project. Schubert suggested an approach that Huck initially wondered whether to qualify as “enchancing or crazy?” She wanted to try pixelating the images and to examine how appetizing the tones of the meat appeared. The results are presented in the beautifully designed book *Fleisch und Farbe* (Meat and Color), published in December 2015: “Meat-brown” is not appetizing, but people nevertheless eat meat. The upshot of this cooperation between social science and design? Social scientists have a fantastic tool box, including game theory, experiments, statistics, and econometrics. But it is sometimes well worth daring to use altogether different instruments, and design can be a means of generating insights.

Looking back at WZB research in 2015 reveals how we took new paths, tried out established methods and collaborations within the WZB, and generated a wide range of findings in diverse cooperative ventures with researchers around the world. The consistently high quality of the research that the WZB delivers and the sterling reputation the institution enjoys is reflected by an impressive number of top-level publications, its successful acquisition of external funding for projects, the awards received, and the distinguished calls its researchers receive to other institutions. (See the German version of the WZB annual report for details.)

WZB Research in 2015

Publications are the visible outcomes of research that often takes years to conduct. Just a few examples are the volume edited by Wolfgang Merkel, *Demokratie und Krise. Zum schwierigen Verhältnis von Theorie und Empirie* (Democracy and Crisis: On the Difficult Relationship between Theory and Empirical Data, published by Springer VS) counters the thesis

that there is a general or even an existential crisis of democracy. Nevertheless, there is no reason for complacency. Democracy is facing significant challenges, and questions of legitimacy are particularly urgent. Michael Hutter completed his work as director of the unit on Cultural Sources of Newness with the publication of his book *Ernste Spiele* (Serious Games, published by Wilhelm Fink Verlag), and an English edition that appeared at almost the same time (*The Joyful Economy*, published by Routledge). He analyses the interrelationship of economic growth and art over the centuries, showing that the two spheres are definitely not worlds apart. They interact and trigger friction in one another, with consequences for the arts and the economy alike.

David Brady and Amie Bostic examined the general assumption that effective social policy is automatically popular as well. Their surprising finding is that such popularity is not automatic. Policy-makers who want to be effective must be careful that their policies are not undermined by a lack of public support. Hindsight bias is the technical term for the tendency to overestimate retrospectively the predictability of an event (“I always knew that”). Dorothea Kübler and her team in the unit on Market Behavior investigated hindsight bias and related it to the capacity to delegate. They found that people who retrospectively overestimated their ability to predict delegated less often than others because they overestimate their ability in other contexts.

The WZB can respond quickly when appropriate. Just a few weeks after the first demonstrations of the right-wing Pegida movement, the WZB expert on protests, Dieter Rucht, interviewed demonstrators in Dresden and analyzed their behavior, slogans, symbols, flags, and their interaction with the police. At the climax of the refugee crisis in the late summer of 2015, the WZB researcher Heiko Giebler advised the initiators of the project entitled “Adopt a Revolution” on how to design and analyze a survey of 900 Syrian refugees in five German cities. And despite the advanced state of a major study on legacy conducted jointly by the WZB, the social research institute infas, and the German weekly *Die Zeit*, additional questions were inserted in September 2015 to collect data on perceptions of refugees and the German refugee policy. Ruud Koopmans leads this part of the project.

There is always space for explorations and openness for the unexpected. Surprises are found in initial ideas and innovative methods. Heike Solga cooperated with the German economic research institute DIW Berlin to conduct an experiment with high school graduates in Berlin to find out whether lack of information about the costs and benefits of a college education might explain why high school graduates whose parents did not go to college are less likely to apply to universities than high school graduates whose parents did attend college. The answer is yes, the information available to these young people proved to play a role in their decision about whether or not to pursue a college degree.

Steffen Huck conducted experiments on the influence of music on behaviors such as cooperation versus competition. He is one of the few social scientists to have undertaken such work, although incessant exposure to music is ubiquitous in our cities, there is very little literature on its effects—and he is certainly one of the very few to recruit a musicologist into their research team.

Contributions to nonacademic media and in public events are important ways of sharing WZB research findings. The directors and the president are not the only ones who present their scientific work in prominent settings; young researchers also bring their work into public discussion. Gisela Hirschmann analyzed for zeit.online cases in which United Nations soldiers engaged in sexual harassment (“Nicht wegschauen, nicht vertuschen” [Don’t look away, don’t cover up]). The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* reported on its front page about the field experiment that Paula Protsch and Heike Solga conducted by using anonymous job applications (“Benehmen ist wichtiger als Mathe” [Good behavior is more important than math]). The “Chancellor’s podcast” program broadcast a conversation between Lena Hipp and German Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel about challenges in the healthcare sector. The active participation of researchers in the media continues to be high at the WZB, and not only among directors and postdoctoral fellows. Over the course of 2015, 73 researchers reported about their work in the general media.

The presentation of the A.SK Social Science Award 2015 to the French-American economist Esther Duflo in October 2015 created yet another opportunity for meetings at the WZB with experts from government ministries and nongovernmental organizations. The prize-winning professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology also heads the worldwide network Abdul Latif Poverty Action Lab. She works with randomized experiments, an approach that has proven to be directly rele-

vant for development policy as practiced over the past decade. The WZB has published research findings about integration and diversity in other ways.

New Interunit Activities

The WZB’s multidisciplinary approach rests on exchanges, cross-fertilization, and networking among its researchers. There are questions that cannot be satisfactorily addressed by a single discipline, tasks that can be tackled more effectively by joining forces, and connections that emerge without a specific objective but then turn out to be fruitful for research.

The dramatic increase in the wave of people migrating and fleeing across borders is posing a new kind of challenge for the WZB. The question for our basic research is how to improve the way of addressing the topic across the research units. At the beginning of 2016 researchers from all the units and disciplines at the WZB came together to update each other on their knowledge about migration. One of the first outcomes is the March 2016 issue of the *WZB-Mitteilungen*, which presents a dozen articles about the relevant research on flight, integration, and policy-making. The topic of migration and flight not only challenges WZB researchers to intensify and interconnect their studies, it also gives reason for civic engagement in society. In response, a WZB working group was created in the summer of 2015 to help refugees settle into their new life in Berlin. They were offered places in the WZB’s internal German language courses, and an auction at the WZB’s New Year reception generated a generous sum of money to benefit refugees. In early 2016 study spaces, donated laptop computers, and coupons for coffee were provided in the WZB library for students registered in the digital Kiron University. On March 1 2016, the WZB welcomed students from Syria and Afghanistan in the first “study hub” of Kiron University.

Another topic being addressed by WZB researchers in different disciplines and units relates to aspects of religion. Since the fall of 2015, the WZB Network for Religion and Society has offered them a platform for sharing their interests and collaborating. The theoretical perspectives are as diverse as the methods and the specific empirical fields involved. A series of seminars has been launched in which the researchers can present and discuss their work no matter what its stage of development. Ideas for further projects on which to cooperate are being explored.

The intention behind a project funded by the Hans Böckler Foundation is to test yet another

new model of internal collaboration. Researchers from six units and five disciplines will study “good work” in a doctoral school, starting with eight candidates. An accompanying project focusing on the transfer of knowledge has been proposed. It foresees cooperation also with the Visual Society Program on which the WZB is working with the University of the Arts.

Departing, Arriving, Staying

David Brady, director of the unit Inequality and Social Policy, left the WZB to return to the United States for family reasons. He accepted a chair at the University of California, Riverside, where he has also become the director of the Blum Initiative on Global and Regional Policy at the School of Public Policy. His research and his personality enriched the WZB and its culture. Since his departure, he has remained connected to the WZB, initially as a WZB Fellow. The unit on Inequality and Social Policy continued its work under the acting directorship of Professor Felix Elwert, Vilas Associate Professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in the United States.

The WZB succeeded in attracting two new research professors in 2015. Daniel Friedman, Professor of Economics at the University of California, Santa Cruz, became research professor for “Market Design: Theory and Pragmatics” in the WZB research area on Markets and Choice. Andrew Schotter, Professor of Economics at New York University and director of the Center for Experimental Social Science, became the new research professor for Advice and Decision-Making in the research area on Markets and Choice.

A new junior research group of the WZB and the Freie Universität Berlin (FU) began its work under Anna Holzscheiter’s leadership on April 1, 2015, focusing on governance for global health. In close cooperation with the WZB research area on International Policy and Law, the group will pursue the questions of how international organizations respond to the increased competition from new actors in global health policy, under which conditions they intensify their cooperative relations, and what effect global norms have on this process.

Two research units were extended in 2015: The unit on Democracy and Democratization was scheduled to end in 2017, but the Board of Trustees approved the administration’s proposal to extend the unit for another three years, until March 2020. The project group on Demography and Inequality was expanded and converted into a research group on January 1, 2016. Anette Fasang, who became Professor for Microsociology at the Humboldt Universität zu

Berlin in November 2014, will continue to lead the research group. During its five-year life span, the research group will study the impacts of demographic change on social inequality. The core question is how social stratification affects people’s demographic behavior.

Work for the Common Good

Whereas institutional research boards are common practice in Anglo-Saxon academic institutions, the WZB hitherto relied on external ethics commissions to review a project’s ethical standards if funding bodies, research partners, or journals required it. To date there are no common ethical guidelines for the social sciences in the German-speaking research world. The WZB therefore developed guidelines for research ethics after discussing its ideas with external experts in the area. A comprehensive assessment procedure and the involvement of an ethics commission at the WZB are expected to ensure that principles of research ethics are respected in projects from the outset. We hope that this work can be of use to other organizations, too.

The same holds true for our new human-resource development concept, which applies to all employees of the WZB and no longer differentiates between academic and support staff. The objective is to conduct regular reviews of institutional needs and to offer individual analyses of competencies and corresponding opportunities for appropriate qualification. This approach is also intended to facilitate moves from one area of activity to another over the course of an employee’s working life.

Personnel and Finances

The average number of employees at the WZB by the end of 2015 was 366. Temporary employees accounted for 81.2% of the research staff on December 31, 2015 (in full-time equivalents). Doctoral candidates constituted 30.5% of academic staff, with 10 completed doctorates in 2015. One scholar completed the multi-year postdoctoral process of qualifying for a professorship at a German university (Habilitation). Five apprentices had finished their training at the WZB by December 31, 2015.

The WZB is an equal opportunity employer and seeks to increase the proportion of women in research, especially in senior research positions. Targets for the percentage of women academics at the various pay grades and management levels were set for 2017. At the end of 2015 women accounted for 38.9% of senior research positions, 51.5% of all academic employees, and 60% of all WZB staff.

As in previous years, most of the WZB's funding in 2015 came from the Joint Initiative for Research and Innovation, in which the WZB shares as a member institution of the Leibniz Gemeinschaft. The revenues received, and thus the total funds spent, at the WZB in 2014 came to € 21.5 million (previous year: €19.8 million). Institutional funding from the German federal government, the Land (state) government of Berlin, and the other Länder totaled €16.9 million in 2015 (compared to €14.9 million in 2014). External funding for research and development amounted to €4.8 million in 2015 (€4.3 million in 2014). Thus, external funding accounted for 22.2% of total WZB spending in 2015 (€21.9% in 2014).

In 2015 68 new proposals were submitted for external funding, and 35, totaling €7.5 million (€4.2 million in 2014) were approved. The WZB had 65 externally funded projects that were in progress on December 31, 2015.

Looking Ahead

In 2015 decisions were prepared to be taken in 2016. Progress was made with the Freie Universität Berlin and the Berlin-Brandenbur-

gische Akademie der Wissenschaften on the establishment of a center for research on civil society. Numerous discussions were conducted with potential financial supporters, and they are being continued in 2016.

Together with all four Berlin universities and the Fraunhofer Institute for Open Communication Systems, the WZB responded to the German Federal Ministry for Education and Research in its call for proposals for a German Internet Institute. The planned institute will study the interaction between digitalization and society from an interdisciplinary perspective. The authors of the proposal included scholars in economics, social science, law, information technology, and design. The participating WZB researchers are Jeanette Hofmann (Project Group on the Internet Policy Field), Martin Krzywdzinski (Project Group on Globalization, Work, and Production), and Iris Cseke, coordinator of the network. The outline was accepted by the ministry in the summer of 2016. The WZB will receive funding for a six-month phase of work to develop the concept into a full proposal. Four other such proposals nationwide were also invited to submit a full proposal.

International Relations. Politics beyond the nation-state are no longer a matter primarily for interaction between nation-states. International organizations and supranational institutions have taken root as well. Nongovernmental actors participate in political processes, and national publics closely follow developments outside their own countries. The interplay of national and supranational policies, issues surrounding the juridification of international relations, and questions of global governance are examined at the WZB predominantly in the Research Area on International Politics and Law.

Potent but Little Esteemed How UN Member States Evaluate the Security Council

Martin Binder and Monika Heupel

The United Nations Security Council is widely considered one of the most powerful of international institutions. It has the right to define crises and conflicts as threats to international peace and security. The Council can take coercive measures, either in the form of economic sanctions—as against Iran—or by authorizing military intervention, as recently against Libya. Its decisions are legally binding on all UN member states, its remit is almost unlimited, and the measures it takes intervene drastically into the internal affairs of states.

However, like most international institutions, the Council lacks resources of its own for the effective enforcement of its decisions. Whether imposing sanctions, deploying peace missions, or intervening militarily, it has to rely on the help and compliance of UN member states.

The Security Council consequently has to ensure its legitimacy in the sense of legally recognized power. Not only must its power be backed by legitimacy; if it is to be effective in carrying out its tasks, the Council needs legitimation and the concomitant support of the international community. Since Max Weber legitimacy research has shown that legitimate rule is more successful than rule based on coercion or material incentives alone.

But how solid are the foundations on which the Council's legitimacy rest? These issues are the subject of considerable controversy in the scholarly literature. Some authors stress the unique function of the Council to legitimate collective intervention to secure peace. In their view, states wishing to act seek a mandate from the Security Council to lend legitimacy to their action—witness the intensive (if unsuccessful) efforts by the United States to obtain a Council mandate for their intervention in Iraq in 2003. Other observers deny the body almost all legitimacy. Critics underline the unfair and anachronistic right of veto, which allows representatives of the five permanent members to block Council mea-

Summary: Being one of the most powerful international organizations, the UN Security Council needs to be perceived as a legitimate institution to function effectively. However, in the eyes of UN member states, the Security Council suffers from a legitimacy deficit. When states publicly appraise the Council, negative evaluations clearly outweigh the positive ones. It is the Council's unfair procedures—rather than transgressions of its mandate and effectiveness shortcomings—that states particularly resent. This is the result of a study in which the authors have analyzed evaluative statements by UN member states in debates in the UN General Assembly.

asures—as Russia and China have currently done in the case of Syria. Furthermore, they stress the Council's opaque decision-making procedures and inadequate accountability and point to the ineffectiveness of its measures.

However, both sides in this debate take a normative perspective on the legitimacy of the Council. They apply external criteria, generally drawn from democracy theory, in evaluating this legitimacy. What researchers have hitherto neglected is an empirical perspective on the issue that seeks to establish how Council legitimacy is perceived by member states. This is the starting point for our study, which systematically examines how legitimate the Council is in the eyes of member states and the sources that feed their perception of its legitimacy. We identify three potential sources of legitimacy. First, the perceived legitimacy of the Council can derive from mandate fulfilment. The decisive question would then be whether the Council acts within boundaries of the formal powers vested in it. Second, perception of the Council as legitimate can be based on the quality of its procedures. The question would then be what role transparency, accountability, and participation play in Council decision making. Third, the perceived legitimacy of the Council can depend on its performance, that is, on whether it can effectively achieving its intended purpose (the maintenance of international security).

To answer these questions, we looked at how UN member states evaluate the legitimacy of the Security Council in public debates in the UN General Assembly. The attribution and denial of legitimacy in public debate are considered important acts of legitimation and delegitimation in international politics. The data set we generated includes over 1,500 evaluative statements made by 117 states in 9 debates in the General Assembly between 1991 and 2009. They were either positive (attributing legitimacy) or negative (denying legitimacy). They also provided information about the sources feeding these evaluations.

Evaluations by states in a diplomatic forum like the UN General Assembly are not necessarily sincere. Other—selfish—interests are likely to lurk behind their statements. An authoritarian state, for instance, that complains about undemocratic decision-making procedures in the Council may well have motives—such as distracting attention from problems of its own—other than furthering the democratization of the Security Council. But for our study this was a secondary consideration. On the one hand, the public statement (whether sincere or not) is an important political act in itself. On the other, such evaluations reveal what sort of legitimation criteria the representatives of states believe will resonate within the international community. If, for example, the representatives of states very often stress the lack of transparency in the Council, seeing this as a threat to the legitimacy of the body, we can draw conclusions about the perceived importance of transparency.

