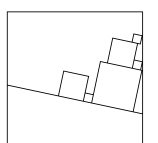
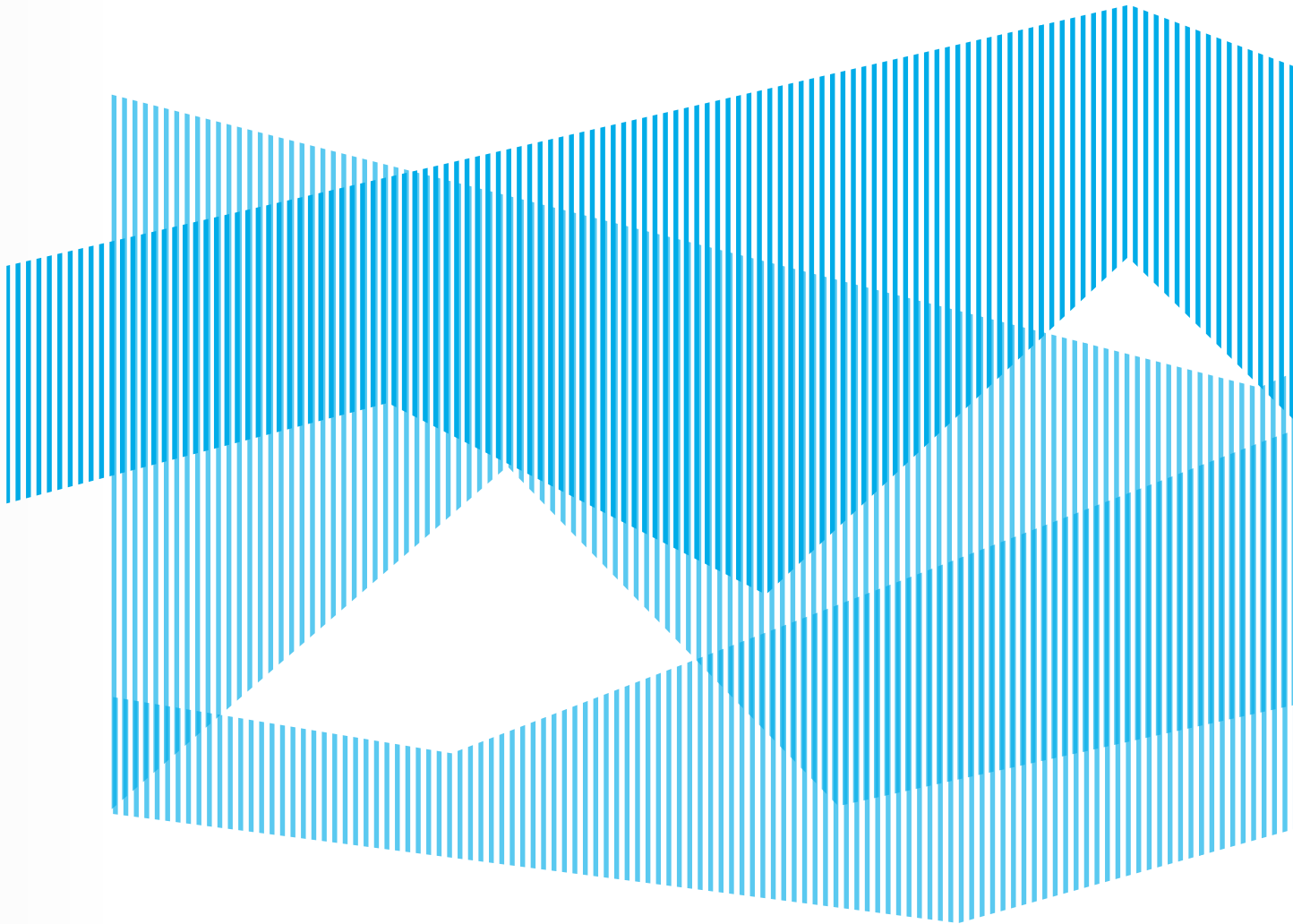


Progress Report of the Cluster of Excellence “The Politics of Inequality”

Reporting Period

2022





von Philipp Uricher

With this progress report, the Executive Board fulfils its reporting obligations to the Rectorate in full accordance with the Bylaws for the Cluster of Excellence "The Politics of Inequality: Perceptions, Participation and Policies" of the University of Konstanz as of March 4, 2019, paragraph 9 subpar 3.

September 2023

Marius R. Busemeyer, Speaker of the Cluster
Claudia Diehl and **Gabriele Spilker**, Co-Speakers of the Cluster

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Report of the Executive Board

1. Introduction and Overview
2. Development of the Research Program
3. Scientific Talks, Workshops and Conferences
4. Knowledge Transfer and Outreach
5. Institution Building and Supporting Structures
6. Outlook



The Politics of Inequality: A Project

Our ongoing project is to put Konstanz "on the map" for inequality researchers worldwide.

How far have we come along in 2022 as a hub of inequality research? These numbers may give you an idea.

7 

disciplines integrated

3,000+ 

Twitter followers acquired



34

projects & research groups implemented

21 

nationalities brought on board

184 

peer-reviewed journal articles published

42

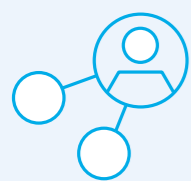
colloquia & 16 trainings and workshop held

34

fellows welcomed (PhD, postdoc & senior)

48

percent share of women realized



133

persons connected



4

professorships with Cluster links installed at University of Konstanz

Cluster professorships created & filled

2

Introduction and Overview

This report focuses on the activities of the Cluster of Excellence “The Politics of Inequality” in 2022 – the Cluster’s fourth year. This year, the Cluster as an organization has been moving from the intense start-up phase of the initial years towards a period of consolidation. Projects that started early have produced high-quality and visible research output, especially publications; a lot of other projects entered into an intense phase of data collection (see projects’ progress reports in Part II of this report). To some extent, data collection efforts and planned fieldwork had to be delayed during to the Covid-19 pandemic (see our detailed report in the last annual report), which is why the year 2022 was particularly intense in this regard.

Furthermore, the network of the Cluster is continuously expanding. In addition to the start of a new cohort of doctoral and post-doctoral researchers, the launch of a number of new projects, and the arrival of new external senior fellows, the Cluster has significantly enhanced its international visibility as a hub of

inequality research via our In_equality 2022 conference (see below). This conference has been highly successful in attracting many participants from around the globe interested in exchanging perspectives of their research on the political causes and consequences of inequality in an interdisciplinary environment. The Cluster network is also expanding in other ways, with a growing number of alumni (former doctoral, post-doctoral and senior fellows, former PIs, and cooperation partners). These alumni remain connected to the Cluster’s activities in various ways, and the Executive Board plans to consolidate this network in 2023.

In the following report from the Executive Board, we give an account of the development of the overall research program of the Cluster; the Cluster’s activities in organizing and hosting scientific talks, workshops, and conferences; knowledge transfer and outreach as well as institution building and supportive structure. We close with an outlook on further ongoing and future activities.

1

Development of the Research Program

Project Funding

Since 2019, the project portfolio of the Cluster has advanced and expanded to currently 26 projects (see Table 1), distributed across the three research areas: perceptions, participation and policies. All project teams consist of members from different academic disciplines and/or are pursuing interdisciplinary research. This project format is a particular innovation of the Cluster and it has proven to be successful in producing high-quality and visible research output (see the featured publications below).

2

TABLE 1: LIST OF ONGOING CLUSTER PROJECTS

Title	Funding Period	Research Areas
The Politics of Persisting Inequality: Evidence from the US South	01.10.2019 – 30.09.2022	● Participation ● Perceptions ● Policies
Inequality Barometer: A Repeated Representative Opinion Survey on Inequality and Social Mobility	01.10.2019 – 31.05.2025	● Perceptions ● Policies
Political Elites and Inequality: Information, Heuristics and Policy	01.10.2019 – 31.08.2023	● Participation ● Perceptions ● Policies
Framing Inequalities	01.10.2019 – 30.09.2023	● Perceptions
“Ethnic Policies” – Remedy for Between-Group Inequalities?	01.10.2019 – 31.03.2023	● Policies
Integration at Work	01.10.2019 – 30.09.2024	● Policies
From Bad to Worse? Financial Crises, Polarization, and Inequality	01.10.2019 – 30.09.2023	● Participation ● Policies
Improving Equity in Education through Youth Mentoring: An Evaluation of a Randomized Educational Intervention in Colombia	01.10.2019 – 31.12.2024	● Policies
Improving State Capacity to Target Extreme Poverty: An Evaluation of a Randomized Intervention in Bangladesh	01.02.2019 – 01.12.2021	● Policies
Preferences for Redistribution Across EU Member States: Perceptions, Self-Interest, and Identities	01.10.2019 – 30.06.2022	● Perceptions
Perceptions of Gender and Seniority Wage Inequality and Individual Behavioural Reactions in the Organizational Context	01.10.2019 – 31.12.2023	● Perceptions
Mobilizing Inequalities: From Grievances to Conflict	01.10.2019 – 30.09.2023	● Participation
Digitalization, Automation and the Future of Work in Post-Industrial Welfare States	01.10.2019 – 30.09.2024	● Participation ● Perceptions ● Policies

Title	Funding Period	Research Areas
Selection into Leadership and Perceptions of Inequality: The Case of Consistency	01.09.2020 – 30.08.2023	● Perceptions
Inequality in Street-level Bureaucracy: Linguistic Analysis of Public Service Encounters	01.06.2020 – 31.05.2024	● Participation ● Policies
Administrative Inequality: The Case of Foreign Nationals in Germany (Admin)	01.10.2020 – 30.09.2024	● Policies
Perceptions of Inequality in a Socialist Dictatorship: Evidence from the German Democratic Republic	01.10.2020 – 30.06.2024	● Perceptions
Students' Perceptions of Inequality and Fairness (PerFair)	01.10.2019 – 30.09.2025	● Participation ● Perceptions ● Policies
COVID-19 Policies for Gender Equality	01.09.2021 – 31.08.2024	● Participation ● Perceptions ● Policies
Perceptions of Political Charisma in Low-Status Speakers	01.09.2021 – 31.08.2024	● Perceptions
Administrative Inequality in Handling Requests for German Citizenship	01.10.2021 – 30.09.2025	● Policies
Climate Inequalities in the Global South: From Perceptions to Protest	01.06.2022 – 31.05.2025	● Participation ● Perceptions
Conditions of International Solidarity (CONSOLI)	01.06.2022 – 31.05.2023	● Participation ● Perceptions ● Policies
Inequities in Online Information Seeking for Making Policy Judgements	01.09.2022 – 31.08.2024	● Perceptions
(Mis-) Perceptions of Inequality – Health, Wealth and Income in a Comparative Perspective	01.02.2022 – 30.04.2022	● Perceptions ● Policies
Agents of Social Change? The Intangible Benefits of Female Social Entrepreneurs	01.05.2021 – 30.04.2024	● Participation ● Perceptions

TABLE 2: NEW PROJECTS FROM THE PROJECT CALL 2022

Project Lead	Project Title
Sebastian Koos, Gabriele Spilker	CiGS: Climate Inequalities in the Global South: from Perceptions to Protest
Sharon Baute, Dirk Leuffen	CONSOLI: Conditions of International Solidarity
Juhi Kulshrestha, Peter Selb, Andreas Spitz	Inequities in Online Information Seeking, Political Knowledge and Judgments
Christian Breunig, Friedrich Breyer, Wolfgang Gaissmaier, Guido Schwerdt	Political Elites and their Beliefs (Extension module for ongoing project)
Tamara Rathcke, Diego Frassinelli, Susumu Shikano	Perceptions of Political Charisma in Low-Status Speakers (prolongation after seed funding)

In the year 2022, the Board published another open call for project proposals, which was the last one in the first Cluster funding period (which ends in December 2025). In contrast to previous years and responding to strategic advice from the Cluster’s Scientific Advisory Board, the 2022 call asked in particular projects that would address areas of particular interest for the Cluster, either balancing out the existing project portfolio or preparing the ground for the Cluster’s second funding phase.

The selection process of the Cluster projects was largely similar to the previous years. In 2021, the Board appointed a dedicated selection committee, made up of then current members of the Board and likely future members of this body in order to implement the principle of rotating board membership and to involve different researchers in the selection process. With the

election of the new Board members in the spring of 2021, this was no longer necessary. Hence, the selection decision in the 2022 call remained in the hands of the Board (which, according to the Cluster’s by-laws, is the responsible decision-making body for project funding). The Board again invited three external reviewers to join the selection process: Prof. Dr. Andreas Jungherr, Professor of Political Science at the University of Bamberg; Prof. Dr. Imke Habers, Professor of Political Science at the University of Amsterdam; and Prof. Dr. Céline Teney, Professor of Macrosociology at the Free University of Berlin. The external reviewers were fully included in the selection process of the final projects.

As in the previous rounds, the Board implemented a two-stage process. In response to the published call, 10 project proposals were submitted by

Cluster PIs and other eligible researchers at the University (according to the Cluster by-laws, all researchers at the University of Konstanz from the post-doc level upwards are eligible to submit proposals). In its meeting on February 14, 2022, the Board selected 7 proposals among the submitted ones for an oral presentation at a workshop on March 7 and 8, 2022, which was also attended by the external reviewers. At the end of the workshop, five projects were selected to receive funding (see Table 2).

To give an overview of the selected projects: The project “Climate Inequalities in the Global South (CiGS)” is led by our two Cluster professors Sebastian Koos (Professor of Social Movements at the Department of Sociology) and Gabriele Spilker (Professor of International Politics – Global Inequality at the Department of Politics and Administration). The project will study the impact of climate change and associated extreme weather events on inequality and whether this can trigger political mobilization via social movements. It will also feature field work in South Africa and Chile. By focusing on the link between inequality and climate change, the project is an important bridge to the planned activities of the Cluster in the second funding period. The project “Conditions of International Solidarity (CONSOLI)” led by Dirk Leuffen and Sharon Baute aims to improve our understanding of the factors that influence solidarity across borders, with a focus on solidarity within the European Union. In the project “Inequities in Online Information Seeking, Political Knowledge and Judgments”, Juhi

Kulshrestha, Peter Selb and Andreas Spitz study inequalities in access and exposure to online digital information and the implications of these inequalities for political knowledge and behavior. This project therefore serves as an important link between work in political science, communication studies, and information science.

Furthermore, the Board decided to grant funding for an extension module to the project “Political Elites and their Beliefs” (PIs: Christian Breunig, Friedrich Breyer, Wolfgang Gaissmaier and Guido Schwerdt). This module will add an international comparative angle to the existing project by linking up with international data collection efforts coordinated by Stefaan Walgrave from the University of Antwerp. Finally, the Board granted additional funding to the project “Perceptions of political charisma in low-status speakers” (PIs: Tamara Rathcke, Diego Frassinelli and Susumu Shikano), which had been given seed funding in the 2021 call. This project too serves as an important link between political science and linguistics.

Individual Funding (Fellowships)

In addition to project funding, the Cluster invited applications to a range of different fellowship opportunities. As we decided earlier to extend the duration of the postdoc positions from one to two years in the years before, there was no call for independent postdoc fellowships in the year 2022. The Cluster was successful, however, in recruiting excellent additional postdocs for various projects. Kattalina Berriochoa, Ph.D., started in October 2022 in the project “The Politics of Labor Market Inequality and Occupational Mobility” of PI Thomas Kurer. Celina Kacperski, Ph.D., and Roberto Ulloa, Ph.D., share a postdoc position in the project “Inequities in Online Information Seeking for Making Policy Judgements (Seek2Judge)” of Juhi Kulshrestha and Peter Selb since November 2022. Dr. Patrick Wagner and Dr. Roman Krtsch joined the group on “Global Inequality” of Gabriele Spilker this year in July and September respectively. Emanuel Souza de Quadros, Ph.D., supports the team of Miriam Butt’s project “Mobilizing Inequality” since July 2022.

A call for applications for our external Senior Fellows program was published in the fall of 2021. Table 3 displays data on the number of applications and the origin of applicants. After 2021, a year with an exceptionally high number of applications, the number of applications in 2022 was significantly lower but roughly on the same level as the years before 2021. Overall, the quality of applications remains exceptionally high. In its meeting on March 22nd, the Board selected the following senior fellows for a more extended academic stay in the academic year 2022/23:

Prof. Dr. Dietmar Fehr is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Economics at the University of Heidelberg. During his stay as an External Senior Fellow, he worked on the project “Wealth Inequality, Housing, and Support for Redistributive Policies”. In this project, he connects the two separate literatures on the role of housing for wealth accumulation and meritocratic fairness. Specifically, he addresses the concern that the booming housing market, in combination with a high level of wealth inequality, reinforces inequality and has spillovers on the social fabric of society by distorting aspirations and fairness views. He stayed from November 2022 until March 2023.

Prof. Dr. Nathalie Giger is an Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Geneva. Currently, Nathalie Giger is mainly engaged in two research projects funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. One of the two projects (“Inequality in the Mind. Perceptions of Economic Inequality and their Political Consequences”) is of high relevance to the Cluster. It deals with the perception of economic inequality and its consequences in a comparative perspective. Nathalie Giger continued her work on this project during her time at the Cluster, evaluating comparative survey data and experiments. She joined the Cluster from September 2022 until the end of January 2023.

Prof. Dr. Christopher Rauh, Assistant Professor at the University of Cambridge, postponed his research stay at the Cluster to 2024.

In addition to the fellows selected in response to the 2022 call, many fellows and international visitors stayed at the Cluster in the year 2022 (see Table 4 for a complete overview). To name just a few examples, Aina Gallego, Associate Professor at the University of Barcelona, worked on the link between digitalization and political participation and had fruitful exchanges with the Cluster project “Digitalization and the Future of Work”. Merlin Schaeffer, Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Copenhagen, and Thomas Soehl, holder of the Canada Research Chair in International Migration at McGill University, Montréal, both focus on migration and inequality, which fits well with the research profile of the sociology group in the Cluster. Mara Yerkes, Professor of Interdisciplinary Social Science at Utrecht University, used her research stay to work intensely with the team of the project “COVID-19 Policies for Gender Equality (CoPE)” led by Susanne Strauß. And Christina Felfe de Ormeño, Professor of Economics at the University of Würzburg, collaborated intensively with Cluster researchers interested in the formation of political and social attitudes in the early stages of childhood, e.g., the project “Students’ Perceptions of Inequality and Fairness (PerFair)”.

TABLE 3: APPLICATIONS AND SELECTION IN CALLS OF THE CLUSTER

Call	2019	2020	2021	2022
External Senior Fellows				
Number of Applications	28	29	76	29
of which female	10 (36 %)	10 (34 %)	23 (30 %)	3 (10 %)
of which EU w/o Germany	12 (43 %)	11 (39 %)	38 (50 %)	16 (55 %)
of which Non-EU	14 (50 %)	16 (55 %)	29 (38 %)	9 (31 %)
Independent Post-Doc Fellows				
Number of Applications	37	86	95	no call
of which female	26 (70 %)	49 (57 %)	44 (46 %)	
of which EU w/o Germany	12 (32 %)	26 (30 %)	33 (35 %)	
of which Non-EU	16 (43 %)	40 (47 %)	54 (57 %)	
Independent Doctoral Positions				
Number of Applications (GSBS – Inequality Specialisation)	no call	84	235	145
of which female		33 (39 %)	103 (44 %)	69 (48 %)
of which EU w/o Germany		7 (8 %)	18 (8 %)	8 (6 %)
of which Non-EU		63 (75 %)	178 (76 %)	114 (79 %)

TABLE 4: RESEARCH STAYS OF CLUSTER FELLOWS IN 2022
**Michael Becher
(05/–07/2022)**

Assistant Professor in Political Science, IE School of Global and Public Affairs, Madrid

**Dietmar Fehr
(11/2022–03/2023)**

Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, University of Heidelberg

**Christina Felfe de Ormeño
(03/–07/2022)**

Professor of Economics, University of Würzburg

**Aina Gallego
(06/–07/2022)**

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Barcelona

**Markus Stanislav
(05/–08/2022)**

Associate Professor, International Business – Darla Moore School of Business, University of South Carolina

**Irene Menéndez González
(05/–07/2022)**

Assistant Professor in International Political Economy, IE School of Global and Public Affairs, Madrid

**Merlin Schaeffer
(04/–07/2022)**

Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Copenhagen

**Thomas Soehl
(05/2022)**

Assistant Professor, Sociology Department, McGill University, Montreal

**Frederick Solt
(06/–07/2022)**

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Iowa

**Mara Yerkes
(03/2022–05/2022)**

Professor of Interdisciplinary Social Science, Department of Interdisciplinary Social Science, Utrecht University

Cluster Professorships

Finally, the Cluster invited applications for the last cohort of doctoral researchers in the first funding period. An overview of the application statistics is also given in Table 3. In collaboration with the selection committee and the board of the Graduate School of the Social and Behavioural Sciences (GSBS), two candidates were selected to receive funding:

Sukayna Younger-Khan is working with Nils Weidmann on questions of disinformation and informational inequality in non-democratic contexts. Her research interests are online/offline political communication, political-psychological perceptions in comparative perspectives, and computational methods integrating digital trace and online social media data with survey methods. Before coming to the Cluster, she worked as a researcher at the WZB Berlin for the Cluster of Excellence SCRIPTS (Free University Berlin). She did her Master of Science at the University of Essex and her Master of Law at the University of Sussex.

Niklas Hänze completed his Bachelor's degree in Political Science and Economics at Osnabrück University. He holds a Master's degree in Politics and Public Administration from the University of Konstanz. His doctoral project is on "Inequality, Institutions, and Climate change: Understanding the Circle between Inequality and Climate Change Impacts in the Global South" under the supervision of Gabriele Spilker. His research interests are climate change, natural disasters, political conflict, quantitative methods and spatial analysis, and horizontal inequalities.

After the start of our two Cluster professorships in 2021, Sebastian Koos, who holds the Cluster professorship on social movements in sociology, and Gabriele Spilker, who holds the Cluster professorship on "Global Inequality" in political science, developed a joint project, which received funding from the Cluster in 2022. In the project "Climate Inequalities in the Global South (CiGS)", Sebastian Koos and Gabriele Spilker, together with postdoctoral researcher Dr. Rebecca Strauch and doctoral students, Viktora Jansesberger and Summer Isaacson, investigate how extreme weather events, such as droughts and floods, impact on existing inequalities and whether related grievances can trigger mass protest. They use a combination of newly coded protest data, remote sensing data on extreme weather events as well as survey and interview data. The project not only functions as a vital cooperation effort between our two Cluster professorships. It also serves as a crucial bridge to the second funding phase. Since climate change-related inequalities will be one additional empirical domain in the second phase, this project will help provide a first understanding of the importance of different forms of inequality in the context of climate change, such as inter-societal inequalities versus inter-generational inequalities.

Data Collection Efforts

As briefly mentioned above, 2022 was an intense phase for data collection in many of our projects. Partly, this is still related to the aftershocks of the Covid-19 pandemic, as some projects had to adjust their timetables and start with their fieldwork and data collection later than initially planned. One example is the project "Students' Perceptions of Inequality and Fairness (PerFair)". This project initially planned to start the fieldwork in the fall of 2021, but this date had to be moved by one year to the fall of 2022 because schools were still either partly closed or heavily involved in managing the fallout of the pandemic in the school year 2021/22. Even in the year 2022, schools were still dealing with many challenges. Besides trying to mitigate the adverse side effects of the pandemic, schools were now confronted with a new challenge, namely the integration of a large number of refugee children from the war against Ukraine. Recruiting schools for participation in the project was challenging and time-consuming but data collections is now under way and the survey has been successfully completed in many of the sampled schools.

Other projects had an easier time collecting their data, in particular those that rely on the collection of survey data from adults via online access panels. The project "Digitalization and the Future of Work" has conducted a large-scale survey of attitudes and preferences related to technological change and the welfare state in six countries (Germany, the US, Japan, Sweden, Poland, and Spain).

The "Inequality Barometer" project conducted its second survey wave in November and December 2022.

For some projects, the switch to digital modes actually proved beneficial. For instance, the project "Political Elites and Inequality: Information, Heuristics and Policy" was able to improve access to political elites in state parliaments by offering to conduct interviews online. In the end, the project managed to conduct 535 interviews with Länder parliamentarians and about 150 interviews with federal parliamentarians over the course of the years 2021/22.

The "Integration at Work" project continued to collect data in 2022 via an application on the mobile phones of the survey participants. This resulted in about 4,700 survey responses of over 700 apprentices in about 170 companies. In addition, around 130 survey questionnaires were completed by representatives of the participating companies. The results will help to understand events and processes that affect the integration processes of migrants in the workplace.

The project "Agents of Social Change – Female Empowerment in India" started field work in 2022 after changing the local partner to gain better access in schools. So far, the project was able to establish a career guidance programme at two schools in India, which is to be expanded to 20 schools in 2023. The accompanying baseline data collection has also started and the intervention is being implemented.

Selected Publications

In terms of publications, we can increasingly see the results of the original data collections of the Cluster projects (see e.g. Eckhard et al. 2022) and the results of cooperation between researchers that were established through the Cluster (see e.g., Schmelz and Bowles 2022 or Gallego and Kurer 2022). The selection below reflects this development and also the diverse perspectives the Cluster has on the Politics of Inequality. Please find a complete list of publications of Cluster members in the Appendix.

TABLE 5: FEATURED PUBLICATIONS IN 2022

Asri, Viola, Katharina Michaelowa, Sitakanta Panda, and Sourabh B. Paul. 2022. "The Pursuit of Simplicity: Can Simplifying Eligibility Criteria Improve Social Pension Targeting?" *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 200: 820–46. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2022.06.003>.

Baute, Sharon, and Anniek de Ruijter. 2022. "EU Health Solidarity in Times of Crisis: Explaining Public Preferences towards EU Risk Pooling for Medicines." *Journal of European Public Policy* 29 (8): 1183–1205. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1936129>.

Bellani, Luna, Anselm Hager, and Stephan E. Maurer. 2022. "The Long Shadow of Slavery: The Persistence of Slave Owners in Southern Law-Making." *The Journal of Economic History* 82 (1): 250–83. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022050721000590>.

Busemeyer, Marius R., Achim Kemmerling, Paul Marx, and Kees van Kersbergen, eds. 2022. *Digitalization and the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780192848369.001.0001>.

Busemeyer, Marius R., and Tobias Tober. 2022. "Dealing with Technological Change: Social Policy Preferences and Institutional Context." *Comparative Political Studies* 9 (4). <https://doi.org/10.1086/718353>.

Campbell, Susanna P., and Gabriele Spilker. 2022. "Aiding War or Peace?: The Insiders' View on Aid to Postconflict Transitions." *The Journal of Politics* 84 (3). <https://doi.org/10.1086/718353>.

Cohen Raviv, Or, and Thomas Hinz. 2022. "Intergenerational Wealth Transmission and Homeownership in Europe: A Comparative Perspective." *PLoS ONE* 17 (9). <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0274647>.

Eckhard, Steffen, Laurin Friedrich, Annette Hautli-Janisz, Vanessa Mueden, and Ingrid Espinoza. 2022. "A Taxonomy of Administrative Language in Public Service Encounters." *International Public Management Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10967494.2022.2075062>.

Gallego, Aina, and Thomas Kurer. 2022. "Automation, Digitalization, and Artificial Intelligence in the Workplace: Implications for Political Behavior." *Annual Review of Political Science* 25 (1): 463–84. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-051120-104535>.

Hecht, Katharina, Tania Burchardt, and Abigail Davis. 2022. "Rich-

ness, Insecurity and the Welfare State." *Journal of Social Policy* 31 (11). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279422000617>.

Heermann, Max, Sebastian Koos, and Dirk Leuffen. 2022. "Who Deserves European Solidarity? How Recipient Characteristics Shaped Public Support for International Medical and Financial Aid during COVID-19." *British Journal of Political Science* 53 (2): 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123422000357>.

Schmelz, Katrin, and Samuel Bowles. 2022. "Opposition to Voluntary and Mandated COVID-19 Vaccination as a Dynamic Process: Evidence and Policy Implications of Changing Beliefs." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America (PNAS)* 119 (13). <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2118721119>.

Traber, Denise, Miriam Hänni, Nathalie Giger, and Christian Breunig. 2022. "Social Status, Political Priorities and Unequal Representation." *European Journal of Political Research* 61 (2): 351–73. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12456>.

Awards and Prestigious Fellowships for Cluster Members

TABLE 6: AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

Christian Breunig was awarded a Fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University.

Marius R. Busemeyer and his co-authors Julian L. Garritzmann (Goethe University Frankfurt) and Erik Neimanns (Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Cologne) received the Best Book Award of the American Political Science Association (APSA), Education Politics and Policy Section, for "A Loud but Noisy Signal" (Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Claudia Diehl was elected into the "Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften HAdW". She was also awarded a Fellowship at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, giving her the opportunity to pursue her interest in the inequality perceptions of high school students on which her Cluster project is also based.

Urs Fischbacher received the Allais Memorial Prize in Behavioral Sciences awarded by the Prague Conference on Behavioral Sciences in cooperation with Fondation Maurice Allais.

Susanne Garritzmann won the "Best Dissertation Award" of the American Political Science Association (APSA), Education Politics and Policy Section, for her dissertation "Education Systems and Political Inequality: How Educational Institutions Shape Turnout Gaps" (Konstanz 2021).

Niklas Hänze received the Christiane Rajewsky Award by the German Association for Peace and Conflict Studies in March 2023 for this master thesis titled "Reversing the Causal Arrow: The Nexus Between Armed Conflict and Natural Disasters".

Benjamin Korman and Florian Kunze received the "Best Paper with International Implications" Award of the Academy of Management together with their co-authors Max Reinwald (Ludwig Maximilians University Munich) and David Dwertmann (Rutgers School of Business, Camden).

Roman Krtsch received the dissertation award by the "Förderkreis der Osnabrücker Friedensgespräche" in March 2023 for his dissertation "Spatial and Temporal Dynamics of Civil Resistance in War Contexts".

Katrin Schmelz has been awarded two prizes: the 2022 Science Award of the Werner and Erika Messmer Foundation for research furthering a sustainable society, and the Prize for Courageous Research, a biennial award of the Ministry for Science, Research and Art of the state of Baden-Württemberg.

Nils B. Weidmann stayed in November 2022 as Visiting Fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies at Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich.

Placement Record of the Cluster

Given that the Cluster is entering a phase of consolidation, we would like to take this opportunity to briefly report on the placement record of the Cluster regarding Early Career Researchers and junior PIs. The Cluster's funding proposal from 2018 included three junior PIs on Junior Professorships without tenure track. All three of these junior PIs are now on permanent professorial (or equivalent) positions: Andreas Jungherr is Professor of Political Science at the University of Bamberg, Luna Bellani is a Lecturer at the Institute of Economics at the University of Ulm and Sebastian Koos, staying in Konstanz, is now Professor of Social Movements. Further junior PIs of the Cluster have been similarly successful: Anselm Hager is Junior Professor (with tenure track) for International Politics at the Humboldt University in Berlin, Karsten Donnay is Assistant Professor of Political Behavior at the University of Zurich, and Sebastian Fehler is Professor of Economics at the University of Bremen.

Among the group of independent post-doctoral fellows and project post-docs funded by the Cluster, there are similar success stories to report: Alice el-Wakil is now Assistant Professor in Political Theory at the University of Copenhagen, Max Reinwald is an Assistant Professor at the Institute for Leadership and Organization at the LMU in Munich, and Nathanael Sumaktoyo is Assistant Professor at the National University of Singapore.

Scientific Talks, Workshops and Conferences

In_equality Conference 2022

The In_equality conference (April 6-8, 2022) was the Cluster's highlight of the year regarding visibility and engagement with the research community. As already reported in the 2021 annual report, we received a high number of submissions from around the world and from various disciplines.

From these submissions, the interdisciplinary conference Steering Committee, with the support of dozens of reviewers from the Cluster community, selected 60 papers to be presented at the Konstanz conference. These papers represented a wide range of cutting-edge research in the field and led to a truly interdisciplinary conference. The program and a look back in pictures can be found on the conference website (<https://inequality-conference.de/>). Participants were from all disciplines involved in the Cluster, with Political Scientists, Economists, and Sociologists as the most prominent groups, but also scholars from Linguistics, Law, and Psychology participated. Participants came mainly from Germany, but almost a hundred scholars came from abroad. In response to potential pandemic-related concerns and also to minimize travel-related CO2 emissions where possible, the entire conference was designed as a hybrid event. About 100 participants joined the 'digital twin' online throughout the event, and two of the three keynotes were also held online.

The conference started with a major public event on the evening of April 6, which involved both the conference participants as well as interested members of the general public. Prof. Dr. Steffen Mau from the Humboldt University Berlin



gave a talk on remaining divides between East and West Germany with a focus on the political causes and consequences of these divides. The talk was recorded and featured in the "Hörsaal" series of the major German public broadcaster Deutschlandfunk Nova. It created, therefore, a lot of public attention for the conference and the Cluster. The talk was followed by a lively debate on the podium between Steffen Mau, philosopher/psychologist Andrea Lailach-Hennrich and political scientist Wolfgang Seibel, moderated by Christian Bollert from radio station detektor.fm.

Besides a large number of high-quality paper presentations, the conference included three keynote addresses by Catherine de Vries (Professor of Political Science, Bocconi University), Stefanie Stantcheva (Nathaniel Ropes Professor of Political Economy, Harvard University) and Jason Stanley (Jacob Urowsky Professor of Philosophy at Yale University).

Furthermore, the conference program included two panels highlighting ongoing work with collaboration partners: One academic panel featured presentations from the project "Perceptions of Inequality and Justice in Europe (PIJE)" at the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) Berlin. The other panel was more oriented toward transfer activities. It involved a debate between researchers and activists supported by the Robert Bosch Foundation on the usage of research findings in practical work and how to achieve closer and mutually beneficial cooperation between scientists and practitioners.

In addition, the conference included a social event: a boat trip and a visit to the flower island of Mainau, where the conference dinner took place. For many of the 200 participants, the conference represented the first opportunity to mix and mingle in person after the enforced isolation related to the Covid-19 pan-

demic. Throughout the conference, participants had the opportunity to participate in the "In_equality quiz", which featured difficult (and less difficult) questions on inequality research and the Cluster. The prize was the funding of an open-access publication or a guest stay at the Cluster for one month.

In sum, the conference was a highly successful event, both in terms of raising the Cluster's visibility in the academic community and among the broader public. The conference venue (Bodenseeforum) proved to be ideally suited for the purpose. The feedback from participants was generally very good, to the point of enthusiastic. The excellent support from the management office team and a team of student research assistants was crucial for making this event a success. Currently, preparations are under way for the organization of the next In_equality conference in April 2024.

TABLE 7: IN_EQUALITY CONFERENCE 22: RESPONSE TO CALL FOR PAPERS

Number of Applications	National submissions	187
	International submissions	412
Region	Germany	187
	Europe	230
	USA & Canada	35
	Other	147
	Discipline	Political Science
	Economics	169
	Sociology	152
	Education Research	14
	Linguistics	7
	Law	6
	Psychology	4
	Other	17



In 2022, the first and very successful **In_equality conference** took place at the Bodenseeforum Konstanz.