Our study yields two principal findings. First, the Security Council suffers from a considerable legitimacy deficit. In the evaluative statements we collected, negative evaluations of legitimacy predominate. 73 percent of statements (1,123 of 1,531) made by UN member states were negative. This suggests that in the eyes of UN member states the legitimacy of the Security Council is weak. This raises the question as to what extent a body broadly considered illegitimate can perform a collective legitimation function? At the same time, however, our results show that no fewer than 27 per cent (408) of statements collected in the debates under study were positive—and positive statements, it should be noted, came not only from states enjoying the privileges of permanent membership. This suggests that the Security Council is not facing a hopeless crisis in this matter but can draw on a certain measure of legitimacy.

What are the sources of this deficit? The second key finding of our study is that, contrary to assumptions made in research on international organizations, evaluation of the Council's legitimacy is not concerned primarily with its performance. Most negative evaluations of the Security Council address perceived procedural deficiencies. 56 per cent of all negative evaluations address the inadequate transparency of Council decision-making procedures, the unsatisfactory possibilities for non-member state participation, and insufficient accountability



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[photo: Damaris Opitz]

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of the Council towards the General Assembly. The veto right of permanent Council members was also largely criticized. By contrast, critical evaluation of the Council with regard to its performance is less pronounced. Only 24 per cent of negative statements complained of Council ineffectiveness and selectivity in dealing with crises and conflicts, with its inability to effectively contain the great powers or to secure the protection of human rights. Surprisingly few negative evaluations (11 per cent) were concerned with extension of the Security Council mandate, which, now defines not only armed conflicts between states as international security threats but also domestic conflicts, humanitarian crises, massive violations of human rights, and the overthrow of democratic governments. The increasing resort of the Council to military action and coercive economic measures also attracts relatively little criticism.

Our findings have several practical implications. The most important is that the Council needs to improve its procedures, since they are a source of great dissatisfaction among UN member states. Minor reforms in this direction had already been undertaken in the past. The Council now provides better information about its decisions and calls public meetings for all interested member states on certain issues. Moreover, with the so-called Arria-formula meetings, it has established an informal framework in which Security Council members and civil-society actors can exchange views. Analysis of debates shows that member states appreciate these improvements. Nevertheless, the reform of the Council remains half-hearted. Fundamental changes such as the widely called for reform of the veto right have not materialized even after more than 20 years of discussion. In recent years, less far-reaching but more realistic reform proposals have been debated. For example, the idea of "responsibility not to veto" has attracted attention, according to which the five permanent members of the Council would waive their right to veto where resolutions are to be voted on to stop massive violations of human rights. Another proposal is that members of the Council should publicly justify their voting behaviour. So far, however, even these modest proposals have not been approved by the permanent members of the Security Council.

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When Protectors Become Perpetrators Protecting Human Rights in United Nations Peace Operations

Gisela Hirschmann

Since 1945, the United Nations (UN) has assumed key responsibilities in the field of peacekeeping. Over 123,000 military and civil personnel are currently involved in 16 operations around the world. These peace missions mandated by the UN Security Council operate under difficult security conditions and call for great effort by personnel operating under extreme living conditions. The peace that is to be kept is often fragile. People in countries torn by civil war therefore place high hopes in the UN Blue Helmets, whose task it is to protect civilians in conflict areas.

In recent years, however, confidence in these peacekeeping missions has been repeatedly shattered. Among the major reasons are the failures of the United Nations to act during genocides in Rwanda and Bosnia and the violation of fundamental human rights by UN personnel. In particular, cases of sexual abuse by peacekeepers have undermined UN claims to provide protection for civilians. Numerous incidents have come to light in which peacekeepers have abused women and children, for example during operations in Cambodia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Haiti, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Partners of the United Nations also came under criticism. In Bosnia and in Kosovo, NATO soldiers and employees of a private security firm operating in the framework of the UN police mission were involved in human trafficking. During both missions, young women from Eastern Europe were forced into prostitution and held in brothels mainly frequented by international forces. In operations run by the UN and NATO in Kosovo and in Afghanistan, terrorist suspects were captured and held without access to lawyers or appeal procedures or forwarded to facilities run by the U.S. or the Afghan authorities in the knowledge that they were being tortured there. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Chad, UN missions have cooperated with national security forces that include former rebel groups who have destroyed whole villages and killed hundreds of civilians.

In view of these violations of fundamental rights, the UN ought to call the perpetrators to account. While the UN Secretariat has adopted certain measures to prevent human rights violations during peacekeeping operations, so far the organization has done little to meet the demand for monitoring and sanctioning mechanisms. The question is therefore how accountability can be improved. Standards for conduct in peacekeeping operations have to be set for all implementing actors and partners, compliance with them monitored, and violations sanctioned. Given the complex governance structures of peacekeeping operations, internal accountability mechanisms, however, remain weak. This means that regional organizations, non-governmental organizations, courts, and national authorities have an increasingly important watchdog role to play. This article shows how these third parties can contribute to a pluralist accountability network for UN-mandated operations, drawing upon three examples from operations in Afghanistan, Bosnia, and Kosovo.

In Afghanistan in 2001, the UN Security Council entrusted the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) Mission for Afghanistan to NATO with the job of providing security in certain parts of the country. Under this mandate, ISAF forces took many people into custody, handing them over to units of the U.S.-led operation "Enduring Freedom", and from 2006 onwards also to the Afghan authorities. People suspected of terrorism or of being a security threat were de-

Summary: United Nations peace operations are an important instrument of the international community to protect civilians. Nevertheless, human rights violations committed in the course of these operations have caused great concern. Drawing on an analysis of the operations in Afghanistan, Bosnia and Kosovo, this article demonstrates how third parties, for example regional organizations, non-governmental organizations, courts and national actors, set standards for behavior in peace operations, monitor compliance and enact sanctions in the event of violations. This pluralist accountability is crucial for the legitimacy of UN operations, despite the fact that the UN Security Council, the Secretariat and individual states remain ultimately responsible for human rights protection.

tained indefinitely without due process, often maltreated and tortured. Although a 2007 report by Amnesty International had revealed the conditions of detentions in the Afghan facilities, nothing essentially changed in the transfer practices of the ISAF countries involved. This brought national courts into play: human rights activists took legal action, for example, in Canada, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. As a consequence, the Royal Court of Justice in the U.K., for instance, ruled in 2010 that prisoners were no longer to be handed over to the Afghan authorities. But the detaining authorities managed to ward off all demands for external supervision of how prisoners were treated with reference to their “terrorist background”.

The decisive turnaround only came as a result of the monitoring activities of the political mission UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), which the UN Security Council had mandated along with NATO. The UNAMA Human Rights Division together with the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) developed a comprehensive monitoring procedure, interviewing hundreds of prisoners. The publication of the UNAMA report in the autumn of 2012 eventually proved an effective sanctioning mechanism. As a result, NATO member states temporarily stopped the transfer of detainees. And the UN Security Council also called on the Afghan government to improve the treatment of prisoners. This example shows how national courts and human rights missions operating in parallel can help strengthen accountability for human rights violations in the context of UN-mandated peacekeeping operations.

In Bosnia as well, human rights missions operating in parallel with national courts—together with the US Congress—played a decisive role in holding human rights violators accountable. Members of the UN police mission, largely recruited for the U.S. contingent via the private military firm DynCorp, were accused of being involved in human trafficking and of having furthered the sexual exploitation of women. For quite some time the UN leadership sought to sweep these human rights violations under the carpet, even dismissing individ-



UN soldiers are on patrol during Pope Francis' visit to the Central African Republic in 2015. Some members of this UN force were accused of severe violations of human rights in 2016 – one of a series of incidents in different countries which hosted UN troops.

(Photo: picture alliance/dpa)

ual employees who reported on the subject. The Office of UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in Bosnia, by contrast, took up the issue and became a key institution for documenting human trafficking in the country. The office conducted far-reaching investigations and gave decisive support to the legal action taken against DynCorp by a dismissed employee, Kathryn Bolkovac. The court ruling that this dismissal was illegal became an important basis for publicly sanctioning the behavior of the UN mission in Bosnia and “shaming” the UN leadership. At the same time, members of the US Congress conducted hearings and initiated investigations, although these did not lead to any legal sanctions being imposed. Since the adoption of the Military Extraterritorial Jurisdiction Act of 2000, contracting partners of the U.S. Department of Defense can be called to account; the DynCorp employees, however, were under contract to the Department of State. Attempts to close this legal loophole have only recently been undertaken with the Civilian Extraterritorial Jurisdiction Acts of 2011 and 2014. Thus, without the efforts of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, it is highly likely that the behavior of the UN-deployed personnel in Bosnia would not have been monitored and sanctioned.

During the UN mission in Kosovo, mandated by the Security Council in 1999, the main accountability holders were instead regional organizations. With Resolution 1244, the country was placed under UN administration: the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General “ruled” the country with executive powers and was entrusted with a wide range of state-building tasks. In parallel, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) was entrusted by the Security Council with the democratization of the country and the establishment of state institutions.

The OSCE became particularly important for the protection of human rights in Kosovo. Originally responsible for overseeing national actors, it subsequently expanded its mandate, interpreting its role as human rights monitor also vis-à-vis the competent UN institutions in the country. When it came to light that the UN special representative had violated fundamental principles of the rule of law by issuing so-called “executive order detentions,” the OSCE mission in Kosovo took up investigations in Kosovo and demanded the UN to respect the rights of prisoners and to compensate individuals for violations of their rights. Together with the Council of Europe, the OSCE installed an ombudsman institution to which individuals could address complaints if they felt their rights had been violated by the international administration.

Although formally under UN mandate and only with powers of recommendation, the ombudsman was able to develop an independent position vis-à-vis the UN special representative by reporting regularly to the European institutions of the OSCE and the Council of Europe. This gave rise to a pluralistic accountability network that monitored the UN’s compliance with human rights in Kosovo. At least with regard to detention practices, the pressure exerted by the European regional organizations was effective: subsequent UN special representatives made no further use of their executive power to order detention. Unfortunately, the mandate of the ombudsman was fundamentally curtailed in 2006, so that the authority could hear only complaints against national institutions. On the urging of the Council of Europe, a Human Rights Advisory Panel was thereupon set up to deal with complaints against the UN administration. Its authority, however, was restricted to an advisory role only.

These examples from Afghanistan, Bosnia, and Kosovo suggest new avenues for enhancing accountability for human rights violations. Standard-setting, monitoring and sanctioning by external third parties ultimately lead to greater participation and transparency. The type of pluralist accountability these cases illustrate enhances the legitimacy of international organizations such as the UN by creating a broader accountability forum which includes the greater public and the international community. It meets the criteria of a society-based legitimacy perspective under which not only member states of the UN Security Council but also other actors in the international system monitor and pursue the respect of human rights. However, these examples also point to the limits of pluralist accountability: legal consequences for individual perpetrators were not

forthcoming and only exceptionally did these procedures make it possible to compensate the victims of human rights violations. Ultimately, effective protection of human rights requires a combination of effective internal and pluralist accountability mechanisms. This remains a challenge for the UN Security Council, the UN Secretariat, and individual states. They are ultimately responsible for the personnel whom they deploy in UN missions and to whom they give far-reaching powers.

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[Photo: Peter Himsel]

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Primacy of Imagination Huntington Was Right and Wrong—but Ultimately Really Wrong

Michael Zürn

In a series of articles in February 2015, the electronic journal International Politics and Society (IPG) discussed the thesis of Samuel Huntington about the clash of civilizations, which he first presented a good two decades ago. The two WZB directors Michael Zürn and Wolfgang Merkel contributed essays to this series, which set different accents, and which with the kind permission of the IPG we reproduce here in translation with only minor changes.

Samuel Huntington is rightly regarded as one of the most important political scientists of the second half of the twentieth century. His contributions to modernization theory and his work on the spread of democracy—although never undisputed—have had a profound impact on the discipline. Characteristic of his publications is the extremely lively interplay between imagination and systematic empirical observation. Some of his sweeping theses have even stood the test of time. This is not true for his late work “The Clash of Civilizations”. He ignored well-founded empirical objections; after all, the thesis had to stand tall. This one-sidedness was due less to the media demands of a world best-seller than to the personal attitude of an old man who has seen a great deal of life. I witnessed this myself when Huntington presented an early version of his famous essay to an international group of Harvard fellows for discussion over wine and canapés: although he turned a friendly ear to the objections of young and inexperienced scholars, he did not really consider integrating them into his own thinking.

His essay and the book that followed were strong on the side of imagination. He was not comfortable with the liberal confidence that had spread after the fall of the Soviet Empire. For him, a conservative sceptic, the liberal hopes for a world of democratic constitutional states were unrealistic and dangerous. His concern was to throw light on the potential for conflict in a still complex and dangerous world and to challenge the optimistic zeitgeist. He pointed to the continued existence of different ideas about what constitutes a good political order—and especially about the role of religion and the individual in society. And in this he was quite right. When in 2001 an Islamist terrorist organization brought down the highly symbolic Twin Towers, an American president drastically and openly violated fundamental principles of the Western script, and a high-ranking investment banker from Goldman Sachs predicted that the economic future of the world lay in what the new acronym termed the BRIC countries, it was clear that the liberal order still had enemies. Alternative notions of order reconsolidated, and the Western model of order once again faced fundamental challenges.

Huntington was wrong because his “clash of civilizations” was a child of the old view of a world shaped by the East-West divide. He tied competing notions of the world to religions and cultural entities and hence to territorially defined units. Thus, as it were, he naturalized cultures and religions and sought to give them material form by identifying them with territories. The “statization” of cultural entities was due not only to simplification; it was fundamental to his thinking and determined the political implications thereof. We now know that calling the Western order into question and the clash between notions of order in general are only partially motivated by religion and take place not between definable cultural entities but above all within such entities, whose boundaries are, however, progressively disintegrating. The so-called soldiers of Islam are not involved in trench warfare against Western armies at the border between two cultural entities: they are fighting in the West, in North Africa, and in Asia. The

Summary: Samuel Huntington's views on a clash of civilizations as the decisive future conflict line is deeply rooted in his perspective on the Cold War divide. He “staticized” cultures and religions. We now know the forces that call the Western order into question are only partially motivated by religion and above all take place within entities disintegrating. The “wars” that dshihadists fight do not confront Western armies, the conflicts are not about borders between two cultural entities; they take place within the West, in North Africa, and in Asia.

wave of revolution in North Africa shows that Western values are not exclusively on the defensive.

The rise of right-wing populism in Western Europe shows that there are also internal dangers threatening liberalism. But the financial crisis has shown that there is also good reason to set limits to liberalism.

We live in a world that has been divided by a new social fault line in the course of globalization. It can be seen as a conflict between cosmopolitan and communitarian thinking: on the one hand there are those who are for individual rights, for globalization and free trade, for migration and open societies, for international regulation, and sometimes also for international solidarity; on the other there are all those who give primacy to the culture and community to which they belong over excessive individualism and wish to protect their own nation against globalization. That both sides raise an ugly head by foreshortening positions that are in principle normatively arguable is demonstrated by greedy investment bankers, by right-wing populists, and to take an extreme example, the Islamic State. A world in which this cleavage increasingly occurs both within national political systems and at the international level is, however, one quite different from the religious cultural entities of Samuel Huntington.

To this extent, Huntington was empirical wrong. His position was rendered politically and therefore truly wrong by the fact that he wanted to protect Western culture against a conspiracy of evil and thus positioned “the West against the rest.” He thus—*nolens volens*—prepared the intellectual ground for a policy that, in “defending” of the West, is prepared to use means at variance with Western principles and values. Accordingly, he did much to exacerbate the differences underlying the conflict, differences he had actually wanted to warn against.



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(Photo: David Ausserhofer)

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When Religion and the Law Fuse Huntington's Thesis Is Evident both Empirically and Normatively

Wolfgang Merkel

When the world fell apart, the Soviet Empire imploded, and a wave of transformation processes engulfed Eastern Europe, Asia, Latin America and even sub-Saharan Africa. Not only moribund dictatorial regimes but also old certainties were swept away. The short twentieth century came to an abrupt end. The intellectual accompaniment was provided by two essays that promised new certainty in the new disarray. Promised? No, prophesied!