In_equality Colloquium and Guest Talks

The interdisciplinary In_equality Colloquium has continued to host and present talks by Cluster researchers, invited senior and postdoctoral fellows and further external guests throughout the year 2022 (see Table 8 for an overview of all talks). The hybrid format allows for an increasing reach of presenting the program, we will continue to increase the visibility of the Colloquium outside the Cluster community.

In addition to the Colloquium the Cluster hosted talks by guests of PIs, thereby facilitating interaction and discussion on topics related to the research agenda of the Cluster. Two examples: During her research stay with Anke Hoeffler, Prof. Lesley Blaauw, University of Namibia, presented his ongoing research and discussed potential extensions of the current research agenda with Cluster members in September 2022. In December 2022, the Cluster organized a talk with Tim Johnson, who was a guest of Wolfgang Gaissmaier, to discuss with him the behaviors that perpetuate material inequality.

TABLE 8: IN_EQUALITY COLLOQUIUM 2022/2023

Date	Speaker	Talks
25 January 2022	Alice el-Wakil (University of Copenhagen)	Agenda Setting and Democracy
01 February 2022	Thomas Kurer (University of Konstanz)	Perceptions of Economic Opportunity & Electoral Change
15 February 2022	Heike Klüver (Humboldt Universität Berlin)	The Electoral Impact of Social Influencers
24 April 2022	Viola Asri (University of Konstanz)	Improving State Capacity to Target Extreme Poverty
03 May 2022	Christina Felfe de Ormeño (Julius-Maximilians-University Würzburg)	On the Earth-Life Origins of In-Group Favoritism
10 May 2022	Cornelia Kristen (University of Bamberg)	Selective Migration and Immigrant Integration
17 May 2022	Mara Yerkes (Utrecht University)	Inequalities in Capabilities for Work-Life Balance: Preliminary Results

31 May 2022	Merlin Schaeffer (University of Copenhagen)	How Accurate do Persons of Immigrant Origin Perceive Ethnic Discrimination?
07 June 2022	Michael Becher & Irene Menéndez González (IE University Madrid)	Deferring Payment: the Compliance Effects of Communicating State Flexibility in the Electricity Sector Inequality and Support for Taxing the Rich in Times of Crisis
28 June 2022	Stanislav Markus (University of South Carolina)	Tycoon Candidates, Electoral Strategies, and Voter Support: a Survey Experiment in South Africa
06 July 2022	Katrin Schmelz & Sam Bowles (University of Konstanz) (Santa Fe Institute)	Control Aversion Under Liberal and Authoritarian Regimes
12 July 2022	Paul Marx (University of Duisburg-Essen)	The Emergence of Political Inequality in Childhood and Youth
19 July 2022	Prisca Jöst (University of Konstanz)	Receiving More, Expecting Less? Social Ties, Clientelism and the Poor's Expectations of Future Service Provision
26 July 2022	Frederick Solt (University of Iowa)	Public Gender Egalitarianism and Women's Descriptive Representation
08 November 2022	Nathalie Giger (Université de Genève)	Not Consequential After All? How Citizens See and Make Sense of Economic Inequality and How This Is (Not) Linked to Their Behavior
29 November 2022	Carsten Jensen (Aarhus University)	Political Resources and Socioeconomic Inequality in Policy Congruence
06 December 2022	Dietmar Fehr (Heidelberg University)	Perceptions of Relative Income: Policy Preferences, Mental Health, and the Household
13 December 2022	Bernhard Ebbinghaus (University of Mannheim)	Welfare State Resilience in Hard Times: Crisis Responses to the Great Recession and the Pandemic in Europe
15 December 2022	Jonas Pontusson (Université de Genève)	Income Growth and Inequality as Joint Determinants of Preferences for Redistribution
20 December 2022	Luna Bellani & Marius R. Busemeyer (University of Konstanz)	Results from the "Inequality-Barometer" Project
17 January 2023	Qi Yu (University of Konstanz)	Automated Detection of Political Framing – What Can Data Science Do, and Why Is Data Science Not Enough?
24 January 2023	Alexander Horn (University of Konstanz)	Parties' Responses to Levels and Changes of Inequality, 1970-2021
07 February 2023	Simone M. Schneider (MPI for Social Law and Social Policy)	The (Mis)Perception of Economic Inequality: The Impact of Welfare State Institutions on Social Perception and Preference Formation

Summer Academy '22

For the first time, the Cluster teamed up with two cooperation partners – the Doctoral College “The Political Economy of Inequality” at the University of Duisburg-Essen and the Excellence Cluster “Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)” in Berlin – to organize a summer academy on inequality-related topics for doctoral researchers and early post-docs titled “Challenging Inequality”. The call for participation was published in the spring of 2022. It was primarily directed at Early Career Researchers (ECRs) from the three cooperating institutions but also allowed the participation of other Early Career Researchers. In total, 40 ECRs could present their work (12 from Konstanz, 16 from Duisburg-Essen, 3 from Berlin, and 9 external participants). Researchers from the involved partner institu-

tions provided comments and feedback on the presentations. Furthermore, there were three keynotes by Marius Busemeyer, Thomas Risse, and Til van Treeck. The academy took place at the Landhotel Burgaltendorf, Essen, with the University of Duisburg-Essen serving as the local host. As a social event, all participants visited the industrial museum Zeche Zollverein for a guided tour. The feedback from ECRs regarding this event was extremely positive. Plans are currently underway to hold the next edition of the event as “fall academy” in Konstanz in early October 2023.

Workshops

Through funding workshops, the Cluster encourages in-depth cooperation. For example, in May, 2022, the working group of Anke Hoeffler organized a workshop, which brought together a variety of researchers on the topic of “Mobilization and Radicalization”. Thomas Kurer and his research group held a workshop with researchers of ETH Zurich and the University of Zurich in August 2022 on the topic “The Politics of Place”. Various Ph.D. colloquiums and other meetings took place in our facilities, for example, Peter Selb organized a doctoral colloquium together with the University of Zurich, or Christina Felfe de Ormeño organized a Workshop on “Covid and Mental Health”.

Several Cluster-funded workshops took place in 2022. Christian Picker and Stephan Gräf received funding to implement a two-day workshop on the topic of “Functionality and Effectuation of Anti-discrimination Law”. Miriam Butt, Regine Eckhardt, and Katharina Holzinger also organized a workshop on “Biased Language and Framing” in 2022. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, several workshops had to be postponed until 2022, like “Separatism and Nationalism in Europe: On the Political Conflict in Catalonia” organized by Georg A. Kaiser and Anne Kraume.

Research Days

Another new format developed by the Cluster over the course of 2022 are the Research Days. This format responds to calls from within the Cluster community – both from the Board as well as from the broader community – to establish a format of focused exchange on research findings beyond the Cluster colloquium – a format more open to presenting and discussing preliminary findings from work in progress and to engage in broader discussions about a particular topic. A related but equally important goal is to strengthen the Cluster community, which is why the Research Days are always combined with an informal social gathering.

Topicwise, the first research days were devoted to the three research areas of the Cluster (perceptions, participation, and policies). The first research day took place on July 28, 2022, followed by a communal Barb(In)eQ, for which all Cluster members were invited. In addition to the presentation of ongoing research findings (see Table 9 for a program of the first Research Day), the concluding discussion aimed at synthesizing the findings from the various projects in the domain of perceptions to gain a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the Cluster’s research contribution as a whole. The second research day took place on February 9, 2023, the third is planned for the summer of 2023.

TABLE 9: PROGRAM RESEARCH DAY I

Date	Talks
9:30 - 10:30	Max Lobeck and Morten Stostad Inequality Externality Beliefs and Redistributive Preferences Luna Bellani and Nona Bledow Rich vs Poor: Inequality Perceptions, Information, and Redistributive Policy Support Oleksandr Shevchuk Rescuing the Rich? Financial Crisis Management and Inequality
10:30 - 10:45	- Coffee break -
10:45 - 11:45	Claudia Diehl , Nadja Wehl , and Susanne Garritzmann Structural Disadvantage, Reasoning about Inequality, and Political Interest among Students Kattalina M. Berriochoa and Marius R. Busemeyer Local Knowledge Economies, Mobility Perceptions and Support for Right-Wing Populist Parties: New Survey Evidence for the Case of Germany Aina Gallego , Dídac Queralt , and Ana Tur-Prats Historical Family Types and Female Political Representation: Change and Continuity
11:45 - 12:45	- Lunch break -
12:45 - 13:45	Susanne Strauß , Ole Brüggemann , and Julia Lang How Fairness Perceptions of Men’s and Women’s Wages Vary by Firm and Workplace Characteristics Ole Brüggemann Employees’ Perceptions of Internal Promotion Penalties: The Role of Gender, Flexibility, and Parenthood Ankush Asri , Urs Fischbacher , Jan Hausfeld , and Yvette Lambi Affirmative Action: Inequality, Efficiency and Fairness
13:45 - 14:00	- Coffee break -
14:00 - 15:30	New Projects at the Cluster and their Approach to Study Perception (Climate Inequalities in the Global South: From Perceptions to Protest, Perceptions of Political Charisma in Low-Status Speakers, Conditions of International Solidarity) Plenary Discussion: Research of Perceptions at the Cluster



Journalist in Residence

Julia Friedrichs “Ungleichland”



Impressions from the first Film & Talk event, where the documentary “Ungleichland” by and in the presence of the director Julia Friedrichs was shown



Knowledge Transfer and Outreach

Outreach Publications

The year 2022 saw the publication of the next two editions of the Cluster's In_equality magazine, an important findings to the broader academic community and the interested public. The magazine is widely distributed among the national and international cooperation partners of the Cluster as well as in important locations in the region. The print edition now encompasses 1,800 exemplars. We send the magazine to 530 recipients in print via mail, and another 824 receive it in digital format. The magazine is in German and English in order to reach a broader readership. The download numbers (for both languages) of the journal from the institutional repository of the University of Konstanz (KOPS) are as follows (as of April 2023): Journal No. 3 = 1,416 and Journal No. 4 = 509.

The third edition of the magazine, entitled "Global Perspectives on Inequality," was published in conjunction with the In_equality conference in the spring of 2022. The fourth edition focused on "Working Inequality" and was published in the fall of 2022.

Both magazine editions featured short research contributions from Cluster researchers, guests and cooperation partners, 'tales from the lab' on ongoing challenges in the research process, opinion pieces on current affairs related to the topic of the magazine as well as updates and reports on the Cluster's ongoing activities. The magazines are available through our website (<https://www.exc.uni-konstanz.de/en/inequality/research/publications/>).

Besides the magazine, the Cluster continues to publish policy papers in collaboration with the Think Tank Das Progressive Zentrum in Berlin which is connected to a broad network of institutions and individuals in the political sphere. Compared to the fast pace of publishing policy papers on the implications of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2021, there have been fewer policy papers in the year 2022 (which is also partially related to changes in the management office team, see below). Still, a number of additional policy papers is in the pipeline for the year 2023.

Knowledge Transfer and Consulting Activities

TABLE 10: SELECTION OF MEDIA COVERAGE

Sebastian Koos

"Kleben für das Klima—Wie weit darf Protest gehen?" (DLF, 16. Dezember 2022)

Gerald Schneider

"Auf Nukleardrohungen mit Defaitismus reagieren? Wider den Vulgär-Realismus in der Ukraine-Debatte" (NZZ, 21. Oktober 2022)

Marius R. Busemeyer

"Wohlstand und Wachstum ade?" (SWR, 29 September 2022)

Claudia Diehl

"Politikberatung und politisches Engagement" ("Wissen—Handeln" Podcast, Junge Akademie, 28 September 2022)

Florian Kunze

"Faul auf dem Sofa?—Homeoffice kann hochproduktiv sein" (SWR, 03 September 2022)

Katrin Schmelz

"Did COVID vaccine mandates work? What the data say," by Liam Drew (Nature News, 06 July 2022)

Nils Weidmann

"Von der ‚Gelenkten Demokratie‘ zur ‚Angstherrschaft‘" by Andreas Beckmann (DLF, 28 April 2022)

Cluster researchers continue to be very active in knowledge transfer and consulting activities. With regard to media presence, the Cluster (and its researchers) are regularly mentioned in the major news outlets in Germany and internationally (see Table 10 for some highlights). For her extraordinary engagement in the domain of knowledge transfer, Cluster member Katrin Schmelz has received the "Preis für mutige Wissenschaft", a prestigious award from the state of Baden-Württemberg.

Also, several researchers of the Cluster are members of public consulting bodies and advisory boards. Cluster researchers serve on advisory bodies for ministries and parliaments on the Federal and State level. For example, Claudia Diehl is member of the Scientific Advisory Board for Family-related Issues of the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs and member of the scientific advisory board of the of the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the German Federal States. Katrin Schmelz and Sebastian Findeisen consult with the Advisory Board at the Ministry of Finance of the State of Baden-Württemberg, Marius R. Busemeyer was elected as external expert to the Enquete Committee "Crisis resilient society" of the State Parliament in Baden-Württemberg.



Outreach Events

A further element of the Cluster's outreach strategy are host events addressing the broader public (see Table 11). A first example that was already briefly mentioned above was the public event at the start of the In_equality 2022 conference on April 6, 2022. The talk by Steffen Mau (HU Berlin) on the political and social consequences of remaining divides between Eastern and Western Germany was attended by about 200 people in-person as well as online and later included as a podcast in the "Hörsaal" series of Deutschlandfunk Nova.

A second example is an event on educational inequalities ("Bildung schafft Lebenschancen: Wege aus der Ungleichheit"), which took place on January 13, 2022. For this event, we invited Jutta Allmendinger, (Professor of Sociology and President of the WZB, Berlin) to give a talk, followed by a panel discussion between academics and practitioners (Marius R. Busemeyer representing the Cluster, Ute Seifried, Mayor of the City of Singen/Chairwoman of the vhs General Assembly, and Elke Großkreutz, Principal of Gebhard Community School). The event was jointly organized with the local adult education center (Volkshochschule Konstanz). Due to the remaining constraints of the pandemic, the event took place in an online format. The event was streamed via the platform "Wissen-Live." Since this platform is jointly hosted by most adult education centers across Germany, about 400 participants from all over Germany attended the event online.

A third example of a large-scale public outreach event was the conference

"Klima im Wandel" that was organized under the umbrella of the "Konstanzer Wissenschaftsforum", the university's transfer platform (the board of directors include Cluster PI's Claudia Diehl and Urs Fischbacher), on climate change, which took place in November 2022 at the Bodenseeforum. In an interactive format, scientists from the University of Konstanz (including Cluster PI's Gabriele Spilker and Sebastian Koos) and other universities explained contexts, experts took a stand and practitioners gave insights into their work on climate change. The interested public could take part both online and in-person, experiencing an exciting mix of lectures, interviews, short films, and expert talks.

Fourth, the Cluster also participated and contributed again as a co-host of the "Progressive Governance Summit," which is primarily hosted and organized by our cooperation partner, Das Progressive Zentrum in Berlin. On October 13, 2022, academics and leading policy-makers, including Chancellor Olaf Scholz, Hubertus Heil (Federal Minister of Labor and Social Affairs), Frans Timmermans (Executive Vice-President of the European Commission), Ricarda Lang (Party co-leader of Alliance 90/The Greens), and others, came together in Berlin to discuss current and future challenges to progressive governance. At this event, Cluster PIs Dirk Leuffen and Sharon Baute presented their research on the challenges of maintaining European solidarity in times of crisis and discussed with, among others, László Andor (Secretary General of the Foundation for European Progressive Studies), Philippe Pochet (General Director

of the European Trade Union Institute), and Senna Maatoug (Member of the Dutch Parliament for the GreenLeft party).

Finally, the Cluster also participated in major outreach events hosted by the University of Konstanz and the DFG. For example, the Cluster presented itself and its researchers at the Konstanz Long Night of Science ("Lange Nacht der Wissenschaft") on May 14, 2022. Furthermore, Cluster researcher Judith Vári presented the project "Perceptions of Political Charisma in Low-Status Speakers" at the Speakers' Corner during the Berlin Science Week on November 4, 2022.

TABLE 11: OUTREACH EVENTS IN 2022

Outreach Events	Impact	Channels
In_equality Conference 2022	600 submissions; 200 participants on-site and 100 participants online.	Lectures and panel discussion, Hybrid: On site at the Bodensee Forum and via Zoom
Public Event "Ost und West," Steffen Mau	180 participants + 20 online participants	Lecture and panel discussion (live + online)
Berlin Science Week, Judith Vári "Political Charisma" Project	Estimated number of visitors "Berlin Science Week Campus" approx. 4000 visitors	Speakers Corner presentation (live)
"Lange Nacht der Wissenschaft", Konstanz	Estimated number of visitors at the University of Konstanz campus: about 5,000 visitors	Inequality Cluster Booth
Bildung schafft Lebenschancen: Wege aus der Ungleichheit, Jutta Allmendinger	In cooperation with VHS Konstanz e.V. and youtube channel VHS-WissenLive, approx. 400 participants	Online lecture and discussion
Summer Academy "Challenging Inequalities"	Cooperation University of Essen-Duisburg and SCRIPTS (Cluster), 40 participants	Lecture (on site: Essen)
"Barb(In)eQ," public Cluster-Event	Target group: University public and city public, approx. 100 participants	Live information event
Progressive Governance Summit with "CONSOLI Project" Sharon Baute & Dirk Leuffen.	Cooperation with Das Progressive Zentrum. The Cluster was hosting a panel session.	Lecture and discussion
Climate Conference "Klima im Wandel"	In cooperation with Konstanzer Wissenschaftsforum. Approx. 80 participants on-site, 350 online and about 1,500 of the stream afterwards.	Lectures, panel discussions and impro theater at Bodenseeforum Konstanz and online.



The Cluster Community at the Summer Party



Cluster co-speakers Claudia Diehl and Gabriele Spilker, with Principal Investigators Sebastian Koos and Urs Fischbacher and other participants at the "Klima im Wandel" conference as part of the Constance Science Forum



Early Career Researchers (ECRs) of the Cluster at their Retreat 2022

Cluster speaker Marius R. Busemeyer at the panel discussion of the event "Bildung schafft Lebenschancen: Wege aus der Ungleichheit", a cooperation project of the Cluster and the local Adult Education Centre (Volkshochschule Konstanz).



Judit Vári, Post-Doctoral Researcher at the Cluster, presents her research in the "Speakers Corner" at Berlin Science Week 2022



In autumn, Katrin Schmelz received the prestigious "Preis für mutige Wissenschaft", handed over by the Minister of Science, Research and Arts of the State of Baden-Württemberg Petra Olschowski.



In 2022, the Cluster held its first Research Day, where researchers have the opportunity to receive feedback from the Cluster community on their current projects

Institution Building and Supporting Structures

Managing Office



The Managing Office is responsible for handling administrative and financial aspects of the projects as well as the Cluster as a whole, supporting incoming and outgoing fellows and researchers, organizing public outreach events and publications, providing consulting to the Cluster's Early Career Researchers, ensuring that Cluster researchers know about and comply with established standards of data management and research ethics, and managing all aspects related to the Cluster's offices and buildings.

At the end of 2022, we also had to deal with changes in the Managing Office. For personal reasons, Paul Töbelmann, responsible for Public Relations, and Jessica Haase, our Managing Director, decided to leave Konstanz. Jessica Haase was crucial in setting up the Clus-

In this section, we want to briefly report on the further development of the Cluster's managing institutions and the supporting structures. As mentioned at the beginning of this report, the Cluster has entered a period of consolidation also in this regard after an intense phase of institution-building in previous years.

ter as Managing Director from the start. Due to her outstanding commitment to academic and institutional excellence, her departure leaves a big gap but also leaves the Cluster well-prepared for the next phase. Paul Töbelmann was also a member of the Managing Office from the beginning, and key in developing the Cluster's transfer strategy and the various public relations formats, especially the establishment of the Cluster magazine.

As Managing Director, Thomas Wöhler will take over in the beginning of 2023. In his role of research manager, he already worked closely with the Cluster projects, thus ensuring a smooth transition. Table 12 gives an overview of the current composition of the team in the Managing Office and the respective tasks of team members.

Cluster Decision-making Bodies

According to the by-laws of the Cluster, the Board (Erweiterter Vorstand) of the Cluster is empowered to make key decisions about the allocation of funding, the selection of fellows and fundamental aspects regarding the implementation of the development strategy of the Cluster. The by-laws stipulate that Board members represent the different research areas of the Cluster. The board further includes the spokesperson for Early Career Researchers (ECRs) as well as the Cluster's equal opportunity officer. Furthermore, the by-laws implement the principle of rotating membership by limiting the duration of membership for Board members to two years and allowing for only one possible extension by a further two years. This is to ensure that participation in the Board is rotating, representing various perspectives.

At the plenary meeting on November 10, 2022, the Cluster PIs elected new Board members and also re-elected some previous members. Table 13 presents the composition of the current board. Luna Bellani, Miriam Butt, Anke Hoeffler, Guido Schwerdt and Christina Zuber were leaving the Board at the end of their term. The new members for the Board are Sebastian Find-eisen (Professor of Economic Policy), Sebastian Koos (Professor of Social Movements), Tanja Kupisch (Professor of Romance Linguistics) and Nils B. Weidmann (Professor of Comparative Politics of Non-democratic States).

Replacing the former ECR representative Anselm Fliethman, Sophia Stutzmann and Nadja Wehl were elected

TABLE 12: MEMBERS OF THE MANAGING OFFICE

Thomas Wöhler Managing Director (from 02/2023)	(Paul Töbelmann) Public Relations Manager (until 12/2022)
(Jessica Haase) Managing Director until 02/2023	Frank Wehinger Research and Data Manager (from 04/2023)
Alexandra Frasch Coordinator for Early Career Researchers (from 05/2023)	(Thomas Wöhler) Research and Data Manager (until 01/2023)
Iris Hespeler Assistant to the Managing Director	Isabelle Wolf IT and Digitalization
Annalena Kampermann Public Relations Manager (from 04/2023)	Kathryn Younger-Khan IT Support
Milica Milosavljevic Project Management, Equal Opportunities, Diversity	Anne Zunftmeister-Mertke Knowledge Transfer and Networking

TABLE 13: COMPOSITION OF THE CLUSTER BOARD 2023

<p>Prof. Dr. Marius R. Busemeyer (Chair) Professor of Policy Analysis & Political Theory</p> <p>Prof. Miriam Butt, PhD Professor of General and Computational Linguistics</p> <p>Prof. Dr. Claudia Diehl Professor of Microsociology</p> <p>Prof. Dr. Sebastian Findeisen Professor of Economic Policy</p>	<p>Prof. Dr. Tanja Kupisch Professor of Romance Linguistics</p> <p>Prof. Dr. Sebastian Koos Professor of Romance Linguistics</p> <p>Prof. Dr. Dirk Leuffen Professor of Political Science with a Focus on International Politics</p> <p>Prof. Dr. Gabriele Spilker Professor of International Politics – Global Inequality</p>	<p>Prof. Dr. Susanne Strauß Professor of Sociology with a Focus on gender Studies</p> <p>Sophia Stutzmann Project: Students' Perceptions of Inequality and Fairness (PerFair)</p> <p>Dr. Nadja Wehl Project: Student's Perception of Inequality and Fairness (PerFair)</p>
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four weeks prior to the plenary meeting and will represent the ECRs on the Board for the next two years.

The Speakers would like to thank all previous members of the Board for their work and commitment and look forward to a good cooperation with the new members. At this meeting, the Cluster plenary also re-elected Marius R. Busemeyer as Speaker and Claudia Diehl as Co-Speaker of the Cluster. Gabriele Spilker was newly elected as Co-Speaker of the Cluster, replacing Nils B. Weidmann. The term of office for the Speaker's team (the Executive Board) is four years, starting in April 2023.

Furthermore, the first office period of some members of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Cluster ended in the reporting year. Keith Payne (Professor of Psychology and Neuroscience at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, US) and Ruth Wodak (Emeritus Distinguished Professor and Chair in Dis-

course Studies at Lancaster University) were no longer available for a renewed membership. We thank both for their commitment and service to the Cluster!

While (re-)appointing new members of the Scientific Advisory Board (SAB), we also broadened its membership somewhat to get even more diverse feedback and input during the coming years, which will be a crucial phase for the Cluster's development. All members of the SAB are outstanding researchers on their own and will provide the critical feedback the Cluster needs to develop its research program further. The following members have agreed to continue to serve on the Board: Lars-Erik Cedermann, Samuel Bowles, Silja Haeusermann, Christian Joppke, Leslie McCall, Herbert Obinger, Britta Renner, and Kathleen Turner. These are the new members: Katrin Auspurg (Chair of Quantitative Empirical Research, LMU Munich), Uta Schönberg (Professor of Economics, University College London) and Heike Wiese (Chair for German and Multilingual Contacts).

Development of Personnel and Finances

In 2022, the Cluster community did not grow further, and has remained stable between 125 and 135 persons. The share of women across the different status groups is between 38 and 60 percent. We had some changes among the Principal Investigators (PIs), as Wolfgang Seibel became emeritus and Christina Felfe de Ormeño joined the Economics Department and became PI at the Cluster (effective as of April 2023).

For the overall composition of the Cluster, see table 14.

In 2022, we managed to catch up on some delays in the spending, mainly due to the pandemic. Overall, we had expenses of approximately 5.8 million Euros of Cluster funds. The lion's share of 50 percent (2.9 million Euros) went into the Cluster projects, including costs for workshops and the Small Grants funding line for smaller projects. About 16 percent of the overall budget were reserved for centrally governed spending, including Early Career support, workshops, events and retreats, outreach activities, various funding programs (see table 15), as well as running the Managing Office, and the Methods and Data Hub. Equal opportunities as a field of particular importance is seen to by an equal opportunities officer at the Managing Office.

TABLE 14: COMPOSITION OF THE CLUSTER

Group	Total	Female	Share
Principal Investigators (in 12/2022)	42	17	40%
Pre-Docs and Doctoral Students	40	22	55%
Postdocs and Senior Researchers	32	16	50%
External Senior Fellows	8	3	38%
Managing Office and Research Support	10	6	60%
Journalists-in-Residence	1	1	100%
Cluster Community total	133		

TABLE 15: OVERVIEW OF FUNDING PROGRAMS

Program	Target Audience	Aim
Bridge Fellowships	Doctoral & Postdoctoral Researchers	The program supports (1) doctoral researchers in the final phase of their doctoral studies or the transition period between completion of their PhD degree and the next career step, and (2) postdoctoral researchers, who have applied for external funding and need interim financing until their application has been decided on. The duration of bridge fellowships is 3 to 6 months (65 % TVL-E13)
Hardship Fund (Part of Flexible Fund)	Doctoral & Postdoctoral Researchers, Junior Professors/ Research Group Leaders, Professors	The program is directed to researchers experiencing financial hardship (e.g. due to family or health related reasons). Support takes the form of (1) Extension or top-up of researcher's current position for max. 3 months, or (2) funding for student assistants to support research.
Small Grants Funding	Postdoctoral Researchers, Junior Professors/ Research Group Leaders, Professors	The program provides support for (1) initiation and preparation of new, larger, research projects, and (2) small, new projects that do not require extensive funding. Funding is available for up to 10,000 EUR per application.
Flexible Fund	Doctoral & Postdoctoral Researchers, Junior Professors/Research Group Leaders, Professors	The program offers funding for (1) proof-reading and language editing services for publications. Proof-reading for articles covered in full; for book manuscripts to an upper limit of 2,000 Euro per book, and for (2) open access publications (only to the extent that costs are not covered by the general university fund on open access).
Workshop Funding	Postdoctoral Researchers, Junior Professors/Research Group Leaders, Professors	Available funding is an allowance to cover the total costs of the planned event(s), up to a maximum of 10,000 Euros.
Early Career Researchers Support Fund	Doctoral & Postdoctoral Researchers	The program finances research expenses and individual qualification measures not covered by Cluster projects already funded (e.g. conference travels, participation in summer schools, expenses for field research and networking activities, coaching, mentoring, etc.). Funding is available for up to the maximum amount of 750 EUR per supported researcher per year.

Support for ECRs

Doctoral students of the Cluster are enrolled in the Graduate School of the Social and Behavioural Sciences (GSBS), which was established by the University of Konstanz in conjunction with its two Clusters of Excellence. Our Cluster is responsible for the interdisciplinary specialization on Inequality, one of three interdisciplinary specializations offered at the GSBS. The Inequality specialization provides our doctoral researchers with cross-disciplinary training in inequality studies linked to the Cluster's research domains. Doctoral courses are taught by our Principal Investigators, every summer all doctoral students take part in the doctoral colloquium, where they get feedback on their ongoing dissertations.

The Cluster's research directly impacts teaching at the University of Konstanz in general. Not only through the research and topics of the courses taught by our PIs, but also through two new Master programs. The Sociology Department was very successful in setting up a new Master's program in inequality research. Likewise, the Department of Politics and Public Administration offers a new specialization in inequality research in their Master's program.

In the Cluster, all ECRs receive an annual research allowance and are eligible for various funds (see above). Through the presence of their representatives on the Board, we can ensure that problems are addressed in a timely manner. The ECRs meet regularly and organize an annual retreat.

We regularly organize info events about the services that are available to support researchers at the University and at the Cluster. We also organize roundtable discussions that bring together researchers of different disciplines and status groups for an informal exchange. For example, on December 8, 2022, we discussed: "What I would have liked to know when I started my PhD".

Methods and Data Hub

The Methods and Data Hub (MaD Hub) strives to provide Cluster members with access to a repository of expertise, to cultivate innovative research designs, and to generate an environment for collective learning about methodology. Cluster researchers contact the MaD Hub when they need advice or resources for handling data in their research projects.

With the advancement of the projects, the topics in which the MaD Hub is involved changes slightly. Whereas, at the beginning of the Cluster, procurement and data protection were at the center, the focus now shifts more to data analysis and data documentation.

Apart from consulting, we organize a range of info events in order to address open questions and provide training opportunity to our researchers. Regularly, we organize info events on data protection and research ethics. We also have events for Cluster researchers sharing their experience in a specific form of data collection. Ingrid Espinoza and Patrick Zwerschke, for example, shared their experiences with the digitalization of text and speech data. In addition, we encourage informal working groups on various subjects. At the moment, researchers at the Cluster meet and exchange thought on such topics as Spatial Analysis, Survey Research, or Conflict Research.

Equal Opportunities

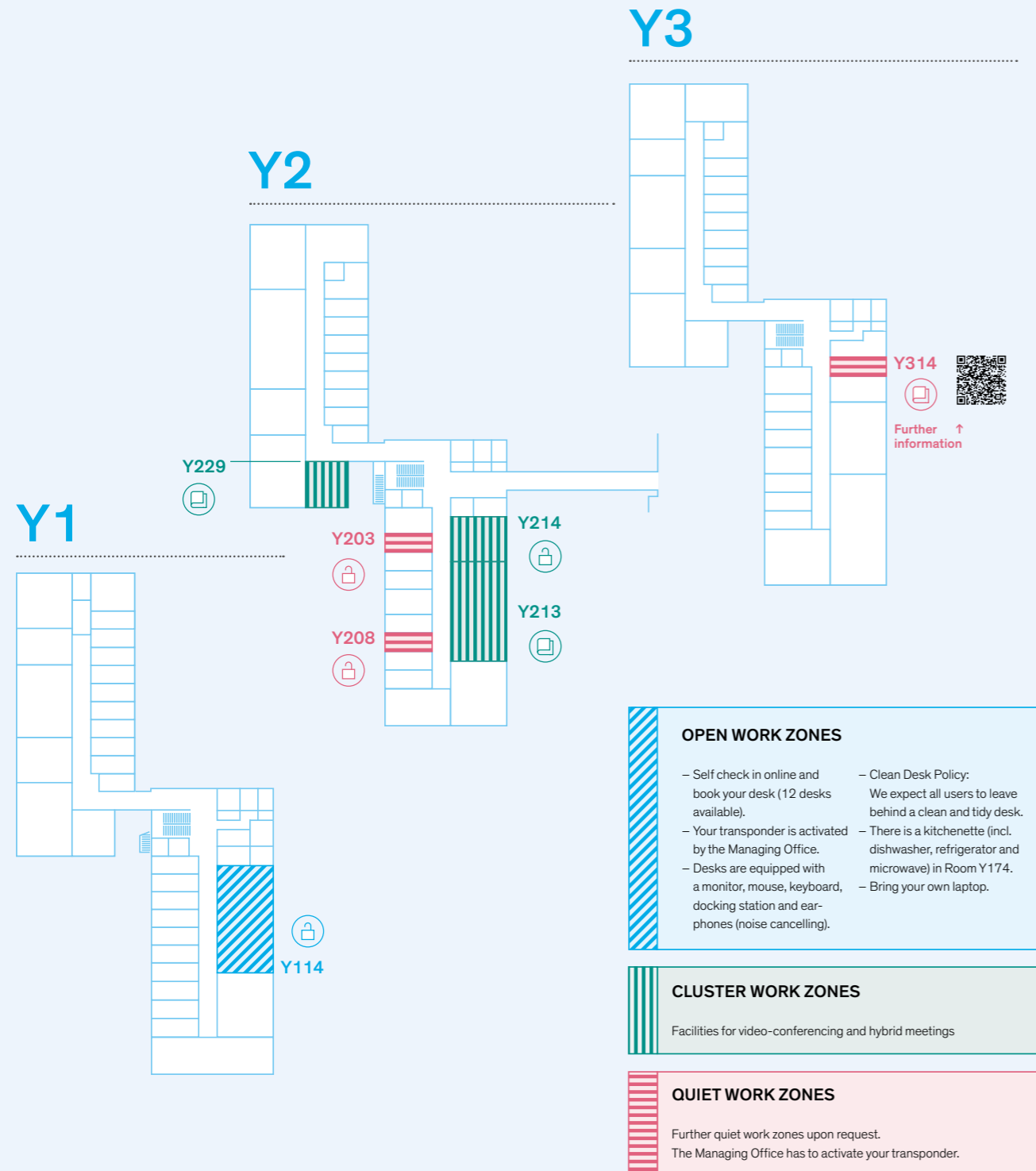
2022 was also a very busy year with regard to equal opportunity, diversity, and family support and was characterized by some premiers. The first-ever meeting of the Female Inequality Network (FIN) was held on April 26, 2022. Subsequently, an E-Mail distribution list was established with the goal of creating a support network of female researchers at the Cluster. Also, for the first time, the Cluster funded three MEiN-Fellowships for female researchers. These fellowships support mentoring by experts and international networking through the funding of research stays.

In June, the Cluster issued its Diversity Policy Statement outlining its commitment to equal opportunity, diversity, inclusion, and representation. It can be found on our website and guides all efforts in this area (<https://www.exc.uni-konstanz.de/en/inequality/supporting-structures/equal-opportunity-diversity-and-family-support/>).

Furthermore, the Cluster offers the organization of childcare. In 2022, there were three Senior Fellows and several guests who were in need of childcare and whom the Managing Office could help.

The Cluster year ended with the "Academic Careers in Africa, Asia and Latin America" round table on December 14. Speakers from Africa, Asia and Latin America informed participants about academic careers in their home countries. We will be able to use these insights for a better assessment of applications from researchers of the Global South in future selection processes. This is a good example for the good and fruitful cooperation between the Cluster and the Zukunftscolleg at the University. The Zukunftscolleg is a Centre for Advanced Studies and its international Fellows are in some cases directly associated with the Cluster.

New Organization of our Research & Working Environment



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BOOKING TOOL

Please use the book request tool to get access. Check the calendar in advance for availability.

SELF CHECK IN

Self check in online: shorturl.at/cnlRU

New Meeting Box

Benefits

- SILENT VENTILATION**
Fresh air for clear thoughts
- LED-LIGHTING**
Optimized for video calls
- MONITOR MOUNT**
Takes your meeting to the next level
- 3 X 230 V SOCKET**
Power for your devices
- GLASS DOOR AND GLASS REAR WALL**
Sound insulating and durable
- SOUND INSULATING DOUBLE WALLS**
Noise stays out, privacy inside
- LARGE TABLE**
Sufficient space for 4 laptops



OPEN WORK ZONES

- Clean Desk Policy: We expect all users to leave behind a clean and tidy box.
- Self-check in online and book your box.
- Bring your own laptop.
- Switch off the lights before leaving.

Get Access

SELF CHECK IN

Self check in online: shorturl.at/cnlRU

Outlook

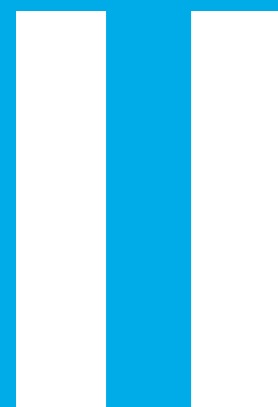
In closing, we want to provide a short outlook on ongoing and future activities at the Cluster. The first – and most important – issue to mention is the extension proposal of the Cluster that needs to be submitted in August 2024. The Cluster community has started to discuss potential ideas and extensions in various formats, including a retreat of the Speakers in the Summer of 2022, an extended meeting of the Board in November 2022, and a retreat of all PIs on February 10, 2023. In addition, discussions with the university leadership and the central services have started on how to connect and integrate the Cluster's activities in the university's planning for the next round of the Excellence Strategy. The next meeting of the Scientific Advisory Board is scheduled to take place in January 2024. It will be a crucial milestone for the Cluster community to get feedback on its ideas and concepts for the extension proposal.

Secondly, the planning is already ongoing for the next edition of the Cluster's signature event: the In_equality Conference from April 10-12, 2024. The visibility of the Cluster and the high quality of the 2022 conference has already been beneficial to recruit a number of exceptional speakers for the keynotes: Thomas Piketty (Paris School of Economics), John Stephens and Evelyne Huber (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), Joscha Legewie (Harvard University) and Maria Polinsky (University of Maryland) have already confirmed their willingness to contribute to the conference as keynote speakers. The call for papers will be published in July 2023.

A second major upcoming academic event is the Fall Academy "Challenging Inequality (II)" from October 4-6, 2023, in Konstanz. The Fall Academy follows up on the success of last year's Summer Academy and provides doctoral and early post-doctoral researchers with an important forum for exchange. In the 2023 edition, we cooperate again with the Doctoral College "The Political Economy of Inequality" at the University of Duisburg-Essen and the Berlin Excellence Cluster "Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)". We have expanded our network of cooperation partners to include the Amsterdam Center for Inequality Studies (AMCIS), the University of Zurich URRP Equality of Opportunity, and the Platform for Inequality Research (Pireau) at the University of Aarhus. The call for papers will be published soon. Overall, it will be an excellent opportunity to revitalize the Cluster's network of cooperation partners after the end of the pandemic.



Progress Reports of the Cluster Projects



Starting 2019

1. Digitalization, Automation and the Future of Work
2. Ethnic Policies and Inequality
3. Framing Inequalities
4. From Bad to Worse?
5. Improving Equity in Education
6. Inequality Barometer
7. Integration@Work
8. Mobilizing Inequalities: From Grievances to Conflict
9. Perceptions of Wage Inequalities
10. Political Elites

Starting 2020

11. Administrative Inequality
12. Inequality in Street-Level Bureaucracy
13. Perceptions of Inequality in a Socialist Dictatorship
14. Selection into Leadership and Perceptions of Inequality

Starting 2021

15. Administrative Inequality in Handling Requests for German Citizenship
16. Agents of Social Change?
17. COVID-19 Policies for Gender Equality (CoPE)
18. Perceptions of Political Charisma in Low-Status Speakers
19. The Politics of Labor Market Inequality

Starting 2022

20. Climate Inequalities in the Global South
21. Conditions of International Solidarity (Consoli)



1. DIGITALIZATION, AUTOMATION AND THE FUTURE OF WORK IN POST-INDUSTRIAL WELFARE STATES

Principal Investigators: Marius R. Busemeyer, Sebastian Findeisen, Sebastian Koos, Florian Kunze, Stephan Maurer

Project Researchers: Tobias Tober, Ann Sophie Lauterbach, Oliver Schlenker

Disciplines: Political Science, Political Economy, Sociology, Labour Market Economics, Organizational Studies

Funding Period: 10/2019 – 09/2025

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

This project studies the economic, social and political consequences of rapid technological change (digitalization, automation and related processes) for labour market outcomes, political preferences and behaviour, as well as health and psychological outcomes. The first sub-project focuses on the societal level, assessing for instance how technological change influences individual-level policy preferences. In the later phase of the project, this sub-project will also study the positions of collective actors such as trade unions, employers' associations and other stakeholders on technology-related policy reforms of education and

social policy. The second sub-project explores the implications of technological change at the firm level. This includes questions such as the impact of digitalization and automation on labour market outcomes such as wages and employment, but also the effects of changing workplace arrangements on workers' satisfaction as well as psychological and health-related outcomes. There are several themes, which cut across the two sub-projects. For instance, the team explores such questions as how labour market institutions and welfare state regimes mediate the impact of technological change on workers' well-being.

Main Contributions to the Cluster's Research Program

The project contributes in multiple ways to the Cluster's research program. The first pillar of the research program of the Cluster is to study the formation and role of individual perceptions. Our project contributes to this pillar by examining how individuals assess the implications of technological change for their own employment situation as well as for the overall labour market of the country they reside in. In addition, we study whether and how these individual perceptions are related to different policy preferences. For instance, we are interested in whether perceptions of high technology-related employment risks are more likely to increase the demand for compensatory and protective policy responses or whether such perceptions are more likely to fuel demand for social investment measures like more education spending. In this context, we also investigate how strongly subjective perceptions of technology-related employment risks correlate with objective risk measures like the routine intensity of a job or other indicators capturing the vulnerability of different job-related tasks to automation and digital changes at the workplace. Moreover, the project attempts to measure perceptions of technology-related stress (so-called technostress) and examines the factors that determine this unique health outcome of technological change. In particular, we study whether socio-economic resources – both on the individual level (especially income) as well as on the macro level (especially the generosity of the welfare state) – reduce perceptions of technostress and thus buffer the negative health side effects of modern technologies.

While not the main focus of our project, we also touch upon the second pillar of the Cluster's research agenda: political action and participation. For instance,

we examine whether workers believe that trade unions are able to influence changing employment conditions due to digitalization and automation, and we intend to study at a later stage how trade unions respond to the challenges of technological change. Moreover, the project investigates how individuals perceive global technology companies, whether they think that governments should regulate these companies more, and whether consumers themselves have taken direct action by boycotting digital sharing platforms like Uber, social media providers like Facebook, or other tech giants like Amazon. This also contributes to the second pillar of the Cluster in studying specific types of cause related political participation in the digital realm.

Finally, our project also addresses the third pillar of the Cluster's research program: policy responsiveness and policy feedback effects. In this context, we study how subjective perceptions of technology-related employment risks are affected by the welfare state environment, in other words, how existing welfare state policies feed back into risk perceptions. The project also examines the implications of welfare state generosity for technology-specific social policy preferences, how these preferences vary across welfare state regimes, and whether regime differences persist as technology-related employment risks rise. In addition, as mentioned earlier, we look at the feedback effects that welfare state and firm-level policies have on health outcomes like perceived technostress, thus contributing to the emerging focus of the Cluster on health inequality.

Main Results, Challenges and Outlook on Next Steps

Sub-project 1: The political and social policy consequences of technological change

Sub-project 1 reached a major milestone by completing our own international public opinion survey on technology-related perceptions and preferences (the survey covers also perceptions and preferences regarding the green transition to a climate-neutral economy). In late 2021, we had awarded the survey contract to the well-established survey firm Kantar. Starting in January of 2022, we developed the questionnaire in close cooperation with Kantar as well as the surveyLAB at the University of Konstanz. After pre-tests in Germany and the United States, the survey was fielded in June and July of 2022 in the following six countries: Germany, Japan, Poland, Spain, Sweden, and the United States. The sample consists of 3,300 individuals per country (19,800 in total). We received the final dataset at the end of September and since then have been in the process of analysing the data. We intend to present first results at an internal workshop in February 2023 and to a wider audience at conferences over the summer.

As reported in the research report of last year, a major challenge to sub-project 1 was to finalize the above detailed survey project, while at the same time finishing paper projects related to an earlier cooperation with the OECD. As a refresher, the seed funding provided by the Cluster had allowed us to buy access to a large-scale international comparative public opinion survey hosted by the OECD, the "Risks that Matter" survey. In 2022, we were able to publish two papers taking advantage of advanced access to the resulting survey data. First, collaborating with colleagues from the University of Lausanne who were also contributors to the OECD survey, we published an article in the *Socio-Economic Review* (see Busemeyer et al., 2022). The article shows that individuals who per-

Sub-project 2: Inequalities, digitalization and automation from a firm and employee perspective

Economic employee perspective

ceive high levels of technology-related employment risks are more likely to demand compensatory and protective social policies than social investment policies. Second, we published an article in *Comparative Political Studies* (see Busemeyer and Tober, 2022), in which we measure social policy preferences in a constrained budget scenario and find that the institutional context matters for the formation of preferences. In particular, we are able to provide evidence for a negative feedback effect, which suggests that general support for compensatory policies is lower in countries with more mature welfare states compared to countries with more residual welfare states. However, we also find that this difference increasingly disappears as the perception of technology-related employment risks increases.

In addition, several project members from both sub-projects have written a paper on the link between individual technostress perceptions and welfare state support systems using the OECD data (see planned publications). The paper shows that higher income levels buffer technostress and that this effect is enhanced in the context of generous welfare state policies. We presented an early version of the paper at a workshop hosted by the OECD in April of 2022. The paper is currently under review at PLOS One.

Looking ahead, a challenge for sub-project 1 will be to pursue the planned project on the positions of political elites, while simultaneously taking advantage of the wealth of information provided by the recently completed survey.

The first part of sub-project 2 has continued its collaboration with Melanie Arntz from the ZEW in Mannheim and its work with the IAB-ZEW “DiWaBe” database. As outlined in detail in last year’s report, this database provides us with access to a representative linked employer-employee survey combined with administrative data. The data allow to establish the average effects of technological change both on subjective worker health and on days of absence. Moreover, the data give us the opportunity to assess the heterogeneity of these effects along various dimensions. In particular, we are able to distinguish between 3.0 (computerization, advanced telecommunications, etc.) and 4.0 (automation, smart machines and factories, etc.) technologies, as well as between office and non-office jobs.

We find overall negative effects on health with regard to 4.0 technologies, but not with regard to 3.0 technologies. Moreover, the effect of 4.0 technologies varies for office and non-office workers, with non-office workers reporting worsening health conditions, while office workers report less sick days and improved subjective health changes. This suggests that 4.0 technologies exacerbate inequalities among workers. Our working hypothesis is that manual workers select themselves in less abstract occupations and may be overwhelmed by the resulting occupational changes of 4.0 technologies, given that these changes are associated with a more complex working environment. We are currently attempting to establish these channels in more detail. In addition, we intend to study how firm-specific factors might attenuate the reported effect, for instance through training or employee involvement.

Melanie and we presented the initial results of our project at various occasions, including the lecture series “Gestaltung von flexiblen Arbeitswelten” at the universities of Paderborn and Bielefeld as well as the ZEW-internal seminar “ZEW-AM Werkstattseminar”. Looking ahead, we intend to finish a first draft in early 2023 and submit it to conferences.

In addition, Sebastian Findeisen and Oliver Schlenker started a research project with Wolfgang Dauth from the IAB that analyzes the role of work councils in mediating the negative effects of automation. Using German linked employer-employee administrative data combined with an establishment survey on the adoption of robots, we compare worker-level outcomes between establishments with and without work councils. Additionally, we want to investigate two potential explanations for potential differences: Upskilling and labor-substitutiveness of the implemented robots.

Organisational within-firm perspective

The second part of sub-project 2, which studies how individuals adapt to the social and psycho-environmental challenges of digitalization and new work environments, reached a phase of submissions to journals. First, a paper (already mentioned in last year’s progress report) that examines how transitioning from cellular offices to an activity-based flexible office (A-FO) impacts absenteeism over time is currently at the Revise-and-Resubmit stage at the journal *Environment & Behavior*. In this paper, we find that while there are no differences in absenteeism between the intervention and control (no office change) groups, long-term employees showed higher absenteeism when switching to an A-FO, suggesting substantial health disparities in new work environments.

Second, a study looking at the effects of transitioning from office work to remote work during the Covid-19 lockdown shows that the transition to remote work was associated with a decrease in absenteeism and an increase in presenteeism among employees. Moreover, contrary to our expectations, we find that women showed a more significant decrease in absenteeism and a slightly smaller increase in presenteeism than men. The paper was presented at the Academy of Management Conference in Seattle in August of 2022 and the 3rd International Symposium on Total Worker Health in Bethesda (Maryland) in October of 2022. After a first rejection, we currently prepare the paper for re-submission at a different journal.

Looking ahead, we just received a large dataset from the company Kununu, which maintains a platform where employees can rate the companies they are working for or have worked for. We are particularly interested in the information on individual companies, salaries, and the comments to the ratings of companies. We see several potentially promising research avenues associated with these data, e. g., exploring gender discrimination based on firm-specific characteristics, studying the reasons why workers quit their job, or analyzing employees’ perceptions regarding change processes and digitalization within companies.

OUTPUT

Publications and Work in Progress

- Busemeyer, Marius R., Kemmerling, Achim, Marx, Paul, van Kersbergen, Kees (Eds.), 2022, *Digitalization and the Welfare State*, Oxford University Press.
- Busemeyer, Marius R., Kemmerling, Achim, Marx, Paul, van Kersbergen, Kees, 2022. *Digitalization and the Welfare State: Introduction*, in: Busemeyer, Marius R., Kemmerling, Achim, Marx, Paul, van Kersbergen, Kees (Eds.): *Digitalization and the Welfare State*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press (with Achim Kemmerling, Paul Marx and Kees van Kersbergen), pp. 1-20.
- Busemeyer, Marius R. 2022. *Digitalization, Automation and the Welfare State: What Do We (Not Yet) Know?* In: Busemeyer, Marius R., Kemmer-

- ling, Achim, Marx, Paul, van Kersbergen, Kees (Eds.): Digitalization and the Welfare State, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 21-40.
- Busemeyer, Marius R., Glassmann, Ulrich, 2022. The Value and Future of Work in the Digital Economy, in: Busemeyer, Marius R./Kemmerling, Achim, Marx, Paul, van Kersbergen, Kees (Eds.): Digitalization and the Welfare State, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 83-98.
- Busemeyer, Marius R., Kemmerling, Achim, Marx, Paul, van Kersbergen, Kees, 2022. Digitalization and the Future of the Democratic Welfare State, in: Busemeyer, Marius R./Kemmerling, Achim, Marx, Paul, van Kersbergen, Kees (Eds.): Digitalization and the Welfare State, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 373-392.
- Busemeyer, Marius R., Gandenberger, Mia, Knotz, Carlo, Tober, Tobias, 2022, Preferred Policy Responses to Technological Change: Survey Evidence from OECD Countries, Socio-Economic Review.
- Busemeyer, Marius R., Tober, Tobias, 2022, Dealing with Technological Change: Social Policy Preferences and Institutional Context, Comparative Political Studies.
- Busemeyer, Marius R., Sahm, Alexander, 2022, Social Investment, Redistribution or Basic Income? Exploring the Association Between Automation Risk and Welfare State Attitudes in Europe, Journal of Social Policy, 51(4), 751-770.
- Busemeyer, Marius R., Thelen, Kathleen, 2022, Employer Influence in Vocational Education and Training: Germany and Sweden Compared, in: Bonoli, Giuliano, Emmenegger, Patrick (Eds.): Collective Skill Formation in the Knowledge Economy, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 229-25.

Planned Key Publications

Sub-project 1:

- Busemeyer, Marius R., Stutzmann, Sophia, Tober, Tobias: Paper on the potential differences in terms of social policy demands between digitalization and the green transition, focusing on the effects of individual and socio-tropic risk perceptions.
- Koos, Sebastian, Stutzmann, Sophia: Paper on trade-off between investments in digitalization and investments in the green transition.
- Koos, Sebastian: Paper on attitudes towards digitalization, the gig economy and political consumerism in the digital sphere.
- Tober, Tobias: Paper on measurement differences between various types of objective and subjective risks associated with automation and digitalization.
- Busemeyer, Marius R., Stutzmann, Sophia, Tober, Tobias: Analysis of a vignette experiment on policy preferences for social compensation and social investment in response to digitalization and the green transition.

Sub-project 2:

- Arntz, Melanie, Findeisen, Sebastian, Maurer, Stephan, Schlenker, Oliver: Paper on the effects of technological change on subjective worker health and days of absence, distinguishing between different types of technological change and different types of occupations.
- Dauth, Wolfgang, Findeisen, Sebastian, Schlenker, Oliver: Paper on the role of work councils in mediating the effects of automation on workers.
- Lauterbach, Ann Sophie, Kunze, Florian: Paper on the effect of different types of office designs on employee absenteeism across demographic characteristics.
- Lauterbach, Ann Sophie, Opitz, C.: Paper on gender differences in absenteeism and presenteeism following the transition from working in an office to working remotely during the Covid-19 lockdown.

- Lauterbach, Ann Sophie, Radermacher, K.: Paper on gender differences in the assessment of workplace quality based on a large dataset on employer ratings.

Sub-projects 1 and 2:

- Busemeyer, Marius, Kunze, Florian, Lauterbach, Ann Sophie, Tober, Tobias: Paper on the effects of individual-level (income) and macro-level (generosity of welfare state) socio-economic factors on technostress.

Outreach

Marius R. Busemeyer:

- OISP Seminar, Department for Social Policy and Intervention (DSPI), Oxford University, UK (online), March 10, 2022.
- Colloquium of the bidt (Bayerisches Forschungsinstitut für Digitale Transformation), Munich, Germany (online), March 9, 2022.
- Keynote at Summer Academy "Challenging Inequality", University of Duisburg-Essen, Essen, July 21, 2022.
- Keynote at Italian Society for Economic Sociology (SISEC), Online, September 19, 2022.
- Invited talk, WESP Club at Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, Online, November 17, 2022.
- Invited talk at workshop of the Research Network on Political Economy, MPI for the Study of Societies, Cologne, November 24-25, 2022.
- Invited lecture, ADILT program, University of Konstanz, Konstanz, December 8, 2022.

Florian Kunze:

- Akademie Tutzing, Keynote at the Congress on Future of Work, Tutzing, April 9 2022.
- Schmalenbach Gesellschaft, Keynote at the Working Group of Personnel and Organization, May 21 2022.
- Flexible Office Network Stuttgart, Keynote on Work Transformation due to the Corona Pandemic, Stuttgart, April 5 2022.
- Change Congress Berlin, Keynote on Work Transformation due to the Corona Pandemic, Berlin, November 15 2022.

Ann Sophie Lauterbach:

- Work and Well-being Seminar, T.H. Chan School of Public Health, Harvard University, Boston, USA, October 18, 2022.

Promotion of Young Researchers

The post-doc (Tobias Tober) and the two doctoral researchers (Ann Sophie Lauterbach and Oliver Schlenker) have been granted full access to all project-related data and are deeply involved in the ongoing data-generating process, in which they are strongly encouraged to pursue their own ideas. They have been given frequent opportunities to present their work to the entire project team in order to create a healthy feedback loop. Ann Sophie Lauterbach has received full financial support to attend several national and international conferences in 2022, and all early-career researchers have prospects of attending conferences in 2023, for which they will receive full financial support from the project.

Research Data

The survey data produced by sub-project 1 in cooperation with Kantar contains detailed data documentation (codebook, methods report, etc.) and is available as a thoroughly labelled Stata file. After we have exhausted this dataset for our own research purposes, will make the data and all relevant information publicly available without constraints on the data repository of the Cluster.

2. ETHNIC POLICIES AND INEQUALITY: THE SÁMI IN SWEDEN AND NORWAY

Principal Investigators: Katharina Holzinger, Tanja Kupisch

Project Researchers: Fabian Bergmann, Anika Lloyd-Smith, Rusen Yasar

Disciplines: Linguistics, Political Science

Funding Period: 10/2019 – 12/2023

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

The Sámi are the only Indigenous people in Europe. The number of ethnic Sámi is unknown and few have maintained their native language (~18.000-30.000 speakers). Due to harsh assimilation policies in the past, many individuals with Sámi ancestry today do not self-identify as Sámi and have lost their native language. Despite political efforts to improve their status, the Sámi still experience discrimination, and access to education in their own language is not guaranteed. We investigate the remaining (perceived) inequalities between the Indigenous population and the majority, focusing on Sweden and Norway, prime examples of countries with high equality standards. Departing from obvious differences in the two countries' Sámi policies (Sweden being less emphatic), we investigate whether these policy differences are mirrored in:

- a. The economic, social, and political status of the Sámi and their perceptions thereof?
- b. The Sámi's perception of policies and their policy preferences?
- c. The use of the Sámi language and the speaker's proficiencies?
- d. The perceptions and preferences of Sámi policies by the majority population?

Main Contributions to the Cluster's Research Program

Our project targets Sámi policies in Language and Education, Land Rights and Self Governance. We contribute directly to the Cluster's Research Area 3 (Policies), as we investigate the link between policies and structural inequalities. Moreover, in studying how –in the case of the Sámi– legal rules reduce (or not) inequalities between ethnic minorities and majorities, we are well within the Cluster's empirical focus on inequalities in Rights and Privileges. We provide detailed language policy analyses, pairing these with direct and indirect measures of language use and proficiency [5]; and we address the social consequences of losing an endangered minority language. Several survey items relate to the Cluster's Research Area 1 (Perceptions), including experimental vignette questions on perceptions of indigenous policies and participants' attitudes towards them. Moreover, we measure perceived social status and discrimination. Key to our research is that the Scandinavian setting is one where conventional forms of material inequality (in income and wealth) are low from a vertical perspective (i.e., inequality between individuals / households). Thus, our unique contribution to the Cluster's research program is our focus on perceptions of horizontal inequalities in egalitarian societies. Finally, we investigate if and how policies feeds back into political participation (Research Area 2) and whether participation levels are unequal both between Sámi and majority and amongst the Sámi. Our project thus cuts across the Cluster's research areas and empirical domains. Finally, we see our project as a true interdisciplinary collaboration on both practical and scientific grounds. Our language use data turned out to be a key factor explaining the survey respondents' reports of discrimination experiences [8].

Main Results

The survey (in 2021) yielded 5,416 responses for a phone interview (Stage 1); 1,420 participants filled out a questionnaire (Stage 2), and 818 provided additional language data (Stage 3). Only the amount of language data was smaller than expected. As planned, the linguists created a receptive vocabulary task on North Sámi (SamVoc). A so-called yes-no vocabulary task was the ideal choice because it can easily be implemented in a survey and it is a quick assessment tool. The task was inspired by the "Dialang" test battery, which is part of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) initiative. Ironically, although the Council of Europe stresses the importance and promotion of multilingualism, no assessment materials for regional or national minority language are available, which is why we created the task ourselves, in collaboration with a world-leading expert on vocabulary assessment. We have validated our task, using Item Response Theory (IRT) [4] and subsequently compared the vocabulary data with the self-reported questionnaire data. Our results show satisfying correlations. We can see that the Sámi perform at ceiling in their majority language with no differences across countries. However, only very few speakers become fully proficient in Sámi, especially in Sweden, and intergenerational language loss shows shocking numbers. While over two-thirds of our Sámi respondents reported language proficiency in their grandparents' generation, this dropped drastically to less than 50% in their parents' generation and to about 20% for themselves [6].

In a cross-disciplinary paper [6], we have examined self-reported data on language use and linked this to an analysis of linguistic and budgetary policies to see whether the different policies

in Norway and Sweden are mirrored in differences in language use and proficiency. Around one fifth of Sámi adults today use a Sámi language "occasionally", and active use is largely restricted to the home context with family members. Levels of language use and proficiency are consistently higher in Norway, which we interpreted to reflect, at least in part, the more favorable policies in this country. In another cross-disciplinary study, we explored potential links between experienced discrimination and language use [8]. Like in previous research, Sámi participants in our survey reported experiencing higher levels of discrimination than majority participants and –to some extent –other minority participants (immigrant minorities and other national minorities). Further, a higher incidence of experienced discrimination coincided with higher minority language use: using more Sámi is associated with experiencing more discrimination. This observation raises a new question, which had not been explored previously, namely whether there is a direct link between language use and discrimination. In other words, is there something in the way the Sámi speak the majority language (Norwegian or Swedish) that makes them targets to discrimination? Can speakers of the majority population perceive an "indigenous" accent? To pursue this question, we created experiments in which non-Sámi speakers assessed the speech of Sámi (when speaking the majority language) in terms of perceived accents and social markers. Results for Sweden show that ethnic Sámi are indistinguishable from speakers without a Sámi background in the same region [5]. This speaks for an indirect relation between language and experienced discrimination: A lack of opportunities and visibility for a minority language constitutes a form of discrimination in itself [8].

As to potential status inequalities between the Sámi and the majority, the survey data show that despite the virtual absence of material inequalities, Swedish Sámi's status perceptions are significantly lower than the majority's [1]. This concerns both perceptions of individual socioeconomic status as well as of the Sámi's collective cultural status as a group. Norwegian Sámi, by contrast, do not differ from the majority in their status perceptions. Taken together, these findings back the assumption that Norway's more complaisant Sámi self-determination policy context – in comparison to Sweden – is more effective in remedying historically rooted inequalities. Relatedly, preliminary results from a vignette study suggest that public preferences for and attitudes toward policies that govern Sámi self-determination are similar between the two countries [2]. Unsurprisingly, self-identifying Sámi favor those policies that facilitate self-determination more strongly than ethnic majority respondents. However, the extent to which Sámi and majority policy preferences differ varies across policy areas. For example, the groups' preferences are more similar towards Sámi self-governance policies, while they differ most strongly in the case of land use and territorial rights policies. Yet, overall, our data indicates public support for enhancing Sámi self-governance policies also in Sweden. Finally, as to how current Sámi policies relate to political opinion and behavior, preliminary results show that cross-country policy differences are mirrored in how satisfied the Sámi are with the way democracy works. While we do not find significant differences between the Norwegian Sámi and their ethnic-majority compatriots, Swedish Sámi are more likely than the majority to report low levels of satisfaction with democracy [3]. The next step will be further investigation into whether there are similar patterns in political behavior, e.g., participation in elections.

The results from linguistics and political science together support the preliminary finding reported in 2021 that the perceived inequalities are indeed related to language and some of the expected cross-country differences are mirrored in our data. In Sweden, both the Sámi and the majority are more likely to report discrimination than in Norway, but there is larger gap between where the majority sees themselves on the social ladder as compared to where the Sámi see themselves. Furthermore, in comparison to their Norwegian peers, Swedish Sámi speakers are less likely to develop high proficiencies in the minority language. Minority language use is positively associated with the likelihood of experiencing discrimination, and this relationship is stronger in Sweden. Further, we find a correlation in Sweden between participants' satisfaction with democracy and how much they use Sámi language in their daily lives, such that people who use Sámi more are less satisfied with democracy. There are no indications of a similar correlation in Norway.

Progress on sampling and data collection. We had reported in 2021 that although the data collection was successful overall, we did not obtain enough qualitatively appropriate speech recordings, especially in Sámi (in Sweden, only 4 speakers provided a sample in Sámi with sufficient quality). The speech samples have a double function: They can be used (i) to validate self-reported data on language proficiency and the vocabulary assessment tool we have created, and (ii) to assess the majority's perception of a Sámi accent. In November 2021, we travelled to Tromsø to recruit new freelancers and engage with the local community. We managed to collect language data from 20 additional par-

ticipants in Norwegian and Sámi, a fair sample given the vulnerable status of this Indigenous community. We are not in a position to compare the speakers' accents in their minority and majority language, following the methods in [5].

Problems and Delays

In 2021 we reported the difficulties in the beginning of the project, i.e., (i) finding a Sámi-speaking linguist for the PhD position, (ii) problems related to Covid, (iii) ethics clearance in Sweden; (iv) the linguistics part of the project was (still is) somewhat understaffed, which we have compensated by means of external collaborators. There were no new problems in 2022, and we are on schedule. We have published a paper that addresses the challenges when working with indigenous communities [7].

Outline of Next Steps

The survey had been completed with minor delays in 2021, and we had started cleaning the data. By now, we have written 8 papers (3 linguistics, 3 language policy, 2 jointly), which are at various stages between being finalized and forthcoming. The linguists are revising [4] and have just submitted a rating study to find out whether monolingual speakers of Swedish perceive the accents of native Sámi speakers to be different from those of non-Sámi speakers. Together with Øystein Vangnes (Tromsø), we are preparing a similar study on Norwegian, and, finally a study comparing the same speakers' accents in Sámi and Norwegian. The Norwegian task has been created and piloted. Finally, we are collaborating on a policy paper to appear with the Cluster in February 2023. On the political science part of the project, Fabian Bergmann has submitted a single-authored paper that studies differences in Norway's and Sweden's policy contexts governing Sámi self-determination and their links to inequalities in status perceptions between the Indigenous majority populations. [1] At the moment, he is writing up two more single-authored papers on majority and Indigenous attitudes towards Sámi policies and on these groups' levels of political participation and satisfaction with democracy [2,3]. The three papers together will form his PhD dissertation to be submitted at the end of 2023. The project team has produced a joint paper on the determinants of discrimination experience, with a detailed description of the survey and dataset, which has just been submitted [8]. It shall be considered as reference publication for any subsequent publications making use of our dataset. The team will collaborate in making this dataset publicly available.

OUTPUT

Publications and Work in Progress

- [1] Bergman, Fabian (subm.), An efficacious remedy for horizontal inequality? Indigenous self-determination policies and status perceptions in Norway and Sweden.
- [2] Bergmann, Fabian (in prep.), How threatening is rectifying injustice? Public attitudes toward Indigenous self-determination policies in Norway and Sweden.
- [3] Bergmann, Fabian (in prep.), Indigenous self-determination, political participation, and satisfaction with democracy in Norway and Sweden.
- [4] Gyllstad, Henrik, Tanja Kupisch, Anika Lloyd-Smith (subm.), Using Item Response Theory for developing a practical measure of language proficiency: The case of North Sámi. *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics*.
- [5] Kupisch, Tanja, Laura Hund, Anika Lloyd-Smith (subm.), Accents as a source of discrimination in Indigenous minorities? An accent perception study with speakers of Swedish. *Int. Journal of the Sociology of Language*.
- [6] Lloyd-Smith, Anika, Fabian Bergmann, Laura Hund, Tanja Kupisch (forthc.), Can policies change language use? The Sámi languages in Sweden and Norway. *Frontiers in Psychology*.
- [7] Lloyd-Smith, Anika, Tanja Kupisch (forthc.), Methodological challenges in working with Indigenous communities. *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism*.
- [8] Yaşar, Rusen, Fabian Bergman, Tanja Kupisch, Anika Lloyd-Smith, Sven Patrick Schmid, & Katharina Holzinger (in prep.), Experience of Discrimination in Egalitarian Societies: The Sámi and Majority Populations in Sweden and Norway. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

Planned Key Publications

Paper [8] is key to our project, as it presents the dataset and relates policy-related and linguistic analyses.

Research Data

First, the dataset resulting from our survey shall be made publicly available in a fully anonymized format. It will be accompanied by a detailed codebook (almost finalized), which explains all variables and describes the data collection and underlying data generation processes. That way, the data will be utilizable for the wider scientific community. The details of the dataset's depository have yet to be decided. Most probably, it will be stored either in a well-established scientific generic repository, such as Harvard Dataverse, or in the University of Konstanz' own KonDATA repository. Second, given the context of Indigenous studies, feedback into the society is indispensable. We have created a network with Sámi researchers in Tromsø and in various part of Sweden, who are either part of the Sámi community or work with them closely. Finally, we are about to submit a policy paper that presents key findings from our data and targets also the non-academic audience to reach out to stakeholders beyond the scientific community (Title: "Speaking of inequality: the language-inequality nexus and the Indigenous Sámi in Sweden and Norway").

Presentations in 2022

- Bergmann, F. Message in a policy: Indigenous self-determination and unequal status perceptions in Norway and Sweden (poster). In *Equality Conf.*, April, Konstanz.
- Bergmann, F. Indigenous policies and inequalities in status perceptions between the Sámi and majority populations in Norway and Sweden. *ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops*, April, online.
- Bergmann, F. Horizontal inequalities in egalitarian societies? *ECMI Research Seminar*, June, European Centre for Minority Issues, Flensburg.
- Hund, L., A. Lloyd-Smith, & T. Kupisch. Can policies change language use? A study of North Sámi. *National symposium of the Swedish Association for Applied Linguistics*, April, Stockholm.
- Hund, L., T. Kupisch, & A. Lloyd-Smith. Perceived accents in the majority language of Indigenous minorities? The Sámi in Norway and Sweden. *Multidisciplinary approaches to Migration and Multilingualism*, October, Nicosia.
- Lloyd-Smith, A., & Kupisch, T. Can policies change language use? A study of North Sámi. *EuroSLA 31*, August, Fribourg.
- Lloyd-Smith, A., F. Bergman, L. Hund & T. Kupisch. Do language policies matter? The North Sámi language in Sweden and Norway. *Bilingualism Matters Research Symposium*, October, Edinburgh.
- Lloyd-Smith, A. & T. Kupisch. Can policies change language use? A study of North Sámi in Sweden and Norway. *5th Saami Linguistics Symposium*, September, Tartu.
- Yasar, R., A. Lloyd-Smith, F. Bergmann, S. P. Schmid, T. Kupisch & K. Holzinger. Feelings of Discrimination in Egalitarian Societies: The Sámi and Majority Populations in Sweden and Norway. In *Equality Conf.*, April, Konstanz.
- In addition, we presented at internal colloquium talks in Linguistics and Political Science and in meetings with researchers in the Sámi community (e.g., K. Lenert Hansen and L. Antonsen, UiT Tromsø).