In 1992, Francis Fukuyama announced the “end of history.” In a both bold and casuistic simplification of Hegel's philosophy of history, he declared the competition between systems at an end. Liberal capitalism and liberal democracy had finally vanquished the planned economy and dictatorship. At its apogee, history had now come into its own. A good two decades later, this prophecy has crumbled away under violent hybrid regimes in the grey zone between democracy and autocracy. Capitalism, by contrast, has imposed itself worldwide and not always in its liberal form: witness China, Russia, and Ukraine.

A year later a second, truly prophetic essay from the pen of one of the world's most renowned political scientists appeared: “The Next Pattern of Conflict,” better known under the title “The Clash of Civilizations.” In brief it claimed that the “great divisions among humankind” would no longer be between nation states. The dominating lines of conflict would be cultural. Huntington sees civilizations as the highest and broadest form of collective cultural identity. They are defined in terms of language, history, religion, tradition, customs, and subjective self-identification. For Huntington, too, however, identities are not fixed for all time. They change. Human beings themselves set, change, and redefine the boundaries. This constructivist reservation is often overlooked by critics of Huntington's alleged naturalism. Nevertheless, he does something highly problematic. He claims to identify eight major civilizations in the world: “Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and possibly African civilization.”

This has been criticized by ethnologists, sociologists, political scientists, and in many an academic seminar. And rightly so, but what of it! Huntington blends religious, regional, ethnic, and national classification criteria into a single typology. And he ignores internal differentiation within “civilizations.” However, it would be naive to assume that a political scientist of his calibre was not aware of what he was doing. He was not interested in methodological finger exercises but in the normative and above all realpolitical incompatibilities and future conflicts between different “civilizations.”

This double incompatibility, he claimed, would give birth to the conflicts of the future: from Bosnia and Kosovo in the Balkans of the 1990s to the persistent conflicts in Nigeria, Sudan, Mali, the Caucasus, the Philippines, and Thailand up to and including 9/11, Madrid, London, and Paris. The realpolitical clash between the Islamic world and the rest also presents itself with deadly evidence in Huntington's account, too. But he overlooked the fact that religious-fundamentalist intransigence has long been at work within “Islamic civilization”: between Sunnis and Shi'ites, Iran and Saudi Arabia, in Libya, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen, and between the Palestinian “brothers” Hamas and Fatah. “The” Islamic “world” is not homogeneous. It is itself criss-crossed by religious fault lines, as was the Occident of the Wars of Religion in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Summary: Samuel Huntington's thesis of future conflict lines along cultural, ethnic, and religious fault lines may be questioned in detail. But in hindsight, the general validity of the idea of a the clash between contemporary Western and Islamic civilizations is evident at both the empirical and normative levels. For the West, this means: We must defend as non-negotiable values of our societies self-determination, equality between the sexes, freedom of the press, the freedom to criticize religion and to choose one's religion.

In some religions, namely the monotheistic faiths, we are witnessing a fundamentalization that reaches from the Bible Belt in the United States and ultra-orthodox Judaism in Israel to the Islamic world. Monotheistic religions, owing to their dogmatic nature, tend to hold an inbuilt potential for intolerance (Jan Assmann). Huntington quotes George Weigel: "The unsecularization of the world is one of the dominant social facts of life in the late twentieth century." As Gilles Kepel puts it, the revival of religion comes as "la revanche de dieu." In the West, however, this revenge is curbed constitutionally. The far-reaching separation of state and church as a consequence of bloody religious wars in the 16th and 17th, and the enlightenment in the 18th century "privatized" religious fundamentalism in the United States and in Israel subjects it to the rule of law.

Islam has known no Renaissance when a Machiavelli could recast the concept of divine order to favor human self-government. Nor does Islam have any philosophical tradition of social contract theory that makes the exercise of power dependent on consent. It has known no Enlightenment to confront religion with reason. Scepticism and self-irony are alien to it. At times, murderous fatwas penalize satire. The spell cast by a religious interpretation of the world has never been broken, the theocentric view of the world has never been replaced by an anthropocentric conception.

Particularly problematic for the compatibility of Islamic civilization with democracy is the fusion of religion and law. Religious norms that claim universal truth constrain the principle of popular sovereignty in a manner irreconcilable with the idea of democratic self-government. Religion and the state order merge. Supervision is vested in interpreters of sacred scripture. They lay down family law and the law of succession, issue dress and dietary rules and submit individual sexuality to repressive dictums. In the traditionalist and fundamentalist societies of Islamic civilization, apostasy, homosexuality, and adultery (by women) are punished by the severest of sanctions.

The validity of Huntington's thesis of the clash between contemporary Western and Islamic civilizations is evident at both the empirical and normative levels. It is not to be repudiated by pointing out the methodological and conceptual weaknesses of his arguments. Still less can it be brushed aside with the logically nonsensical but politically correct assertion that there is no clash of civilizations ("is" statement), that we must rather conduct a "dialogue between cultures" ("ought" statement).

The latter is certainly incontestable. My critique of the main manifest variants of political and religious Islamism is inspired by the emancipatory values of the enlightenment and steers clear of the morass of brown xenophobic resentments. But we can conduct an honest dialogue between different cultures and worldviews (Weltanschauungen) only if we are certain of our own normative references. We must establish the non-negotiable principles and values of our civilization. They include self-determination, equality between the sexes, freedom of the press, the freedom to criticize religion and to choose one's religion. If we abandon these principles under pressure from the nugatory reproach of post-colonial ethnocentrism, our convictions will dissipate in a normatively empty mix of multicultural indifference.



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Labor. Analysis of labor issues has a long history at the WZB. The Project Group on Globalization, Work, and Production focuses on questions arising from changing divisions of labor in a global economy and on aspects of working conditions, employee relations, and the design of personnel and production systems in automotive industries in the BRIC states. Issues of work, gender, and family are explored primarily in the Research Area on Education, Work, and Life Chances and in the President's project group.

The Fourth Revolution: The Transformation of Manufacturing Work in the Age of Digitalization

Martin Krzywdzinski, Ulrich Jürgens and Sabine Pfeiffer

Current discussions suggest that manufacturing is about to experience a massive transformation. To leave no doubt about the significance of the impending changes and to shake the relevant actors out of their sleep, the German federal government has officially referred to this process as the fourth industrial revolution, following the mechanization of production using steam power in the late eighteenth century, electrification and the emergence of assembly line production in the late nineteenth century, and the digital revolution based on microelectronics in the late twentieth century. Hence the term "Industrie 4.0."

What exactly is so new about this new industrial revolution, especially since the 3.0 revolution took place not so long ago? What do the new technologies mean for the future of work in industrial production?

One core element of Industrie 4.0 is the use of "cyber-physical systems." According to work scientist Dieter Spath, these systems are "autonomously controlled physical entities [i.e., machines but also individual components] that make decentralized decisions, communicating with each other in an internet of data and services." A second key feature is the emergence of flexible robots that are now capable of interacting directly with human workers—the robots are leaving their cages, as it were. And finally, the use of assistance systems such as data eyeglasses and smart watches is considered essential for the new era, because such systems can support workers by providing them with digitalized knowledge when and where they need it.

A roadmap for revolution?

These technologies offer diverse opportunities to fundamentally change workplace structures and processes. This opens up vast possibilities for redesigning manufacturing work. While there is far-reaching potential for automation, the new technologies also involve enhanced opportunities to support workers and

Summary: German government and companies claim the beginning of a fourth industrial revolution, based on the internet of things and a new generation of flexible robots and assistance systems. Industrie 4.0 has thus far only existed in model factories. The development bears risks (job losses, devaluation of skills, increasing surveillance of employees) as well as opportunities (increasing importance of the human factor and improvement in ergonomics in manufacturing). Social research needs a long-term perspective in analyzing the experiences with the new technologies and their institutional conditions, and to show possibilities of a human-centered design of production processes.

to strengthen their capacity for autonomous action and decentralized self-regulation.

We do not know at this point how these possibilities for reshaping manufacturing work will eventually be implemented and whether companies will introduce the new technologies in a gradual or disruptive manner. The answers to these questions depend on what the relevant actors will do and which of the chosen approaches will prove most successful in the market. The development of Industrie 4.0 is still in its early stages, and there are few examples of how to apply the new tools outside of laboratories and model factories. Accordingly, the discussion is marked by many uncertainties and quite a few absurdities—for instance when practitioner workshops produce roadmaps (i.e., plans to orchestrate the sequence of events and align the related activities) for what supposedly be a revolutionary transformation.

Despite repeated assertions that the technologies are now ready for application, it is uncertain how they will work in a real-world production setting. Based on past experiences with automation processes, the degree of process stability produced under laboratory conditions is hardly ever achieved in practice. The multiplicity of possible disruptions caused by broken parts (or parts that do not exactly meet the specifications), machine breakdowns, or employee mistakes creates a very high need for improvisation and creative problem-solving—in complex as well as simple production processes. Industrial sociologist Ulf Ortmann, for example, wrote about the practical problems experienced by a textile factory in its attempt to self-regulate commodity flows with the help of RFID tags (transponders for the wireless localization and identification of objects) sewn into or glued to garments. Since many tags turned out to be broken or could not be read, workers had to go through the “nerve-racking routine” of checking all garments to find out whether the machines had identified them correctly.

Even if such problems are the inevitable teething troubles of new technologies, we do have to ask about the future role that human workers will play in the operations layout.

Existing studies on the future of manufacturing work in the context of Industrie 4.0 identify risks as well as opportunities, expecting that there will be winners and losers among employees. Let's begin with the risks. Human work could be replaced by machines, meaning that jobs would be lost. One recent study that caused quite a stir was that by Carl Benedikt Frey and Michael Osborne, who looked at the US labor market in 2013 and found that 47 percent of the workforce are employed in occupations that are very likely to be replaced by automation in a decade or two. The potential for computerization is assumed to be much higher for industrial occupations: 81 percent for mechatronics technicians, 84 percent for toolmakers, and 97 percent for assemblers. Authors at the Center for European Economic Research (ZEW), in a brief report to the German Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, applied the Frey/Osborne method to the German labor market, estimating that 42 percent of the workforce are endangered. However, the ZEW authors point out that such predictions become more realistic if we look at the potential for automation at the level of individual work tasks rather than entire occupations. Using that approach, it turns out that only about 12 percent (9 in the US) of all tasks have a high likelihood of being performed by computers and software in the medium term. No separate assessment was made for manufacturing jobs. Yet both the occupation-based and the task-based predictions about the impact of Industrie 4.0 on employment are based on sometimes questionable assumptions and anything but robust statistical raw data. In other words, we are still a long way from making reliable predictions.

A second risk involves the possible devaluation of qualifications and skills. After the third industrial revolution, the application of new technologies often resulted in a polarization of job requirements, primarily among the group of workers with medium-level qualifications. The skilled welder, for example, was on the one hand replaced by the operator of an automated welding machine, on the other hand by the unskilled worker inserting parts into the machine, also known



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in Germany as Restarbeiter (worker performing residual work). With the advent of Industrie 4.0, we can expect such residual work to become obsolete for the most part; at the same time, higher-skilled tasks, and increasingly also the indirect tasks performed by skilled workers and engineers, can be made easier, for instance with the help of assistance systems guiding workers by sending them instructions via smart watches or data eyeglasses. Thus the use of digital assistance systems involves the danger of devaluing experiential knowledge even among workers previously considered highly skilled.

The scope of human decision-making can be restricted substantially by using 4.0 technologies. This also implies restrictions on the opportunities for workers to learn and develop. Finally, the list of potential risks also includes new possibilities for performance monitoring and surveillance. Digital assistance systems such as tablets, smart watches, or data eyeglasses continuously generate data about an employee's location, the speed at which they perform their tasks, and the quality of their results; employee-related data about their performance, fitness, and motivation become a source for big data.

Aside from the risks, however, there are also a number of opportunities. First of all, the possibilities for ergonomic workplace design will improve. In fact, workplace ergonomics is a key field for win-win solutions when implementing Industrie 4.0 concepts. Assistance systems and the use of robots enable specific solutions for problematic ergonomic situations and the creation of better workplaces for employees with health restrictions. In addition to making work more human, this area also provides opportunities for addressing the ageing workforce issue and the employment of workers with impaired productivity. As a legacy of the second industrial revolution, today's manufacturing sector continues to feature a wide range of ergonomically problematic workplaces (called "red" workplaces in industry jargon).

Another opportunity is the possible upgrading of jobs in manufacturing and the potential skills gains of workers on the shop floor. Process support provided by mobile robots and assistance systems can be used to strengthen the team's operational autonomy, to facilitate training processes, and to make improvements. Especially for assembly line workers, use of the new technologies could mean a liberation from repetitive and monotonous work in favor of tasks involving process monitoring and improvement. Such a development, however, would require a shift away from today's predominant philosophy of lean production—a philosophy whose global triumph was celebrated as another industrial revolution not so long ago, and which has resulted in a return to design principles of standardized and short-cycle work.

Whether the future will be shaped more by the risks or more by the opportunities will depend to large extent on the implementation concepts that will become predominant in practice. It would be unfortunate if the opportunities of Industrie 4.0 were to be narrowed down to automation goals at the expense of solutions that might strengthen manufacturing workers' ability to act and the self-regulation of teams. As research has shown, the use of complex digital manufacturing technologies increases the importance of experiential knowledge. It is true that imponderables occur less frequently in highly automated processes, but if they do occur, it is all the more important to take the right actions. Those actions have to be performed under time pressure and require the ability to act without having clear information.

Progressive digitalization requires workers to master complexity on a daily basis, to handle imponderables in a confident manner, and to take the right actions in situations that cannot be planned. Sabine Pfeiffer and Anne Suphan have shown that, across all industries and qualification levels, 71 percent of the German workforce have to deal a lot with imponderables, complexity, and change. At the top of the list are occupations that are particularly relevant for Industrie 4.0, such as the core IT occupations, industrial mechanics, and toolmakers.

The distribution of risks and opportunities is not determined by technology. The abovementioned Industrie 4.0 technologies offer a particularly strong degree of



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freedom when it comes to implementation. The current development, therefore, could also serve to strengthen co-determination, because in Germany the use of new technologies that affect the workplace often has to be approved by the works councils. It is no coincidence that the industrial unions are making substantial efforts to prepare works council members and the unions' ombudspersons inside the companies for this new topic. What will matter most with regard to the influence of co-determination, however, will be the extent to which workers and their representatives will get involved in the implementation of the new technologies in their companies.

Finally, the issue of risks and opportunities also touches upon the future competitiveness of Germany as an industrial location. The first industrial revolution represented the birth of industry as a new mode of production and a new organizational field. The fourth industrial revolution will no longer be driven by traditional industrial enterprises but essentially by IT companies. The strongest players in the IT industry are not based in Germany, hence the fourth industrial revolution could challenge Germany's industrial basis.

As a consequence, the issue of risks and opportunities associated with the new technologies will also rekindle the debate about advantages and disadvantages of national institutional arrangements. In Germany, the training of skilled workers is considered a key advantage with regard to Industrie 4.0. In the United States, by contrast, the opportunities are seen more in the possibility of simplifying skills requirements and training semi-skilled workers with the help of technology.

For social scientists, all of this implies a strong need for research; at the same time, they too are faced with the problem of having to deal with uncertainty. Predictions concerning the effects of the new technologies (as the experiences with earlier discussions about the effects of microelectronics have shown) are little more than speculation at this point. Now is the time to indicate ways to actively shape this development, and hence to influence the distribution of risks and opportunities as the new technologies are beginning to be applied. This can be done by analyzing the practical experiences with the new technologies at the workplace, by collecting data about the spectrum of different approaches and their social and institutional success factors and cumulative effects, and by highlighting the full range of possible actions. One thing is certain: This kind of research will require a long-term perspective, as industrial revolutions do not happen overnight.

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[Photo: Andreas Amann]

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What Care Work Is Worth: Different Income Levels in the Social Service Sector Have Multiple Causes

Lena Hipp, Nadiya Kelle and Lydia-Maria Quart

Massive demographic changes, most notably population aging and an ever growing number of women entering the workforce, have prompted an increasing number of individuals to outsource household and family responsibilities to professional providers. Due to advancements in medical care, many people have long been able to enjoy a longer life in spite of illnesses and disabilities. Modernized gender roles have changed the division of work between men and women. With more and more women joining the workforce, caregiving tasks can no longer be performed by family members alone. Against this background, the increase of professionals working in the social service sector is no surprise. According to the German Federal Statistical Office, 18.1 percent of the German workforce was employed in the health, education, and social sector in March 2014. In other words, about 5.4 million people worked to improve or maintain the physical and mental well-being of others.