Promotion of Young Researchers

Key to our project was teamwork, discussing and deciding together, valuing each other's work and that of our younger team members, including student researchers / freelancers (recruited through international networks). Three former (student) team members are now pursuing PhDs: V. Björkquist (Uppsala; Scandinavian Languages); N. Femia (Gothenburg; Swedish, Multiling. and Language Technology); L. Hund (UKon; Romance Linguistics, successfully secured her own funds). S.-P Schmid is now working as a data manager in a German federal ministry.

3. FRAMING INEQUALITIES

Principal Investigators: Miriam Butt, Regine Eckardt, Katharina Holzinger

Project Researchers: Qi Yu and Anselm Fliethmann

Disciplines: General Linguistics, Computational Linguistics, Political Science

Funding Period: 10/2019 - 05/2024

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

The project “Framing Inequalities” aims to 1) identify the relevant linguistic cues used for the framing of inequalities by applying computational linguistic methods and resources, and 2) experimentally test framing effects triggered by these cues on individual receivers. We focus specifically on the political discourse surrounding the so-called European Refugee Crisis in the time period of 2014-2018, and investigate how refugees and the event as such are portrayed by information senders with different political orientations. Our research contributes to the research area of Perceptions (Research Area 1) of the Cluster’s research program in that we investigate how linguistic cues used for framing a specific inequality-related issue influence individuals’ perception of said inequality.

Main Results

In this section, we report the status, progress and future work of each work package (WP) as described in the project proposal.

WP1: Corpus Creation

Status: Completed

Data collection was completed in 2021. Our corpus includes keyword-filtered parliamentary debates, party programs, social media outlets, and newspaper articles on refugees.

Medium	Number of Documents
Newspaper: BILD	12,287
Newspaper: FAZ	6,832
Newspaper: SZ	4,770
Tweets of 185 Relevant Politicians	340,961
Facebook Posts of 185 Relevant Politicians	10,392
Bundestag Debates on “Refugees”	306
Party Programs	14

WP2: Identification and Annotation of Discursive Packaging

Status: Ongoing; First results and publication achieved, further publications planned for 2023

Identification of Issue Frames

Our first step of the project aims at investigating the prevalence of different frames used in the discourse on the “European Refugee Crisis” by media with different political leanings and styles, and thus gaining an overview on how refugees and the issue of the refugee crisis are portrayed. As a theoretical foundation of this work, the political scientists in our project created a Refugee and Migration Framing Schema (RMFS) as a taxonomy of possible frames in the discourse of refugees and migration. This novel, deductively compiled schema combines well-established and empirically validated categories derived by Boydston et al. (2014) and the general categories of arguments in Habermas (1991) that are not covered in Boydston et al. (2014).

Former computational linguistic studies mainly focus on developing machine learning models to classify different frames based on specific frame schemata, which require huge amounts of manual annotation and are thus prohibitive to conduct. Therefore, in our work we investigate the potential of unsupervised and knowledge-driven approaches for frame identification. To this end, we established a Refugee and Migration Framing Vocabulary (RMFV) based on the RMFS. RMFV consists of lists of relevant keywords for each frame category in RMFS and allows us to quantitatively measure the most salient frames used by different media

sources. We used word embeddings (Mikolov et al. 2013) to measure the semantically closest words to the following refugee-keywords: {Flüchtling, Geflüchtete, Migrant, Asylant, Asylwerber, Asylbewerber, Asylsuchende}. Detailed method descriptions and methods can be found in Yu & Fliethmann (2022). In brief, however, the most striking contrasts found between the newspapers are that the semantically closest words to the refugee-keywords in BILD are either related to criminality (e.g., Delikt ‘offense’, Straftäter ‘perpetrator’) or religious extremism (e.g., Dschihad ‘Jihad’, Islamist ‘Islamist’), implying a strong semantic association of refugees with threats to domestic security. By contrast, the semantically closest words to the refugee-keywords in SZ are mostly related to the security of refugees on the migration route or in their country of origin (e.g., Schlepper ‘human trafficker’, Bürgerkrieg ‘civil war’), rendering refugees as particularly threatened and thus in need of humanitarian aid. FAZ covers a middle ground, where the refugee-keywords are found to be semantically close to both keywords of criminality and keywords of security on the migration route.

Identification of Frames of Deservingness of Refugees

Taking the theoretical foundation of WP2 a step further, we identified and manually annotated frames on the deservingness of refugees within our text corpus. Narratives of deservingness address the questions of “Who should get what, and why?” (van Oorschot, 2000) with regard to welfare state benefits. We concentrate on the (perceived) deservingness of refugees based on the CARIN Deservingness Principles Scale (Meuleman et al., 2020), a scale sorting arguments of deservingness into five different categories. Integrating this concept of deservingness into our framing framework, we investigate the arguments behind the unequal treatment of refugees, or more precisely, the arguments behind justifications of why refugees should be treated unequally, that is perceptions of fairness.

As a subject of study, we have focused on New Year’s Eve 2015/16 and the attacks of young men, especially refugees, on women in Cologne and other German cities. A team of political science student assistants have coded all Facebook Posts and Tweets from our corpus that were posted by relevant politicians of the German Federal Government and Bundestag between October 2015 and March 2016. Coding was thereby based on a codebook that includes the five CARIN Deservingness Principles, as well as two alternative logics of treating refugees (‘universalism’ and ‘rejectionism’).

In a first paper, we plan to address the significance of New Year's Eve 2015/16 on how politicians discuss refugees' deservingness in terms of the five CARIN Deservingness Principles and the two alternative logics. Having completed our annotations, we are currently analyzing the different saliences of the various frames on the deservingness of refugees and investigating changes before in comparison to after the event. A resulting paper is planned to be submitted later this year.

In a second, cooperative paper between the two disciplines, we plan to investigate the potential of automatically identifying deservingness frames. As annotating deservingness frames requires not only a deep understanding of the text material but also abundant domain knowledge of deservingness theories, conducting manual annotation is time-consuming, expensive, and often suffers from a lack of competent annotators. Thus, developing computational linguistic approaches that can automatically identify deservingness frames would benefit political science researchers and would enable more large-scale investigations across the complete time period covered by our project corpus. Based on the already conducted manual annotation, as our first step we plan to train machine learning models to detect different deservingness frame categories. As the explainability of machine learning models is crucial for their application in social sciences, as our second step we will carry out a comparison of the performance of models and humans by extracting and comparing the most prominent expressions that lead to the decision of choosing a certain deservingness frame. With this, we aim to provide insights into how machine learning models can assist political science studies on deservingness in a transparent and human-interpretable way. The resulting paper is planned to be submitted in mid-2023.

WP3: Development of Rich Frame Theory

Status: Ongoing; First results have been achieved, and publication is planned for 2023

Though the large-scale analyses using RMFV have yielded remarkable results on frame differences among the newspapers as reported above in section WP2: 1), this strand of analyses is restricted to content words, and the effects of deeper semantic and pragmatic components in framing still remain underexplored. In WP3, we aim to enrich the existing modeling of framing (Entman 1993, Druckman 2011) by further identifying deep semantic and pragmatic cues for framing.

Enigmatic Compounds as Sources of Attitudinal Meaning

An exploratory reading of documents in our corpus suggests that some authors tend to use enigmatic compounds (Wildgen 1981), i.e., coinage compounds which primarily serve a stylistic function instead of a referential function, to implicitly convey biased attitudes. (1)-(2) below illustrate examples of enigmatic compounds and the attitudinal meaning implicitly conveyed by them:

- (1)
- Merkel-Land "Merkel-Land": (source: Facebook) Asylanten und Flüchtlinge wollen Österreich meiden und lieber im Merkel-Land einreisen, denn hier dürfen Familien nachgeholt werden.
"Refugees avoid Austria and prefer Merkel-land because they can bring their families there."
 - Attitudinal meaning: German refugee crisis is Merkel's fault.

(2)

- Kopftuch-Praktikantin "hijab-intern": (source: BILD, August 25, 2016) Neue Stelle für Kopftuch-Praktikantin "Hijab-intern gets a new job"
- Attitudinal meaning: The religious practices of Muslims are troublesome.

The meaning-opacity of such enigmatic compounds allows the authors to avoid blatant commitment to biased attitudinal opinions. In cooperation with the University of Tübingen (Prof. Dr. Britta Stolterfoht), we conducted a survey on readers' perception of enigmatic compounds that trigger negative attitudinal meanings. 283 participants were asked to rate the sentiment of 21 text snippets containing enigmatic compounds versus text snippets in which the enigmatic compounds are substituted with corresponding phrasal alternatives (e.g., changing 'Merkel-land' and 'hijab-intern' to 'the country ruled by Merkel' and 'intern wearing a hijab') on a scale from 1=very positive to 7=very negative. Specifically, we found that the log-odds of the text snippets being rated more positive is significantly higher when the phrasal form is used instead of the enigmatic compound form ($\beta = -0.5231$, $SE = 0.1503$, $z = -3.482$, $p = 0.0004$). The result of this survey is planned to be published in 2023 (see Section 3.2).

Presuppositional Triggers as Cues for Framing

Another cue of framing found in our initial exploratory reading of the documents in our corpus is the usage of the adverbs schon wieder 'yet again', immer wieder 'again and again' and erneut 'again' in connection with different contexts. (3) and (4) below show two examples:

(3)

Wieder ein Flüchtling ertrunken
(source: SZ, 2015-06-12)
"Again a refugee drowned"

(4)

Nur sechs Tage nachdem die GSG9 in Schleswig-Holstein drei mutmaßliche ISIS-Schläfer festnahm, hat die Polizei schon wieder einen Terror-Verdächtigen in einer Flüchtlingsunterkunft geschnappt!
(source: BILD, 2016-09-20)
'Only six days after the GSG9 in Schleswig-Holstein arrested three suspected ISIS members, the police caught a terror suspect in a refugee shelter yet again!'

It is well studied in theoretical linguistics that adverbs of such kind trigger the presupposition that such events already happened (at least once) before and consequently constitute a refugee crisis. Given a certain political context, such presupposition can bring up attitudinal subtextual messages: Whereas the usage of wieder 'again' in (3) ren-

ders the refugees as being constantly under threat and thus evoke readers' thoughts on whether more humanitarian aid should be provided to them, the usage of schon wieder 'yet again' in (4) in combination with sensational violent events evokes the readers to consider refugees as a constant threat of the domestic security. Grounded in this observation, we investigated whether such adverbs are employed to carry different attitudinal subtexts in different newspapers of our corpus. Briefly, our study found that such presupposition-triggering adverbs in BILD have a clear tendency to be used in issues related to violence and security, whereas FAZ and SZ tend to use them more in the discussion of domestic and EU asylum politics and do not cover violence- and security-related issues. This underscores our result from WP2 using the dictionary-based method. For further theoretical and methodological details, we refer to Yu (2022).

Future Work: Other Relevant Semantic Features

Besides the presupposition-triggering adverbs mentioned above, in the last decades theoretical linguistic researchers have uncovered many more pragmatic cues that have fundamental effects on conveying subtexts and steering the discourse development. In a similar vein, earlier computational linguistic studies on media bias and framing have empirically verified the effect of various semantic and pragmatic cues in inducing narrative bias (e.g., Recasens et al. 2013, Kuang & Davison 2016, Spinde et al. 2021, Mukherjee & Weikum 2015). Example (5) below shows two instances of such cues, i.e., modal particles and factive verbs:

- (5) Die Politik der Absperrung und Abschottung ist gescheitert - das sieht doch jeder, das weiß jeder. (SZ, 2014-10-04)
'The policy of closure and isolation has failed - everyone can see that, everyone knows that.'
- a. Subtext carried by the modal particle *doch* (lit. 'yet'): In the opinion of the author, the readers also know that the policy has failed. But the readers are not taking this into account at the moment (and they should take this into account).
 - b. Subtext carried by the factive verb *wissen* ('know'): The author considers the failure of the policy as an indisputable truth. In order to make sense of the speaker's usage of *weiß*, the readers must firstly accept that the failure is a truth.

Building upon insights from earlier work as well as our findings in "Presuppositional Triggers as Cues for Framing", we plan to investigate the usage of such deep semantic features in documents of our corpus from sources with different political leanings. By now, we have developed a taxonomy of such seman-

tic and pragmatic cues that are relevant to framing and developed a rule-based pipeline for the automated annotation of these cues. As the next step, we plan to investigate what the most predictive cues for each source are and what subtexts are carried by them.

Furthermore, while we could successfully detect the differences between BILD vs. FAZ/SZ, the agendas of the latter two are harder to differentiate so far. To fill this gap, we will target narrative journalism (NarJ) as a major vehicle of framing. NarJ uses features of literary prose (protagonists, voice, perspective, narrative temporal structure) as part of news text (Aare 2016, Van Krieken & Sanders 2021). The genre was shown to enhance reader engagement and empathy (Oliver et al. 2012, Shen et al. 2014, van Krieken & Sanders 2021) and increased memory span in readers (Kleemans et al. 2018). Linguistic cues of NarJ were proposed by van Krieken Hoeken and Sanders (2017) but their listed cues are ambiguous and incomplete, missing important categories like speaker-oriented items, evaluatives and expressives (Eckardt 2016, Gutzmann 2015). Earlier authors in NarJ also neglect syntactic cues to convey attitude and orality, such as topicalization, right dislocation, or incomplete clause structure. Both FAZ and SZ regularly publish hybrid articles with narrative elements that arguably highlight the newspaper's viewpoint on aspects of migration. Building on previous work on speaker orientation (Eckardt 2016), we plan to systematically annotate a sample of articles in order to train search algorithms for the typical linguistic profile of narrative passages and/or speaker attitudes. Such passages will serve as starting points for framing analysis and offer a further handle on framing in quality newspapers.

WP4: Survey

Status: Ongoing; First paper submitted, data collection for second paper in progress

Dedicated to investigating how framing and certain linguistic cues influence perceptions, our project investigates attitudes towards (the deservingness of) refugees and the effect of framing and stereotypes on, among other things, these attitudes through survey experiments.

Survey on Deservingness Perceptions towards Refugees from a Gender Perspective

In a first survey, deservingness perceptions of the broader German population towards refugees have been investigated from a gender perspective. With the means of a factorial survey experiment, we identified the importance of gender stereotypes on perceptions of refugees: especially the willingness of refugees to work was evaluated differently by survey respondents, when the refugee in question was male instead of when it was female. These findings have been written up in a paper and submitted in January 2023.

Planned Project-Survey

Considering a final key element of our overall project proposal, further extensive effort has been put into an original survey of our project, aimed at investigating framing effects elicited by frames evoking stereotypes. The design of the survey results from our findings on different perceptions of refugees' deservingness dependent on their gender (see "Survey on Deservingness Perceptions towards Refugees from a Gender Perspective"), as well as work on the amplification of stereotypes and 'frames in thought' through enigmatic compounds and presuppositional triggers (see WP3: 1) & 2)). Stereotypes are thereby considered as a relevant moderator of frame effectiveness.

As of February 2023, contact with a survey company has been established and an offer has been accepted to host our survey, as well as two relevant pre-studies. The data collection of the pre-studies that investigate the content of stereotypes towards particular migration-related groups in Germany has been completed. Based on these pre-studies, the main survey - scheduled for March-April 2023 - will apply different frames in a survey experiment, some of which evoke the identified relevant stereotypes. Frames may thereby be reinforced by linguistic cues, such as presuppositions or coinage compounds. The survey will test the effectiveness of these stereotypical frames in a treatment-control-group setting at a given point in time, as well as across several days, reaching up to two weeks.

The findings on framing effects and stereotypes will result in another key publication that is timed to be submitted by early 2024.

OUTPUT

Publications and Knowledge Transfer From this Project

Publication

Yu, Qi, 2022, Again, Dozens of Refugees Drowned": A Computational Study of Political Framing Evoked by Presuppositions, Proceedings of the 2022 Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics (NAA-CL): Student Research Workshop.

Yu, Qi, Anselm Fliethmann, 2022, Frame detection in German political discourses: How far can we go without large-scale manual corpus annotation?, Journal for Language Technology and Computational Linguistics. Vol. 35 No. 2: Special Issue on Computational Linguistics for Political and Social Sciences, pages 15-31. (Previously published in Proceedings of 1st Workshop on Computational Linguistics for Political Text Analysis (CPSS), 2021.)

Presentations

Yu, Qi. 2023. Automated detection of framing: What can data science do, and why is data science not enough? In_Equality Colloquium at the Cluster of Excellence "The Politics of Inequality". January 17th. University of Konstanz, Germany.

Yu, Qi, Fabian Schlotterbeck, Regine Eckardt, and Britta Stolterfoht. 2022. An experimental study on ad hoc compounds in political discourse. 9th Experimental Pragmatics Conference (XPRAG 2022). September 22-23, IUSS Pavia, Italy.

Eckardt, Regine, Qi Yu, 2022. Stance marking and register differences in newspaper articles. Workshop "Metaphors and stance markers in register variation (MeStaR)". June 16-17. Humboldt University of Berlin, Germany.

Eckardt, Regine. 2022. Rhetorical questions as justifications. Semantics Colloquium at the University of Budapest and the Hungarian Institute of Linguistics. October 6th. Budapest, Hungary.

Fliethmann, Anselm. 2022. Deservingness Perceptions towards Refugees - A Gender Perspective. Presentation at the 2022 The European Network for Social Policy Analysis Conference (ESPAnet Europe). September 14th-16th. University of Vienna, Austria.

Eckardt, Regine, Qi Yu. 2022. Stance marking and voice difference in newspaper articles.

Workshop MeStar, Humboldt University, Berlin. June 16th. Online.

Fliethmann, Anselm. 2022. Critical Events and Deservingness Perceptions - Analysing Deservingness Frames in Tweets and Facebook Posts. Poster Presentation at the In_equality Conference, April 6th-8th. Konstanz, Germany.

Yu, Qi, Regine Eckardt. 2022. Enigmatic compounds and attitudinal meaning. Talk at the Annual Meeting of DGfS, University of Tübingen, Germany. February 24th. Online.

Planned Key Publications

- One key publication is planned for the computationally derived saliences of frames of deservingness of refugees, as described in section 2.2.2
- Planned author(s): Anselm Fliethmann, Qi Yu
- One key publication is planned for the results achieved from the survey on enigmatic compounds, as described in section 2.3.1.
- Planned author(s): Qi Yu, Regine Eckardt, Fabian Schlotterbeck (University of Tübingen), Britta Stolterfoht (University of Tübingen)
- One key publication is planned for the computational analysis of systematic framing strategies evoked by further in-depth semantic and pragmatic cues beyond presupposition triggering adverbs, as described in section 2.3.3.
- Planned author(s): Qi Yu
- One key publication is planned for the results of the large-scale survey on (long-term) framing effects of frames evoking stereotypes of refugees, as described in section 2.4.2
- Planned author(s): Anselm Fliethmann
- Submitted: Fliethmann, Anselm; Seibel, Verena, and Daniel Degen. Deservingness Perceptions towards Refugees: A Gender Perspective.

Research Data Generated by the Project

- WP1 (see Section 2.1 above) has resulted in a corpus of German newspaper articles on the "European Refugee Crisis" between 2014-2018. As the newspaper articles were purchased from their respective publishers, we unfortunately cannot make the corpus publicly available due to their copyright regulations.
- Qi Yu, Anselm Fliethmann (2021), the Refugee and Migration Framing Schema (RMFS) and Refugee and Migration Framing Vocabulary (RMFV) are published as open-access resources on GitHub (<https://github.com/qi-yu/refugees-and-migration-framing-vocabulary>).
- Upon publication of the planned paper on the results of the enigmatic compounds survey, our research data will be published in accordance with the guidelines of the publishing journal.
- This also applies to the publication(s) resulting from the large-scale survey described in section 2.4.2.

Outreach Activities

- The project hosted a workshop "Detecting Frames: Political, Computational and Linguistic Views" on August 1-2, 2022 in Hegne, Germany. The workshop included distinguished, international guests in the field of linguistics and political science.
- Regine Eckardt (PI) presented core concepts of language in society in an interview with the ZEIT (November 2021).
- Regine Eckardt (PI) represented the project at the "Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften 2022" with an exhibition, quizzes and short flash presentations on "Framing in Media Texts" (in German). (May 14th, 2022)
- We plan to contribute to the new issue of the Cluster's public outreach magazine In_equality. The new issue is planned for the summer semester 2023 with the working title "Information - Language - Power". Our contributions will particularly focus on our research work on framing.
- Marianna Varga (University of Szeged) will be invited by Regine Eckardt as a cooperation partner. Varga's research focuses on language usage in courts.

Promotion of Young Researchers

- Funding of conference travels of project ECRs Anselm Fliethmann and Qi Yu.
- Funding of a scientific visit of ECR Anselm Fliethmann to Utrecht University, November 13th-26th, 2022.
- Workshop hosting and participation of ECRs.
- Antske Fokkens (VU Amsterdam & TU Eindhoven), who was invited to the project workshop "Detecting Frames" on August 1-2, 2022 (see Section 3.4), has agreed to be part of Yu's dissertation committee as external advisor.

4. FROM BAD TO WORSE? FINANCIAL CRISES, POLARIZATION, AND INEQUALITY

Principal Investigators: Gerald Schneider, Almuth Scholl

Project Researchers: Tim Hermann, Oleksandr Shevchuk

Disciplines: Political Science and Public Administration; Economics

Funding Period: 10/2019 – 03/2024

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

In this research project, we aim to understand how financial crises affect political polarization and economic inequality. We investigate three interrelated research questions:

1. How do different types of financial crises affect political polarization and economic inequality? (SP1)
2. How do the fiscal and monetary anti-crisis policies impact economic inequality and political polarization? (SP2)
3. Do financial crises and the immediate policy responses by the national government and international institutions such as the EU and the IMF trigger social conflict and mobilization? (SP3)

The objective of our project is to develop theoretical hypotheses and to test them systematically in empirical analyses. Moreover, we introduce political science reasoning into macroeconomic theories of financial crises.

Main Contributions to the Cluster's Research Program

The project addresses core questions of the Cluster's research program: how do system-wide crises affect income and wealth inequality as well as political polarization? How do protests and political interventions mitigate these distributive effects? How do political polarization and economic inequality relate to each other? The focus of the project is on four types of financial crises, but the research conducted by the research team has also implications for the macroeconomic shocks that the Corona pandemic and the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine have caused and that the Cluster has addressed or, undoubtedly, will address in the future.

The project examines in detail the impact of four types of financial crises - banking, inflation, currency and sovereign debt crises - on income and wealth inequality as well as polarization and political outcomes and how these effects are mediated by political mobilization and policy interventions. One of the main hypotheses is that the overall effect of crises on the two outcomes depends crucially on the extent, the duration, and the type of crisis. While inflation and currency crises typically hurt the poor and low-income workers most, bank closures, stock market crashes and sovereign defaults reduce the income of capital owners and hence the wealthy - at least in the short-term. Similarly, deep and long crises shatter the political system and give populist leaders the chance to exploit the

discontent of voters, increasing the gulf between the supporters of the political system and the ones of the anti-establishment groups. We explore how the effects of policy interventions depend on their design and how certain policy interventions can abate the fallout from financial crises.

The project is with this research agenda part of the interdisciplinary field of political economy to which political scientists and economists contribute equally. It adds to the Cluster through its cutting-edge analysis of the interaction between economic policies and inequality during financial crises and the translation of this interrelationship into political participation and polarization. Therefore, the research project provides input to the research areas "Policies" and "Participation" and addresses the Cluster's core domain of wealth and income inequality. As political mobilization is at least partly a consequence of preferences, area A with its focus on the perception of inequality also plays an indirect role.

Within the participation area, there are links to the project "Mobilizing Inequalities: From Grievances to Conflict" and "Climate Inequalities in the Global South: From Perceptions to Protest". In the policy domain, "Preferences for Redistribution Across EU Member States: Perceptions, Self-Interest, and Identities" and the Emmy Noether group "Varieties of Egalitarianism: Mapping the Politics of Inequality with Online Crowdcoding" are the Cluster endeavors with the closest ties to the project.

Progress and Main Results

Financial Crises and their Impact on Inequality and Polarization (SP1)

The team has updated two working papers that have been published as a preprint in 2020 (Rübsam & Schneider, 2020; Schneider & Shevchuk, 2020) and has worked on a paper that examines the relationship between polarization and wealth inequality (Schneider & Shevchuk, 2021). We will also examine how economic turmoil has affected political polarization in the Wilhelmine period, during the Weimar Republic and in Federal Germany. To this end, we will exploit data on roll call votes collected by Dr. Frank Häge (University of Limerick) and Hansen and Debus (2012) and political protests and killings for this period. We will compare these findings with data for the United States and for Canada for which almost similarly long time series exist (Schneider, 2023b). A further paper, possibly written with a master student, will explore for the period from 1950 to 2019 how financial crises have affected political mobilization across the developed world and among emerging market economies (Schneider, 2023a). A master thesis on this topic is under preparation.

The Interaction of Economic Policies, Inequality, and Polarization (SP2)

In SP2, we focus on sovereign debt crises and study the interplay between economic inequality, redistributive policies, and political outcomes in structural macroeconomics models.

In Scholl (2022) we study how redistributive and electoral concerns shape sovereign default incentives within a macroeconomic model of sovereign debt. Fiscal policy faces a tradeoff: On the one hand, the incumbent has incentives to finance redistribution via debt to avoid the distortionary effects of income taxation and to increase her re-election probability. On the other hand, larger debt raises interest rates and increases the probability of a debt crisis. In a quantitative exercise the theoretical model is calibrated to the Argentine economy. Simulations highlight that the distortionary effects of income taxation reduce the political support for redistribution particularly in times of crises when credit costs are high and borrowing constraints are tight. This paper has been presented on several international conferences in 2021 and 2022 and will be submitted to a journal in March 2023.

In Hermann and Scholl (2022) we focus on the empirical fact that a large share of sovereign debt is held by domestic residents. The composition of sovereign debt and the distributional concerns create a political conflict: low-income individuals who do not own sovereign bonds prefer a restructuring of debt whereas individuals holding sovereign bonds are in favor of debt repayment. We study this political conflict within a macroeconomic model calibrated to the Italian economy. Simulation results highlight that the political conflict raises the likelihood of a sovereign default and deepens the debt crisis. We have presented this paper on several international conferences in 2022 and finished a first draft. We are currently revising the draft and expect the working paper to be available in spring 2023.

The Impact of International Institutions on Political Outcomes (SP3)

In SP3, we explore interventions by international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund or the European Union during financial crises.

Schneider and Shevchuk (2022) have examined in a detailed fashion whether the crisis management by the national governments (in OECD and non-OECD states) and the IMF have affected inequality between 1970 and 2018. Their analysis compares the effects of the crises measures for 68 countries and shows how both crises and rescue measures have affected the real wage development in different economic sectors. Differentiating between spending- and tax-based austerity programs and accounting for the underlying conditionality of international loans, they demonstrate that the effect of the rescue measures is disparate. While privatization programs can widen the gap between high and low earners in crisis-affected countries, IMF-mandated conditions aiming at higher taxation transparency have the opposite effect. Government ideology and the parliamentary polarization influence whether low- or high wage earners have to shoulder the pain of adjustment in the wake of crises and rescue measures.

In 2023, we will update the working paper of Gleditsch and Schneider (2020). This paper analyses how IMF program participation is linked to political protests and civil war. The update of this paper will profit from a more detailed

data set on the IMF programs and the project's extension of the data set. Also, we will use a more refined identification strategy to account for the endogeneity of IMF interventions. A master student will complete her thesis with the new data set in the summer of 2023 to possibly joint the two authors as a co-author.

Prein and Scholl (2021) provide a theoretical analysis of the political and macroeconomic consequences of official financial assistance in times of debt crises. In the next step, we plan to extend the setup to focus on the role of economic inequality.

Problems and Challenges

There was some delay in the work within the political science node. Oleksandr Shevchuk, a citizen of Ukraine, brought his parents from the Ukrainian-Polish border to Konstanz shortly after the outbreak of the Russian war of aggression and had to help them with the German administrative system and take care of his mother and father. The research team is grateful to the Cluster for extending the work on the project for half a year. This will give Oleksandr Shevchuk some more time to complete his dissertation and the political science working papers together with his supervisor.

OUTPUT

Publications and Work in Progress

- Gleditsch, Nils P., Gerald Schneider, 2020, Feeling the pinch: Economic shocks, the IMF and mass mobilization, Manuscript.
- Hermann, Tim, Almuth Scholl, 2022, The Political Economy of Domestic and External Sovereign Debt, Manuscript.
- Prein, Tim M., Almuth Scholl, 2021, The Impact of Bailouts on Political Turnover and Sovereign Default Risk. *Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control*, 124.
- Rübsam, Frederike, Gerald Schneider, 2020, Casino Capitalism?: The Impact of Financial Crises on Inequality, 1970 to 2016, APSA Preprints. doi:10.33774/apsa-2020-32hd.
- Schneider, Gerald, 2023a, Crises and polarization around the world: 1950 to 2019, Manuscript.
- Schneider, Gerald, 2023b, The impact of economic crises and political polarization on three German Republics: A reconsideration, Manuscript.
- Schneider, Gerald, Oleksandr Shevchuk, 2020, Falling Apart or Flopping Together?: Financial Crises, Inequality and Left-Right Polarization in the OECD, APSA Preprints. doi:10.33774/apsa-2020-rwc7j.
- Schneider, Gerald, Oleksandr Shevchuk, 2021, A New Gilded Age? Inequality and Polarization in a Comparative Perspective, Manuscript.
- Schneider, Gerald, Oleksandr Shevchuk, 2022, From Bad to Worse: Eurozone crisis management and inequality, Manuscript.
- Scholl, Almuth, 2022, The Politics of Redistribution and Sovereign Default, Manuscript.

Research Data

Our data handling is in line with the generally accepted standard of the profession and of the major academic journals. We store and document all research data for easy replication and reuse for other research purposes

once our papers are published. Together with the publication of the research results, we disclose and make publicly available all data that we generate within this research project so that our results are fully replicable by other researchers. The same applies to any computer codes for data analysis and for the model evaluation.

Data, which are not publicly available is referenced so that any researcher who applies for data access can use them in the same way as documented in our project.

Outreach

In 2022, we presented our papers at internal seminars of the Cluster, the Department of Politics and Public Administration and the Department of Economics, at the annual conventions of the International Studies Association, the European Political Science Association, the American Political Science Association, the ECPR standing group of the European Union, the Society of Computational Economics, the European Economic Association, the conference on "Sovereign Debt" organized by the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, and at a workshop at the Free University of Berlin.

Promotion of Young Researchers

We regularly meet with our PhD students to discuss the progress of their PhD theses. They present their research every semester at the internal doctoral seminars and at the retreat of the Graduate School. Oleksandr Shevchuk has presented papers at three international conferences and at the Cluster's research day. Tim Hermann has presented papers at two international conferences.

5. IMPROVING EQUITY IN EDUCATION THROUGH YOUTH MENTORING: AN EVALUATION OF A RANDOMIZED EDUCATIONAL INTERVENTION IN COLOMBIA

Principal Investigators: Sebastian Fehrler

(now University of Bremen), Urs Fischbacher, Guido Schwerdt

Cooperation Partners: Internal Partners: survey LAB

(Thomas Hinz), Stefan Schumann; External Partners:

Diego Amador (Rice University), Diego Aycinena

(University del Rosario), Anna Hochleitner (University Nottingham),

Andrees Moya (University de los Andes), Angélica Serrano

(University of Bremen); Intervention Partner:

Fundación Fe y Alegría de Colombia

Disciplines: Economics, Sociology, Education Science

Funding Period: 10/19 – 12/24

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

The main research goal of the project is to investigate whether a one-to-one mentoring program could alleviate family disadvantage in adolescence in Colombia. Recent evidence for developed countries shows that disadvantaged students benefit greatly from the participation in one-to-one mentoring programs in terms of skill development and labor-market orientation. Arguably, mentoring programs might be even more beneficial in the context of a developing country with a substantial share of high school graduates transitioning to jobs in the informal sector. However, there is no evidence on the effectiveness of mentoring programs in developing countries in general, and in Colombia in particular.

While there is a large variety of projects that target children and adolescents in Colombia, they typically do not include a one-to-one mentoring component. Inspired by existing programs in Germany and the US, the first aim of project is to start a new one-to-one mentoring program in Colombia. To this end, the Cluster PIs teamed up with researchers from Colombia and developed the idea to build up a mentoring program for disadvantaged adolescents in Bogotá, called MÁS ALLÁ DE ONCE (beyond 11th grade).

The idea of the program is simple. By establishing regular contact to a university student, who takes over the role of a mentor, the program broadens the social network of disadvantaged adolescents. The goal is thereby to establish a relationship of trust and to offer support in setting goals for their life beyond high school, and defining necessary steps to achieve those goals. For this purpose, mentors and mentees are supposed to meet regularly on a one-to-one basis for about a year during a crucial phase of the mentee's life: the year before the centralized Colombian high school exit exam, the SABER 11 test.

The program will be accompanied by a scientific evaluation of its effectiveness. The key to identify causal effects is the randomized admission to the program. To this end, we follow common practice and allocate places in our oversubscribed program based on an admission lottery. In total, we aim for a study population of around 600 students across three cohorts. Our main outcome variables to assess the program's effectiveness are the student's SABER 11 scores, grit, aspirations, psychological well-being, locus of control as well as several medium-term outcomes such as tertiary education choices.

Preparations for the program started in spring 2018. The first crucial step was to establish relationships with local partners. To this end, the project team started a collaboration with Fe y Alegría, a partner organization of Caritas Switzerland that administers several public schools in Bogotá. Fe y Alegría not only allowed the project team to advertise the program in their schools, but also became a crucial partner for the whole project. Importantly, one of their school pedagogues agreed to support the project team by organizing trainings and accompanying mentors throughout the program.

Main Contributions to the Cluster's Research Program

The project contributes to the Cluster by directly addressing questions (posed on p. 33 and p. 67 of the original Cluster proposal) that relate to the effectiveness of policies directed to reduce inequality and how these policies affect perceptions of inequality and attitudes.

Main Results

The data collection is still ongoing and no main results are available yet. We provide a detailed bullet-point list of the various management and research activities during 2022 as an appendix to this report. Given the circumstances

OUTPUT

Infrastructure Development

and the delay due the Covid-19 pandemic, the program is well on track and the mentoring of the second cohort (starting cohort of 2022) of program participants runs successfully.

We build up a mentoring program for disadvantaged adolescents in Bogotá, called MÁS ALLÁ DE ONCE (beyond 11th grade).

Pre-Registration

The project was hit hard by the school-closure in Colombia due to the Covid-19 pandemic. It interrupted the implementation of the mentoring project for the first of three planned cohorts of mentees. Moreover, our key outcome variable, the achievement score in the national university admission test, is missing for the first cohort as the test was cancelled. Hence, we decided to treat the 2019/20 cohort data as pilot data, to pause the recruitment of new mentors and mentees for a year, and to restart again in full in 2021. Hence, we have a delay of two years and consequently now plan with a project duration until the end of 2024.