Despite the rising importance of caregiving services in society, workers in this sector often earn rather low wages. Figures released for Germany by the Federal Statistical Office show that in 2013 the average gross income of daycare teachers and nurses working full time was €35,027 and €37,245 per year, respectively, which is significantly below the average income across all occupations (€42,803/year).

But care work and low wages do not always and everywhere go together. There are vast differences between countries and between occupations, as we show in our analysis of the European Labor Force Survey (EU LFS) and the US Current Population Survey (IPUMS CPS). We compare care workers' average incomes in 23 countries—the incomes of skilled workers in health and elder care and those in early education on the one hand, and those of assistants in these sectors on the other.

To ensure that countries are comparable, we use income deciles of all employed individuals aged between 15 and 64 years in our analysis. To calculate income deciles, all the incomes earned in one country are ordered from high to low and then divided into ten groups. Each of these groups contains the same number of employees. The first income decile contains the 10 percent of the population earning the lowest incomes; the tenth contains the 10 percent earning the highest incomes. The income between fifth and the sixth decile corresponds to the median income. If the average income of a certain occupational group is between the fifth and sixth decile, it means that one half of the workforce in that country earn a higher income and the other half a lower income than the average earner in that occupation.

Using seven countries as examples, we show that at first glance, skilled workers in the health and elder care sector (e.g., midwives or geriatric nurses) earn good wages in all of the countries we studied. On average, their incomes are higher than those of half of the remaining workforce in each country. However, that income advantage disappears in some countries once we perform a multivariate analysis considering age, education, type of employment, and employer size. Taking these variables into account, we can show for some countries, including Finland and Germany that professionals in the health and elder care sector earn less than persons in other occupations with comparable individual and labor market characteristics.

Summary: Although the need for social services has been increasing steadily, workers in this sector often earn low wages. But there are major differences between individual caregiving professions and between countries. In Germany, those employed in the social services sector sometimes earn less than their counterparts in other western countries. This analysis brings to light the many different causes behind these wage disparities and points out possibilities for change.

Skilled workers at elementary schools and daycare institutions in many countries earn more than people in other occupations even after taking these characteristics into account. Among the reasons for this finding is that working as a daycare or elementary school teacher in many countries requires a university education and that they are thus in the same occupational category in internationally comparative studies. This might explain the relatively strong position of skilled workers in early education in Germany.

The incomes of assistant workers in the social service sector, by contrast, are very low in nearly all countries. People employed in these occupations mostly earn much less than half of the workforce. In Germany, assistant workers in the social service sector with an average income position between the third and fourth income decile earn an average of 65 percent less than the average income across all occupations.

Our analysis reveals significant differences between the various caregiving occupations and between countries. The discrepancy between professionals and assistance workers is striking: Whereas highly qualified care workers are paid comparatively well in many countries, assistant workers almost everywhere earn less than persons with comparable qualifications in other occupations. In Germany, however, skilled workers in the health and elder care sector earn less than their counterparts in most other countries.

Why is it that care workers in Germany earn rather low wages compared to other countries? Possible explanations include structural conditions, such as the percentage of women in the social service sector, the economic demand for this kind of work, and the scope of welfare state spending. But the specific characteristics of care work, such as the “invisibility” of the tasks performed, the workers’ high level of intrinsic motivation, and their close relationships to the people they care for may also play a role. Do these explanations stand up to scrutiny?

Caregiving occupations have traditionally been a female domain. As in most other countries, the proportion of women working in these occupations in Germany is between 80 and 95 percent. Until well into the twentieth century, the earnings of women were only considered an add-on to the income of the family breadwinner, and the systematic underestimation of typical female work continues to the present day. Thus the high proportion of women working in the social service sector is one possible reason why wages are relatively low. In our analysis, we found this assumption confirmed for many countries: the higher the number of women working in the social service sector, the lower the wages there. In Germany, the proportion of women in the health and elder care sector is below the median of all countries, and yet professionals in this sector are paid below average.

The principle of supply and demand is another explanation for wage discrepancies. Changes in family structures, an ageing population, and the growing participation of women in the workforce have caused the demand for care work to increase steadily in the industrialized world. One would expect these developments to boost the wages and bargaining leverage of professionals in this field. If, however, only relatively few women work full time—in Germany, full-time female employment is below 25 percent—and care work can frequently be performed privately at home, this should negatively affect the income of professional care workers. In fact, this is exactly what happens in Germany and most other countries. Payment for social services is lower if fewer women work full time.

Another explanation for the low pay is associated with the public-good character of care work. Markets do not provide sufficient services in the social sector, or not for all persons who need help, because even though these services benefit the community as a whole, individuals are not willing or able to pay for the costs. Due to this structural lack of funding, it is usually the government that assumes most of the financial burden. As a consequence, the incomes of care workers should be higher in countries with higher welfare state spending. At



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the moment, we cannot find evidence for this connection based on the data available. In Germany and many other countries, skilled workers in the health and elder care sector earn wages below the national median despite the fact that welfare state spending is clearly above the average of all countries.

In addition to these structural characteristics, it is the very nature of care work that partly explains why wages in this sector are so low. In the caregiving occupations, intrinsic motivation tends to be very high, keeping care workers from fighting for higher wages. What is more, care work largely consists of intangible, day-to-day activities that receive little recognition and do not translate into higher pay. We therefore conducted interviews on this issue with German employees from various caregiving occupations. The interviews made it very clear that care workers knowingly accept lower wages because they love their work so much. As one male geriatric nurse said, "The reason I'm still in geriatric care, it has to do with the people. [...] If I wanted to make money, I'd do something else, you can't make money in elderly care." Many care workers say they experience their work as meaningful and satisfying. To them, therefore, the gratefulness of long-term care patients or the learning achievements of children constitute an additional reward for their work. Yet there are limits to this motivation. Due to rising workload pressures, care workers have less time to work on the tasks they consider especially meaningful. Recent strikes in the education and health care sector suggest that poor work conditions serve to diminish the acceptance of low wages.

Furthermore, our interviewees reported that their skills are underappreciated. One daycare teacher quipped that people from the outside often think, "day-care teachers, they look after the kids a little, drink coffee, and play games." That is despite the fact, she said, that her job involves very challenging tasks: "Parents don't realize that the standards of the profession today are very high, involving documentation, implementing educational plans, elementary school-level teaching [...]. Parents only see that their child is happy and that the people are nice." This state of semi-professionalization is particularly pronounced in Germany. Compared to other Western countries, only a small number of caregiving occupations require a university education; moreover, occupational profiles are sometimes poorly codified. Although vocational training programs strengthen trainees' theoretical skills, emotional, communicational, and relationship work is rarely included in the training curricula and hence not paid adequately.

Our analyses have shown that underpayment in the caregiving occupations is caused by multiple factors, but some explanations need further investigation. With regard to practice, our findings mean that if we want to improve the status of care work in financial terms, caregiving occupations have to become more attractive to men as well. Furthermore, spending for these societally important tasks should be increased and channeled in such a way that it actually benefits those working in this sector. An increased professionalization of care work would change society's perception of daycare teachers', caregivers', and nurses' work. As a consequence, these occupations should receive a higher economic recognition.

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To the Very Limit, with Everything Caught between Self-fulfilment and Burnout in the Modern World of Work

Hildegard Matthies and Stella Rehbein

“It was just this permanent, constant stress of always being expected to be available. On top of that, you have a work cellphone, which still receives emails after ten at night. You sit in your office and you’re writing an email while you’re on the phone, then someone comes in and waves a piece of paper at you, and then another person comes in and starts shouting. Somehow you are always doing everything at the same time. And food? If you do get the chance to eat, then it’s in a taxi when you’re on the way to somewhere.”

This is what Mette Winter (a pseudonym) recalls from her experiences at work. We interviewed Mette in the context of the German Research Foundation project “Cooling out as a transformation of occupational motivation”, in which we analyze why people choose to leave their careers. In this quotation she described her work as an advertising film producer, a sector that the magazine Spiegel recently dubbed the “Wild West” with a culture of “work till you drop, lousy pay, horrible contracts.” The example offers an opportunity to examine the working conditions in this field. “Candidates queue up for jobs,” Spiegel writes, because the advertising sector promises exactly what the so-called Generation Y strives for: a job that corresponds to their specialist and intellectual skills, that is varied and fun, and that guarantees good pay to boot.

Mette, who was born in a major German city in 1983, also felt attracted to this field. Like so many others, she wanted to “work in media”: “Back then there was such a rush, everyone wanted in.” The sector’s appeal lies in its promise to be unconventional and creative, and to give employees space for autonomy and flexibility. This is much more attractive to Mette than the strict code of conduct and the inflexible, hierarchical structures of the Tayloristic work culture “with a dress code and a code of behavior and a time stamp clock”, which seems so old-fashioned to her. She perceives the atmosphere in the advertising sector to be freer, more informal, and more youthful: “more relaxed.”

Mette’s first steps into the field are typical. After completing a bachelor’s degree in marketing in Germany and England, she first undertakes an internship at an advertisement production company and on television. Then she moves to a bigger advertising agency, where she starts off as a receptionist. In spite of her “top grades” at university, for her it is a “stroke of luck when you get in the door.” The position offers a gateway to her real career goal: “I’d been there for about nine months, and then at some point they said: ‘Okay, now you can move over and start on production.’ And then you start out as an assistant to forge your way.”

As soon as she gets into advertising, Mette encounters a world with its own rules and practical constraints: employees are expected to be able to deal with continuous stress, be constantly available and willing to make sacrifices; the structural pressure to continually push themselves to their limits is unavoidable because cost pressures mean that the “deadlines” and “the production schedules and projects” are from the outset squeezed to such a degree, “that it is simply not possible to get it done if you have a bit of free time and work normal hours.”

What Mette experiences in her everyday work is practically a textbook case of that double-edged type of employment which in the sociology of work is char-

Summary: Changing structures at the workplace, often referred to as a dissolution of boundaries and subjectivization, are almost exclusively described under stress aspects (with burnout as the main catchword). So far, nobody has paid closer attention to the incentives these structures offer to employees. By way of example, the professional career of a commercial film producer illustrates how these incentives can become more and more appealing, causing the individual to repeatedly go beyond what they can handle.

acterized by concepts such as subjectivization and blurring of boundaries: work structures that promise employees the chance to bring in their subjectivity into the work process, but which at the same time shift responsibility for a smooth work process and results to employees. Such structures in an “externally organized self-organisation” (Pongratz/Voss) create not only “hyper-inclusion” (Erfurt Sandhu) within the company, where the boundary between the company and the private sphere hardly exists anymore. They also lead to an unusual form of self-discipline and an attitude of exceeding one’s physical and cognitive limits. Mette says that she always goes “to the very limit, with everything.” In her case, too, the many and varied strains and burdens become personalized: “Nobody cares what it costs each individual to make everything run smoothly.” Formal or informal support structures, opportunities for solidarity, personal contact and discussion are essentially non-existent. “There is no team-building, it doesn’t matter if you’re not feeling well today. Somehow there is no room for [the ideal] that employees are human beings.” The industry is characterized by high mobility and a lack of job security: “If you don’t fit in, if you don’t deliver: you know where the door is.”

However, the conditions described above do not consist exclusively of external pressure and imposed demands. As the example of Mette shows, they also take on a kind of peculiar appeal. Hence she does not only suffer at the hands of the seemingly overpowering structures and constraints, she also develops her own mode of behavior, which makes rewards, satisfaction and success possible. It is a mode in which employees derive their motivation from pushing themselves to or even beyond their limits. Similar to extreme sports, this type of work environment generates a knock-on effect. Asceticism, self-discipline and high tolerance for suffering become a source of pride and satisfaction. Being able to overcome her own weaknesses, vulnerability and exhaustion through sheer willpower (at least temporarily) gives Mette a feeling of self-sufficiency she never knew before: “Let me tell you, I’ve learnt to function extremely well, and, when it comes to the crunch, you can always eat and sleep some other time. Now you just have to get it done, and you have to do it perfectly.” She has learnt to ignore her mental state and to deny her physical and emotional needs. She postpones doctors’ appointments again and again, until at some point she “wakes up in pain during the night because it’s not possible to go to the dentist.”

These kinds of self-abnegation and excessive demands on oneself are partly the result of the organizational structure of expectations at an international advertising agency, where it is “always taken for granted that you can function perfectly.” However, it also becomes clear that Mette has internalized these attitudes so that they have become, at least in part, her own motives of action. For example, when a colleague whose child has a fever wants to take an hour off after working for 70 hours, Mette catches herself thinking “Really? Are you serious? You can’t do that.” Only when she lies in bed at night does she become aware of internal conflicts. She senses a disconnect between the dominating constraints of the industry and her own desire to show empathy; she thinks “Hey, I don’t want to be like this, and I don’t want to carry on simply functioning like this anymore!”

Mette has experienced first-hand how this kind of unrestrained work and organizational culture also demands painful concessions when it comes to social ties. She “has lost friends and relationships”—sacrifices that signify success and prestige in the industry: “It is cool to do nothing but work, and it is cool to say ‘No, I’m still at the agency’, and ‘No, I can’t!’ Nowadays, ‘burnout’ is also almost seen as cool, and ‘I never see my family’ is also quite cool, because it means ‘I am successful.’” The constant exceeding one’s limits has become a distinct source of motivation and plays a significant role in the allocation of social status and respect. Being tough on oneself, self-denial and identifying exclusively with one’s work persona in the world of work are all rewarded.

Other scholars have shown that a cultural technique hides behind the diffuse semantics of “cool,” one that can be described as: “an individual behavioral strategy that strives for strict control of one’s emotions. One looks to conceal not just vulnerability and weakness, but also anger and aggression, and instead to



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demonstrate power and strength just as much as calm and composure.” (Geiger/Schröder/Söll). Such displays of self-control and emotional numbness have been noted in various traditions. In the USA, for example, it can be seen in the resistance of the African-American counterculture and associated provocative youth cultures, from punk to hip-hop. In Europe, the researchers see coolness's intellectual precursor in Ancient Greek stoicism with its ideal of control over emotions, in dandyism with its rejection of moral convictions and in Georg Simmel's description of the urban dwellers and their dulling of emotions—three themes that are also apparent in Mette's account of the advertising industry.

What is striking about Mette's case is the relatively minor importance of competition. In other working environments characterized by subjectivization—for example the banking and finance sector—being tough on oneself and practising self-denial serve as means to distinguish oneself from others and acquire a competitive advantage over them. In Mette's case, however, the struggle is not with others but against her own limits. Here, the “martial myth of proving oneself,” which Claudia Honegger observed in the banking sector, undergoes a transformation: It does not ultimately lead to “everyone fighting everyone else,” but to fighting against and with oneself. One's own body becomes the opponent, who must be outpaced, fooled and surpassed.

For Mette it is not possible to put a stop to the martial upgrading of the self by using mindfulness or self-care. The body functions as the only material evidence of the feeling of “this can't go on.” Instead of admitting that her energy is completely depleted, she finds herself thinking one day on the underground: “If I fell down the escalator and broke my arm, then I'd have some peace for a while.” The longed-for self-mutilation as the only conceivable way out of the system of “functioning” is the ultimate climax in a process of placing ever-increasing demands on one's self, up to the point of self-harm.

For Mette, the period of suffering “stretched itself out,” but she became increasingly certain that the burden had reached intolerable proportions. In the mornings she woke up with a “ringing noise in her ear.” She realized that she had reached a limit: “At some point, I just couldn't do it anymore.” Even more challenging than the physical signs of exhaustion was the psychological suffering caused by the de-humanizing work that went against her own convictions and “values.” The chances of changing the form of her everyday work and adjusting her work environment to better reflect her wants and needs were basically non-existent. So the only option Mette had was to leave: “No. I cannot and will not function like this anymore.”

Mette resigned. The management tried to convince her to stay: “You'll get an assistant and double the money.” But Mette felt that a “line has already been crossed,” and there was no going back. The lack of “the human touch,” not the money, “is the reason I am leaving.”



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Social Inequality. How societies cope with aspects of inequality, diversity, and integration is one of the WZB's key topics and is addressed in various research units. The focus of study includes the integration of immigrants, the reactions of native populations to immigration, and the impacts of immigration and diversity on social trust, cooperation, and solidarity in society at large. Analysis of social inequality offers insights into the world of education and democracy but also into inequality at a transnational level.

Renting Wombs Narratives of Surrogates from State of Kerala, India

Arathi Presenna Madhavan

Popular as well as academic debates on commercial surrogacy take polemic positions on commercial surrogacy no matter which side one is, either for it or against it. What is interesting is that, ideologies apart, both streams of thought use the word 'work' and 'labour' without any distinction to argue their positions. One considers commercial surrogacy as work that is legitimate assertion of woman's autonomy and her way to extricate her family out of poverty. The other sees it as exploitation and demeaning work that needs to be regulated or banned.

My attempt is to explore the understanding on surrogacy of those who undergo that and it is an exercise which helps to superimpose social realities to the option to be a surrogate (with/out compulsions). The intention of this article is to explore the narratives of the surrogates, and bring out what are the self-interpretations of surrogates about surrogacy and how surrogates internalize the market-driven obstetric practice of surrogacy.

The narratives of the surrogates are from the field work I have conducted at three in vitro fertilization (IVF) clinics in the Indian state of Kerala during the period of September 2013 to November 2014.

Since Kerala is popular for its trade union culture and presence of left political prominence, unlike other parts of India, surrogates receive relatively more money (like any other daily wage/ contract wage worker if the case). Compare to the normal range of money receive in other parts of the country (2850 - 7130 Euros), surrogates from Kerala receive a relatively better amount (8560- 11400 Euros). The major parts of commissioning couple are Non- Resident Keralites-NRK (who live in UAE and US for their living and basically from Kerala) and people from NRK families. Kerala economy largely depends on remittance and highest receiver of overall remittance in India. Tourism plays another contributor to Kerala's economy along with agriculture, service sector and alcohol beverages. As part of medical/reproductive tourism also, Kerala get commissioning couple from different parts of the world too.

A paradigm shift in the basic principles of public health law-making is reflected in the draft Assisted Reproductive Technologies (Regulation) Bill, 2013. The Pre-

Summary: Altruism? An independently chosen line of work? Exploitation? There are many differing takes on commercial surrogacy. A field study in the Indian state of Kerala, in which open interviews were conducted with twelve surrogate mothers, examines the complex relationships and dependencies associated with the practice. The decision to bear another couple's child is always based on a range of reasons. Those wishing to restrict trade in fertility must provide social and economic security.

amble of this Bill states that the primary goal of the law is to regulate hitherto unregulated assisted reproductive technology clinics which have had an 'exponential growth' in last 20 or more years. There is no explanation for lack of regulation or the delays in regulating "mushrooming of such clinics around the country" over the past three decades.

The narratives of surrogates therefore provide evidence, that in contemporary India the sections from where surrogates come see surrogacy in different ways: some call it altruism; others work; and some as undesirable work under compulsions of their survival and therefore, that has to be the starting point and not the end.

I used semi- structured open- ended interview schedules and interviewed 12 surrogates (9 undergoing pregnancy and 3 just delivered within a month span of interviews). All of them are heterosexual, most of them married women (only one is divorced) and all of them practice Hindu religion and mostly upper caste (10) and from semi- urban locations. For the following quotations, I use pseudo names for the interviewed women.

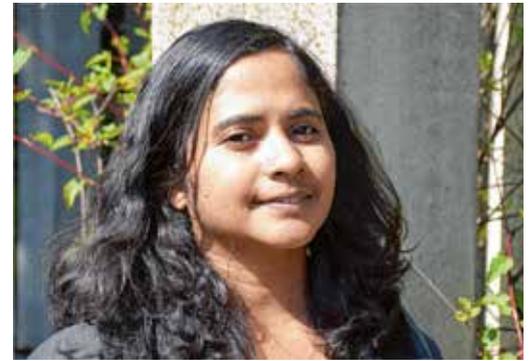
Surrogates are engaged in low paying, seasonal (probably 10/20 months of entire working life), risk involved, informalised labour. This usually translates into financial difficulties, uncertainties and possibilities of danger to health. The payment to surrogacy – the amount, nature of payment (lump sum), the time span over which the amount is received – emerges a central reason for becoming a surrogate. Almost all the surrogates revealed the reason to choose surrogacy on everyday financial hardships and difficulties in making ends meet.

Uma, 29 years old: "It is money that gets you to do everything. Compulsions at home give pressures on you. No one does it because they enjoy bearing someone else's child. God shows us this path. No women bear a child and give it away out of interest."

Or Gadha, 33 years old: "I have this dream, since I couldn't study, I wish to my children should get the best education. Now you know how expensive it is to get admissions in good schools and the fees too. Whatever I could not get, my children should. That's why I am here. I have no trouble over my everyday sustenance (food)." The nature of work the surrogates and their husbands usually have does not enable them to have the kind of money in a short duration that surrogacy promises. Even if the state of Kerala provides a better minimum wage, unorganized, contract/scheme workers are outside the ambit of minimum wage law and treated as "cheap labour" in the labour market.

The unexpected events in life like disease or death of earning member in the family, pushed them to opt surrogacy. Story of Nisha, 28, as an example: "My father spent lots of money for my marriage as dowry and to conduct the marriage too. After months, I got to know that my husband has another wife and kid. He left me, but did not return the dowry money. My father was not interested to go the court to get the money back. Then I decided to work as a nurse in the nearby private hospital. Meanwhile my father got diagnosed intestinal cancer. As you know the treatment is too expensive and my father has already huge debt due to my marriage. I have the responsibility to repay the debt he incurred from my marriage and I have to find money for my father's treatment too. What else I could do? I cannot go abroad and work, since my father needs my attention and care".

Some women interviewed place their choice to be surrogate in the altruistic notions of surrogacy, helping a couple in need by renting one's own womb: "Of course all others came to do this job due to poverty and desperation... people become surrogates, egg donors and even sex workers due to compulsions. They sacrifice their life for their kids and family. I too did the same. Also I have sympathy for the plight of those childless couple. They used to call me from abroad again and again and said their problems of not having a child" (Bindu, 29 years). Maya even more clearly placed the emphasis on the altruistic element of her relationship to the commissioning couples: "All I lack is money and this is noth-



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(Photo: Martina Sander)

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ing compared to the pain of those here, who are issueless for the last ten or fifteen years. I rent my womb to help to end the trauma of a couple" [Maya, 26 years]

The informal sector is the largest employment provider for women in India and featured by long hours of tedious work, meagre pay and no social security. The exploitative conditions in the sector have been further exacerbated by the structural adjustment policies adopted by the government, (which made the collapse of primary agricultural sector too) in the beginning of 1990. This is the context in which surrogacy started appearing as one of the options of mostly informalised work for women.

As Bindu articulates it, "this is definitely a work. I do understand this as work but not as the hard work I do normally for my earning. Of course here my body is involved 24 hours of the day. And I know that it has its own physical risks too."

However many others view it from a conventional understanding of gendered labour such as a traditional duty/ responsibility assigned to a woman, like any other domestic work, care work or reproductive labour, is invisibilised and devalued.

One of them tempted to compare surrogacy with other works. "When you are in need, its fine to do things which are not so normal and usual. Need can make a person do anything, but this is fine. Compared to other kinds of work, this work is okay. Like some women have to do domestic work, women go out and work in houses. This is better than that. Why? People in houses can treat you like shit and even can accuse you for stealing stuffs. It's a suffocating job. I have never done that." [Priya, 31 years]

Couple of surrogates used the typical language of formal sector employment to describe the money transactions involved in surrogacy. "Every time when we visited the hospital before and even after the delivery, the commissioning couple gave me a travel allowance. After the delivery they gave me an extra *batta* for my medical care. I have made a friend here, another surrogate, she had delivered a baby a month ago and she told me that she got *batta* and suggested me to demand it from my commissioning couple" [Maya, 26 years] Travel allowances are usually paid to a government employee who attends an official function, and *batta* means an extra pay or allowance based on special grounds.

When I did an examination of surro- pregnancy contracts signed by the surrogates I interviewed, it clearly showed many possibilities of exploitation of surrogates. The emergence of gestational surrogacy reduced the legal battle and gave more choices to consumers of the IVF industry. The courtrooms and law-making bodies remained silent in most countries on the equally critical role of gestation and ensuing emotional stresses the surrogates go through. In fact by banning the use of surrogate's ova and giving recognition to genetic identity of the baby, they undermining her contribution. In today's context transnational surrogacy practice gets legal sanction through the agreement, which is fundamentally a contract based on the notions of formal equality and does not care about the obvious hierarchies based on class, caste, race, religion and region/nation. The practice of commercial surrogacy however denotes that the "willingness" of being a surrogate comes mostly from those parts of the world where social and cultural options are skewed due to economic disparity as is the case with east Europe or India which have become cradles for relatively cheap surrogate babies.

When I went to the field after my PhD submission,(where I did a theoretical review of labour aspect of surrogacy and argued that it is "reproductive slavery") with a bias and moral judgement that surrogates are totally exploited without any voices or agency. My interactions with surrogates in the field gave me more nuanced and complex understanding with less judgmental about their decision to be surrogate. Until now in academia surrogates' voices are interpreted in a manner to argue the researcher's point of view vehemently. I feel, if I do, that is not ethical and morally a right thing to do. The researcher should take a

responsibility to make the unheard voices heard rather than interpreted, and to bring light to the complexities and nuances involved and varied dimensions of exploitations.

The dilemma of a woman, who opts for surrogacy to take care of her family, when she has no options but the extra bit of money it brings, is therefore the foremost. Those engaged in the debate need to first address her altruism directed towards the family. Since we work within a system that is forcing her into this 'work', whatever be its nature, the first task is to force the state to recognise her right to safety and security. Along with that, provide information enlarging women's world view on procreation, rights of the child, family relations and social struggles against all kinds of exploitation by making her a part of the larger struggle for democratisation and a better life. In this process, women learn to demand work that is adequate and regular and helps them retain their dignity, integrity and rights as workers, and also learn of equality in different domains.

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Lerning from the Neighbors International Comparisons Dispel False Myths About Education in Germany

Jutta Allmendinger and Ellen von den Driesch

Education is becoming more and more important. There is broad consensus in Germany about that fact. The proportion of university-educated adults is growing, and the proportion of people earning the credentials for entering higher education has reached an all-time high. There is a growing number of all-day schools, and day care services are finally available for our youngest ones as well. Can we be content, then? Many people think so. To defend the status quo, they draw on a variety of myths. The power of these myths is a challenge for education researchers. Examining some of these myths by means of international comparisons shows that a lot remains to be done in Germany as well.

Myth: There will always be people with little education

In Germany, 13 percent of the population aged 25 to 34 do not have a secondary school degree. 15 percent of all 15-year-olds were found to have insufficient cognitive skills. Although these students do have some elementary skills, they are unable to apply those skills in real-world contexts, the PISA consortium finds. Young people without a school leaving certificate and with low-level cognitive skills can be called “educationally deprived.” It is often said that society needs this ten percent proportion of educationally deprived individuals. A certain percentage of the population, the argument goes, simply cannot be educated and trained.

If we look at other European countries, however, we find evidence that educational deprivation is not inevitable. In 15 of 28 EU countries, the proportion of young people without a school leaving certificate is lower than it is in Germany. In the Netherlands, Finland, Poland, Ireland and Estonia, there are fewer young people with low-level skills than there are in Germany. What is more, these countries are successful in achieving a good average level of educational attainment. This means that it is indeed possible for countries to avoid educational deprivation without cutting back on the quality of education.

Myth: Social selectivity in outcomes is inevitable

In Germany, the educational opportunities and educational outcomes of children heavily depend on the social and educational status of their parents. Children from educationally disadvantaged social groups and from immigrant families face inferior opportunities in terms of education and vocational training than children from middle and upper class backgrounds, even if their cognitive performance is the same. Striking differences in skills acquisition between children with university-educated parents and children from families with no such qualifications emerge as early as elementary school. Similar results are found for children with and without a migration background. These educational inequalities are perpetuated at the secondary level. The children of university-educated parents are four times as likely to attend university-preparatory high schools (*Gymnasium*) as the children of skilled workers, and six times as likely as the children of unskilled and low-skilled workers. Of all 15-year-olds with a migration background, only 29 percent attend a *Gymnasium* school, compared to 40 percent of their peers without a migration background.

Summary: Debates on education are highly polarized in Germany. While in some ways the system is successful, the image often painted is too rosy. The self-image of being a front-runner in the field of educational and training is being upheld by a number of myths. Internationally comparative tests enable us to draw comparisons and debunk myths: myths on social stratification in education, on government spending, on the level of inclusion, and on youth unemployment.

These close links between social background and educational outcomes are far from inevitable. In Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Luxemburg and Sweden, the effect of social background on educational success is not as strong as in Germany. In most countries, the differences in secondary level II attainment between students whose parents have a tertiary degree and students whose parents have a degree below secondary level II are much less pronounced than in Germany. In Finland, for example, the difference is only 2 percentage points. Similar findings emerge with regard to cognitive skills.

Countries in which educational outcomes are less predetermined by parental background tend to invest primarily in early childhood education and let children of various abilities share the same classroom for a longer period of time. Furthermore, teacher training in these countries was improved by introducing incentive systems such as offering professional development opportunities, giving teachers free time to spend with students, and providing support from trained social pedagogues. Special programs were introduced to support weaker students, and schools were given more operative autonomy.

Myth: Segregated school systems improve performance

In Germany, education at secondary level I is divided into different school types that permanently segregate cohorts when students are between 9 and 12 years old. The idea behind forming such competence clusters and homogenous ability groups is to have the brightest students learn with and from their brightest peers.

If it were true that homogenous ability groups enable higher academic achievement, then countries with segregated school systems should also be seeing more students scoring at the top levels than countries that do not segregate students that early and choose not to put them in homogeneous ability groups. The opposite is the case: In reading literacy (PISA), 9 percent of students in Germany score at very high proficiency levels (levels 5 and 6). In Finland, that figure is 14 percent, in France 13 percent, in Belgium 12 percent, in Ireland 11 percent and in the Netherlands and Poland 10 percent. Likewise, with regard to mathematical literacy, a particularly high proportion of highly proficient students is found in Belgium and the Netherlands, with nearly 20 percent scoring at levels 5 or 6. These are countries that do not segregate or track students until they are 15, 16 or 17 years old. Although these figures do not imply a causal link between mixed-ability groups and a high percentage of top performers, sharing the same classroom for a longer period of time certainly doesn't hurt students either.

Myth: Inclusive schooling is impossible

In the 2012–13 school year, the share of students with special educational needs in Germany was more than 7 percent. Most of them attended one of various special needs schools, which enroll children and young people with learning disabilities, mental or physical disabilities, or sensory disabilities (i.e., hearing, vision and speech limitations). 28 percent of special needs students attended mainstream schools with inclusive policies. That national average isn't very informative, however, because of the strong differences between individual German states. In Bremen, for example, 63 percent of special needs students are taught in an inclusive setting, compared to only 20 percent in Hessen.

Comparative research on inclusive education has identified three systems: the dual system, the combination system and the uniform system. Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland are classified as dual systems, because large numbers of special needs students are enrolled not only at mainstream schools but also at special education schools. A different situation is found in Finland, Great Britain and Austria, where a combination system is in place, featuring institutionalized pathways between mainstream schools and special education schools. Here, the proportion of special needs students excluded from mainstream schooling is around 1.2 percent. Italy, Norway and Sweden are among the countries classified as having a uniformly inclusive system, boasting a share of ex-



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cluded students that borders on 0 percent. Germany made a legal commitment when it ratified the U.N. Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in 2009. Most German states, however, have been very slow in implementing the convention's provisions.

At the same time, German society is seeing a fierce debate over inclusive education. That's because the special education system is firmly entrenched here. The belief that children with special educational needs require a protective space to be able to thrive is widespread and deeply rooted in German society. What is needed more than elsewhere, therefore, is a level-headed and determined approach, accompanied by a necessary boost to state education budgets and reforms in teacher training curricula to prepare teachers for the inclusive classroom.

Myth: Germany's youth unemployment rate is low

Youth unemployment in Germany is currently 3.5 percent (2014). Compared to other European countries, that is a very low rate, with only Denmark and the Netherlands doing better (3 percent). All other countries, especially Spain and Greece, have much higher levels of youth unemployment. A similar picture emerges if we look not at unemployment but at NEETs, which have become a popular indicator in international comparisons. NEETs are people not in employment, education or training. That group includes not only the unemployed but also the economically inactive, that is, those who do not even make an effort to find employment, either because of cultural norms or because of poor labor market prospects. In Germany, the proportion of NEETs is 5 percent, compared to 11 percent in Hungary, 13 percent in Romania, 15 percent in Italy and 17 percent in Bulgaria.