The study was pre-registered at the AEA RCT Registry on October 18, 2021 (RCT ID: AEARCTR-0004709). We submitted a registered report (Stage 1 Proposal) to the Journal of Development Economics. The JDE offers researchers the opportunity to have their prospective empirical projects reviewed and approved for publication before the empirical results are known (see <http://jde-preresultsreview.org/>). Unfortunately, the approval for publication was rejected by the JDE based on the pre-registered report alone. However, the JDE encouraged us to submit the full paper based on the actual empirical results of the project once the data collection is completed.

Planned Key Publications

- Improving Equity in Education through Youth Mentoring: An Evaluation of a Randomized Intervention in Colombia. (by Diego Amador, Diego Aycinena, Sebastian Fehrler, Urs Fischbacher, Anna Hochleitner, Andrés Moya, Guido Schwerdt, and Angélica Serrano.)
- Follow-up papers are planned to investigate the long-run effects of mentoring on labor market outcomes as well as the mechanisms through which mentoring effects operate.

Knowledge Transfer

Fehrler, Sebastian, Urs Fischbacher, Anna Hochleitner and Guido Schwerdt (2022). Mentors guiding the way: Setting up an educational experiment in Colombia. In *equality* magazine, 03.

Promotion of Young Researchers

The project promotes young researchers by including several young researchers as members of the project team. Sebastian Fehrler, who started the project as junior professor at the University of Konstanz, became a Full Professor of Economics of Social Policy at the University of Bremen in 2020. Sebastian Fehrler's new PhD student, Angélica Serrano, who is from Bogotá, joined the project team as a new member. She took over some of the coordination tasks regarding the field work between Germany and Colombia. Anna Hochleitner is a 4th year PhD student at the University of Nottingham. Anna will submit her PhD thesis on several topics in behavioral economics in 2023.

6. INEQUALITY BAROMETER: A REPRESENTATIVE OPINION SURVEY ON INEQUALITY AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

Principal Investigators: Luna Bellani, Guido Schwerdt, Marius R. Busemeyer, Sharon Baute

Project Researcher: Nanna Lauritz Schönhage, Mark Kapteina

Cooperation Partners: Kattalina Berriochoa, Theresa Wieland, Gabriele Spilker, Gianna Maria Eick, Nadja Wehl, Nathalie Giger (University of Geneva), Liam Beiser-McGrath (Royal Holloway/University of London), Simon Wiederhold (Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt), Katharina Hecht (Northeastern University)

Disciplines: Political Science, Economics, Sociology

Funding Period: 10/2019 – 06/2025

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

The core research goal of the inequality barometer is to study how subjective perceptions and normative evaluations of inequality and social mobility are formed and how they are associated with policy preferences. Recent publications have provided evidence that subjective perceptions of inequality vary widely and often differ substantially from objective measures of inequality. By conducting a survey among a large representative sample of the adult population in Germany, our project provides a comprehensive study of these perceptions and how they are related to attitudes and more specific policy preferences. The Inequality Barometer adds to existing studies in many ways: firstly, due of the large sample size (6,000 respondents), we can pay particular

attention to how perceptions and preferences are shaped by local contexts as well as engage in in-depth subgroup analyses. Secondly, the Inequality Barometer includes a range of novel questions and brings together aspects previously studied only in separate surveys, e. g. preferences regarding inheritance taxation, education, health policy, long-term policies and the redistributive aspects of climate change policies. Finally, the Inequality Barometer includes survey experiments. Randomly assigned treatments allow us to gauge the causal effect of a change in information/framing on perceptions, attitudes toward inequality and on preferences for redistribution as well as on the support for specific public policies in different policy domains.

Main Contributions to the Cluster's Research Program

The Inequality Barometer contributes to the Cluster by addressing the key goals of the Cluster: aiming to understand how inequality is perceived by individuals and to what extent these perceptions translate into political behavior and policy preferences. As such, the Barometer concerns itself with both the research areas of Perceptions and Policies. Besides contributing to these research areas, we also cooperate with other Cluster projects – specifically the project: Political Elites and Inequality: Information, Heuristics and Policy. The Political Elites project asks similar questions to the politicians as we do to our respondents, which offers interesting avenues of research into the congruence of preferences between politicians and voters. For instance, survey evidence from the Inequality Barometer was used as input during the interviews with members of state parliaments in the Political Elites project.

Main Results

The year 2022, the Barometer team took on two major tasks: first, to continue writing and publishing papers from the first (2020) wave, and second, to prepare and launch the next wave of the Barometer in the fall of 2022. Starting with the latter task, we first had to publish a tender in order to choose a survey firm for the remaining survey waves in the first funding period of the Cluster. In 2022, we successfully launched a tender, and then signed a contract with Kantar for the remaining funding period of the project. According to this agreement is also that Kantar is responsible for coding the survey (this will no longer be done internally). The agreement entails a panel element: future waves will be a partial panel (half of the sample), which enables longitudinal research.

During summer 2022 we partly re-designed the core module on inequality perceptions and preferences in light of the experiences with the 2020 wave and with further input and feedback from Nathalie Giger, external senior fellow at the Cluster in late 2022, and Jonas Pontusson who conducted a similar survey at the University of Geneva in 2017/18. Although many of the elements from the 2020 and 2021 waves remain, the revised core questionnaire includes changes such as removing pyramid variables (which are highly contested in the literature for not providing reasonable options to respondents, among other criticism), and adding more specific questions on the perception of inequality across the income scale. These more specific questions add details like level of inequality (local/regional, Germany, Europe), and detail the type of inequality (wealth vs. income) and how this is perceived in society versus how it ought to be. The new core also includes questions on (perceived) political efficacy, which is an important issue in the context of the

political consequences of inequality. In revising the core, we have tried to take lessons from similar surveys on inequality (i.e. the Geneva Inequality Study).

Like in the previous version, we follow a structure that has a core focusing on perceptions of inequality and social mobility, basic social economic background information variables, and modules that will change with every wave. A notable new addition to the core section is an additional focus on wealth inequality (in addition to the survey questions on income inequality from the previous waves). The modules allow to include further researchers from the Cluster community. Cluster researchers had the opportunity to submit proposals for questions and modules to the Barometer team in the spring of 2022, which were then selected by our team on the basis of innovativeness and overall fit with the Barometer's research agenda.

New modules to this wave are the following:

1. Perceptions of Richness (Luna Bellani, Sharon Baute & Katherina Hecht)
2. Long-term investment policies (Marius R. Busemeyer & Liam Beiser-McGrath)
3. Environmental policy support (Nanna Lauritz Schönhage, Luna Bellani, Theresa Wieland & Gabriele Spilker)
4. Child-care (Guido Schwerdt, Simon Wiederhold)
5. Health care (Sharon Baute)

Selected sections of the survey were cognitively pretested in August, and the complete survey was quantitatively pretested from 17-24 October (N=350), and successfully fielded from 14. November to 2. December 2022. Our respondents were selected from a representative sample of the German resident

population using quota sampling (based on quotas for region, gender, age and education), and consisted of 6,319 respondents. The survey mode was computer-assisted web interviewing (CAWI), which allowed for the inclusion of important elements such as informational treatments and vignettes. We have yet to complete our analysis of these results, but initial analyses look promising.

As mentioned above, a second important task of the Barometer team was to continue with the publication of papers from the first wave. We made progress on several papers that had existed in a draft version last year and also wrote new ones. The paper by Kattalina Berriochoa and Marius R. Busemeyer on the association between local knowledge economies, social mobility perceptions and vote choices has been largely re-written in response to reviewers and critics, and is now under review again. A new paper project by Nathalie Giger (external senior fellow at the Cluster in 2022/23), Nadja Wehl and Marius R. Busemeyer will study the associations between biased income perceptions and partisan ideology. These papers mainly work with data from the core module.

A further paper by Gianna Maria Eick (post-doc at the WG CPE) and Marius R. Busemeyer focuses on the connection between local level of migration and social policy preferences. It shows that higher levels of local migration are indeed associated with less support for the welfare state. This paper was awarded the "Best Paper Award" from the Research Network for Political Economy and Welfare at the Council for European Studies (CES). This award comes along with a publication of the award-winning paper in the high-ranked Journal of European Public Policy (JEPP) in the spring of 2023.

Furthermore, there are several papers under review from the module on long-term investment policies. A single-authored paper by Marius R. Busemeyer (published in the JEPP as well) studies the individual-level and contextual determinants of the individuals' willingness to prioritize the needs of future generations vis-à-vis present day concerns. A further paper using a vignette study from the module looks at variations in support for long-term investment policies depending on the type of policy (education, social policy or physical investment) and how this supported is mediated by political trust and partisan ideology. This paper (co-authored by Marius R. Busemeyer and Liam Beiser-McGrath) is currently under review at the Journal of European Social Policy (JESP). A third paper (also co-authored by Liam Beiser-McGrath and Marius R. Busemeyer) uses the information treatment experiments from the module. It focuses on how the selective provision of the effects of carbon taxation across the income scale can change support for this policy instrument. This paper is currently under review at the EJPR.

The paper by Luna Bellani, Kattalina Barriochoa, Mark Kapteina and Guido Schwerdt on Information Provision and Support for Inheritance Taxation was presented at the 2022 Cluster conference. We received valuable feedback and started working on a revision of the initial draft. Unfortunately, Mark Kapteina (who plans to include this paper in his dissertation) was sick for several months in 2022, which slowed down the progress on this paper. Because of his bad health condition, Mark Kapteina also decided that it no longer makes sense for him to work on the paper on the public support for university tuition fees. Nanna Lauritz Schönhage will take over his role in the team. The work on this project is still at an early stage.

Problems and Delays

We have witnessed a minor delay in the survey's fielding in 2022 due to the procurement process. This resulted in the survey's fielding being delayed from September 2022 to November 2022. This will not re-occur since our contract partner (Kantar) has been hired for the remainder of the project period. We also faced some difficulties with obtaining ethical approval for the project but succeeded in December 2022. These difficulties resulted from the limited experience of the ethics' committee of the University of Konstanz with social science data. Progress on some paper projects was somewhat slower than expected due to illness of some team members as well as the challenge of having to publish papers with the 2020 data and at the same time preparing the 2022 wave (including the time-consuming procurement process).

Outline of Next Steps

In the spring of 2023, a policy paper with headline results from the 2022 wave of the Barometer will be published in coordination with the transfer partner "Das Progressive Zentrum" (DPZ) in Berlin.

We aim for the small wave to be fielded in September/October 2023, which implies that we will have to start preparing the survey and the modules in April/May 2023. We will have to decide which core items also remain in the smaller wave, and how much time to dedicate to modules. In the meantime, we are working on finishing and submitting current drafts for publication, and to start more papers based on the data we have collected, yet not fully analyzed.

We have also planned to host 2 workshops this year. One internal workshop for the Inequality Barometer team, with internal guests from the Cluster and University, and one workshop in which we invite relevant researchers, also from outside the University of Konstanz.

OUTPUT

Scientific Publications

Gianna Maria Eick, Marius R. Busemeyer, Migration levels and welfare support: Evidence from the local level, Forthcoming, JEPP.
Marius R. Busemeyer, Who cares for the future? Exploring public attitudes towards the needs of future generations in Germany, Journal of European Public Policy, Advance Access, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2165697>.

Planned Key Publications

Under review:
Kattalina M. Berriochoa, Marius R. Busemeyer, Local Knowledge Economies, Mobility Perceptions and Support for Right-Wing Populist Parties: New survey evidence from the case of Germany, under review at the British Journal of Political Science.
Liam Beiser-McGrath, Marius R. Busemeyer, Carbon inequality and support for carbon taxation, under review at the European Journal for Political Research.
Marius R. Busemeyer, Liam Beiser-McGrath, Social policy, public investment or the environment? Exploring variations in individual-level preferences on long-term policies, R&R at Journal of European Social Policy.

In progress/planned:

Luna Bellani, Nanna Lauritz Schönhage, Gabriele Spilker, Theresa Wieland, Economic vs. Generational inequality: A survey experiment of intra- and intergenerational cleavages in support for climate change mitigation policies.
Luna Bellani, Marius R. Busemeyer, Nanna Lauritz Schönhage, Guido Schwerdt, Inequality concerns, regressive redistribution, and public support for university tuition fees.

Luna Bellani, Kattalina Barriochoa, Mark Kapteina, Guido Schwerdt, Information Provision and Support for Inheritance Taxation: Evidence from a Representative Survey Experiment in Germany. Under revision.
Luna Bellani, Nona Bledow, Rich vs Poor: inequality perceptions, information and redistributive policy support. Under revision before submission.

Research Data

All research data will be made available for use once the Inequality Barometer project has ended. Additionally, each publication will be published with anonymized replication files.

Knowledge Transfer

Luna Bellani, Marius R. Busemeyer. Perceptions of inequality and related topics – Results from the 2020 Wave of the Inequality Barometer. Presentation at Cluster In_equality Colloquium, December 20, 2022.
Theresa Wieland. Inequality vs. environmental trade-offs: An experimental survey approach towards intra- and intergenerational cleavages in support for climate change mitigation policies. Sociology Retreat, Universität Konstanz, August 2022.
Theresa Wieland. Inequality vs. environmental trade-offs: An experimental survey approach towards intra- and intergenerational cleavages in support for climate change mitigation policies. Summer Academy "Challenging Inequalities", July 2022.
Nanna Lauritz Schönhage. Local Economy and Perceptions of Inequality: Evidence from the Inequality Barometer. 2nd ZEW Political Economy Workshop, Mannheim, June 2022.
Nanna Lauritz Schönhage. Das Ungleichheitsbarometer: Eine representative Meinungsumfrage zu Ungleichheit und sozialer Mobilität. Lange Nacht der Wissenschaft, Universität Konstanz, May 2022.

Nanna Lauritz Schönhage, Theresa Wieland. Inequality vs. environmental trade-offs: An experimental survey approach towards intra- and intergenerational cleavages in support for climate change mitigation policies. GSBS/GSDS Brown Bag, Graduate School of the Social and Behavioural Sciences Research Colloquium, University of Konstanz. April 2022.
Guido Schwerdt. Information Provision and Support for Inheritance Taxation: Evidence from a Representative Survey Experiment in Germany, Inequality Conference, Konstanz. April 2022.

Promotion of Young Researchers

The project has tried to promote young researcher by including young researchers on survey modules (PhD student Theresa Wieland on the Environment module, and PhD student Simon Wiederhold (Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt) on the Childcare module. Additionally, we cooperate with early career researchers on several projects.

7. INTEGRATION@WORK. HOW WORKPLACE POLICIES AFFECT LABOR MARKET INEQUALITY BETWEEN NATIVE AND FOREIGN-BORN APPRENTICES IN GERMANY

Principal Investigators: Florian Kunze, Sebastian Koos, Claudia Diehl, Stephan Schumann

Project Researchers: Anna Apostolidou, Benjamin Korman, Elisabeth Maué, Sophie Moser

Disciplines: Organizational Studies, Management, Sociology

Funding Period: 10/2019 – 09/2025

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

This research project aims to better understand events and processes that affect the integration processes of migrants in the workplace. For this purpose, we are currently recruiting a large number of migrant and native apprentices and surveying their experiences with a longitudinal, diary study (up to 44 data collection waves) using an App-based survey platform over the length of their entire three-year apprenticeship period. The data from the diary study will be complemented by one survey from the apprentices' direct supervisor and one survey from a key informant of the company. This research design will allow us to gain unique insights on organizational, individual, and school-related factors that affect integration in the workplace.

Main Contributions to the Cluster's Research Program

This project will help shine light on inequalities in apprentices' experiences in Germany based on their background (e.g., migrant status), as well as other demographic factors (e.g., gender). Specifically, the project contributes to the Cluster's Research Area 3 - Policies. While political science and sociol-

ogy largely focus on state-level policies, the meso-level of organizational policies is an important, yet understudied, perspective useful for understanding and explaining ethnic inequalities. In terms of the inequality domains of the Cluster, the project focuses mainly on the labor market integration of migrant workers. It thus addresses the income and wealth domain, as well as the education domain, given our unique focus on apprentices. In particular, the all-encompassing nature of the study design (e.g., with data collected from apprentices, their supervisors, and key informants of their company) contributes to the Cluster's research program by providing insight on potential inequalities from multiple perspectives.

The innovation offered by this project cannot be understated as it is the first to follow apprentices across their entire (2.5 – 3 yearlong) apprenticeship. Uniquely, the design of this project allows for the investigation of how early events (e.g., apprentices' initial interviews and onboarding) predict apprentices' later outcomes (e.g., stress, satisfaction with their apprenticeship). The data will therefore allow us to determine how early events shape the apprenticeship experience. This perspective contributes to the Cluster's research program in that it will allow us to offer unique, yet explicit,

practical advice to those involved in the apprenticeship process (e.g., supervisors, business owners, policy makers).

Progress and Main Results

The third year of this project was dedicated to the refinement of the study design (e.g., number of surveys distributed), data collection method (e.g., updates to the Integration@Work App), and the preparation and execution of data collection for the second recruitment phase of the main study. For these purposes, the project team held monthly meetings and interacted with the various stakeholders of the project. More specifically, in the last 12 months, we made significant progress in the following domains:

1. Refinement of the main study design

Based on the dwindling participation rate of apprentices during our first recruitment wave, we decided to expand our main study design by including additional, short surveys on a monthly basis so as to maintain participant engagement during the 3-monthlong periods in which they otherwise would not be asked to complete surveys. This was done for two primary reasons. First, cellphone applications can go into a "silent" mode when they have not been opened or used over an extended pe-

riod of time. As a result of this, participants may not always receive notifications from the Integration@Work app informing them of the next available survey, potentially leading to increased participant dropout following long periods without participation (such as between the distribution of our trimonthly surveys). Second, we decided that certain variables of interest (e.g., turnover intention, job satisfaction) may be particularly dynamic over time and so we hoped to gain a better understanding of these variables by collecting more data on them (i.e., every month instead of every 3 months). As a result of these changes, participants in our second recruitment wave will now have the opportunity to participate in 44 instead of 24 surveys.

2. Recruitment of companies and participants

As done in the 2021 recruitment wave, we individually contacted 10,000 of the largest companies in Germany whose contact information we had purchased from the Bisnode Company Database in 2021. These companies were contacted by phone, e-mail, and post. Furthermore, these companies were invited to participate in an informative, online meeting in which the project's goals, methods, and early results from the 2021 recruitment wave were presented. This online meeting took place on June 1st and offered representatives of interested companies the opportunity to ask questions and voice concerns regarding the study. Following the meeting, the presentation slides and other project information (e.g., registration information) were made available to the audience members. We also created a fact sheet containing insights from the 2021 recruitment wave of our main study which we made available to interested companies.

To supplement this recruitment effort, in 2022 we began a cooperation with the International Rescue Committee, an organization whose aim is to support

migrants, refugees, displaced persons as well as others in need. Using their networks, we aimed to increase the impact of our project advertising. Finally, it is also worth noting that, due to the current situation in Ukraine, we translated our study materials into Ukrainian to ensure broader recruitment from more diverse migrant groups. Additionally, the material advertising the project to the apprentices was translated into ten different languages, in order to attract more migrant apprentices.

3. Data collection

Throughout 2022 we continued to collect data from the 737 apprentices across 168 companies that registered to participate in the first recruitment wave of the main study. So far roughly 4,700 surveys have been collected from 482 eligible apprentices (i.e., apprentices who started their apprenticeship during the first recruitment wave). Furthermore, 128 surveys have been completed by key informants representing one of the participating 168 companies, as well as 68 supervisors overseeing participating apprentices. Moreover, we launched the second recruitment wave of the main study which has been recruiting apprentices who began their apprenticeship between August and December, 2022. In this second recruitment wave, we have so far collected data from 1926 apprentices across 194 companies that registered to participate. Up to this point, over 4,500 surveys have been collected from 647 eligible apprentices (i.e., apprentices who started their apprenticeship during the second recruitment wave). Furthermore, 98 surveys have been completed by key informants representing one of the participating 194 companies.

Preliminary results

Preliminary results based on data collected in our first recruitment wave suggest that migrant apprentices are 3x as likely as native apprentices to experience an intention to stop their

apprenticeship within its first 3 months (10% vs. 3%). This may, in part, be driven by the increased social undermining by coworkers that migrant apprentices in our study report experiencing over time, or their lower sense of self-efficacy (e.g., 73% of natives report feeling competent when completing their work tasks while only 59% of migrants do). These findings emphasize the importance of this study and its investigation into the diverse (e.g., social) factors affecting apprenticeship dropout in Germany. Furthermore, and highlighting the need to better understand migrant apprentices' experiences in particular, we find that migrant apprentices report greater presenteeism (i.e., working while ill) than native apprentices within the first 3 months of their apprenticeship. Thus, initial findings from our study offer promising results regarding inequalities in the apprenticeship experience and reaffirms the goals and motivation of the Integration@Work project).

Problems and Delays

The company originally tasked with designing and hosting the Integration@Work App (i.e., Happiness Research Organization) dissolved in 2022, thereby requiring us to quickly find an affordable alternative who could provide us the necessary technical support needed for the continuation of the project. Although an alternative company (i.e., MEDAS GmbH) was successfully found, the transition between companies brought with it small technical hiccups that at times hindered the projects' data collection efforts. This included missing survey items in select questionnaires and the accompanying loss of data. Furthermore, issues arose regarding the timely reimbursement of participants' participation. Although some of these issues could be quickly taken care of, others are still being dealt with.

An additional difficulty with obtaining data for this project stems from participants relatively high, estimated drop-out rate. This is not unexpected

OUTPUT

as recruiting migrant populations is difficult due to a number of reasons. First, they represent a smaller portion of the working population and, second, participation in research studies may be more difficult for migrants due to the time and language requirements of the study. We addressed this difficulty in part by translating the survey materials into additional languages (e.g., Ukrainian), implementing a second participant recruitment wave, and adjusting our study design to prevent participants' cellphones from entering "silent" mode.

Outline of Next Steps

2023 will be dedicated to the continued data collection of participants who started their apprenticeship in or after July, 2021. Data analysis of the project data will continue and project-related scientific articles will continue to be prepared, presented at internal conferences, and submitted to scientific journals. The continued data collection of participants (in both the first and second recruitment waves) will run in parallel to the analysis of data and reporting of findings.

Publications and Work in Progress

Apostolidou, Anna, Florian Kunze, submitted, Do immigrants increase team productivity? A study in blue-collar teams, Academy of Management Discoveries.

Korman, Benjamin A., Florian Kunze, Max Reinwald, Sebastian Koos, submitted, How political context affects immigrants' social contact dynamics and mental health at work, Academy of Management Journal.

Korman, Benjamin, Florian Kunze, Max Reinwald, David Dwertmann, submitted, The effect of community support for far-right political parties on employees' short-term absenteeism, Journal of Applied Psychology.

Maué, Elisabeth, Sebastian Findeisen, Stephan Schumann, submitted, Development, predictors, and effects of trainees' organizational identification during their first year of vocational education and training, Frontiers in Psychology, Special Issue "Professional and Vocation Identity Development".

Moser, Sophie, Florian Kunze, submitted, Starting-out in a gender-atypical occupation: A dynamic view on male and female token's experiences, submitted to the AOM conference 2023 in Boston.

Note

Project team members have continued their research on the integration of migrants in the labor market. Benjamin Korman, Florian Kunze and Max Reinwald won the "Best Paper With International Implications" Award at the 2022 Academy of Management Conference for their paper on the effect of community support for far-right political parties on migrant workers absenteeism (Korman, Kunze, Reinwald & Dwertmann, in progress), which relates to questions regarding migrant workers' organizational relationships and behavior. Furthermore, Benjamin Korman, Florian Kunze, Max Reinwald, and Sebastian Koos co-authored a paper on the effects of community support for far-right political parties on migrant workers' social interactions with coworkers and their mental health (Korman, Kunze, Reinwald, & Koos, in progress). Elisabeth Maué and Stephan Schumann worked on various publications and presentations on the role of migrants in vocational education, which is another core facet of our project (e.g., Maué, Findeisen & Schumann, submitted). Additionally, one first paper by Sophie Moser and Florian Kunze has also extended the focus of the project from inequalities perceived by migrants to discrimination of different gender in specific occupations.

Project team members also presented findings of the Integration@Work pilot study and related studies at various conferences and workshops (e.g., Herbstworkshop der WK Personal, Academy of Management; Annual Conference of the Section for Vocational & Business Education of the German Society for Educational Science).

Planned Key Publications

Based on the continuously growing large-scale data set, we will intensify our efforts to publish several high-ranked publications in organizational, sociology, educational as well as interdisciplinary journals.

We plan to publish a Policy Paper through the Cluster highlighting key insights from our study that will help supervisors, business owners, and policy makers gain a better understanding of the needs of both native but especially migrant apprentices in 2023 or 2024. This Policy Paper will provide an overview of what apprentices in Germany today are experiencing in their apprenticeship programs and how they are reacting to it.

Due to the difficulty associated with recruiting migrant samples, as well as the increasingly important need to study their successful integration into both society and the workplace, we plan to write a Methods Paper providing a research roadmap for future migrant researchers. In this Methods Paper, we plan to highlight the difficulties associated with recruiting and maintaining migrant participants and to offer best practices addressing these difficulties gained through our experience with the Integration@Work project.

Research Data

As indicated earlier, data from over 9,000 surveys has been collected from over 1,000 eligible apprentices. In the coming weeks, information on the supervisors of apprentices participating in our second recruitment wave will also be collected. Thus, this project is generating a large amount of data which will undoubtedly serve as the empirical foundation for a host of future publications.

In compliance with good scientific practice, participating companies, apprentices and supervisors are provided an individual and randomly-assigned code to ensure the anonymity of their responses. Furthermore, the data are stored on an online platform (cloud.uni-konstanz.de) which is password protected. To ensure high quality documentation, the data are available in both raw and combined/preprocessed electronic files. Furthermore, codebooks are available for each separate survey type (e.g., presurvey, weekly survey, key-information survey) as is the (Stata) code used to combine/preprocess the raw files. These efforts ensure the long-term storage and use of the data. In a later stage, when the data collection is completed, we also plan to store the data on a publicly available server.

Outreach

Apostolidou, Anna, Sebastian Koos (2022, September 29-30). Integrieren sozialverantwortliche Unternehmen ihre migrantischen Mitarbeiter besser? CSR und die Anpassung von migrantischen Auszubildenden in deutschen Firmen. Herbstworkshop der WK Personal 2022, Berlin, Germany.

Korman, Benjamin A., Florian Kunze, Max Reinwald, Sebastian Koos (2022, September 29-30). How political context affects immigrants' social contact dynamics and mental health at work. Herbstworkshop der WK Personal 2022, Berlin, Germany.

Korman, Benjamin A., Florian Kunze, Max Reinwald, David Dwertmann (2022, August 5-9). The effect of community support for far-right political parties on employees' short-term absenteeism. 82nd Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management, Seattle, USA.

Korman, Benjamin A., Florian Kunze, Max Reinwald, David Dwertmann (2022, July 20-23). The effect of community support for far-right political parties on employees' short-term absenteeism. "Challenging Inequalities" Summer Academy, Essen, Germany.

Maué, Elisabeth (2022, December 6). Forschungsprojekt "Integration@Work" – erste Befunde. Task Force "Zuwanderung in Ausbildung". Ministerium für Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Tourismus Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart, Germany.

Maué, Elisabeth, Schumann, Stephan (2022, September 26-28). Abbruchintention zu Beginn der beruflichen Ausbildung – eine längsschnittliche Untersuchung von persönlichen, betrieblichen und berufsschulischen Einflussfaktoren. Jahrestagung der Sektion Berufs- & Wirtschaftspädagogik der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft, Freiburg, Germany.

Promotion of Young Researchers

The Integration@Work project promotes Anna Apostolidou and Sophie Moser, doctoral students and researchers on the project, who are currently writing their doctoral dissertation on the workplace experiences of migrants..

8. MOBILIZING INEQUALITIES: FROM GRIEVANCES TO CONFLICT

Principal Investigators: Miriam Butt, Nils B. Weidmann, Christina Zuber

Project Researchers: Lea Haiges, Frederik Gremler

Disciplines: Linguistics and Political Science

Funding Period: 10/2019 – 03/2024

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

Inequality between ethnic groups is a robust predictor of ethnic conflict. However, social psychologists and ethnic conflict researchers agree that in order to become relevant for behavior, structural inequality must first be evaluated as unjust. This is why the concept of a group grievance—defined as the unjust deprivation of a group relative to some real or imagined standard—plays a crucial role in theories of ethnic conflict. These theories expect group elites to frame a given situation as unjust and thereby motivate behavioral responses among group members who seek to remedy the perceived injustice. To date, however, no large-N study has tested whether this holds true, and small-N studies on grievances and conflict have come to disparate conclusions. Which of our assumptions about the mechanisms connecting inequality to ethnic conflict hold up to empirical scrutiny? Are elite messages really crucial to the construction of group grievances, and if so, how exactly do elites construct grievances

and which language do they employ in doing so? Is it only political elites who mobilize inequalities, or can grievances also be constructed in a more bottom-up manner? To answer these questions, the project “Mobilizing Inequalities” collects new data on the online discourse of organizations seeking to represent ethnic groups worldwide. First, we identify organizations appealing to ethnic groups and collect these organizations’ web presence, their social media accounts and retrieve their online communication (WP1&2). Second, we develop a unique coding scheme that allows human coders to reliably identify different types of grievance frames in the discourse of ethnic organizations (WP3). Third, we use Natural Language Processing tools to automate the human classification of grievance frames for large amounts of text (WP4). Finally, we test whether structural inequality, grievance frames in communication, or the combination of both predict ethnic protest and conflict world-wide.

Main Contributions to the Cluster’s Research Program

In terms of the Cluster’s policy cycle, the project studies under which conditions structural inequalities trigger a response in the form of collective behavior. The project thereby falls into the area of participation. The core empirical domains we study are political-legal and economic. With our focus on how ethnic elites frame differences between ethnic groups as unjust deprivation (i.e., group grievances) and how this affects mobilization, we shed light on one of the major puzzles addressed by the Cluster: Why do inequalities sometimes trigger a collective response, and other times not?

Main Results, Difficulties, and Next Steps

Research in the project proceeds in four work packages. In the following, we describe which steps we have undertaken in each work package, addressing also difficulties and next steps ahead.

WP 1&2

WP1 and WP2 collect and analyze comparative data of ethnic organizations with regard to mobilization. This effort departs from an existing dataset that contains data on the goals (e.g. secession, economic redistribution), mobilization strategies (e.g. violence, protests), and activities (e.g. electoral participation) of organizations that represent ethnic groups. The ethnic organizations in the dataset range from ethnic parties and guerilla groups to NGOs. This original data collection effort was led by Manuel Vogt and Kristian Skrede-Gleditsch, with 40 previously coded countries, to which 38 further countries were added in the scope of WP1 in 2021, and 12 more as of December 2022. The dataset on ethnic organizations (EPR-O, Ethnic Power Relations – Organizations) is then combined with an original dataset on digital media channels of ethnic organizations contained in EPR-O. The latter is called “Ethnic Organizations Online” (EO2), and includes the organizations’ profiles on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram as well as websites. It currently provides us with

more than 5 million channels’ posts, tweets, blog posts, and their metadata. To collect this digital trace data, we have expanded the existing open-source software “Social Feed Manager” and made our code openly available.

With the completion of these datasets in 2022, we turned to our first publications, which are listed in section 3 below. Apart from those, we have several working papers in preparation for publication: a paper discussing heterogeneity in autonomy and secession demands made by ethnic organizations, stemming from a poster presented by Gremler, Vogt and Weidmann at the Inequality Cluster Conference; a collaboration with Haiges and Zuber from WP3, on grievances and conflict; and an introduction to the EO2 dataset written by Gremler and Weidmann. Additionally, we have finished the computational pipeline for a comparison of national and international communication by ethnic organizations, in a collaboration between Donnay, Eblenkamp, Gremler, Nagel and Weidmann.

WP 3

WP3 has a substantive and a methodological goal. In substantive terms, we clarify the causal mechanism connecting structural inequality, the construction of grievances through elite framing and the resulting mobilization dynamics through in-depth case studies. Methodologically, we develop a coding scheme for the human annotation of grievance frames in the discourse of ethnic organizations that can feed into the automated identification of grievance frames in WP4.

In prior years, we established that indigenous peoples in Latin America allow us to best study ethnic mobilization dynamics under different inequality scenarios, and we collected structural, discourse and mobilization data for indigenous peoples in Bolivia (political equality), Ecuador (intermediate political inequality) and Peru (severe political inequality). We chose to zoom in on mobilization for general elections that took place during 2020 and 2021. For all three elections, we collected Twitter and Facebook posts of all major candidates and parties (to track top-down mobilization) and of all major indigenous social movements (to track bottom-up mobilization).

The preparation of this data was completed in 2022, and the analysis was split into two comparative case studies: one of Ecuador and Peru, which are more comparable to each other and still show salient differences in internally between their indigenous and non-indigenous populations in terms of political and socio-economic inequality; and one sub-national study of inequality and electoral rhetoric in two departments of Bolivia. The fine-grained data allow us to track the sequence of posting and re-posting by formal political elites and indigenous movements; assessing the content of postings allows us to track the importance of grievance frames and how they relate to real world protest events that took place during elections. We will now be validating the insights so far based on desk research with insights from field work in March and April 2023.

Aside from these case studies, we also completed an updated review of the most up-to-date literature on ethnic mobilization. This literature still points to scholars emphasizing the importance of grievance frames for ethnic mobilization. Our more in-depth analysis of the cases, however, showed that, at least in social media communication, grievances do not play a major role. A lot of the posts by indigenous NGOs around elections are positive and forward-looking, emphasizing the importance of elections and positively endorsing candidates, rather than deploring political marginalization/exclusion, although this is also present in some cases. This holds even in a context where the indigenous population still suffers from quite severe de facto inequalities, as is the case in Peru.

These insights are currently being corroborated in the much broader, global annotation of grievance frames that is nearing completion. By the end of February 2023, we will have completed the human annotation of approximately 13,000 Facebook posts by ethnic organizations world-wide in Spanish, English, French and Russian. We conducted first analyses when half that material was coded. These analyses showed that just like in our case studies, grievances do not constitute the bulk, but rather a minor share of what ethnic organizations communicate online. So the main insight from WP2 for the broader project is that the communication of elites of ethnic groups world-wide is not limited to deploring injustice. The literature has yet to develop modified theories to account for this more forward-looking communication of ethnic elites. We will contribute to this theoretical revision in the upcoming publications from this project.

WP 4

WP4 aims at the development of a tool for the automatic identification and extraction of framing strategies and the detailed analysis of the linguistic features used by different actors in formulating grievance frames. To this end, we spent the first year of the project rebuilding the VisArgue pipeline, leading to the prototype of Linguistic Annotation System (LiAnS). Compared to VisArgue, the LiAnS-pipeline uses State-of-the-Art libraries and disposes of more framing-specific features that have proven useful for identifying grievance frames, thus providing better quality annotations. During the second year we adapted and improved LiAnS for the linguistic analysis of English and Spanish data. This included the expansion of the required word lists for automated grievance detection through literature review and manual analysis, and the implementation of the various linguistic features in the respective language. After the completion of the Spanish prototype, we developed a module that can identify and

annotate social media data from Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador for voter mobilization in the sense of calls to action. The pipeline proved able to extract direct and indirect calls to action using a carefully defined set of linguistic rules. The rule-based nature of this version of the system allows us to annotate small corpora that, due to their sizes, are not suitable for machine learning approaches.

With the completion of the manual annotation of manifestos and speeches from ethnic organizations in the scope of WP3, we proceed in 2023 to the development of an automated system for the detection of grievance frames. Leveraging the knowledge gained in the development of the LiAnS pipeline, this step of our project will involve a detailed investigation of the language used in the construction of grievance frames, for the formulation of the rules in the new pipeline. The resulting system will be suitable to be added as an aid to the toolbox of human annotators.

Problems and Delays & Next Steps

WP1 and WP2

Steps ahead

- Complete the working papers listed below as well as the documentation of the dataset, which will be published when the dataset paper (currently under review) is accepted for publication.

Difficulties encountered

- The amount of data and the complexity of the model result in long processing times for each iteration.
- Legal obstacles (social media posts) prevent us from publishing complete replication material

WP3

Steps ahead

- Completing the annotation of Facebook posts on the global material
- Conducting field research in Ecuador and Peru in March and April 2023. Through interviews, we will get a sense on how organizational elites actually conceive of the tool of communicating with their followers via social media and what big a role they ascribe to this as compared to other channels of communication when it comes to mobilizing their followers

Difficulties encountered

- The uncertainty in the pandemic situation in the first half of 2022 prevented us from conducting field work in Ecuador and Peru earlier. Right now, the political situation in Peru is unstable so we keep monitoring the situation to decide whether we can actually do field work there.

WP4

Steps ahead

- Identifying linguistic features relevant to the detection of grievance frames
- Training a statistical language model to complement the rule-based framework

Difficulties encountered

- Data scarcity and unbalanced data sets inhibit the application of machine learning methods
- Dialectal variation complicates the formulation of rules in the pipeline.

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Publications and Work in Progress

Scientific Publications

Siskou, Wassiliki, Clara Giralt Mirón, Sarah Molina-Raith, Miriam Butt, 2022, "Automatized Detection and Annotation for Calls to Action in Latin-American Social Media Postings." In Proceedings of the 6th LaTeCH-CLfL Workshop, 65-69.

Papers in preparation

Karsten Donnay, Florian Eblenkamp, Frederik Gremler, Sebastian Nagel, Nils B. Weidmann. "Comparing National and International Communication by Ethnic Organizations".

Frederik Gremler, Manuel Vogt, Nils Weidmann. "Heterogeneity in Autonomy and Secession Demands by Ethnic Organizations".

Frederik Gremler, Lea Haiges, Nils B. Weidmann, Christina Zuber. "Grievances and Conflict".

Frederik Gremler, Nils B. Weidmann. "Ethnic Politics via Digital Means: Introducing the Ethnic Organizations Online (EO2) Dataset". Under review.

Frederik Gremler, Lea Haiges. "When and How the Electoral Context Influences Ethnic Party Identity Appeal Usage – A Global Comparison".

Lea Haiges, Christina Zuber. "Comparing the Electoral Strategies of Indigenous Movements in Ecuador and Peru".

Lea Haiges. "Class Trumps Ethnicity? Between-Group Inequalities, Identity Groups & Electoral Appeals in Bolivia".

Lea Haiges. "Against All Odds? Reconciling Ethnic Party Communication in Polarized Societies".

Research Data

- Annotated partisan communication for Bolivian subnational elections 2015 & 2021 (Manifestos, Facebook Posts & Videos for departments Cochabamba and Chuquisaca)

- Annotated social media communication of indigenous organizations' for Peru and Ecuador during national elections 2021
- Ethnic Power Relations - Organizations dataset (EPR-O)
- Ethnic Organizations Online (EO2)
- Grievance annotations of ethnic organizations' publicly available documents and social media data (xml)

Outreach

Frederik Gremler, Nils B. Weidmann.

Paper "Ethnic Organizations Online" presented at IPW at University of Heidelberg on invitation of Prof. Aurel Croissant as well as at the General Assembly of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (AFK), Konstanz.

Frederik Gremler, Manuel Vogt, Nils B. Weidmann. Poster Presentation of "Heterogeneity in Autonomy and Secession Demands by Ethnic Organizations" at the Inequality Cluster Conference.

Frederik Gremler. Paper presentation at workshop on Conflict Dynamics, Oxford, UK.

Frederik Gremler. Paper presentation at workshop by Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung, Padborg, DK.

Lea Haiges. Paper "Between-Group Inequalities & Party Rhetoric: Indigenous Politics in Bolivia" presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions (Workshop on Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determination).

Promotion of Young Researchers

- Regular meetings among PIs and doctoral students
- Joint participation of PIs and doctoral students in conferences

9. PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER AND SENIORITY WAGE INEQUALITY AND INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOURAL REACTIONS IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT

Principal Investigators: Susanne Strauß, Thomas Hinz, Nick Zubanov

Project Researcher: Ole Brüggemann

Cooperation Partner: Julia Lang (Institute for Employment Research, IAB)

Disciplines: Sociology, Economics

Funding Period: 10/2019 – 03/2024

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

Our project aims at analysing perceptions of gender and seniority wage inequality, as well as resulting individual behavioural reactions, in the organizational context. Our starting point was that the practice of wage setting follows complex patterns and yields a high degree of inequality regarding wages. Some criteria (such as work experience) are generally agreed on and codified, for example in laws and collective agreements. Other more diffuse criteria refer to workers' seniority in firms or to gender. Our research project aims at understanding in how far employees perceive two of these diffuse factors of wage setting – gender and seniority – as “just(ified)”, taking the organisational setting into account. We also aim at understanding how employees' perceptions of inequality are linked to their potential behavioural reactions, such as negotiating higher wages, complaining at the worker's council, effort withdrawal or intention to quit, which are in turn of great importance for firms.

Main Contributions to the Cluster's Research Program

Our main contribution to the research agenda of the Cluster is twofold. First, we study how structural inequalities – at the level of firms, working groups and occupations – shape employees' perceptions of what can be considered a fair wage (RA1 – Perceptions). Letting employees (observers) rate the fairness of fictitious co-workers' (rewardees') wages enables us to investigate how diffuse status characteristics of rewardees – such as gender and seniority – are perceived by observers and how this might be moderated by structural inequalities at the workplace.

Second, we aim at understanding how employees' perceptions of inequality are linked to their potential behavioural reactions (RA2 – Participation), such as negotiating higher wages, complaining at the worker's council, effort withdrawal or intention to quit, which are in turn of great importance for firms. In our factorial survey framework, observers rate the perceived likelihood that rewardees will react in one of the described ways. Hence, we are able to investigate which reward-

ee characteristics increase or decrease the perceived likelihood of specific behavioural reactions and whether this is moderated by structural inequalities at the workplace.

Furthermore, we also contribute to the Cluster by strengthening two institutional cooperations. First, we closely collaborate with the Institute for Employment Research (IAB) in Nuremberg. Based on a cooperation contract we were granted access to the administrative data at the IAB for sampling participants for our survey as well as for the linkage to our own collected survey data. Our colleague at the IAB (Julia Lang) supported our data collection from Nuremberg and is involved in multiple ongoing paper project. Second, we also collaborate with the DIW (Stefan Liebig) led project 'Perceptions of Inequalities and Justice in Europe' (PIJE). Thomas Hinz and Ole Brüggemann represent our Cluster in this Leibniz Collaborative Excellence project by attending meetings and presenting research. For the In_equality Conference we organized an invited panel for PIJE members to increase the visibility of this cooperation.

Main Results

Part of the project and the data collection was delayed by the onset of the pandemic. This meant that the data collection could only be finished until August 2021. Since the process of data cleaning and preparation was rather complex and required several research stays at the IAB to allow for the linkage with the administrative data, the actual analysis of the data did not start before the end of 2021. According to the original time plan, this would have left us with only 21 months for the actual data analysis and publication of results. We are therefore very grateful for the extension of the project based on additional money from a corona fund (until March 2024) as well as a cost-neutral extension of the project (until September 2024) that gives us more time to use the data that we collected with a lot of effort for hopefully impactful publications.

Generally, we face however the situation of limited resources for scientific staff (one PhD position). This is especially the case during the current phase of publication of the research findings and limits our capacity to address all interesting research questions that could be answered with our data. In order to use the data better, we will try to integrate more external cooperation partners in the coming time.

Outline of Next Steps

In December 2022 we had an internal workshop to discuss the ongoing paper projects as well as the paper ideas that are at earlier stages. In 2023, we will continue having project meetings with the full group approximately every three months to inform each other on the progress of the different paper projects.

In the first months of 2023, we plan to finalize and submit the drafts of two papers that have been described above (Short titles: (1) Who Perceives Lower Wages for Women as Fair?; (2) Employees' Perceptions of Co-Workers' Internal Promotion Penalties).

From the beginning of April onwards, we will intensify the work on our common paper (Short title: Bringing in the Context. How Firm Characteristics are related to Employees' Evaluation of Fair Wages) for which Thomas Hinz will stay as a guest researcher at the IAB for two weeks.

Ole Brüggemann and Julia Lang will as well meet at the IAB to work on their paper (Short title: Women's and men's behavioral reactions to perceived unfairness of wages) and prepare a conference application (ECSR Prague) for a further paper on the behavioral reactions of perceived wage inequality (Short title: Women's and men's behavioral reactions to perceived unfairness of wages, see 2.2 Planned Key Publications).

To strengthen the institutional link between our Cluster and the IAB, we plan to work on a publication using one of the IAB's outlets (IAB Kurzbericht, IAB Forum, IAB Working Paper Series) for the second half of 2023.

Additionally, we plan to start working on a methodological paper focusing on our setup of experimentally varied reminder conditions (number of reminders, time between reminders) and their effect on survey response and selectivity of participants. To start this off, Nick Zubanov will stay at the IAB as a guest researcher in April for one week.

OUTPUT

Scientific Publications

Brüggemann, Ole, Thomas Hinz, 2023, Do women evaluate their lower earnings still to be fair? Findings on the contented female worker paradox examining the role of occupational contexts in 27 European countries, *European Sociological Review*, online first, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcac073>.

Planned Key Publications

Strauß, Susanne, Ole Brüggemann, Julia Lang, Who Perceives Lower Wages for Women as Fair? How Fairness Perceptions of Men's and Women's Wages Vary by Firm and Workplace Characteristics.
 Brüggemann, Ole, Employees' Perceptions of Co-Workers' Internal Promotion Penalties: The Role of Gender, Parenthood and Part-Time.
 Hinz, Thomas, Susanne Strauß, Nick Zubanov, Julia Lang, Ole Brüggemann, Bringing in the Context. How Firm Characteristics are related to Employees' Evaluation of Fair Wages. Results from a Factorial Survey Experiment.
 Brüggemann, Ole, Julia Lang, Women's and men's behavioral reactions to perceived unfairness of wages. Evidence from a factorial survey experiment among German employees.

Research Data Generated by Project

Our research data and their documentation (codebook, field report) have been published online in the GESIS SowiDataNet|Datorium in January 2023 with a two-year embargo.

Knowledge Transfer

Strauß, Susanne, Thomas Hinz, Nick Zubanov, Ole Brüggemann, Julia Lang (2022). Fair: Arbeiten in Deutschland. ExzellenzCluster "The Politics of Inequality" (Konstanz). Datenfile Version 1.0.0, <https://doi.org/10.7802/2486>.
 Strauß, Susanne, Ole Brüggemann, Julia Lang (2022): From Her Perspective. The Work Context Shapes Women's Views on Pay. In: Cluster of Excellence "The Politics of Inequality" (ed.). In_equality magazine: Working Inequality, No. 04: 46-49.
 Brüggemann, Ole, Employees' Perceptions of Co-Workers' Internal Promotion Penalties: The Role of Gender, Parenthood and Part-Time presentation at two international conferences (PopFest: 28th Annual Postgraduate Population Studies Conference in October at EUI in Florence; Analytical Sociology: Theory and Empirical Applications in November at VIU in Venice).
 Strauß, Susanne, Ole Brüggemann, Julia Lang, Who Perceives Lower Wages for Women as Fair? How

Fairness Perceptions of Men's and Women's Wages Vary by Firm and Workplace Characteristics presentation at three international conferences (In_equality Conference in April 2022 in Konstanz; RC28 Spring Conference in April 2022 in London; ECSR Conference in July 2022 in Amsterdam).
 Brüggemann, Ole, Thomas Hinz (2023): Do women evaluate their lower earnings still to be fair Findings on the contented female worker paradox examining the role of occupational contexts in 27 European countries. *European Sociological Review* online first, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcac073> presentation at RC28 Spring Conference in April 2022 in London.
 Hinz, Thomas, Susanne Strauß, Nick Zubanov, Julia Lang, Ole Brüggemann, Bringing in the Context. How Firm Characteristics are related to Employees' Evaluation of Fair Wages. Results from a Factorial Survey Experiment, presentation at the In_equality Conference in April 2022 in Konstanz.
 Hinz, Thomas, Stefan Liebig, Ole Brüggemann (2021): Gendered professions, gendered pay: The question of fairness. In: Cluster of Excellence "The Politics of Inequality" (ed.). In_equality magazine: Perception of Inequality, No. 02: 22-25.

Promotion of Young Researchers

The doctoral researcher (Ole Brüggemann) in the project has worked on his first dissertation paper together with Thomas Hinz (supervisor), using data from the European Social Survey (2018) in the context of the DIW (Berlin) project "Perceptions of Inequality and Justice in Europe" (PIJE). This allowed him to start his dissertation project before finishing the data collection process.

The paper entitled "Do women evaluate their lower earnings still to be fair? Findings on the contented female worker paradox examining the role of occupational contexts in 27 European countries" was submitted to *European Sociological Review* in June, accepted for publication in December and published in January 2023.

Furthermore, he is part of several envisioned paper projects within the project group and works on his second and third dissertation paper that use data collected in this project. For this, the project funded international conference participations which should enable him to grow his scientific network and present his research. To discuss his research more informally he regularly participates in the internal colloquium of Susanne Strauß.

To enable data access and analysis of the linked data at the IAB in Nuremberg, he was admitted as visiting scholar by the IAB for the rest of the project duration.

10. POLITICAL ELITES AND INEQUALITY : INFORMATION, HEURISTICS AND POLICY

Principal Investigators: Christian Breunig, Friedrich Breyer,

Wolfgang Gaissmaier, Guido Schwerdt

Postdoctoral Researcher: Maj-Britt Sterba

Cooperation Partner: Stefaan Walgrave (University of Antwerp),

Peter Loewen (University of Toronto), Stefanie Bailer (University of Basel)

Disciplines: Political Science, Economics, Psychology

Funding Period: 09/2019 – 12/2025

RESEARCH REPORT

The Political Elites and Inequality project aims to understand how political elites perceive inequality and how their perceptions translate into policy-making. Building upon insights from economics, psychology, and political science, we investigate perceptions of inequalities and corresponding policy choices of politicians in advanced democracies. In the first phase of the project, we focus on how political elites acquire and process information about inequality when making decisions on (re)-distributional issues. In an adjacent project we fielded a cross-national survey where we focus on two decision-making features that play an important yet ambiguous role in policy-making: normative perceptions of fairness and merit and evidence-based thinking.

We in particular speak to the perceptions and policy pillars of the cluster. In the first part of the project, we address how political elites and laypeople perceive and deal with inequality. More specifically, we investigate three questions: The first question is how people perceive inequalities in the first place, which includes how they estimate the magnitudes of inequalities as well as understanding the mechanisms that yield their inequality perception. The second question is what determines preferences for redistribution, which builds on their perception of inequalities, but also draws on other values, norms, and beliefs. The third research question aims at understanding how redistributive preferences can be altered by the provision of information, which depends on how these preferences are

constructed, as well as on the content and framing of the information. How political elites learn and process information about inequality is therefore a crucial component for understanding if and how policy-makers react to rising levels in inequality.

In the second part of the project our analytical focus moves from the role of misperception and biases to normative beliefs of fairness about economic inequalities and how those affect policy-making. On the perception side we therefore move from the question how perceptions of inequality are shaped by informational surrounding of politicians to the question how perceptions are shaped by fundamental normative convictions. Specifically, we ask: what fundamental normative principles do politicians hold and how do these influence policy-making? Are normative perceptions of politicians congruent with those of citizens? We also explore information from a different angle by focusing on the role of experts and scientific evidence. We ask: To what extent do politicians rely on evidence-based decision-making and thinking? Does its usage vary by ideology and among countries? How do scientific beliefs affect policy-making in the health and climate domain where scientific arguments are common?

To date, our project comprises two main studies, both surveying citizens and political elites. In the elite studies we employ interviews with embedded survey experiments to gain quantitative and qualitative insights. In March 2022, we finished the data collection for the study on information, heuristics and policy (2021 study hereafter). We collected data in eight different state parliaments (Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, Thuringia, Berlin, Schleswig-Holstein, Hesse,

North Rhine-Westphalia and Saarland). Overall, we collected 535 responses, representing a response rate of 47,8 percent. We finished the transcription of the interviews and completed the collection and the biographical information on members of all state parliaments where we conduct interviews. Our final data set comprises the survey responses, the transcribed interviews, biographical data as well as the number of contacts needed until our request was answered.

Furthermore, we finalized the cross-national citizen and elite survey and implemented the German elite survey in the Bundestag (2022 study hereafter). The survey is the result of an international cooperation between 14 countries from Europe and North America that was established in 2021 (coordinated by Stefaan Walgrave from the University of Antwerp). The citizen survey was implemented centrally by the team around Stefaan Walgrave between February and March 2022. The elite survey differs from country to country depending on the respective research interests. The joint discussion of the wording and fielding of the questions was a cumbersome process taking several months. In the end we were successful in prominently placing inequality related questions in the survey and fielding them in a high number of countries.

We started surveying members of the Bundestag in April 2022 and this process is still ongoing. We contacted politicians in four waves. The waves were sampled to represent the Bundestag in terms of gender, incumbent status and party. In later waves, we tried to correct for a lower response rate of certain groups. The selected politicians are asked via mail to participate. The interviewers then follow up by phone. The interviews are mostly carried out

in an online interview setting. Six student assistants left the team in the last year and we have hired and trained five additional research assistants for conducting the interviews. To date, we have interviewed more than 150 politicians and thus delivered the number of interviews we promised to our international partners. Meanwhile, our project partners from the University of Basel have collected biographical data about all contacted parliamentarians.

For both surveys we considered their ethical implications to minimize potential harm. First, we avoid deception in both the purpose and design of our experiments. Second, to avoid any harm to individual representatives, but also parties on the aggregate, we refrain from reporting results about particular parliamentarians or their parties. The final data from the 2021 survey is stored at the Nextcloud server accessible by the project team. The final data from the 2022 survey will be additionally stored by the coordinating Belgian team on the server of the University of Antwerp. For all publications, replication packages will be provided. All steps of the data collection, merging and analysis are documented.

OUTPUT

Planned Key Publications from the first part of the project

1. Paper on Social Sampling

Title: Social Sampling and Preference for Redistribution: Causal Evidence from a National Survey Experiment

Abstract: Recent studies have employed the social sampling model to understand redistributive preferences. Most of these studies, however, have employed observational designs which are prone to some threats of causal inference such as reverse causation and spurious correlation. We offer experimental evidence for the effect of social sampling on redistributive preferences through a nationally representative survey experiment in Germany. Utilizing a priming task, we primed respondents to think about different types of social contacts (average contacts, low-income contacts, and high-income contacts). We find evidence for an indirect effect in which the priming task shapes preferences for redistribution through its effect on the respondents' estimates of their contacts' incomes. Respondents in the low-income (high-income) priming recalled social contacts with lower (higher) incomes, which in turn predict more (less) support for redistributive policies. We also find that the indirect effect of the low-income (high-income) priming is stronger among high-income (low-income) respondents, suggesting that our priming task likely elicited the social contacts whom the respondents, given their own incomes, are less likely to think about. We discuss the implications of these findings to our understanding of how social influence shapes redistributive preferences.

Status: Published at the Journal of Experimental Social Psychology.

2. Paper on Justice of the German Pension System

Title: Between Beveridge and Bismarck: Preferences for Redistribution through Public Pensions

Abstract: Do citizens know how much the pension system redistributes? Do they find the system fair? We provide first survey-based evidence for Germany indicating that voters and politicians lack information relevant for the formation of their distributional preferences and perceptions of fairness. Only a minority of German citizens hold accurate views on the pension system. In two survey-experiments we show that information on the pension system increases perceived fairness and decreases redistributive demands, whereas information about inequalities in life expectancy between beneficiary groups lowers perceived fairness and increases the demand for redistribution. Moreover, both citizens and elected representatives reject the Bismarckian principle of strict proportionality between lifetime contributions and monthly pension benefits in favor of more redistribution from high to low earners in the retirement phase.

Status: The paper is in the final drafting stage. In the last year, we presented it at the VfS conference in Basel and the VHAIt conference in Mannheim.

3. Perceptions of Deservingness among Elected Politicians

Abstract: Social policy assigns benefits and burdens to its recipients. Politicians who are responsible for public interventions distinguish among social groups regarding their power and deservingness. The allocation of benefits and burdens depends on how a particular group is perceived. These expectations build on research about deservingness in social policy and Schneider and Ingram's (1993) influential work on the social construction of target populations. Our research design is based on a field survey of over 500 elected representatives carried out in Germany in 2021. We show that legislators distinguish about seven groups using a survey and then analyze open-ended survey responses about policy design for two groups: addicts and disabled. Using structural topic modeling, we show that a simple deservingness heuristic affects the way politicians talk on benefits and restrictions in policy design for the two respective groups.

Status: The paper is at the drafting stage. In 2022, we presented it at the APSA in Montréal and will present it at the WPSA in San Francisco in April 2023. We plan to submit the paper closely after.

4. Political Cost paper

Abstract: Quantifying the effect of voters' policy demand for a specific policy on politicians' support for this policy is notoriously difficult due to their endogenous relationship. Recent experimental evidence on the provision of new information about policy preferences of politicians on voters' preferences revealed substantial causal effects, but the other direction of this endogenous relationship has so far not been explored with an experimental research design. We provide first evidence that providing members of state parliaments with information about the support of voters for two specific policy proposals (deferred university tuition fees and "baby bonds") also affects the policy support of parliamentarians. But we only find effects if the provided information is new and relevant to the politicians. We find no effect of informing elected members of state parliaments about voters' preferences on a proposal to reform a national policy, but strong effects for reforming a state-level policy. We interpret these findings in light of a model of preference formation of political elites that includes the perceived political costs of supporting a specific policy as a key determinant.

Status: The project is at an early stage. The empirical analysis of the data is almost complete. The paper is at an early drafting stage.

Further Planned Publications That Are At An Early Or Very Early Stage

- Paper on misperceptions in the income distribution estimation of politicians
- Paper on the effect of partisan voter preferences on politicians' support for a novel redistributive policy (Baby Bonds)
- Paper on the discussion around daycare fees in Germany
- (Policy-) Paper using text as data that analyses on which economic inequalities politicians perceive as fair or unfair
- Report analyzing response rates of politicians

Promotion of Young Researchers

The project promotes Maj-Britt Sterba, the Postdoctoral researcher on this project, in several ways. First, her research interests featured prominently in the application for the prolongation of the project, allowing her to further develop her own research agenda. In the 2022 study she already could bring in an experimental design that relates to her previous research interest and will result into a key publication. She is also involved in several of the key publications from the 2021 study which she presented at national and international conferences, allowing her to further develop her academic network. She manages the student assistants who support the data collection, which allows her to gain experience in team management. In 2021, the project promoted Nathanael Gracias Sumaktoyo, PhD, who joined the team as a postdoc and made significant contributions to the development of the questionnaires for the citizen and the politician surveys. He then went on to a tenure track assistant professorship at the University of Singapore, but is still involved in relevant parts of the project.

Potential Problems or Delays

For the Bundestag, we are within the timeline of our data collection. The data collection proved very difficult though in the last year. The war in Ukraine and its effect on energy provision in Germany restricted the availability of politicians even further. In addition, the strict organizational structures in the Bundestag, while increasing the reachability of the offices in comparison to the state parliaments, made it impossible to convince the politicians in person. Furthermore, it proved difficult to realize a representative sample as women and newcomers are far more likely to react positively to our request. In the analyses, we will address this problem with weighted regressions. Because some politicians insisted on person-to-person interviews we incurred some additional travelling costs.

Outlook for 2023

Our working plan for the next 12 months looks as follows: With respect to the 2021 study, we plan to finish the papers that are already in a drafting stage and deepen the analysis and drafting of the projects that are at an earlier stage. We will also disseminate descriptive results to the politicians and continue to present our work at workshops and conferences. With respect to the 2022 study, we plan to finish the data collection by the end of February. The data will then be transferred to Antwerp along with the biographical data such that the dataset comprising the international data will be available in spring. We will also transcribe the open-ended questions and prepare them for analysis. We will then start working on cross-national publications. To this end, a meeting with all international partners is scheduled in Antwerp in June. We are in the early stages of planning a subsequent international meeting in Konstanz in late 2023 or early 2024.

11. ADMINISTRATIVE INEQUALITY: THE CASE OF FOREIGN NATIONALS IN GERMANY

Principal Investigators: Christian Breunig;
Gerald Schneider; Daniel Thym, Christina Zuber

Project Researcher: Jonas Bornemann;
Maren Lüdecke; Jana Mayer

Disciplines: Politics, Public Administration, and Law

Funding Period: 10/2020 – 12/2025

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

The Cluster project “Administrative Inequality: The Case of Foreign Nationals in Germany” (AdmIn) examines inequalities that arise from the uneven implementation of public policies addressing foreign nationals. It studies how German street-level bureaucrats and judges take decisions on visa and asylum requests. The project considers four questions in three work packages:

1. How much has the administrative leeway of German bureaucrats changed in recent years in response to the conflicting trends of an aging society, a shortage of skilled professionals and the so-called refugee crisis, and how much did decision makers exploit their leverage?
2. Does a strong partisan identification of the decision makers in the responsible administrative unit increase the discriminatory potential?
3. Do applicants from countries that are culturally or ethnically distant from Germany face more negative discrimination - or perceived exposure to it - than foreign nationals from destinations that are viewed as being closer?
4. How much do the arguments made by the applicants influence the decision making and what kind of administrative reforms would limit the perceived and real discrimination?

The over-arching goal of the project is the systematic assessment of administrative discrimination for people with a limited set of options. The work packages deal with “Administrative Leeway in the Treatment of Foreign Nationals” (WP 1), “Taste-Based and Statistical Discrimination” (WP 2), and “Reform Strategies” (WP3).

Main Contributions to the Cluster’s Research Program

Integrating three academic disciplines - political science, public administration, and public law – through an encompassing vision, the AdmIn project also draws heavily on concepts and methods used in other fields, including computational social science, econometrics and linguistics. The project has therefore a truly inter- and multidisciplinary character. As its title suggests, AdmIn mainly contributes to public administration research, broadly defined.

While some of the research conducted within the project also contributes to research area 1 (“perceptions”), AdmIn’s main focus is on public policy making and thus area 3 (“policies”). The project’s input into area 1 is largely a consequence of the current examination of how German administrative courts make judgements on asylum seekers’ appeal to the initial decision by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF). AdmIn contributes to area 3 both positively and normatively. The project analyses two different areas of policy-making and will also provide policy-makers with proposals on how to improve, if necessary, administrative

decision-making. The Cluster project “Administrative Inequality in Handling Requests for German Citizenship” (AdmInCit) and the project funded by the German Ministry of the Interior “Prejudices and Stereotyping in Job Centres? Basic Security Benefits for Job Seekers according to SGB II” complement the AdmIn project in two other policy domains, using partly similar theoretical frameworks. It should be noted that the AdmInCit project also contributes to the participation research area of the Cluster as naturalization is a necessary step for full-fledged political participation and political representation.

The AdmIn project forms together with some other Cluster projects the nucleus of what we perceive to be an exciting and promising research area. The project “Inequality in Street-Level Bureaucracy: Linguistic Analysis of Public Service Encounters” is besides the AdmInCit project the other research endeavour that explicitly focuses on inequities in German public administration. The project PIs entertain close contacts with the PI of this neighbouring project. The AdmIn project could

certainly also profit from a closer exchange with the “Increasing State Capacity and Accountability to Improve Local Governance: Evidence for the Targeting of Social Pensions in Bangladesh”. This is especially the case if the Cluster possibly plans to examine administrative inequality systematically through a comparative perspective. Additionally, from a methodological perspective, a stronger exchange with the project “Framing Inequalities” could be enriching with regard to processing and analysing text.

Main Results

Administrative Leeway in the Treatment of Foreign Nationals (WP1)

In this work package, the AdmIn project examines a large collection of asylum appeal decisions and explores possible divergences in judicial decision-making. The team has developed a corpus with almost 5000 administrative court judgements on asylum appeals, a data set containing the text segments of each of these judgements and a data set with respective case-specific information, such as date, court and decision outcome. These data sets are a side-product of Lüdecke's (2022) thesis. Further case-specific variables, for example about the plaintiff's nationality or reason for appealing, are currently extracted with the help of the student assistant Esther Simmendinger. Once this step is completed, the project team will expand the corpus to obtain judgements for 2020 and 2021 and to reach a sufficient number of judgements per court and year. To assess the representativeness of the corpus, procedural data at level of the administrative courts is required. As such data is only publicly available at level of the federal states ("Justizgeschäftsstatistik"/ "Justice business statistics"), the research team has contacted the 16 Ministries of Justice of the German states to receive more detailed information.

Based on the preliminary corpus and the two datasets, a first examination of the tonality of the judicial opinions reveals that asylum appeals with more negative sentiments are more likely to be rejected (Lüdecke 2022). This analysis is currently complemented to account for the relation between argumentative style and judicial decision-making. Lüdecke and Schneider (2023) examine whether and how the complexity in the judgements of the German administrative courts relates to the judicial decision outcome.

They expect that the costs for asylum seekers are much larger in making their case than for the federal authorities. This increases the risk that the judicial reasoning on negative appeal decisions are less complex across two dimensions: linguistic complexity (measured through several indicators of judicial language usage) and legalistic complexity (proxied with the judgement's references to precedent decisions and academic sources). A descriptive article on the corpus will be written in the first half of 2023 by team members Lüdecke, Thym, Schneider and former team member Jonas Bornemann.

The AdmIn team has also started to analyze decision-making in issuing visa across the Schengen area. In this domain, decision-makers possess considerable leeway, which results in rejection rates ranging from as low as 0 % to 92 %. Schneider (2022) examines the extent to which concerns about terrorism influence the application behavior and the issuing of visas. The theoretical framework of the demand and supply of Schengen visas suggests that the freedom of mobility is a club good for both the visa applicants and the citizens of the member states.

Schengen states have therefore an interest in deterring risky visitors and irregular migrants. Potential travelers in return want to file their application in a member state that is safer and in which the chance of a positive decision is higher. This implies that high-level real and potential terrorist events in a Schengen member state reduce the demand for visas and increase the rejection rate in these countries and their neighbors. The tests of the Schengen visa statistics from 2010 to 2019 support these theoretical expectations.

Taste-Based and Statistical Discrimination (WP2)

The second work package examines whether foreign nationals are subject to prejudice and/or stereotyping as they interact with bureaucrats. The project team has examined this question in a Cluster working paper that has since then been revised (Gundacker, Kosyakova and Schneider 2022). The analysis gives ample evidence that both forms of discrimination matter in this context. This line of research is also pursued in the associated project on discrimination in German job centers. A survey experiment with administrators will examine whether and how regional preferences play a role in the discrimination of specific applicants for unemployment benefits (Ruess and Schneider 2023). The study of discrimination will be explored theoretically through a two-sided incomplete information game (Schneider 2023). The model studies the impact that the uncertainty of asylum-seekers about the potential bias of a first instance decision-maker and of these "street level" bureaucrats about the credibility of the applicant's claim have. The model allows to derive how these two crucial parameters influence the risk of wrongful decisions and how unbiased adjudication lowers this potential for positive and negative discrimination.

Reform Strategies (WP3)

This work package will sum up the possible recommendations that our research implies. This work will therefore be carried out at the end the funding period.

Problems and Delays

The AdmIn project continued to have personnel problems. Jana Mayer, who started out as a collaborator and doctoral student in October 2021, left the Cluster after five months. She was replaced by Maren Lüdecke, who has written a topical master thesis on the project (Lüdecke 2022), in October 2022. This turnover resulted in some delays in the preparation and analysis of the data sets.

A further continuing challenge for the AdmIn project is the lacking access to good decision-making data. The German Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) rejected early in 2022 an appeal against its decision to refuse a request to obtain more detailed aggregate data on administrative court decision-making. The project team has contacted a new member of the Bundestag, Dr. Lina Seitzl, who promised to push for better data access. As this will take some time, the project team has contacted, as outlined above, the Ministries of Justices of the German Länder. A further challenge is the limited availability of and difficult access to the judgements of administrative courts.

Outline of Next Steps

The AdmIn project will conduct work in all three work packages in 2023. It will complete at least two articles that examine the administrative court data set that is currently checked for missing data and updated until the end of the first quarter of 2023. It will also examine in the associated project further studies on how decision-makers discriminate members of significant minorities. The game-theoretic work will also help to build a framework for normative counter-factual analysis of how different rules reduce the discriminatory potential. Besides, the AdmIn and AdmInCit project teams consider writing a blogpost about how challenging the acquisition of administrative data is in Germany. Besides, they plan to organize an internal workshop in autumn 2023 and a workshop together with their project partners in December 2023 or January 2024.

OUTPUT

Publications and Work in Progress

- Bornemann, Jonas, 2022, The Transformation of Discretionary Power in European Migration Law: Misfit, Necessity or Virtue? PhD thesis, University of Konstanz.
- Gundacker, Lidwina, Yuliya Kosyakova, Gerald Schneider, 2021, Global norms, regional discrimination: Administrators, the public mood, and German asylum decision-making. Revised Working Paper, Institute for Employment Research, Nurnberg, University of Bamberg, University of Konstanz.
- Lüdecke, Maren, 2022, Sentiments in Asylum Appeal Decisions: Evidence from German Administrative Courts. Master thesis, University of Konstanz.
- Lüdecke, Maren, Gerald Schneider, 2023, Negative and less profound? The linguistic and judicial complexity of German asylum appeal adjudication. Working paper in preparation.
- Mayer, Jana, Gerald Schneider, 2023, Asylpolitik. In Handbuch der Flucht- und Flüchtlingsforschung. Marcel Berlinghoff, Birgit Glorius, J. Olaf Kleist, Tabea Scharrer (eds.). Baden-Baden: Nomos.