Although youth unemployment and labor market inactivity rates are low in Germany, the problem of the so-called "transition system"—a diverse array of pre-vocational programs—has yet to be solved. In 2013, more than 250,000 youth interested in vocational training wound up in that system—that's about 3 percent of all 15- to 24-year-olds. The majority of them are young people without a lower secondary school (*Hauptschule*) leaving certificate (three-fourths of all youth without a leaving certificate), with a *Hauptschule* leaving certificate (two-fifths of all *Hauptschule* graduates) but also, albeit to a much smaller extent, graduates with a middle school leaving certificate (one-sixth of all middle school graduates). Graduates with a university entrance certificate are not represented in the transition system. Across all categories of educational attainment, the transition situation is much more unfavorable for immigrant youth than it is for their German counterparts.

Immigrant youth account for almost 85 percent of all new entrants to the transition system without a *Hauptschule* certificate, and for almost 60 percent of those with a *Hauptschule* certificate. Even among those with a middle school leaving certificate, immigrant youth are twice as likely to wind up in the transition system as their German peers. Men are much more likely to encounter transition problems than women: three in five youth who end up in the transition system are male.

In order not to lose those 250,000 young men and women early on in their biographies, we need, first and foremost, binding and cross-institutional strategies. Different educational institutions, such as general and vocational schools, have to cooperate with institutions of the social welfare system, such as the youth welfare service, and the labor market, that is, employers and the labor administration. Moreover, preventive measures have to be installed early on in students' biographies to start reducing the number of people without a school leaving certificate at the very beginning of their education.

Myth: Germany spends a lot of money on education

Almost 250 billion euros—that's what Germany spent on education, science and research in 2012. That's 9.3 percent of the gross national product (GNP). Howev-

er, if we only consider the budget for public and private educational institutions, that figure is down to 5.1 percent of the GNP.

For more than ten years now, public spending on education in Germany has been somewhere around those 5 percent of the GNP. Over the same period, spending has also been below the European average (2011: 5.25 percent). Compared to its European neighbors, Germany ranks in the bottom half, along with Lithuania and Bulgaria, which invest 5.17 percent and 3.8 percent, respectively, in education. Education spending is highest in the Scandinavian countries, with education budgets of almost 9 percent of the GNP.

Aside from the low overall level of education spending, it is also striking to see the uneven distribution of that money across the various education levels. The 28 EU member states spend an average of 1.19 percent and 1.27 percent of the GNP on primary and tertiary education, respectively. That's a ratio of 48 percent to 52 percent. The figures for France are in line with that average. Great Britain spends more public money on primary education than it does on tertiary education (58 to 42 percent). In Germany, most public spending goes to the tertiary sector. The ratio here is 32 to 68 percent. Now one might argue that this isn't all that different from Finland (38 to 62 percent), the European poster child when it comes to education. It is important to note, however, that Finland spends 1.35 percent of the GNP on primary education, more than twice as much as Germany (0.66 percent). By contrast, the difference in spending on tertiary education, while also considerable, is not quite as dramatic (Germany: 1.40 percent of the GNP, Finland: 2.17 percent of the GNP).

Education as preventive labor market policy

A good education is something that matters on a daily basis. Well-educated people live longer and lead healthier lives; they are more involved socially and politically. A better education leads to more participation, in the labor market and beyond. More than ever, education is also essential to maintaining a good position in the labor market. In the foreseeable future, there will not be a shortage of work but a shortage of workers. The percentage of seniors is rising rapidly in German society, increasingly exceeding the OECD average. In 1960, 17 out of 100 people were 64 and older; fifty years later, it is as many as 32 people. This trend is accompanied by a rapid increase in welfare state spending on pensions and health care. This growth in spending is a threat to fiscal democracy, as the money available for discretionary spending has declined further and further—from 62 percent in 1970 to 20 percent in 2009. To preserve the opportunities for youth, the education budget should be increased as long as this is still possible. Even if our aim is merely to keep the absolute number of well-educated persons at the present level, their proportion in the population has to grow accordingly. Germany still has plenty of resources: just think of the 250,000 young men and women that get lost in the transition system every year. Fears of a decline in educational quality are unwarranted. Our neighbors have shown how to provide many people with a quality education.

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Economics and Law. The inclusion of economics is a unique feature of the WZB among social science institutes. Its Research Area on Markets and Choice centers on economic decision-making and its societal consequences, combining psychological and economic perspectives. Applications include the analysis of political processes and market design, particularly for matching problems. Issues of international law are addressed by the Center for Global Constitutionalism, often from a historical perspective and in collaboration with the Research Area on the Dynamics of Political Systems.

Inefficiencies in EU's Fiscal Spending, and What Can Be Done About It

Justin Valasek

The European Union is unlike any national government: there is no overarching authority in the EU that can enforce efficient outcomes. Agreements over fiscal spending, for example, are a result of unstructured bargaining between member countries in which each country has the ability to veto outcomes. Despite the heated debate over EU outcomes, there is little theoretical work analyzing the basic fiscal task of raising and allocating a budget within the framework of a supranational union where, unlike a federation, sovereign countries bargain over outcomes. In recent work, we provide an underlying theory of EU fiscal negotiations by addressing the fundamental question that lie at the heart of the debate: Given competing preferences and no overarching authority, can a group of purely self-interested sovereign nations efficiently raise a budget and allocate funds?

These are highly relevant current questions. Both EU politicians and prominent European economists have called for more centralized spending at the EU level, and in early 2015 the EU Commission announced plans for a new European Fund for Strategic Investments. That fund would unlock private and public investments to a budget of at least 315 billion euro. Proponents of increasing the EU's spending capacity cite a need to counterbalance monetary policy and enforced austerity through centrally promoting cohesion and growth in low-income areas. Moreover, academics point to the benefits of centralizing some level of fiscal spending that stem from greater coordination and an ability to allocate funds to the projects that are the most deserving.

Sceptics, in contrast, point to the existing overwhelming perception that the available EU funds are inefficiently allocated, and suggesting that higher more spending is unwarranted. A prime concern, raised by both academics and pundits, is that EU funds are diverted to spending on projects in high-income countries, such as funding for art galleries in the UK, that do little to advance the stated goals of cohesion and growth. As stated by *The Economist* in 2007, "the scandal is not that the EU shifts money from rich countries to poorer newcomers, but that it recycles large sums straight back to wealthy countries." Others

Summary: We link inefficiencies in EU fiscal spending to the voluntary nature of international unions, which necessitates a bargaining process with national veto power. However, we show that these inefficiencies can be overcome in a union with homogeneous incomes. Therefore, our analysis suggests that increasing spending may be optimal even though it increases inefficiencies in the short run, as long as it promotes income convergence in the long run.

raise the concern that the EU will become a “transfer union”, unjustly funneling money from the relatively rich member countries.

To give a concrete example, imagine the EU wishes to fund a transportation hub, say a new port. The spillovers from the new port will be the highest if it is located in a central country, where the port can easily be linked to the land transportation network of the EU. Many nations, however, will prefer that the port be built in their country instead, so they benefit directly from the jobs the new transportation hub will create. Of course there is also conflict over funding: each country prefers that the other countries pay for the project. A central authority would choose to build the port where it maximizes union-wide spillovers. In the EU, representatives from the individual nations bargain over the allocation of funds across various union-level projects.

Bargaining will often lead to inefficient allocations. The source of this inefficiency is that participation in the union is purely voluntary, which implies that each nation's bargaining power depends on their contribution to the central budget. That is, when nations can credibly threaten to veto the budget, their contributions to the union budget influence the de facto distribution of bargaining power over the allocation of the budget - a link that can lead to inefficient outcomes and, in particular, explains excessive spending on projects preferred by high-income countries.

More surprising is that bargaining does actually achieve efficiency in certain cases. First, if nations are symmetric with regard to income and all projects have the same level of spillovers, then the budget is raised and allocated efficiently. This follows from the fact that the bargaining positions of symmetric agents are exactly equal. Second, efficiency will be achieved when the union budget is small relative to national domestic consumption levels and income levels are comparable.

These circumstances are educational. The efficiency result for a small union budget and comparable income levels suggest that the EU might have been able to achieve efficient outcomes through unstructured bargaining in its early years. The most recent waves of expansion, however, have introduced a large degree of income inequality among member nations. In this setting, unstructured bargaining is likely to be inefficient, since too much funding will be allocated to the high-income nations.

Another important insight from our analysis is that redistribution, in the sense that some countries are net contributors to the budget while others are net receivers, arises naturally as an outcome of bargaining despite all nations being self-interested. In our model, a union can consist of net-contributing and net-receiving countries, while maintaining voluntary participation. The reason is two-fold: First centralizing spending at the union level gives countries access to benefits from coordination that no country is able to exploit on its own. Therefore, sovereign countries will participate voluntarily. Second, the allocation of the budget is a function of each country's contributions to the budget and the relative efficiency of the various projects. Therefore, countries that have access to efficient projects will end up receiving an allocation of the budget that is greater than their contribution to the joint funds.

Linking inefficiencies to the underlying bargaining structure also provides insight into how institutions might be designed to alleviate them. For example, as the EU has expanded from the original six nations to the current 28, the EU has transitioned from unanimity to qualified majority rule in many other areas of competency. Majority rule in fiscal matters can be welfare-improving since it breaks the link between contributions and allocations, at least for the nations in the minority. We show that majority rule over fiscal spending can improve efficiency as long as nations with high spillover projects are endogenously selected into the majority coalition, which occurs in equilibrium as long as the contributions to the budget by the members with efficient projects are also relatively low. Majority rule might be an appropriate institution when income and spillovers are negatively correlated.



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In the context of adopting more efficient institutions, it is important to note that unstructured bargaining is an “absorbing state,” in the sense that member nations will never unanimously approve a switch to an alternative institution. Therefore, the discussion of alternative institutions is particularly relevant when considering new institutions that increase fiscal spending at the union level, such as the new European Fund for Strategic Investments: if unstructured bargaining is used initially, even though a majority rule is preferable and implementable initially, the opportunity for the EU to adopt a more efficient institution is lost.

Another factor that affects the efficiency of the allocation of the budget is the size of the union. We show that when more nations are added to the union, the return on high-spillover projects increases, shifting the resource allocation towards the efficient outcome, in line with empirical evidence that structural fund spending has been more successful in promoting growth after the expansion from 15 to 25 members. However, this channel has limited scope for decreasing inefficiency as the number of potential entrants is limited, and new countries might contribute to more heterogeneity within the EU, counteracting the benefits of increased scale.

The inefficiencies we highlight here only describe a static setting, where income inequalities are fixed. When assessing the overall desirability of fiscal spending at the EU level, it is important to also take into account dynamic considerations. Crucially, we have shown that inefficiencies in EU spending stem from heterogeneity in income levels: fiscal spending is fully efficient in a union of nations with homogenous incomes, even when they differ with regard to their relative efficiency in public goods spending. Therefore, convergence, one of the prime goals of EU fiscal spending, will mitigate the inefficiencies of fiscal spending at the supranational level.

This implies that if fiscal spending at the EU level promotes growth in the relatively low-income member nations (the empirical evidence is mixed) then an increased centralized budget, even if it is initially spent inefficiently, might be dynamically efficient. That is, when viewed in a dynamic context, a larger EU budget may increase inefficient spending in the short-run, but may speed up the process of income convergence, allowing the nations in the EU to realize the full gains of centralized fiscal spending in the long run.

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An Empire of Capital? Transatlantic Investment Protection as the Protection of Illegitimate Investor Privileges

Mattias Kumm

The planned free trade agreement between the European Union and Canada (Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement, CETA) includes rules on investment protection (Investor-State Dispute Settlement, ISDS). A similar mechanism had originally been envisaged for the free trade agreement between the EU and the United States (Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, TTIP). This mechanism has provoked fierce reactions, to the surprise of many experts. In the past, after all, European countries—notably Germany—have concluded more than 1,400 bilateral investment agreements (BITs). As a rule, BITs were entered into between an industrial country and a developing country. Industrial countries export capital; developing countries import capital. Investment protection agreements are designed to help solve two problems: to guarantee legal certainty for foreign investors and to offer foreign investors incentives to place their money in the given developing country. But such issues play practically no role between developed, liberal constitutional democracies. Nevertheless, the concentration on these aims explains the structure and culture of present-day investment arbitration procedures.

Many developing countries have had unstable, corrupt, or dysfunctional systems of government and legal systems. Furthermore, the developing countries that had just emerged from colonial tutelage became a battleground for the opposing ideologies and interests of the Cold War. There was fear of socialist revolutions bringing expropriation without compensation and fear of unjust treatment if new governments failed to honour the commitments of their predecessors. In times of mass national movements and populist uprisings, foreign investors are never welcome; all the less so if such movements embrace socialist ideologies. Foreign investors could not necessarily expect fair and non-discriminatory protection.

This problem hardly exists between developed liberal constitutional democracies with an independent and impartial judiciary. But this is nevertheless the main reason for including rules on investment protection in the CETA and TTIP. For national courts entrusted with the protection of constitutional and human rights, disputes about compliance with fair procedures and about protection against unequal treatment and expropriation are the order of the day. European investors may well be sceptical about the constitutional infrastructure and political framework conditions in some states in the U.S., but do they really have to fear that their interests will not receive due attention from the ultimately competent federal courts? Vice versa, American investors may well have not completely unjustified doubts about the legal and political infrastructure in some EU countries; can Romanian or Bulgarian courts really be trusted? But are reservations really justified about the practices of the Court of Justice of the European Union or the European Court of Human Rights, which generally provide protection if called for? If all that is at stake is equal treatment and legal certainty for foreign investors, there appear to be no grounds for concern: American federal courts and the European judicial system offer investors all the guarantees they could wish for. It is therefore no surprise that the proponents of investment protection clauses in the CETA and TTIP are unable to cite convincing examples of investors being disadvantaged by American or European courts which would make investment protection mechanisms necessary. Suspicions that something else is in play are therefore not unfounded.

Summary: In relations between capital-exporting developed countries and capital-importing developing countries, the investor-state dispute settlement mechanism has a specific if sometimes ambivalent role to play as an element in bilateral investment treaties. In relations between the European Union and the United States or Canada – and between liberal constitutional democracies more generally – such arbitration tribunals are not only unnecessary: they tend to privilege investors illegitimately.

What spoke in favor of earlier investment protection agreements over and above the reasons mentioned was indeed something else: in the view of many, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, offering an attractive environment for foreign investors was of crucial importance for successful economic development. Importing foreign capital and the concomitant foreign know-how would support a capital-importing developing country on its way to progress and prosperity. The function of BITS was that the capital-importing country gave potential investors credible guarantees in order to attract investment from the capital-exporting country.

But there is a dark side to the matter, as well. For a less kindly disposed observer, bilateral agreements appear to facilitate complicity between corrupt and despotic governments of developing countries and Western countries along with their industrial interests. Foreign investments generated revenues in the form of tax income, licence fees for the capital-importing country, which filled the public purse and could be used by those in power to consolidate their positions, be it through personal enrichment or by influencing important groups of supporters. In such a context, bilateral agreements gave Western investors safe access to, for example, the exploitation of natural resources in capital-importing countries while helping maintain authoritarian and kleptocratic regimes.

These partly legitimate, partly dubious reasons for concluding bilateral agreements to protect investment in the post-colonial context provide good arguments for treating foreign investors not only fairly but also for granting them further privileges as investment incentives. Historically, bilateral investment protection agreements have laid down not only the basic principles of fair treatment and non-discrimination and the relevant procedures for protecting them: such agreements are traditionally worded to signal top priority for the protection of investment and that such protection is not subject to the considerations reasonably taken into account in democratic constitutional states in the pursuit of justified public purposes.

Even if some agreements do not specifically override these considerations unilaterally, many include most-favored nation clauses, which permit arbitrators to refer to other rules explicitly more favorable to investors under other bilateral agreements to which the capital-importing country is party. Anyway, there is far-reaching consensus among investment arbitrators, often backed by corresponding preambles, that strong protection for investment is the purpose of such agreements. In turn, this understanding influences courts to interpret general clauses in these agreements to the advantage of investors.

If economically developed, established liberal constitutional democracies grant foreign investors privileges to immunize them against the financial implications of changes in the law, this merely furthers downward competition in de/regulation. Some may well find such competition politically attractive and conducive to prosperity, but as an explicitly formulated political policy, such a proposal would in many countries meet with resistance and fail. It is therefore no wonder that the advocates of investment protection clauses in the CETA and TTIP never tire of repeating that it is not a matter of granting privileges to investors but only of ensuring fairness and effective legal protection.