- Rueß, Stefanie, Gerald Schneider, 2023, The framing of welfare fraud and the granting of unemployment benefits: National vs. regional media biases. Working paper in preparation.
- Schneider, Gerald, 2022, Fear thy visitor: Schengen visa decision making and the threat of terrorism. Paper presented at the EPSA and APSA annual conventions.
- Thym, Daniel, 2021, Supranational Courts in Europe. A Moderately Communitarian Turn in the Case Law on Immigration and Citizenship. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 47, p. 4534.
- Thym, Daniel, 2022, Border Closure and Visa Ban for Russians: Geopolitics Meets EU Migration Law. *EU Immigration and Asylum Law and Policy* of 17 October 2022.
- Thym, Daniel, Judith Froese (eds), 2022, *Grundgesetz und Rassismus*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Schneider, Gerald, 2023, Understanding the “refugee roulette”: A two-sided incomplete information game of discriminatory asylum decision-making. Working paper in preparation.
- Zuber, Christina, 2022, Ideational legacies and the politics of migration in European minority regions. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Research Data

The datasets that have so far been assembled in the project or that are currently being put together will be stored on the project website as soon as the first articles analyzing them have been published. Our data handling will be in line with the replication requirements of the participating academic disciplines. Moreover, the data handling will remain fully in line with the data protection rules of the University of Konstanz and the German Research Foundation.

Outreach

- Lüdecke, Maren, Lisa Mende, Stefanie Rueß, Gerald Schneider. 2022. Forschung zur administrativen Diskriminierung. Webex-Seminar with Prof. Birgit Locher-Finke, State Secretary in the Ministry of Social Affairs, and other participants, November 9, 2022.
- Thym, Daniel. 2022. Keynote: Handlungsperspektiven für ein gutes Zusammenleben in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft. Nürnberger Tage für Migration des Bundesamts für Migration und Flüchtlinge zum Thema “Integration und gesellschaftlicher Zusammenhalt”, 19./20 Oktober 2022.
- Thym, Daniel. 2022. Vortrag: Reformperspektiven im Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht. 6. Speyerer Migrationsrechtstage, 19./20. September 2022.
- Thym, Daniel. 2022. Flucht in die Europäische Union in Zeiten des Krieges. Debatte zu Recht, Praxis und Grenzen europäischer Solidarität. Diskussionsveranstaltung des Forschungsinstituts Gesellschaftlicher Zusammenhalt und der InRa-Studie ‘Institutionen und Rassismus’ via YouTube, 22. Februar 2022.

- Thym, Daniel. 2022. Öffentliche Anhörung des Ausschusses für Inneres und Heimat des Deutschen Bundestags über Entwurf eines Gesetzes zur Einführung eines Chancen-Aufenthaltsrechts, 25. November 2022.
- Zuber, Christina. 2022. Research report on how to reform the local integration council of the city of Konstanz (Internationales Forum Konstanz) as part of the project “Konstanz Internationale Stadt”.

Promotion of Young Researchers

The research team including all PIs, doctoral students and student assistants have met regularly during the second year in hybrid sessions to discuss project progress. In addition to this, the doctoral students and their respective supervisors have discussed progress on the doctoral projects on a regular basis.

12. INEQUALITY IN STREET-LEVEL BUREAUCRACY: LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC SERVICE ENCOUNTERS

Principal Investigators: Steffen Eckhard, Annette Hautli-Janisz

Project Researchers: Ingrid Espinoza, Laurin Friedrich, Wassiliki Siskou (Ph.D. students); Steffen Frenzel, Max Zimmermann, Abigail Legras Le Carpentier (student assistants)

Disciplines: Political science, public administration, linguistics and computational linguistics

Funding Period: 06/2021 - 08/2024

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

The project aims to measure and systematically study verbal communication during so-called public service encounters (PSE), i.e. face-to-face interactions between citizens and public employees in the context of public service provision. The intermediate interest is to answer how administrative language affects citizen satisfaction. In the long run, this will enable the project to shed light on the question how linguistic features of the dialogue between citizens and civil servants matter with regard to unequal treatment of different societal groups

Main Contributions to the Cluster's Research Program

The main contributions to the Cluster's research program are mainly linked to the research areas of perception and policy as well as the domain of rights and privileges. The scientific contributions of this endeavour are three-fold: First, we enhance our understanding of the conditions under which citizens can equally benefit from state service delivery. For instance, we expect that we can add a micro-level, empirical dimension to public administration studies that have shown that equality in street-level bureaucracy can be enhanced through employment of all societal groups in the civil service (Akram, 2018; Kingsley, 1944; Meier, 1975). As such, the project is at the forefront of observing

the consequences of bureaucratic representation in citizen-state interaction.

Second, we also contribute to the theoretical linguistic understanding and operationalization of bureaucratic, face-to-face dialog, a genre that is under-researched, and, in the case of computational linguistics, not been tackled to date. We also advance the state of the art in correlating dialog analysis with client satisfaction, an aspect that goes beyond previous work in language analysis and will shed empirical light on those communicative strategies that lead to higher satisfaction in unequal settings. In addition, the project will yield a unique language resource of transcribed street-level bureaucratic dialog and pave the way for more empirical work in social science.

Finally, we also expect societal contributions: The communicative dimension of face-to-face encounters is of great practical relevance for public administration, enabling citizen orientation and equal treatment. Given the increase of conflict and even violence during face-to-face encounters, high-quality communication seems to be directly linked to the safety of public employees. There is comprehensive grey literature on communicative practices in face-to-face encounters (e.g., Sorg, 2002), but no systematic empirical evidence

Main Results (Progress of the project)

The conduct of explorative expert interviews with frontline officials in 2020 (see previous progress reports) was an important step in the identification of empirical attributes of face-to-face discourse. We combined theoretical insights from communication studies with the insights gained from the interviews to develop a taxonomy of language-based factors that affect client satisfaction in public service encounters. The taxonomy of administrative language has been published in the International Public Management Journal in 05/2022.

In 2021, we also conducted a survey experiment that confirmed the validity of this taxonomy. In the survey experiment participants evaluated audio recordings of a hypothetical service encounter where we systematically varied the language used by the official (see previous progress reports). The associated journal article received the Christopher Pollitt Prize for best conference paper at the International Research Society for Public Management (IRSPM) annual conference in 2022 and was accepted for publication in the leading Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory in 12/2022.

We also published a short article in a practitioner journal ("Behördenpiegel") in 08/2022 to raise awareness of the project and find additional partners.

In 2022 we were able to start making use of the intensive data collection and curation needed for our analysis. We first worked on an area of investigation that was important to our governmental partners, namely the concept of easy and plain language ('Leichte und Einfache Sprache') to investigate whether the criteria defined by non-academic associations are also applied to spoken interaction. Those criteria are, for ex-

ample, an appropriate pace of speech, avoidance of nominalization, participial constructions, complex clauses and jargon, genitive chains and passivization. These features are now detected automatically, scored according to the prominence in the language and then aggregated to get an overall score for the complexity of the conversation and/or the individual participants. A graphical representation of this complexity score allows for an intuitive insight for practitioners on the dynamics of the conversation. This work is published in Siskou et al (2022) and was well received by our collaborators in Mayen-Koblenz.

Sampling and the Data Collection

The collection of speech data in German local administrations progressed. Systematic data collection began at the job center of the county of Mayen-Koblenz in 2020. In 2021/22 we were able to find four additional cooperation partners in the job center of Stuttgart, the municipality of Karlsruhe-Durlach, the citizen's office of Constance as well as the social and youth welfare office of Constance. The data collection process in these local administrations is still on-going. So far, we were able to record 169 dialogues¹ between frontline civil servants and their clients.

To further increase our data collection, we are in close contact with four other municipalities, namely the ones of Fintel, Ludwigsburg, Singen and Karlsruhe.

Part of gaining access to the local administrations is agreeing to present them with a report of the empirical results. Since sufficient data from the job center of the municipality of Mayen-Koblenz is already available, we presented our preliminary findings at their institution in 12/2022.

Furthermore, based on the transcribed public-service encounters, we have compiled a comprehensive manual to anonymize the PSE conversations. By applying the instructions set out in this document, we can ensure that all personal data of clients and staff are untraceable.

Inspired by Todd et al (2020), we are currently working on a corpus of currently 333 files from transcribed parole hearings in California, US (obtained from: <https://www.cdcr.ca.gov/bph/parole-suitability-hearing-results/>), where a board determines if an inmate is suitable to be released on parole. Due to the fact that these hearings also fall into the category of citizen-state dialogue and consist of question-answer sequences, they are ideally suited to test the operationalization of administrative language in a language other than German and in a different context. Furthermore, we want to use this corpus to investigate discourse dynamics, such as how questions are dodged in parole hearings as well as whether and how these evasive maneuvers are detected by the participants.

¹ Mayen-Koblenz: 113 encounters; Stuttgart: 40 encounters; Karlsruhe-Durlach: 8 encounters; Konstanz (overall): 8 encounters.

Problems and Delays

The most challenging task remains to gain and maintain access to local authorities. First, it is difficult to convince local authorities to participate as a cooperation partner in our project. Concerns about data protection aligned with limited staff resources are often at the forefront of the reluctance to participate in our project. In 2020/21 - the beginning of our data collection phase - Covid-related restrictions have slowed down the acquisition of new cooperation partners. While the Covid situation has stabilized in the course of 2022, the war in Ukraine and the resulting increased workload on German authorities due to a large number of arriving war refugees made the authorities reluctant to take on time-consuming activities, such as our research project represents in their perception.

Second, the limited staff resources for the reasons mentioned not only make it difficult to win new local authorities as cooperation partners but also impact the recording of public service encounters within our existing partners. Fewer public service encounters than expected are being recorded. In addition, there is concern among staff members that they may not be able to handle the recording equipment properly. We have tried to eliminate this concern by adapting our recording devices. In addition, employees report that some clients do not agree with the recording of conversations due to data protection concerns, which further reduces the number of recordings.

Furthermore, it was challenging to manage multiple cooperation partners with the limited number of staff in the project team. The main challenge is that cooperation partners were at times in different stages of the data collection process, which made the interaction time-consuming. We encountered this struggle by improving our internal coordination and project management. For this purpose, and for a number of conceptual and analytical discussions, we met for an internal team retreat in 08/2022.

Outline of Next Steps

- Four new data collection collaborations are currently under negotiation, namely with the municipalities of Karlsruhe, Ludwigsburg, Singen and Fintel where data collection will approximately begin in spring 2023. The case of Singen is particularly promising. The partner there is the local tax authority with up to 50.000 public service encounters per year. Since the Ministry of Finance of Baden-Württemberg has already approved the collaboration, access to additional cooperation partners is well possible.
- Recordings in three local institutions (Stuttgart, Karlsruhe-Durlach and Konstanz) is on-going.
- The linguistic data analysis of the collected data from Stuttgart, Karlsruhe-Durlach and Konstanz is on-going.
- The linguistic analysis will be extended especially with respect to the relational language, focusing on automatic recognition of small talk, hierarchy based on question-answer sequences (evasive response behavior), sentence types (imperatives versus declaratives), content repetitions and evasive-

ness. Each of these fields is so far only worked on to a very limited extent in computational linguistics, with no work and/or reference data existing in German. This means that we need to label data ourselves and devise new techniques to identify and aggregate those patterns in a meaningful way across different types of conversations. For developing this module we will use the German PSE data and the corpus of the Parole Hearings in California (see above) to investigate and validate these discourse dynamics, such as how questions are dodged in parole hearings as well as whether and how these evasive maneuvers are detected by the participants. For this work package, we target highly visible conferences in NLP, such as ACL 2024 (deadline Jan 2024), Coling 2024 (Feb/March 2024) and LREC 2024 (Feb 2024). The pipeline is envisioned to be developed in such a way that it can be potentially used in a real-time setting. However, in cases where this is too time-consuming for now, we still fall back on an architecture for ex-post analysis.

OUTPUT

Scientific Publications

Eckhard, Steffen, Laurin Friedrich, Annette Hautli-Janisz, Vanessa Mueden, Ingrid Espinoza, 2022, A taxonomy of administrative language in public service encounters. *International Public Management Journal*. doi:10.1080/10967494.2022.2075062.

Eckhard, Steffen, Laurin Friedrich, 2022, Linguistic features of public service encounters: How spoken administrative language affects citizen satisfaction. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*. doi:10.1093/jopart/muac052.

Eckhard, Steffen, Laurin Friedrich, August 2022, Kommunikation ist alles. Wie gesprochene Verwaltungssprache die Bürgerzufriedenheit erhöhen kann. In: *Behördenpiegel* 08/2022.

Siskou, Wassiliki, Laurin Friedrich, Steffen Eckhard, Ingrid Espinoza, Annette Hautli-Janisz, 2022, Measuring Plain Language in Public Service Encounters. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the 2nd Workshop on Computational Linguistics for Political Text Analysis (CPSS-2022) Potsdam, Germany. <https://old.gscl.org/en/arbeitskreise/cpss/cpss-2022/workshop-proceedings-2022>

Planned Key Publications

- Several publications are in the making, focusing on (i) the relationship between intelligibility, gender, and customer satisfaction as well as on (ii) ethnic discrimination in job centers. They will both be presented at the International Research Society for Public Management conference in 04/2023. A third publication (iii) focuses on introducing a linguistic measure for relational elements of PSE language

Complying With The Rules of Good Scientific Practice

The project has been approved by the ethics board of the University of Konstanz and all data handling has been coordinated and approved by the Datenschutzbeauftragte and the legal office of the University of Konstanz

Other Forms of Knowledge Transfers (Conferences and Presentations)

- 09/2022: Measuring Plain Language in Public Service Encounters. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the 2nd Workshop on Computational Linguistics for Political Text Analysis (CPSS-2022) Potsdam, Germany.
- 05/2022: Urban Thinkers Campus, invited to give a presentation on administrative language & gender, Mannheim.
- 04/2022: International Research Society for Public Management (IRSPM) Annual Conference 2022, online (awarded with the Christopher Pollitt Prize for the Best Conference Paper).
- 03/2022: Sektionstagung Policy-Analyse und Verwaltungswissenschaft, German Political Science Association (DVPW), online
- 02/2022: 15. Jahrestagung des Forums Junge Staats-, Verwaltungs- und Policy-Forschung (FoJuS), online.
- 0/2021 October: 'Street-Level Bureaucrats in Times of Change', Research Workshop of The German-Israeli Foundation for Scientific Research and Development, online.
- 04/2021: April/ May: Mini conference on Social Equity and Public Administration: The Behavioral Perspective, American University, online.
- 04/2021: April: International Research Society for Public Management (IRSPM) Annual Conference 2021, online.

Promotion of Young Researchers

The PIs of this project have made it their mission to promote and support young researchers. This entails sending doctoral students to conferences to present their work and also include them in scientific activities that are related to the project but go beyond it. For instance, Wassiliki Siskou has co-authored four papers in 2022, all related with mining discourse in natural language – outside of the work time allotted to the project. This not only increases her visibility and allows her to connect to other senior researchers in the field, but also broadens her expertise.

Ingrid Espinoza co-authored two papers in 2022 and is currently working on two paper projects planned for publication in 2023. In addition to her research projects, Ingrid Espinoza has also been actively presenting her work at various venues. She held a presentation together with Laurin Friedrich at the International Research Society for Public Management (IRSPM) Annual Conference in 2022 and presented a Poster about her ongoing research at the Inequality Conference 2022, where she received valuable feedback, particularly for her work on ethnic discrimination in Public Service Encounters. In 2023 she held a workshop at the Inequality Clusters Methods Hub, where she provided information to an engaged audience about the digitalization of speech-to-text data for further analysis in the social sciences. As a further step in increasing her visibility and research network, she will present her work on ethnic discrimination using language as an indicator of behavior at the IRSPM Annual Conference 2023. Besides, she is planning a research stay at the Organización Getulio Vargas with Prof. Gabriela Lotta, who is a leading researcher in the field of Inequality in Street-Level Bureaucracy.

As part of her doctoral studies program at the Graduate School of the Social and Behavioural Sciences (GSBS) at the University of Konstanz, Ingrid Espinoza engaged in 2022 in different courses and workshops, among them a workshop held by the GESIS Leibniz Institute for Social Sciences in which she gained valuable knowledge about state-of-the-art tools and workflows for reproducible research in the quantitative social sciences. In 2023, she will attend the International Migration Research Network (IMISCOE) Ph.D. school on "Critical Reflections on Migration Studies, Racism and Discrimination" this spring, which will allow her to gain further knowledge on the study of race, racism and colonialism to her research projects on discrimination.

An additional promotional measure relates to encouraging the personal development of young researchers. Ingrid Espinoza, who identifies herself as a Woman of Color with a migration background, is part of a "Diversity-Mentoring" organized by the University of Konstanz as a means for the promotion of diversity in the academic context. She is in a mentoring relationship with Prof. Encarnación Gutierrez Rodriguez, a leading expert in the field of the Sociology of Migration. She is also being coached by the Academic Staff Development of the University of Konstanz as a measure to strengthening work-life balance in academia.

Overall, this project puts a strong focus on an open and inviting work atmosphere, where everyone, also the student researchers, are explicitly invited to voice their opinions and discuss points openly with everyone involved. We were also lucky to hire student assistants that are able to work independently, coordinating their team in an efficient and collegial way.

13. PERCEPTIONS OF INEQUALITY IN A SOCIALIST DICTATORSHIP: EVIDENCE FROM THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Principal Investigators: Eda Keremoglu, Nils B. Weidmann

Project Researchers: Patrick Zwerschke

Disciplines: Political Science

Funding Period: 10/2020 - 06/2024

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

This project aims to improve our understanding of citizen-government communication in closed socialist autocracies, which is rarely observable. We study perceptions of inequality in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the strategic use of these perceptions by citizens in their communication with the public administration. As the legitimization of socialist political regimes rests partially on the promise of equality among citizens, we expect the administration and the government to react more sensitively to complaints which directly refer to this core promise.

The GDR provides a unique opportunity to draw on historic data. To assess to what extent citizens of the GDR made use of such references, we rely on written petitions of citizens to state authorities. These petitions were an official channel for individuals to voice their grievances, granted by the constitution

of the GDR. We draw on peer-to-peer comparisons people make when they justify their complaints. As we also observe official responses to these complaints, we further evaluate whether the responses differed depending on the characteristics of the petition.

Petitions were a major information channel for the GDR government, which took the petitions very seriously and evaluated them statistically. Petitions could be addressed to any state institution, agency and official at all levels of the political, economic and administrative hierarchy. Many of these documents are still available today. According to previous studies between 500.000 and one million petitions were submitted per year. This also allowed authorities to assess the extent of public discontent, and manage citizens' complaints about their everyday lives.

We collect and digitise original type-written petitions and officials' responses from city, municipality, county, state, and federal archives. Our primary focus is to assess the extent to which individuals draw on peer-to-peer comparisons in justifying their demands, and how this determines how the regime responds to these demands.

Main Contribution to the Cluster's Research Program

The project mainly contributes to the Cluster's research area, perceptions, but also touches the areas of participation and policies. When expressing grievances, citizens have multiple possibilities to justify their claims. For instance, they could simply refer to their own situation, but in a socialist state it might pay off to strategically frame their request in terms of unequal treatments, resources, access to goods, etc. Thus, which inequalities citizens in the former GDR were aware of and (strategically) considered to be unacceptable can be revealed by the petitions letters. Our research evaluates to what extent citizens made use of such references and comparisons to other people. In turn, response letters by the administration, as far as available, will shed light on the government's perspective. Legitimate claims within the socialist doctrine are harder to reject and should therefore be more successful and / or should trigger different response letters. Thus, we observe to some extent how policy-makers respond to different forms of political demands. These responses might in turn again affect perceptions, preferences and petition writing of former GDR citizens.

Data Collection: Brief Description of the Progress

Within the second year of the project we expanded the project in Thuringia, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Brandenburg and Berlin. Special contract negotiations have been held with certain archives. At those archives, the data collection process had to be altered substantially to meet the archives requirements. As the whole data collection process was revealed to be very complex (reachability, archival documentation, access possibilities) and data survival highly eclectic, we decided to narrow the collection window to the years of 1985 to 1990. These are the years for which, technically, the probability of document survival should be highest, as GDR law mandated storage of petitions for at least five years. For comparison we collected the full universe of available documents in Altenburg, Eisenberg, Erfurt, and Köthen. Erfurt is an especially promising case, as relatively many

documents could be recovered. Also, Erfurt held important events, which might show up in the petitions, such as the visit of Willy Brandt and multiple conventions of the Protestant church. Currently, we increase the number of student assistants in many regions to finalise data collection in late summer / early fall 2023. While data collection is still in progress, we fine tune our data pipeline, including pre-processing documents before text recognition and comparing different OCR engines. We also implement layout detection models to reduce the amount of noise from the text recognition algorithm. Layout detection would also enable us to use the latest cutting edge text models, which require full sentence structures. We also implemented post-processing steps to clean the OCR input, e.g. spell-detection, regular expressions, as well as embedding models.

TABLE 1: NUMBER OF ALL PETITIONS COLLECTED SO FAR, BY ARCHIVE.

Archive	Petitions
Märkisch-Oderland (county)	1
Eisenberg (city)	90
Altenburg (city)	124
Mittelsachsen (county, still collecting)	885
Bundesarchiv (federal, still collecting)	930
Anhalt-Bitterfeld (county, still collecting)	962
Erfurt (city, still collecting)	1078
Sum	4070

Problems and Delays

The restrictions we face due to personal rights, data protection, data security, and archive regulation, slow down the data collection process at a significant scale. Most importantly, the redaction process of the digital copies (by our assistants) during archival visits greatly limits the amount of petition that can be collected per visit. Such a process was not part of the original project schedule. Now, all texts must be read during archival visits to eliminate personal data. For a few very large and important archives, negotiations on the conditions for access to records and the drafting of a contract took many months.

Generally, access conditions prohibit the use of high-quality-low-cost commercial OCR vendors, namely Google, Amazon, and Microsoft, which was not anticipated. This immensely increases the need to manually set up OCR pre- and post-processing steps. Many of these steps are usually supplied by the mentioned companies, whose OCR engines are less sensitive to noise and operate with much better detection levels. Amazon, for instance, offers a simple and automated Human-in-the-Loop system to manually check and correct OCR results in cases Amazon was not able to reliably detect text. Legal restrictions prohibit us from using this infrastructure.

The restrictions also greatly complicate (shared) data storage, management, and analysis, as all data processing must be conducted in encrypted environments and on computers of the University of Konstanz. Only very few encryption applications for cloud services exist. Until December, we relied on Boxcryptor, a leading company in this area. Unfortunately, Boxcryptor and Nexcloud communicate very poorly, such that we often run into technical difficulties with student assistants being unable to upload data. In some instances, these issues rendered the usage of the tablets impossible, such that they had to be reconfigured in Konstanz. Given Boxcryptor's discontinuation of its services, we further need to restructure our security infrastructure and data storage on all devices and migrate to Cryptomator. In contrast to our original intention, we are also not allowed to provide the texts to the public.

Some of the county archives also have multiple branches located in very remote areas such as larger villages, difficult to access by public transport and with long travel times. Thus, even though we employ student assistants locally, travelling to archives takes a lot of time. This might partly explain the relatively high volatility in student assistants, who often need to be able to spare whole days to work on the project if (one-way) travel times are around one to two hours.

As the collection process also revealed by now: Document survival is very eclectic, without clear geographical, topical (as identified by addressees) and temporal patterns. In fact, even inventory books have relatively little predictive power on the number of documents that can be expected to be raised within an archive. This makes efficient allocation of student assistants difficult. Some files have a high density of petition letters, while other files are conglomerations of many different documents with few petitions in between. The structure of many files also makes it difficult to identify the correct response letter, belonging to a petition. In many cases, all papers are piled in a folder or shoebox-like container, without separators between different processes. Thus, while identifying a petition letter is comparatively simple, assigning the response letter to the correct petition, is not.

Supplementary Project II:**Exit, Voice and Loyalty in the GDR**

In a second project we assess to which extent petition letters can be seen as a political tool and as a political seismograph. These issues are important complements to our main project. As of today, it still remains unclear whether petitions in dictatorships are A) participatory elements that signal trust, or B) a simple reflection of dissatisfaction with the regime. We hypothesise that petition letters might be an early warning system for governments. They provide the government with vital information about deficiencies. Thus, in regions in which people are chattier about their grievances, the government can implement measures to improve satisfaction. Moreover, channelling grievances undermines collective action. Thus, we should observe less emigration and protest in regions with higher petitioning rates. Unfortunately, the only time period for which this can be tested is right at the end of the existence of the GDR. Strikes, demonstrations, riots, and migration only occurred until the mid-1960s, for which data on petitioning is unavailable, and at the end of the 1980s. We only found regional migration data for 1989.

Preliminary findings suggest protest participation and protest occurrence in 1989 is positively related with petitioning at the county level and unrelated to migration and protest timing. However, it remains unclear whether these findings are driven by low success rates of petitioning. The relationship might thus be misleading. The data from the main project might help us to shed some more light on this issue.

To circumvent these issues, we extended this supplementary project by an analysis of regional conventions of the protestant church. Opposition groups often operated within or with the help of the church. The church was also able to protect “self-publications” from confiscation. We hypothesise that conventions increase dissatisfaction with the government - and thus, affect petitioning. As we found no reliable data with dates and places of the conventions, we searched the GDR newspaper archive mentioned above to identify years and places of these events. The analysis is ongoing.

**Supplementary Project Idea III:
The Legacy of Petitioning**

The petition system was also accused of establishing a culture of complaining. If petitioning was taken seriously by the citizens of the GDR, one might expect two relationships. First, that petitioning and satisfaction with the situation in the GDR is related. Indeed, a simple bivariate analysis of SOEP data suggests petitioning in the GDR is related to life satisfaction and political satisfaction. However, this relationship might be explained by reverse causality. Second, the switch to the rather formal West German petition system after reunification may have yielded a perceived loss of political efficacy and thus reduced democratic satisfaction. We want to focus on this second part and compare the development of democratic satisfaction among East Germans who used to write petitions, those who did not, and West Germans. As we just recently gained access to SOEP data, we cannot report results yet. We hope this sheds further light on the character of the East German petitioning system.

Outline of Next Steps

The next steps of the project include finalising the data collection process in late summer / early fall, coding of meta-data, implementing further post-processing procedures to correct OCR errors, and analysing the texts.

OUTPUT**Publications and Knowledge
Transfer from this Project**

Given the project is in the stage of data collection and preparation, there are no publications or knowledge transfer to report.

**Research Data Generated
by the Project**

The data collection process of our project yields an unprecedented digital database of citizen partitions from the GDR-times. To comply with good scientific practice and at the same time respect personality protection laws as well as data protection and copyrights, we will store the data together with a detailed codebook and instructions in encrypted form for 10 years at the Cluster of Politics on an air-gap storage device to ensure reproducibility of our results

**Promotion of Young
Researchers**

Patrick Zwerschke is a postdoctoral researcher in the project and will contribute to publications to prepare him for an academic career.

Other

We were invited to present our project in the Research Colloquium of the “Social and Economic History” at Humboldt University of Berlin in November 2022 and at the “The Federal Foundation for the Study of the Communist Dictatorship in Eastern Germany” in February 2023.

14. SELECTION INTO LEADERSHIP AND PERCEPTIONS OF INEQUALITY: THE CASE OF CONSISTENCY

Principal Investigators: Adrian Chadi, Urs Fischbacher

Project Researchers: Moath Hussien, Katrin Schmelz, Irenaeus Wolff

Disciplines: Politics, Economics, Management, Psychology

Funding Period: 12/2020 – 12/2024

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

A central manifestation of inequality in Western societies is the heterogeneous nature of labor market outcomes across individuals. A pathway to belonging to the small group of high-earners is through obtaining a leadership position. While only a few end up at the top and are the beneficiaries of a highly skewed income distribution, their characteristics include a variety of apparently irrelevant factors like social background or gender.

Arguably, if the selection into leadership is based on differences in some objective criteria such as ability levels, resulting inequalities might be judged as fair. Criteria like educational achievement or experience seem to be widely accepted. However, if strategic behaviors or inherent traits that are unrelated to ability determine who becomes a leader, resulting inequalities might be perceived very differently. Information about the underlying origins of inequality in the selection of leaders could affect people's perceptions, thereby affecting preference formation and setting the stage for policy action.

To learn about the origins of inequality in society, we investigate unequal career possibilities due to the selection process of leaders. Our aim is to provide a comprehensive analysis of selection into leadership and of people's perceptions regarding the resulting inequalities.

In a first step, we focus on a selection process in which those who decide about whom to promote can observe little more than the candidates' behavioral consistency. As ability levels of career aspirants often remain unclear, consistency has the advantage that it is easy-to-apply and seemingly innocuous as a selection criterion. Most people would attach a positive connotation to consistency, which is in line with popular claims of business experts and political pundits who describe consistency as an important facet of successful leadership.

To analyze selection into leadership, we investigate contests in a controlled environment where individuals compete against each other for the sake of being selected by a third-party decision-maker. In our experiment, participants in groups of two compete by solving an estimation task two times, for which there is a (correct) solution. Based on their reported estimates in periods one and two, a third participant as the decision-maker selects one of the two competitors. While the decision-maker has an incentive to pick the more able of the two, the competitors are facing a trade-off between potentially improving their performance in the second period of the task versus getting potentially positive recognition by the decision-maker in order to be selected. In the eyes of the decision-maker,

inconsistency in form of changes in estimates could be a signal of poor ability in a context where neither accuracy in performance nor the ability of the competitors can be observed.

To learn more about those who successfully use strategic behavior in a selection contest, we collect multi-faceted information on all the participants and their characteristics prior to the start of the experiment, including preferences in various dimensions and socio-demographics. Thereby, we expand previous research that so far has not provided us a complete picture about the sources of inequality in society. Based on experimental research in behavioral economics, we expect that strategic behavior could be linked to characteristics like social preferences, dishonesty or gender. As one example, our research could contribute to a better understanding of the sources of gender inequality if males and females make different choices in our experiment on signaling consistency in a selection contest.

In further steps, we will conduct survey experiments to verify our experimental findings on the sources of inequality and to comprehensively study how the leader-selection process and the resulting inequalities are perceived. In the course of our research program, we will also consider broadening the focus to selection criteria other than consistency in order to study other contributing factors to inequality in later stages of the project.

Main Contributions to the Cluster's Research Program

As one of our main contributions, our project sheds light on the origins of inequality in society, which are so far little understood. This is a particular issue for inequality in the context of leadership, where several types of inequality are visible in reality and are of great policy concern. By examining the selection process of leaders, we aim at finding out more about the reasons behind inequality and thereby make a major contribution to ongoing research in this area as well as to the Cluster, as we are dealing with different forms of inequality in the context of leaders.

By shedding light on the origins of inequality, we are able in a subsequent step to comprehensively study how the wider public evaluates inequalities that emerge from the leader-selection process. While we expect that people prefer consistency over inconsistency in the behavior of leadership aspirants, criteria like (low) social preferences, dishonesty, gender or other factors that we may discover in the course of our project as being tied to consistent behavior, may not receive the same recognition as generally accepted criteria like educational achievement or experience. If so, would people still get behind a leadership aspirant who is consistent on a matter? How do individuals evaluate perceived inequalities that result out of their own preferences for consistency, which could be one reason for a skewed composition of leaders and a dominance of attributes that are not perceived as desirable? What are the implications of realizing the origins of inequalities for the formation of preferences and possible political demands? Our research project addresses these questions and thereby contributes to the Cluster's research program in multiple ways.

Main Results

Based on the experimental sessions that we were able to conduct online with participants from our own subject pool, several insights have emerged. First, we are able to observe strategic behavior in experimental participants who understand the importance of acting consistently over time in order to avoid being seen as lacking ability. Hence, some participants make use of consistency to increase their chances of winning the selection contest. Based on behavioral and survey data, we identify strategic types of individuals and separate them from other individuals who are not exploiting information asymmetries in their favor. Furthermore, third-party decision-makers select the consistent competitor more often, as the probability of selection increases if the difference in estimates between the two periods decreases. This reflects the real-world scenario that we are interested in, where some individuals are able to get into important positions in society by making strategic choices while others do not.

Second, the share of individuals who are engaged in strategic behavior seems to be small in our initial investigations. This could be because potential leaders constitute a small group who share certain characteristics that are uncommon. To rule out other explanations, we have worked intensely on the experimen-

tal procedures to make the setting as comprehensible as possible. In regard of characteristics linked to consistency, our preliminary analyses reveal gender differences in the likelihood of strategic behavior, which could explain differences in the likelihood of winning the selection contest, as a potential source of gender inequality in society.

Third, we also obtained survey evidence on the perceptions of the inequality that could emerge from the leader selection. Accordingly, inequalities due to individuals acting strategically were not perceived favorably. This varies across gender, with males being more tolerant of strategic behavior, especially when we ask about gender inequality as a possible consequence of selection-by-consistency. While both genders in general perceive such form of inequality very negatively, the exception are those males who actually were engaged in strategic behavior during the experiment. This aligns with the idea that for some individuals it is fair if competitors exploit a context of information asymmetries in their favor by employing strategic actions to get recognition and to get selected in a contest. Since these are preliminary results based on correlational analyses of survey data, we look forward to running the experiment that we have conceived to comprehensively study perceptions of inequality in a next step.

Problems and Delays

Our project has been severely impacted by the restrictions that were in place since March 2020 when we received the approval. While the first phase of the experimental program was supposed to take place solely in the LakeLab at the University of Konstanz, for most of the time, since our project started, access to the lab was restricted, which prevented us from conducting research according to the plan. Accordingly, we decided to switch to online experiments, which are a feasible alternative to standard laboratory experiments in physical presence. Although our tests in general confirmed the idea that we can conduct our research on the sources of inequality online, the burden to switch from standard laboratory research to a newly programmed online environment was (and still is) massive. While we were able to overcome a large number of technical challenges, including setting up a new IT infrastructure for multiple-person interactive experiments and many other things (e.g. programming an online-compatible software, setting up new payment systems and online-compatible procedures), we have been facing important problems with regard to our LakeLab subject pool at University of Konstanz, which turned out to be severely affected by the restrictions in the years since 2020, even more than expected by us.

As mentioned in our last progress report, it was not clear how the restrictions on students and teaching affected the recruitment of new subjects. While in the past, students were attracted to be part of the LakeLab subject pool via promotion activities at the campus or via lectures, the recruitment could not be conducted as usual for several semesters in a row. This had severe consequences for quantity and quality of the subject pool that are now much clearer, after we tried to run several experimental sessions in 2022. While the number of active subjects is far below the number needed for our experiment, the quality of subjects who do participate is problematic as well, especially for our aim to study gender differences in strategic behavior. It appears for example that male students are generally underrepresented. In response to these problems, several measures have been implemented to foster the recruitment of experimental subjects. For instance, we conducted a special recruitment campaign with prizes for subjects recruiting new subjects, which specifically aimed at the problems with our subject pool, but ultimately had little effect.