So what are we to think of the argument that—at least nowadays, in the interpretation of more modern BITs—investor interests are no longer structurally privileged? The question raises complex methodological issues in both directions. For our present purposes, it must suffice to point out the obvious: imagine that, contrary to the facts, legal action has been taken against the national security authorities by individual citizens who claim that anti-terrorist measures have violated their basic rights. Imagine that these disputes are heard by tribunals headed by arbitrators who have had a successful career in the military, the police force, or the national secret services, or are leading scholars in the field of security studies. Imagine then, vice versa, that the same cases are heard before tribunals presided over by leading personalities from human rights organizations like Amnesty International or Human Rights Watch, flanked by leading scholars in the domain of human rights. Can it be doubted that the composition

of these tribunals would have a structural impact on their rulings? There is clearly good reason for such legal disputes to be heard by courts headed by judges who can more easily be expected to achieve a plausible balance between competing interests.

There is accordingly also good reason for not allowing disputes between investors and states to be decided by members of a small epistemic community of investment protection experts from large law firms specialized in economic law whose regular clients are business enterprises and by academic experts closely associated with these enterprises. Furthermore, the fact that only 40 to 50 per cent of the cases in which investors take action against the host country end with victory or partial victory for the private investor is hardly evidence that there is no structural bias. Before German administrative courts, for example, the rate is generally between 20 and 30 per cent. Although this does not prove much—there can be many explanations for differing success rates—these statistics are certainly no valid evidence that investment arbitration tribunals are not structurally biased. Citing individual examples of arbitral awards that appear overly favorably to investors may not suffice to prove that they are structurally privileged, but it is worth noting the remarkable lack of counter examples in which arbitration tribunals have been overzealous in their defence of state interests against investor interests.

In the post-colonial context of the second half of the twentieth century, investment protection regimes could to some extent be described as the continuation of Western imperialism under modern conditions: the protection of investment, it was claimed, was in the interest of justice or development policy goals; in practice, however, it often amounted to complicity between Western economic interests and authoritarian and/or despotic, kleptocratic governments. What was new in the 1990s was that there were no longer any geographical limits to the empire. NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) and the European Energy Charter (and in all likelihood CETA and TTIP) enable foreign investors increasingly to impose their positions on developed Western constitutional democracies, as well. They are protected not only against the whims of underdeveloped and corrupt government in the underdeveloped marginal regions of the empire but also against the laws and democratic processes of traditional, highly developed core countries. Investors and the professional caste of those who serve their interests thus increasingly acquire the privilege to insulate themselves against the normal procedures of democratic politics and constitutionally entrenched legal protection.

There are remarkable parallels between investment protection regimes and a notorious institution of colonial tradition: “consular jurisdiction.” Even if details varied from period to period and from context to context, the basic concept of consular jurisdiction as laid down under an unequal bilateral agreement was that citizens of a given state enjoyed almost complete immunity from the jurisdiction of the host country. They were instead subject to the jurisdiction of civil servants more sympathetic to their interests, often consular officials of their country of origin. There were also mixed tribunals in which representatives of the host country participated. The basic idea was that “barbarian” countries were not to be trusted and that one’s own citizens ought not to be subject to their authority.

In contrast to classical consular jurisdiction, post-colonial investment protection formally recognizes reciprocity. If, for example, Germany and Pakistan conclude a bilateral investment agreement, Pakistani investors in Germany in principle benefit from the guarantees under the agreement just as much as German investors in Pakistan. But this recognition is only formal. In a world clearly divided between capital-importing countries and capital-exporting countries, the formal recognition of reciprocity merely hides the fact that investors from capital-exporting countries enjoy privileges. New to investment protection in the twenty-first century is that the geographical disequilibrium is disappearing. Liberal constitutional democracies now see themselves confronted by claims of foreign investors under investment protection clauses—investors from other liberal constitutional democracies as well as investors from developing coun-



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tries, which as newly industrialized countries have themselves developed into capital exporters. If we describe the rules on investment protection, like the old consular jurisdiction, as an imperial institution, the present-day empire would not be France, Britain, or the United States; not even “the West.” It would be the global empire of capital. In this empire, the beneficiaries would not be the citizens of this country or that but foreign investors. And the colonized would be the citizens of traditional Western core countries, who face the unintended, path-dependent consequences of their own imperial history.

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Religion and Society. Over the past few years, religion has been frequently addressed in a broad range of WZB projects, both within the Research Area on Migration and Diversity and across research units. The role of religion is being considered in education and labor-market research as well as in research on political attitudes. A network of scholars interested in aspects of religion holds frequent meetings, discussing institutional, legal, political, and social dimensions of religious life.

Rules and How They Work The Relationship between Religion and State Shapes Our Attitudes towards Muslims

Marc Helbling and Richard Traunmüller

Over the past two decades, the immigration of Muslims has become one of the most controversial political issues in most Western European countries. We often question the extent to which the values of Islam are compatible with those of Western societies. Academics are still divided over the extent to which these discussions differ from the more general disputes over immigration: Are Muslims simply a new group of migrants, or do they present their host countries with completely new challenges? What is certain is that religious practices such as wearing a hijab or a burka, as well as religious buildings such as mosques or minarets, are at the center of recent debates concerning immigration. So are Muslim immigrants primarily considered a religious or an ethnic minority?

Regulation plays a crucial role

Most studies examining our attitudes towards Muslim immigrants have used explanatory factors previously employed in studies on xenophobia. In the past few years, the role of contextual factors has been given more weight in research on xenophobia. These have proven that individual attitudes towards immigrants are influenced by a country's economic situation and the number of immigrants. In addition, closer attention has been paid to the influence of political regulations. Many studies have proven that integration policy and citizenship policy play an important role: In countries with a restrictive naturalization policy, individual attitudes are more negative than in countries with a more liberal policy.

These aspects are certainly useful in explaining negative domestic attitudes towards Muslims. But we feel that specific explanatory approaches should be formulated and tested as well, paying particular attention to the unique characteristics of Muslim immigration. In our study we have focused on the relationship between state and church. We believe that the way in which a state regulates religion exerts an influence on the attitudes of citizens towards Muslim immigration. A close link between state and church reinforces a Christian cultural

Summary: European democracies are far from secular, and matters of religious regulation cannot be reduced to abstract values or constitutional clauses. Under conditions of high state support of religion, accommodating new religious minorities involves the changing of existing rules and everyday habits. As a result, citizens see Muslim immigrants as a threat to their way of life and react with animosity to their practices and demands. This argument is supported with original data on religious regulation in 26 Swiss cantons.

identity and can foster negative attitudes towards new religious groups.

Even though Western European citizens are becoming less and less religious, collective identities and public institutions are still firmly anchored in historical religious traditions. These values and identities are not only propagated by religious communities, but also through education and the media. Thus religion is part of everyday life, even for those who would not describe themselves as religious. In Western European societies, religion and religious policy are much more than merely an abstract moral value system or general constitutional principles. In societies that describe themselves as secular in particular, religious-political institutions play an important role, and one which is very visible to the citizens: The state collects church tax, is responsible for religious education in public schools, works closely with religious organizations in the charity sector, and declares religious holidays. Under such conditions, any new religious group, with its requests for religious rights, can quickly be branded as a threat to a religious-cultural identity and to existing privileges.

Our argument for testing the relationship between state and church empirically was difficult in the sense that, across countries, there is hardly any comparable data on attitudes towards Muslims. Despite the topicality of the issue of religion, international surveys are still very much aimed at assessing attitudes towards immigrants in general. So we decided to hone in on the situation in Switzerland. Switzerland stands out due to its controversial minaret initiative: In a direct democratic referendum, a majority of the population voted to ban the building of minarets. But for us it was particularly significant that Switzerland, as a federal state with twenty-six cantons, exhibits great diversity in its religious policy, and particularly that state support for religion varies drastically from canton to canton. We were able to show that the variation within this regime is comparable to the differences that can be observed between Western European countries. While a clear division between church and state, similar to the French model, is evident in some cantons, a Scandinavian-style system of state churches exists in others. This offered us the unique opportunity to examine the impact of various forms of religious policy on social unity within a confined space and under controlled conditions. In this way, Switzerland served as a kind of laboratory for the whole of Europe.

In order to gauge individual attitudes, we used data from the 2011 Swiss voter polls, which included for the first time questions examining attitudes towards the hijab and the building of minarets, rather than just towards Muslims themselves. Following the example of Jonathon Fox's 2008 Religion and State Project, we also measured the regulation of religion at canton level. The Religious Support Index measures, among other things, whether schools provide Christian religious education, whether churches and church-run aid organizations are financially supported, whether church taxes are levied, religious holidays are protected by law, and whether cantonal flags bear any religious symbols.

Our results prove that state promotion of religion is closely intertwined with the attitudes of the population. In cantons in which traditional Christian cultural identity is reinforced by the state, more of those surveyed were of the opinion that there are too many Muslim immigrants in the country. They were also more likely to have the view that Muslims should not have the right to build minarets. The same applied when it came to the question of wearing the hijab in public.

What is especially interesting is that this result is primarily linked to symbolic-cultural aspects of state policy, rather than to purely economic factors—so to statutory religious holidays, religious education in state schools or even religious symbols on cantonal flags—or to regulations that affect the population, such as church tax. This can be explained by the fact that, in the context of a strong religious-cultural saturation of public life, religious newcomers are more likely to be seen as a threat to extant traditions and lifestyles. This is because any religious-political concession to the Muslim minority would always entail a renouncement of some of the privileges and customs enjoyed by the majority religion. When state and religion are more clearly separated, there is less at



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stake. Muslims are then perceived less as competitors, and rights are conceded to them more readily. Moreover, this always seems to be the broad cultural consensus within a population, as religious and secular citizens do not differ at all in their attitudes towards Muslims.

The findings of our study represent a significant contribution to the current debate on immigration, as well as to the fundamental question of the relationship between religion and democracy in modern Western European societies. First of all they prove that, alongside questions of demography and the economic situation, political contexts and institutional roles are also decisive factors in the explanation of attitudes towards immigration. At the same time, they emphasize the importance of considering the specifics of Muslim immigration when attempting such an explanation. Muslims are perceived as a cultural-religious threat to societies whose collective identities and public institutions are much less secular than they claim to be. So in order to understand the attitudes of the majority towards Muslims and their religious rights, it is clearly more important to examine the dominant institutions of religious regulation, rather than considering integration policy in general.

In this respect, a link can be made between immigration research and religious research. Experts in the economics of religion such as Brian Grim and Roger Finke have already assumed that restrictive religious policy can lead to social tensions and inter-faith conflicts. In addition to this, our results suggest that even a liberal religious policy can have unintentional and damaging consequences for the coexistence of religions within a society.

This conclusion is relevant when it comes to the theory of democracy. The classical liberal demand for a clear division between state and religion has found itself on the defensive in recent times. In Western Europe, state support of religion is not only widespread, it is also classified as unproblematic by many researchers. Our results, however, sound a note of caution. They prove that wherever the state prioritizes certain religions on a political level, democratic values such as religious tolerance, freedom and equality can be substantially affected.

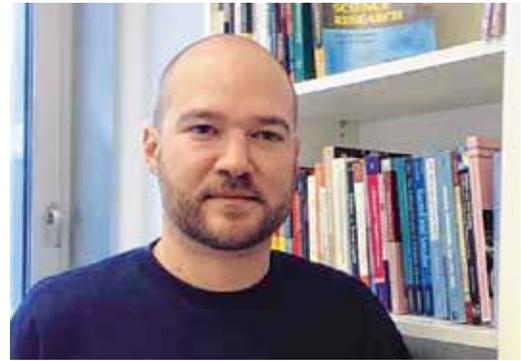
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How Much Institution Does Religion Need? The German State Finds Islam Hard to Deal With

Gunnar Folke Schuppert

Invitations to conferences normally present no insurmountable problems: once the most important and interesting stakeholders in the relevant field have been identified, there are only a few supplementary matters of protocol to be sorted out. For the first Islam conference convoked in 2006 by the then minister of the interior Wolfgang Schäuble, additional questions arose: Who was to be invited? What organizations represented Islam? The problem of finding competent interlocutors naturally becomes even more difficult if the far from satisfactory relations with Islam are to be placed on a contractual basis. How easy things would be, some have lamented, if Islam were a “churchified” religion.

It was to be expected that German state-church law (public ecclesiastical law / religious constitutional law), fixated as it is on institutionalized religious communities, would have its problems with the low level of organization in Islam. The issue came to a head in the lively debate about whether this comparatively unorganized religion would, in the shape of umbrella organizations, prove a sufficiently representative and reliable contractual partner for the state. The thinking behind this discussion is shown by Ansgar Hense in his contribution under the indicative title: “State Agreements with Muslims – A Legal Impossibility?” He argues that only institutions that can meet the regulatory demands of an agreement under religious constitutional law intended to provide long-term, stable regulation of fundamental aspects can come into question as parties to such an agreement. In keeping with this necessary precondition, German state-church law is highly institutionalized. Particularly when it comes to integrating Islam into the structures of religious constitutional law, the question arises of how much institution religion needs. His message is that Islam cannot be considered as a party to agreements with the state under religious constitutional law.

The renowned Protestant theologian and scholar of religion Friedrich Graf criticized this line of argument and the religious policy of the previous grand coalition: “The German state is out to obtain a sort of barter. Muslims and their mosque associations and umbrella organizations are expected to organize themselves somehow like churches, and will then be granted legal privileges ... [and] receive benefits from the state.”

This, Graf remarks, is “thinking fully in the tradition of the religious police, in strongly statist terms, and following basically authoritarian patterns of top-down integration of pluralistic religious life worlds.” These difficulties in dealing appropriately with unorganized Islam invite a brief review of the differing degrees to which religious communities are institutionalized and the differences in their propensity for institutional thinking.

To be a Roman Catholic means to be at home in an institution – the Catholic Church; a person passes into the care of this institution by the sacrament of baptism, which commits the baptized to the Church. This in principle irrevocable bond is a defining characteristic of the Catholic faith; to this extent, this faith is always contained within the matrix of an institution, and, as Carl Schmitt has stressed, the term “institutionality of Catholicism” aptly describes the link between institutional and legal thinking typical of the Catholic Church.

Summary: Every religion is organized in specific ways and has its specific degree of institutionalization. Whereas the German state has extensive experience dealing with the large Christian denominations, its relationship with Islam has been more difficult. Because Islam is organized more like a network, it does not easily fit into outdated political patterns. This urgently calls for new ways of thinking.

In an article for the *Handwörterbuch zur politischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Manual of the Political Culture of the Federal Republic of Germany), Gerhard Schmidtchen writes of “under-institutionalized Protestant religiousness,” a view convincingly explained by what Friedrich Wilhelm Graf had said: Schmidtchen remarks that the “central concern of the Wittenberg Reformation was criticism of the institution Church and its clerical pretensions to power. The so-called doctrine of justification shifted the focus from the institution to the pious individual: although it remained the task of the Church as a religious institution to impart the assurance of salvation to the individual, the structure of such assurance was significantly changed.”

Looking beyond the internal Christian perspective, we realize that “churchified” Christianity is an exception in religion worldwide. Neither Judaism nor Islam is organized on the basis of church-like structures and – which the German religious policy criticized by Graf has failed to take into account – their self-understanding precludes such organization. The American religious sociologist José Casanova is a great help in understanding the organizational structure of Islam. He points out firstly that Islam, like the Catholic Church, has been a global actor from the outset, long before the concept of globalization came into use; both were globalization actors *avant la lettre*, which is now more apparent than ever. As Casanova remarks: “The proliferation of transnational, Muslim networks of all kinds, the massive global proportions of the pilgrimage to Mecca, the establishment of global Islamic mass media, the expressions of global solidarity with the Palestinian people and other Muslim causes—all can be viewed as manifestations of the contemporary globalization of Islam.”

Secondly, Casanova helps us understand that the governance structure of a network better describes the present and future structure of a transnational ummah. He argues that “the majoritarian currents of transnational Islam today and the ones likely to have the greatest impact on the future transformation of Islam are transnational networks and movements of Muslim renewal, equally disaffected from state Islamism and transnational jihadism. They constitute the networks of a loosely organized and pluralistic transnational ummah, or global Muslim civil society.”

In short, the lesson seems to be that it is not very helpful to generalize specific ideas about the appropriate institutionalization of religion and to take them as blueprints for other historical, cultural, and religious contexts. In the present case, such an approach would not be Eurocentric but certainly Christianity-centric. What is needed instead – as the Federal Constitutional Court has repeatedly demanded – is to come to terms with the self-understanding of a religious community and take it into account in choosing modes of governance.

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Faith, research, knowledge It Is Time to Reconsider the Relationship between Religion and Science

Silke Gülker

These days, special care and linguistic sensitivity are required in order to avoid reinforcing categories which label people as potential perpetrators. It has been a long time since a similarly explicit contrasting of a so-called Christian world with a so-called Islamic world was last observed. The relationship between religion and science is not an immediately apparent issue in the context of these tensions, and yet it continues to play a central role on an ideological level. When referring to western values, the narrative of an enlightened western world is ultimately always perpetuated as the antithesis of the supposedly unenlightened east: Here, reason has prevailed; there it (still) has not.

While this is not the only reason to place the topic of religion and science higher on the social scientific agenda, it is nevertheless an important one. When sociology was established, the interrogation of the relationship between religion and science was its defining topic. The common idea in the enlightenment debate was to replace faith with rational thinking. According to Auguste Comte, the era of positivity should supersede the metaphysical. At least in the German-speaking world, interest in this debate had declined quite soon. The conflict between religion and science seemed to have been pacified. Max Weber's differentiation thesis appeared to have found consensus: Religion and science were accepted as complementary value spheres. Religion was to be responsible for questions of meaning in the form of divine redemption, while science would specialize in the investigation of worldly and observable matters.

Sociology itself was divided into sub-disciplines. From then on, religion was explored by the sociology of religion, and science by the sociology of science. For decades, the relationship between science and religion has chiefly been focused on by historians. The American sociologist Robert K. Merton also referred to seventeenth century England in his study of the relationship between Puritanism and modern science. The social scientific debates over secularization, on the other hand, targeted other phenomena: Pluralization – and the subsequent privatization of religion, competition on the ideological market, and socio-structural developments such as individualization and urbanization – were assumed to be a driving factor in the secularization process. The contrast between religion and science gave way to a broader consideration of the relationship between religion and modernity. The thesis of the (peaceful) separation of science and religion has, in any case, remained largely undisputed in Germany over the decades, partly out of conviction, partly out of disinterest.

Today we have good reason to challenge this theory of mutual autonomy anew. After all, comprehensive explanations for the relationship between religion and science anchored in differentiation theory are just as subject to dispute as they are for other societal areas. What counts is what happens in practice: The comprehensible observation of functional differentiation in modern societies fails as theory for reconstructing empirical realities within specialized areas. Real-life action scenarios are complex, and logics overlap with each other instead of functioning in line with homogenous codes. In the context of science, Karin Knorr-Cetina has vividly shown that acceptance of theories and results depends on many non-scientific criteria, such as trust in people and negotiation skills. The perspective-dependence of knowledge is the starting point for the sociology of knowledge, and constructivist science studies have proven the perspec-

Summary: The empirical science studies have long neglected the relationship between religion and science. Theoretically, it seems obvious that religious beliefs are relevant for both, the production and the acceptance of scientific knowledge. The conflict between so called creationists and evolutionists makes most visible that the model of science and religion as independent fields does not hold true empirically, either. Studying this relationship from an international comparative perspective helps to better understand the ideational fundamentals of contemporary societies.

tive-dependence of all production of scientific knowledge in several studies. Over recent decades, science studies have questioned the extent to which an inside and outside can be differentiated at all when it comes to the relationship between science and society. The idea of co-production of scientific knowledge by scientific and non-scientific actors has been much more broadly accepted.

Theoretically, this suggests that religious convictions are also of importance in the realm of science – both in relation to the production of scientific knowledge, and to society's acceptance of this knowledge. The relationship between religion and science is, therefore, fundamental for contemporary societies, for it provides information on their ideational foundations and underlying worldviews. Why is it that we believe what and who we believe? Or, viewed from a comparative social-scientific perspective: What knowledge gains acceptance, and under what conditions? Researching these questions in their empirical facets is principally a task for the social sciences.

Let's start by considering the production side, and by addressing a misunderstanding consistently encountered in constructivist research: The question of whether religious convictions are important when it comes to the production of knowledge is independent of the question of whether there are substantially valid truths, for example in the sense of physical laws. It is not about truth, but rather a question of the meaning of convictions: Why, when there is an endless plurality of perspectives on a matter, do we choose this one or that one? What motivates a particular question? The work of scientists from the 'scientific revolution' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries often focused on better understanding 'God's work'. This incentive still plays an even bigger role today than is generally assumed. What does it mean for the perspective held on a matter, and how is this perspective potentially different from others?

In the context of the production process, many more ethical questions need to be answered – in particular, but not exclusively, in the life sciences. In many countries, the influence of religious convictions on the decision-making process is institutionally secured. Even in Germany, religious organizations act as central players in the development of regulation policies. In this context, the debate between Jürgen Habermas and the former cardinal Joseph Ratzinger was closely observed. Ratzinger argued for a 'mutual restriction' of religion and reason, in order to limit malign claims to power by both religion and science. This debate gave the impression that ethical research needs to be based on religious orientation. Can this impression be supported empirically? What form does the relationship between religion and research ethics take internationally?

And how about the interpretation of results in the scientific production process? It has long been demonstrated that, particularly in the field of experimental research, every interpretation of results is made with great uncertainty – uncertainty that is ultimately resolved by the researchers on the basis of their own worldviews. How significant a role do religious convictions play in drawing such conclusions?

The question of the acceptance of science has already been broached. New analyses of the importance of religion are required, not only for the production of scientific knowledge, but also for its transfer into society: The fact that, in societal debates, the relationship between religion and science corresponds in no way at all to the model of peaceful coexistence, is most noticeable in the conflict between the 'creationists' and 'evolutionists'. Conflicting claims to truth are foregrounded in this dispute. Indeed, the debates have long since been ideological in character: If one equates the theory of evolution with amoral materialism, then the other rejects religion as an 'irrational means of interpreting the world' – (the acceptance of) knowledge and worldviews are inseparable.

Initially, this tension was geographically restricted to the USA and Great Britain, but then it developed to involve a confrontation between Islamic and Christian creationists. Germany has remained largely untouched by this conflict. But even there, it has long since been the case that scientific claims to truth do not remain undisputed. How can we explain the growing popularity of alternative



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medicines such as ayurveda, yoga or even shamanism? More and more people, even in Germany, are choosing a doctrine of healing based on religious traditions over purely scientifically-based conventional medicine. How, under what conditions, and by whom, is such knowledge accepted?

So there are many good reasons to tackle the relationship between religion and science with a fresh set of eyes. Work on this topic has certainly increased in Germany in recent years, and diverse research focuses on the above-mentioned phenomena. But what stands out is the fact that the science studies have remained largely distant from this topic, even though it touches their core questions. Moreover, in contrast to Anglo-Saxon countries the rubric 'religion and science' has barely been established, and the topic's fundamental meaning remains underexamined. In Germany, however, we have the chance to establish a school of research on the relationship between religion and science that is largely uncontaminated by the conflict between creationism and evolutionism. The question always asked in this debate – whether a conflict exists between religion and science – is neither theoretically nor empirically interesting. What is of much more interest is how the two interact.

As an international interdisciplinary research program, an empirically-based account of the relationship between religion and science would contribute to a better understanding of the significance of both spheres for contemporary societies, as well as of these societies' ideational foundations – whether in the west, east, north, or south.

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Publications

All English language publications of the year 2015 are listed, categorized according to the 2015 research structure. Some publications are included which have 2016 as official publication year but were already available in 2015. For a complete list of publications cf. WZB Bericht 2015: wzb.eu/de/publikationen/wzb-jahresbericht

Research Area Education, Work, and Life Chances

Research Unit Skill Formation and Labor Markets

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Heisig, Jan Paul (2015): *Late-career Risks in Changing Welfare States. Comparing Germany and the United States since the 1980s* (Dissertation). Series *Changing Welfare States*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 335 p.

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Protsch, Paula/Solga, Heike (2015): „How Employers Use Signals of Cognitive and Noncognitive Skills at Labour Market Entry. Insights from Field Experiments“. In: *European Sociological Review*, Vol. 31, No. 5, pp. 521-532, online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcv056> (advance access, 14.04.2015).

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Brzinsky-Fay, Christian (2015): „Gendered School-to-Work Transitions? A Sequence Approach on How Women and Men Enter the Labour Market in Europe“. In: Hans-Peter Blossfeld/Jan Skopek/Moris Triventi/Sandra Buchholz (Eds.): *Gender, Education and Employment. An International Comparison of School-to-Work Transitions*. eduLIFE Lifelong Learning Series. Cheltenham/

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Solga, Heike (2015): „A Fault Confessed is Half Redressed“. *Review Essay on Low-achieving School Leavers' Access to Apprenticeships and Their Returns to Participation in Prevocational Training Measures*. WZB Discussion Paper SP I 2015-501. Berlin: WZB, 13 p.

Research Unit Inequality and Social Policy

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Vitols, Sigurt (Ed.) (2015): *Long-term Investment and the Sustainable Company. A Stakeholder Perspective*. Series of the European Trade Union Institute, Vol. 3. Brussels: European Trade Union Institute, 237 p., online: <https://www.etui.org/content/download/21243/177469/file/15-long-term-vitols+Vol+III+EN+Web+version.pdf> (date of download 06.11.2015).

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Jalovaara, Marika/Fasang, Anette Eva (2015): „Are There Gender Differences in Family Trajectories by Education in Finland?“. In: *Demographic Research – A Peer-reviewed, Open-Access Journal of Population Sciences*, Vol. 33, Article 44, pp. 1241–1256, online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2015.33.44>.

Madero-Cabib, Ignacio/Fasang, Anette Eva (2015): „Gendered Work-Family Life Courses and Financial Well-being in Retirement“. In: *Advances in Life Course Research*, advance access, pp. 1–18, 17.12.2015, online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2015.11.003>.

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Junior Research Group Work and Care

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Research Area Markets and Choice

Research Unit Market Behavior

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Research Unit Economics of Change

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Research Professorship Market Design: Theory and Pragmatics

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WZB Junior Research Group Risk and Development

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WZB Discussion Papers

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WZB & Free University Junior Research Group

Articles in Refereed Journals

Majer, Piotr/Mohr, Peter N.C./Heekeren, Hauke R./Härdle, Wolfgang K. (2015): „Portfolio Decisions and Brain Reactions via the CEAD Method“. In: Psychometrika, advance access, pp. 1-23, 11.02.2015, online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11336-015-9441-5>.

Research Area Society and Economic Dynamics

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The True Samaritans Hosting 1.5 Million Refugees has not Caused Protest in Jordan

Steffen Huck

It was the second day in our new home in Amman: I turned on the kitchen tap, there was a little stream of water, and then nothing. Friendly neighbours explained to us that we had a cistern that is filled up by the city once a week. Once this water ration is used up, our only option is to turn to the private market. A telephone call and half an hour later, a tanker pulled up outside. The driver and his mate pulled a hosepipe through the garden, ran 50 cubic metres of water into the cistern and pocketed 50 Jordanian Dinar. That's around €65. In Germany, the same amount costs around €10.

Jordan is one of the most arid countries in the world. The formerly mighty River Jordan is now just a stream; at the site of Jesus's baptism, where I saw it for the first time, it is little more than three metres wide. In the north, too much water has been pumped out for too long by other countries. When it rains in Jordan, the mood is as joyful as it is in Germany on the first warm, sunny days of spring.

Now, with an estimated one and a half million refugees in the country, the public water supply in many parts of Jordan no longer comes once a week, but only once a fortnight. People who can't afford the water supplied by expensive private companies must do with just half the amount – half of what must be said is not a particularly generous quantity to start with.

Native Jordanians will tell you how difficult things are – but you won't hear any protests from them about the refugees, although only around a fifth live in refugee camps, while the rest are accommodated in Jordanian towns and villages, which has put great pressure on rents: alongside water, this is the second fundamental area of life that has been hugely compromised by the refugee crisis. The third is the labour market: at its lower end, wages are falling, which may benefit some businesses, but is hardly good news for the majority of Jordanians. The construction sector in Amman is booming, with hardly a block where there isn't some kind of building work going on, and noise everywhere in the city. And of course, anyone who has an ear for it can hear Syrian accents

on the construction sites and in restaurant kitchens around the country.

During his visit to Jordan in May 2015, German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier saw the refugee situation for himself. There are currently around 1.5 million refugees living in a country with a population of six million. He said that Jordan's humanitarian achievements amount to a near miracle.

One and a half million refugees in a country of around six million inhabitants: that's the equivalent of Germany taking in 20 million refugees. What's more, Jordan is a developing country with few resources; the average income per capita here is only a quarter of that in Germany.

It is a near-miracle that the situation has not led to riots, or protests at the very least. It is also a miracle that this very fact has drawn little attention from the Western public. Not that the West is ignoring the region itself, but reports are dominated by the horrors of Islamist terrorism. Whenever pillars fall, world heritage sites are destroyed, and another bestial murder is committed by "Daesh" (otherwise known as ISIS, or ISIL or IS), everyone's eyes are on the Arabian Peninsula.

This focus on bad news leads to a sadly distorted picture of the Arab region and its dominant religion, which causes all 1.6 billion followers of Islam worldwide to suffer. Hardly any of our Arab friends in Jordan are without a specific story to contribute in this respect: they get evil looks from fellow flyers at the airport gate, are grilled by border control officials, and on entry to Israel they even have to take off the baby's nappy so the guards can make sure there are no explosives hidden inside.

But in Amman, daily life is a splendidly colourful mish-mash of ideologies and religions. Women in headscarves at the wheel of the new S-class, parking outside supermarkets where almost all the other female customers go bare-headed; bankers worrying about whether it will create a bad impression if they offer products that conform to Sharia; improvised

prayer rooms in offices where the majority of workers are Christians; Muslim employees who would gladly do their Christian boss a favour, but who really can't help her carry boxes of wine; Muslim dignitaries who, by contrast, know all there is to know about Burgundy.

Admittedly, even here society has become much more conservative over the last 30 years. The upper class, which tends to be more liberal, is troubled by this, but the handling of these circumstances (which, it must be said, the West's policies and rhetoric of demonisation have helped to create) is refreshingly tolerant – something for which I am grateful, as a member of a Christian minority. The Jordanians are consistent in their charity: they are offering a new home here not just to the Muslim refugees from Syria, but also to the Christians who have made it here from Northern Iraq. It has now become clear to everyone that this will probably be these refugees' home for the foreseeable future.

An unchecked stream of refugees: there are currently 83,000 Syrians in the Zaatari refugee camp in Jordan, who have fled the war in their homeland. According to UN figures, 3,300 children have to work in Zaatari to help support their Syrian families. Around 13 per cent of the children in the camp to the north-west of Amman are in paid employment, according to a report by children's charities UNICEF and Save the Children.

Jordan under strain

The Hashemite royal family plays a key role in all this. In spite of its huge domestic economic problems and the external threat from "Daesh" in the north and north-east of the country, Jordan has so far managed to hold together a country that is already shaped by enormous diversity, and in which, even before the Syrian crisis, it was not easy to reconcile the native

Jordanian tribes with the Palestinians, and later the Iraqi refugees.

Now the tourist industry, traditionally one of the most important areas of the country's economy, is close to collapse. When we travel towards the Iraqi border, to visit the desert palaces that have been made UNESCO World Heritage sites, we cause genuine amazement: European visitors just don't come here any more. But the journey through Jordan, which offers tremendous cultural variety – from the world's largest agglomeration of upright Roman pillars in Jerash, to the miracle of Petra, the natural wonders of Wadi Rum and the diver's paradise of Aqaba – is no more unsafe than a trip on the London Underground. This is thanks to a hugely efficient military, who control sensitive areas and the borders (and whose soldiers, despite being heavily armed, greet travellers with a friendliness that one might like to see from US border officials, for example).

Jordan is groaning under the weight of the task with which its neighbouring states have confronted it, but the rest of the world is only providing a little help. Additional development aid remains limited in spite of all assurances: the international transfer payments to Jordan have risen by around half a billion euros as a result of the refugee crisis; but per refugee, that only comes to just over €300. And while more support would help the country, and therefore peace in the region, at least in the short term, it would be much more helpful in the long term if the Christian world acknowledged that the message of Isa ibn Maryam, whom we call Jesus, is nowhere being followed as consistently around the world as it is in Jordan.



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Lifelong loyalty. Lord Ralf Dahrendorf (1929–2009), the great German–British sociologist, politician, and writer, and a WZB research professor from 2005 to 2009, used an old-fashioned typewriter to the end. Instead of switching to a computer when joining the WZB, Dahrendorf asked his assistant, Birgit Hahn, to buy a vintage Olivetti Lettera 42 typewriter at an online auction. This typewriter, which Dahrendorf used to write his texts about political and intellectual discourse in Germany, was recently handed over to the WZB archive. The picture above shows this typewriter with a manually edited manuscript for a speech Ralf Dahrendorf gave at WZB panel discussion on August 18, 2005, entitled “What’s wrong with Germany, really?”