Hence, we concluded that we have to carry out the main experiment elsewhere in the course of 2022, namely at the University of Hamburg. We found the Hamburg laboratory to be the best

choice for our purposes mainly because it is one of the best-organized and well-equipped laboratories that allows external projects to be carried out. Particularly, Hamburg has multiple powerful server computers that can allow for running our computationally demanding experimental program with multiple treatments (and potentially sessions) running simultaneously. Nevertheless, our cooperation partners in Hamburg are currently facing some of the problems and challenges that we faced earlier when setting up a suitable IT infrastructure for the online environment and the experimental program that we are using.

Outline of Next Steps

Currently, we are preparing the online experiment together with our cooperation partners at the University of Hamburg laboratory. As in our pilot sessions conducted with participants from the LakeLab subject pool, we will be running sessions for the elicitation of individual characteristics and the selection experiment on consistency. Thereby, we can link individual-level data about personal characteristics with experimental data on behavior to learn more about the sources of inequality.

As soon as we have obtained evidence on the sources of inequality in our experimental research, we will be switching to a survey context in the next phase of our research agenda. One objective is to verify our findings established in the experiments based on student subjects by inspecting behavioral patterns in a more representative population. We therefore plan to conduct survey experiments using hypothetical scenarios that mimic the decision context faced by leadership aspirants in selection contests. Apart from re-producing our experimental findings, we are particularly interested in comparing sub-populations regarding behavioral choices. By separating individuals, for example, according to their hierarchical position in their real life, we are able to inspect selection processes along the lines of consistent behavior in the wider population.

In the next phase of our research project, we comprehensively investigate people's perceptions of inequalities that result from the leader-selection process studied in the first phases of the project. In the course of this survey-based investigation, we incorporate our findings on the characteristics of individuals who choose strategies to successfully improve their chances of being selected in a competitive leadership contest and exploit the context of a survey experiment to flexibly consider our findings regarding the origins of inequality. We employ a set of hypothetical scenarios that describe leadership aspirants who compete for a high-ranking position. Respondents provide assessments regarding the perceived fairness of the selection outcome. Thereby, they evaluate inequalities in leader composition on the basis of information that describe selection into leadership that we manipulate. Finally, we inspect people's demand for policy action to tackle inequality as a possible result of their varying perceptions.

OUTPUT

Publications and Presentations

We are currently working on our first paper on the perceptions of inequality when consistency is the leader-selection mechanism. This paper will include the results from our controlled experiment on consistency as a source of inequality as well as complementary evidence from surveys. In particular, we will conduct a survey experiment on perceptions of inequalities that result from the leader-selection process. In a second paper, we will focus on a selection mechanism other than consistency. Of particular interest as a potential reason for the observed inequalities in leadership is self-selection, as many individuals do not want to lead, be it due to endogenous or exogenous factors.

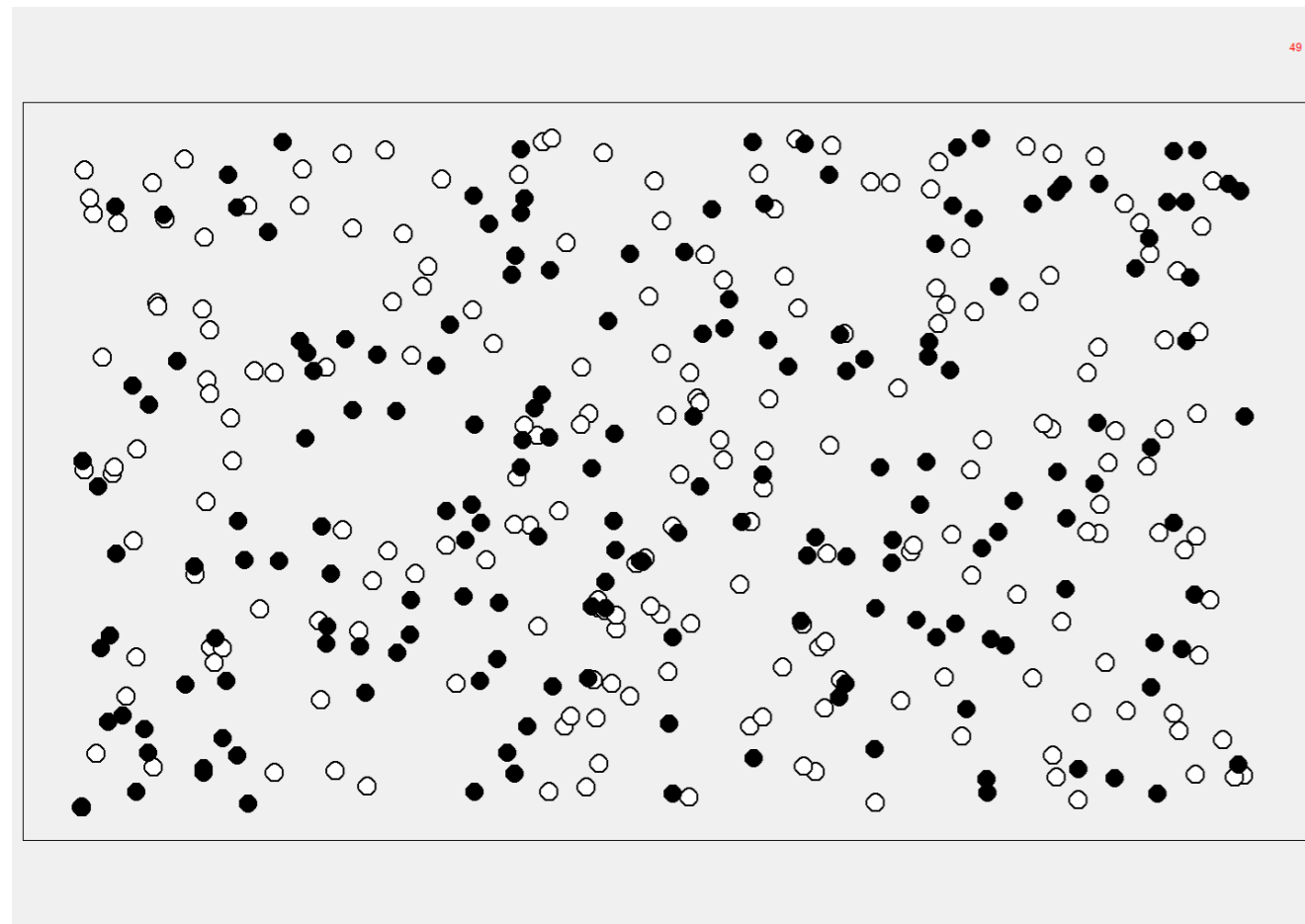
So far, we presented our first paper in internal seminars, and we discussed the first results with leading experts in the field of experimental economics. In the near future, we will present our work at international conferences and workshops.

Data

Data handling will be in line with the scientific research practices of the Universities of Konstanz and Hamburg as well as the Methods Hub at the Cluster of Excellence, Politics of Inequality. Data generated from lab experiments will be stored at university servers, while data generated from survey experiments will be stored at the Cluster's local servers as we will be using the LimeSurvey software provided by the hub. Data will be publically available for reuse and replication once the papers are published

Promotion of Young Researchers

Our PhD student Moath Hussien is deeply involved in the project and contributes with his own ideas. He is involved in all steps of the project, including experimental design, data generation and analysis. This enables him to acquire a hands-on experience using software such as zTree for programming experiments and STATA for data analysis. We regularly meet with him to discuss the progress of our project and the progress of his thesis. Despite the severe restrictions on communication and personal meetings in his first years, working on the project entails many discussions that provide various learning opportunities. Furthermore, Moath Hussien has many opportunities to present his work on the project as well as his own research ideas internally, for example with the micro-economics research group.



Screenshot of the estimation task. Participants had to guess the difference between the number of white and black balls on two screens showing shuffled balls.



Adrian Chadi presenting the project "Selection into Leadership and Perceptions of Inequality" at a seminar.

15. ADMINISTRATIVE INEQUALITY IN HANDLING REQUESTS FOR GERMAN CITIZENSHIP (ADMINCIT), COMPLEMENTARY MODULE TO THE PROJECT “ADMINISTRATIVE INEQUALITY: THE CASE OF FOREIGN NATIONALS IN GERMANY”

Principal Investigators: Christian Breunig, Gerald Schneider, Daniel Thym, Christina Zuber

Project Researchers: Lisa Mende

Disciplines: Politics, Public Administration, and Law

Funding Period: 10/21 – 09/25

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

The Cluster project “Administrative inequality in handling requests for German citizenship” (AdminCit) examines inequalities that arise from the uneven implementation of public policies addressing foreign nationals. It studies how German street-level bureaucrats take decisions on naturalization requests, thereby adding an additional policy area to the Admin project that studies bureaucrats’ decisions on visa and asylum requests.

Germany is one of the world’s major countries of immigration, but compared to other OECD countries, the rate at which immigrants become German citizens remains low. While previous studies have focused on what motivates immigrants to apply for citizenship, AdminCit sheds light on how front-line bureaucrats decide on such requests. In particular, we focus on the conditions under which bureaucrats grant dual citizenship to third-country (non-EU) nationals. Dual citizenship is highly relevant to foreigners seeking

naturalization but strongly politicized in Germany: parties of the centre-right are against, parties of the centre-left in favour of dual citizenship. In the German federal system, the Länder are tasked to implement federal citizenship law. We, therefore, expect territorial inequalities with bureaucrats in regions governed by the centre-right deciding more restrictively on dual citizenship than bureaucrats in regions with a leftist tradition.

We test these expectations with a research design that combines the strengths of inferential statistics on administrative data for all German counties (work package 1) with qualitative case studies of caseworkers’ decisions in eight local citizenship offices (work package 2). A third work package combines the results of Admin and AdminCit into a unified explanation of administrative inequality in the treatment of foreigners across the three policy areas (asylum, visa, and citizenship).

The project contributes to migration and citizenship studies that have so far tended to neglect the street-level bureaucracy of naturalization. The project also breaks new interdisciplinary ground by focusing not just on first-order decisions of bureaucrats in citizenship offices but also on second-order decisions of administrative courts in case foreigners appeal against a decision to deny citizenship.

Main Contributions to the Cluster’s Research Program

Like the overarching Admin project, AdminCit integrates three academic disciplines – political science, public administration, and public law, while mainly contributing to public administration research, broadly defined. To the predominant quantitative approaches taken by most of the Clusters’ projects, it contributes a mixed-method design that allows delving into mechanisms of uneven policy implementation on the ground. Both modules contribute to the Cluster’s area 3 on policies and study inequalities in access to rights and privileges that arise when migration and citizenship policies are unevenly implemented. The AdminCit project also contributes to the participation research area of the Cluster as naturalization is a necessary step for full-fledged political participation and political representation. Naturalization is the core instrument to address the structural inequality of 10 million people who are residents in Germany but lack German citizenship that would grant them full political equality.

Aside from Admin and AdminCit the project “Inequality in Street-Level Bureaucracy: Linguistic Analysis of Public Service Encounters” also focuses on inequities that arise from street-level bureaucrats in Germany. The project’s PIs entertain close contact with the PI of this neighbouring project. Admin and AdminCit could also profit from a closer exchange with the project “Increasing State Capacity and Accountability to Improve Local Governance: Evidence for the Targeting of Social Pensions in Bangladesh”. This is especially the case if the Cluster possibly plans to examine administrative inequality systematically through a comparative perspective.

Main Results

Work package 1. Predicting inequalities in naturalization and dual nationality rates across German counties

This work package predicts variance in aggregate naturalization rates and in dual nationality acceptance rates for third-country (in particular Turkish) nationals across Germany’s 401 administrative units where decisions on naturalization primarily take place (294 counties & 107 county-free cities, hereafter counties). We spent the first year of the project setting up this database with data on naturalizations by legal status and country of origin (that had to be enquired from the 16 statistical regional offices and will be delivered to us by February 2023) and on political (affiliation of the county-officer) and economic predictors to prepare for the quantitative analysis. To understand the legal framework for administrative decisions, we further collected and analyzed implementation guidelines issued by all 16 German Länder and collected information on the administrative organisation of naturalization decision-making is somewhat differently organized across the Länder. Once we have combined the naturalization and predictor data and resolved some remaining issues that arise from county reform between 1998 and 2021 (our period of analysis), we can embark on the quantitative analysis. Since we already have a working paper on regional-level variance, we plan to have a quantitative article with the additional county-level analysis ready for submission by September 2023. The first analysis at the regional level shows that there is considerable inequality in the rate at which Turkish foreign nationals are allowed to keep their former citizenship. We will soon see which inequalities exist at the local level and which factors are systematically associated with them.

Work package 2. Case studies of local citizenship offices

The major milestone in the first year of WP2 was to complete the well-founded case selection for the in-depth qualitative analysis of eight citizenship offices. Using the political and economic data collected in WP1, we selected eight primary cases (and 16 additional backup cases), applying Mill’s method of difference to enable causal inference while also striving to select both typical and diverse cases from the overall distribution of naturalization decisions to maximize generalisability of our insights. We are just about to enter communication with the selected citizenship offices to establish conditions for research cooperation and field and therefore have not had results yet. We have also embarked on an analysis of social media discussion among Turkish migrants on the topic of naturalization thanks to the help of our student assistant Kerameddin Özyurt to add the perspective of migrants to the project.

Problems and Delays

A major challenge for the data collection is the decentralized logic of record keeping in the German federal system (with the Länder each having considerable freedom to choose how they keep records of naturalizations). Some of the Länder do not provide any county-level data for dual citizenship by former country of origin at all but only keep data for the higher administrative level of the “Regierungsbezirke”, even if decisions are made locally (e.g. Bavaria), or even only provide data at the level of the Land (e.g. Mecklenburg-Vorpommern). Additionally, there is, as of yet, no integrated data source for the political affiliation of district officers (“Landräte”) and mayors over time. On the plus side, this means that a major output of AdmInCit will, therefore, also be the provision of novel data on local politics and local naturalization decisions.

A likely challenge for 2023 will be gaining access to local citizenship offices and convincing them to enter into research collaboration with us. In November 2022, we reached out to the citizenship offices in the counties close to Konstanz to get a better understanding of the naturalization processes in our neighbourhood before contacting the systematically selected cases. Both attempts were not successful since both contact persons explained to us that the workload in the foreigner administration is overwhelming and even exceeds the so-called “refugee crisis” in 2015. This will most likely be a similar problem in other counties. Currently, we try to deal with this problem with a large selection of backup cases, by offering to do interviews instead of fieldwork and by being open to a flexible starting point of the qualitative data collection in a given office.

A chance and a challenge for the project is the current law proposal to change the German citizenship law brought forward by the German government. On the one hand, it gives attention to naturalization and opportunities to communicate the results of the project outside academia. On the other hand, it will likely distort who applies in the next months for German citizenship and might increase the workload of citizenship offices even further. The AdmInCit team will closely observe future developments and if necessary, adapt WP2.

Outline of Next Steps

The AdmInCit project will complete the quantitative data collection for work package one and draft a manuscript for a first publication with the results of the quantitative analysis. For work package two, we will establish cooperation agreements with eight citizenship offices in Bavaria and North-Rhine Westphalia and will begin to do the corresponding fieldwork (to be then continued into 2024).

OUTPUT

Publications and Work in Progress

- Schneider, Gerald, Christina I. Zuber, 2022, Sixteen ways of becoming German. Regional politics, bureaucratic discretion and the naturalization practices of the German Länder. To be presented at the Workshop “New Themes in Federalism Research”, 24/25 February 2023, RWTH Aachen.
- Thym, Daniel, 2021, Supranational Courts in Europe. A Moderately Communitarian Turn in the Case Law on Immigration and Citizenship. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 47, p. 4534.
- Zuber, Christina I., 2022, Ideational legacies and the politics of migration in European minority regions. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Outreach

- Lüdecke, Maren, Lisa Mende, Stefanie Rueß, Gerald Schneider. 2022. Forschung zur administrativen Diskriminierung. Webex-Seminar with Prof. Birgit Locher-Finke, State Secretary in the Ministry of Social Affairs, and other participants, November 9, 2022.
- Thym, Daniel. 2022. Keynote: Handlungsperspektiven für ein gutes Zusammenleben in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft. Nürnberger Tage für Migration des Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge zum Thema Integration und gesellschaftlicher Zusammenhalt, 19./20 Oktober 2022.
- Thym, Daniel. 2022. Vortrag: Reformperspektiven im Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht. 6. Speyerer Migrationsrechtstage, 19./20. September 2022.
- Zuber, Christina. 2022. Research report on how to reform the local integration council of the city of Konstanz (Internationales Forum Konstanz) as part of the project. Konstanz Internationale Stadt”.

Promotion of Young Researchers

Lisa Mende has participated in a training on qualitative interviews (organized by the “Binational Center of Qualitative Methods”), been to the sixth Speyrer Migrationsrechtstage and started the “Leadership, Management, Science Communication and Knowledge Transfer Certificate” organized by the academic staff development. She will continue and complete this certificate in 2023. Further, Lisa Mende has regular feedback talks with Christina Zuber, the PI, about her progress in gaining expertise for future jobs in the migration policy sector. Christina Zuber integrated two students into her work on providing a research expertise for reforming the International Forum Konstanz. The students were attending the major events organized by the city and could get insights into the practical application of political science knowledge for real world institutional reform.

16. AGENTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE: FEMALE EMPOWERMENT IN INDIA

Principal Investigators: Viola Asri, Anke Hoeffler

Project Researchers: Ankush Asri, Siddharth Jain,

Ramanujan Ankam, Sunidhi Agarwal

Disciplines: Economics and Political Science

Funding Period: 05/21 – 04/24

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

The overall objective of our project is to contribute to understanding how women's empowerment and agency can be improved in the context of rigid gender norms.

Our initial research question was whether and to what extent female social entrepreneurs in India can change prevailing gender norms and contribute to women's economic empowerment and agency. This was inspired by the observation that female social entrepreneurs who facilitate access to social welfare schemes for households in their area bend rigid gender norms given their mobility and regular interactions with other households and government officials.

Unfortunately, this project could not be implemented for ethical concerns. Since we had done all the planning with our partner organization online with high-level management staff due to the Corona pandemic, we did not get a first-hand experience of the ground realities. When we started our fieldwork in India in the Fall of 2021 and interacted more with the field staff, we observed that the social entrepreneurs working for our partner organizations were poorly

paid, and most worked only for a couple of weeks. We initially planned to examine self-selection into working as social entrepreneurs by organizing a recruitment drive with our partner organization. This could not be done as the job itself turned out to be very unattractive for the women working there.

Further, the larger part of the project was to examine the impact of placing social entrepreneurs in new areas for one year. This would have involved about 110 female and 110 male entrepreneurs for one year, which did not appear feasible or ethically appropriate given the abovementioned issues. We had to discontinue working with this partner organization and could not replace the partner organization as there was no other organization with a similar profile.

We continued with our overall objective to contribute to understanding how women's empowerment and agency can be improved in a context with rigid gender norms. We used most of our time in 2021 and the beginning of 2022 to become familiar with stakeholders in this area and to develop new partnerships.

Our new research agenda focuses on understanding how young women can be supported when transitioning from school to the labor market. Given India's low female force participation rate of about 25%, which has been even decreasing in the last few years, we aim to examine whether and how young women's career choices can be facilitated to encourage them to complete their higher education and skill formation and to increase the likelihood that they enter the labor market. For this purpose, we are now working with an organization that implements career guidance programs in secondary schools. Providing this career guidance program to randomly selected 11th/12th-grade classes will allow us to analyze whether and how career guidance increases young women's willingness to enroll in courses or training after school and to work later in life. Further, we will examine the program's impact on young women's confidence and locus of control.

Beyond this project, we are also exploring collaborating with other partner organizations, such as Medha Education Foundation, to examine the impact of supporting young women in internships on their career aspirations and willingness to work.

Main Contributions to the Cluster's Research Program

Similar to our initially approved research agenda, we will continue to contribute to three areas in the research program of the Cluster.

Perceptions – We contribute to this area by examining how young women in a context with rigid gender norms perceive their roles and the prevailing gender-based inequalities.

Participation – We contribute to this area as we examine how young women see and plan their economic participation (in particular labor force participation) and their role in society, to what extent they continue living with rigid gender norms and stereotypical roles, and to what extent they plan to deviate from them.

Policies – We work closely with government partners to inform policy-making in the future. The objective is to assess the impact of a career guidance program in about 20 schools and share the results with the government partner so that such programs can be planned for students in government schools at the state and national levels.

Main Results

After a few initial meetings with AEF, we drafted our research design and pre-analysis plan. Around the same time, we contacted government stakeholders for career guidance in public secondary schools – the Department of Education. Our main contact person there, Shailendra Sharma, suggested we work with the government institution for implementing career guidance in schools called the Educational and Vocational Guidance Bureau (EVGB). The Department of Education (DoE) showed general interest in our project as the government that invests in education in Delhi would like to track what students are doing after finishing secondary school and does not have the capacity or resources to do so.

Initially, we had planned to conduct a randomized controlled trial to assess the impact of the career guidance program with randomized individual-level invitations to students offering them to participate in the program right after school. 241 students participated in our initial pilot, participating in a baseline survey. Among all students in the sample, 157 students (about 60%) were invited to participate in the after-school career guidance program. In this setting,

with individual-level invitations to participate and the program taking place after school hours, we faced very low participation rates of less than 20% making it impossible to assess the program's impact. Therefore, we conducted qualitative interviews with the students who were invited but decided not to participate and those who partially participated in the program. We found that many students had time conflicts and lacked permission from their parents to attend. We are currently using the qualitative insights from the interviews for a feasibility study on the challenges of implementing after-school programs.

Based on these experiences, we changed our research design. Instead of inviting students individually to participate in the career guidance program, we have decided to implement the program during school hours and on school premises and to randomly assign classrooms to participate or not to participate in the program. Thereby we expect to have higher participation rates. We shared the updated research design with our government partners and received approval. Currently, we are piloting this in 2 schools so that we are well-prepared when we expand activities to ca. 20 schools later this year.

Another significant change has been how we survey the students. Instead of surveying them individually with one surveyor interviewing one student at a time, we are now conducting self-administered surveys in which an instructor introduces the survey and explains the sections of the survey and non-trivial questions to the students.

Afterward, all students fill out the survey on their own, and our team members answer questions that students might have throughout. Due to online teaching throughout the pandemic, all students are familiar with using tablets and using touch-screens.

For our second pilot with the random assignment at the classroom level, we have completed the baseline data collection, the career guidance program is ongoing, and we are currently preparing the endline data collection scheduled for the end of January and the beginning of February.

Access to schools is ensured through an official approval of our project, based on which the EVGB issues a circular to the schools that we are working with, informing them about the project-related activities and informing the schools about the required support, including admin data for grades, access to school premises, access to a designated classroom for data collection and the career exploration program

Problems and Delays

We have been facing several major and minor difficulties along the way but managed to overcome most of them:

1. Initially, we worked in a few schools based on our partner organization's relationships with school principals. While all school principals initially confirmed, two of them withdrew their permission at the beginning of the program implementation. We changed this approach by contacting the Delhi government and getting written permission to work in schools.
2. It is generally challenging to get hold of relevant people at government institutions. Everybody is very busy, and only through excellent contacts of our partner organization, we were able to arrange meetings.
3. EVGB was interested in the program but not in research. They considered the research topic not relevant and not to be studied with current students. We had to reframe the research design and the study's motivation to regain their support.
4. Directly linked to the employability crisis in India, our partner organization IEIC has been struggling to hire

qualified staff. For instance, to hire our very qualified research associate with a Master's in Economics and some working experience, our partner organization considered about 100 applications and interviewed about 20 applicants. Given these difficulties in recruitment, it is generally not possible to increase the team size at short notice.

5. As we needed to find a new partner organization and redesign the research from scratch, we will need a cost-neutral extension of about one year to complete the project. In our initial phase, we lost about 8-10 months.
6. Ankush Asri and Viola Asri will both start new positions in Spring 2023. Given new commitments, both of them will be able to spend less time in India. Fortunately, by now, our team size has grown, and we are working with highly qualified team members who will be able to ensure the continuation of project activities.

As obstacles in field experiments are not always easy to foresee, we will keep the managing office posted as they come up and require additional support.

Outline of Next Steps

Our next steps are to prepare and organize the main study in ca. 20 schools with more than 100 classrooms, out of which 50% will be assigned to treatment and 50% to control. We plan to submit our pre-analysis plan to the Journal of Development Economics and to conduct empirical analyses with the already collected primary data sets. Below we describe three planned publications, of which two can be completed with the already collected data. We will share our descriptive and causal analysis results with the Department of Education and EVGB and prepare academic articles for submission to conferences and journals

OUTPUT

Publications and Work in Progress

We do not have any publications to report. Fieldwork, data collection, and data analysis are going on.

Planned Key Publications

[Paper 1: Feasibility of implementing an after-school career guidance program](#)

When students in developing countries reach the stage at which they need to start making important career choices, only a few have previously received career guidance. Young women especially lack role models as most of their mothers and other female relatives are homemakers. We report important insights from providing a career guidance program after school hours to girls' secondary school students from 11th and 12th grade in a metropolitan city in India. Our insights stem from short screening forms, a baseline survey, responses to a calling drive from invited students, program participation rates, and qualitative interviews of students. While our descriptive insights demonstrate the need for providing such programs, various factors make it difficult for female students to participate in such programs if they happen outside of the school curriculum. Among others, students have only very little time after school as they tend to attend private tuition in the afternoon; often, parents do not allow them to participate, and the benefits are not entirely clear to students and their parents.

Status: Data collection completed, analysis in progress.

[Paper 2: Young women's career aspirations, behavioral measures and gender norms at home](#)

Using survey data from 11th and 12th-grade students, we examine students' career aspirations and how these relate

to their academic performance, their performance in cognitive reflection tasks, confidence, and gender norms and or attitudes in their families. The rich primary data allows us to explore the predictors of choosing more aspirational occupations for their career path and the predictors of choosing less gender-stereotypical professions.

Status: Data collection completed, analysis in progress.

[Paper 3: Unlocking Young Women's Minds at Scale? – The impact of a career exploration program](#)

In contexts with rigid gender norms and low female labor force participation, young women lack professional role models, have limited awareness of their strengths and interests, and lack exposure to various career options after secondary school. Career guidance programs are one way to support students in choosing their career objectives corresponding to their strengths and interests; however, career-counseling programs focus on need-based and not strength-based advising. Further, while young women from affluent backgrounds can either pay for career guidance privately or access it through their schools, young women from socio-economically weaker backgrounds studying in public schools need other ways to access such guidance. Providing one-to-one career guidance programs is not economically feasible or scalable. Therefore, we analyze whether and to what extent the provision of an 11-hour-long group strength-based advising can increase young women's willingness to work in the future, shape their career aspirations and influence their choices when enrolling in higher education and/or vocational training.

Research Data

Data set 1 – 241 students participated in the baseline data collection in August-September 2022.

Data set 2 – 20 qualitative interviews of students invited to the program but only partially participated.

Data set 3 – 414 students participated in the baseline data collection of pilot 2 in November-December 2022.

Data set 4 – ca. 400 students are expected to participate in the endline data collection of pilot 2 in January-February 2023.

Data set 5 – ca. 3000 students will participate in the baseline data collection of the RCT in April-May and July-August 2023. We divide the 22 schools into two batches to limit the workload for our field teams.

Data set 6 – ca. 3000 students will participate in the endline data collection of the RCT in Summer and Fall 2023 after the program completion.

Outreach

10 January 2022: Presentation at the Yale Gender Brown Bag at Inclusion Economics at Yale University (online)

6 May 2022: Presentation at the Brown Bag Seminar Politics, Policy and Society at the University of Konstanz

18 August 2022: Project presentation at the Department of Education in Delhi

Promotion of Young Researchers

Our team of principal investigators is relatively young, with Ankush Asri and Viola Asri currently in PostDoc positions but taking up Assistant Professor and Senior Researcher positions this coming Spring, 2023. As both are managing the project jointly with Anke Hoeffler and designing and preparing the research activities in India, this project directly supported them on their paths as young researchers. Beyond that, we actively support young team members, especially with respect to pursuing an academic career. In the context that we are working in, it is common to work as Research Assistant/Associate before applying for scholarships for higher studies, including a second Masters or a Ph.D. position abroad. As such, we are currently actively supporting our research manager Siddharth Jain who is applying to do his Masters abroad. Our current research associate Ramanujan Ankam and research consultant, Sunidhi Agarwal, also want to do a Ph.D. after this working experience, and we frequently discuss their plans and share

our experiences. We also provide plenty of learning opportunities in the project, allowing them to learn about methods and improve their empirical analysis skills. Beyond their project work, we actively encourage them to attend colloquia and seminars such as the In_equality Colloquium at the Cluster and the Inclusion Economics Gender Brown Bag seminar, as well as the IEIC PI Symposium, where affiliated researchers regularly present their work. Whenever opportunities arise, such as the upcoming Research Day at the Cluster, we also encourage our team members to prepare and present a part of a presentation, depending on their involvement. Beyond our team at IEIC, we are also in touch with the research staff engaged in other projects at IEIC and advise them regularly on their plans to apply for Masters or Ph.D. abroad. Further information about the work at IEIC and the team-building as well as capacity-building activities can be found online: <https://www.linkedin.com/company/inclusion-economics/posts/?feedView=all>

17. COVID-19 POLICIES FOR GENDER EQUALITY (COPE)

Principal Investigators: Susanne Strauß, Ariane Bertogg, Mara Yerkes (University of Utrecht, NL), Tiziana Nazio (Collegio Carlo Alberto, University of Turin, IT)

Project Researchers: Matteo Piolatto

Cooperation partners: Marija Bashevska (University of Milan, IT), Luna Bellani (University of Konstanz), Giulia Dotti Sani (University of Milan, IT), Minna van Gerven-Haanpaa (University of Helsinki, FIN), Johanna Lammi-Taskula (Finnish Institute for Health and Welfare, FIN), Mario Lucchini (University of Milano-Bicocca, IT), Chantal Remery (University of Utrecht, NL), Anna Zamberlan (University of Trento, IT)

Disciplines: Sociology, Economics, Political Science

Funding Period: 10/2021- 09/2024

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

The outbreak of the COVID-19 crisis in March 2020 marked the beginning of a societal discussion on appropriate measures to contain the pandemic. One far-reaching measure in many countries was the closure of schools and childcare facilities, which had an unprecedented impact on families. Empirical evidence to date on the impact of the lockdown measures suggests such measures led to an increase in gender inequality in the division of housework and childcare, although country differences in these inequalities are visible. At the same time, women's well-being worsened more than men's during the first lockdown, and this gender difference was even more pronounced for parents than for people without children. While much attention has been given to gendered differences within countries, we focus on international comparisons of how gender intersects with other characteristics such as socio-economic background, in shaping the impact of lockdown measures on men and women.

The objective of the CoPE project is to provide a cross-country comparative analysis of gender inequalities in the division of paid and unpaid work between couples and in the well-being of men and women during the Covid-19 pandemic. The project intends also to examine the relationship between gender inequalities and family policy. In order to investigate these topics, we initially planned to compare four European countries in the CoPE project: Finland, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands. Currently, we are also additionally including the United Kingdom in our comparative analyses. While these countries are characterised by different gender and welfare state cultures, the Covid-19 measures also vary greatly between and at times within the country contexts studied. Whether and to what extent these different Covid-19 policy measures also influence gender inequalities in housework, family work and well-being and in what ways, are central to the project.

Cooperation Partners

We have extended the group of cooperation partners by including two more PhD students from Italy (Marija Bashevska and Anna Zamberlan). Both are (or will be) guest researchers at the Cluster and/or the research group of Prof. Susanne Strauß and have worked on longitudinal data for the United Kingdom that we have begun including in our comparative analyses. Moreover, we have cooperated with Dr. Luna Bellani on an article based on the Cluster's survey program on Covid-19 and inequality, resulting in a common paper in the Cluster's working paper series.

The research group that is involved in this project has developed into a very vivid scientific community in the past year that strengthened existing networks and established new ones between established scholars in the field as well as early career researchers. In

April and May 2022, project PIs Prof. Dr. Mara Yerkes (University of Utrecht - Netherlands) and Dr. Tiziana Nazio (University of Torino – Italy) were hosted at the Cluster of Inequality for a research visiting period. From mid-September 2022 to mid-January 2023 the CoPE project hosted Anna Zamberlan (University of Trento – Italy) as a visiting PhD student into the “Co-funding for Research Stays – Incoming Doctoral Researchers” program. CoPE project's PI Dr. Ariane Bertogg visited Dr. Johanna Lammi-Taskula at the Finnish Institute Center for Health and Welfare (THL) in Helsinki, Finland twice, from 20th to 26th of February and from 29th of August 2022 until 3rd of September 2022 to prepare and analyse the Finish data for country comparisons. For the beginning of 2023, there are plans to host Marija Barshevska, a PhD from the University of Milan in Italy in Konstanz.

Main Contribution to the Cluster's Research Program

The CoPE project contributes to the Cluster's research program by investigating the effect of the Covid-19 pandemic on structural inequalities. The project addresses the changes that Covid-19-related containment measures (e.g., lockdowns, school closures, working from home, etc.) produced on several dimensions of everyday life, with a focus on gender inequalities. The project thus contributes to understanding the impact of policies on individual behaviour that is related to gender inequality in its different dimensions, i.e., regarding paid and unpaid labour as well as well-being. Our analytic approach contributes to this goal by combining a country-comparative with a longitudinal approach. This is important since only the comparison of the situation before the onset of the pandemic allows us to disentangle pre-pandemic differences in the countries' policies to differences in the containment measures during the pandemic. Likewise, it gives us a baseline measure for individual behaviour before the onset of the pandemic, which is crucial to understand how policy changes are related to gendered changes in behaviour and well-being.

The analysis of crises is an important contribution to the Cluster's research goal to understand the consequences of political responses as regards their impact on the level of structural inequalities since they ask for rather quick political responses that can be then assessed empirically. The Covid-19 crisis was special as compared to other financial crises on the one hand because

it more heavily affected female-dominated industries, such as the health and the service sector. On the other hand, the closure of schools and childcare facilities heavily increased the amount of unpaid labour. Due to a gendered distribution of unpaid work, these policies can be expected to have had a severe impact on the gendered division of unpaid (and paid) work. The comparison of different countries allows us to better understand how political reactions to the crisis have increased existing inequalities between gender but also between women (and men) of different social origin. It thus allows us to better understand how the relationship between different inequality dimensions leads to especially vulnerable life situations, e.g., among lower educated women.

In addition to our focus on the impact of Covid-19 policies on gender inequalities in paid and unpaid work, we also aim to assess their impact on well-being, thus contributing more broadly to the research on health inequalities, as a potential new area of investigation in the Cluster. While Covid-19 containment measures directly addressed labour market inequalities, by implementing e.g., short-time work schemes, they also led to unintended consequences for men's and women's well-being, e.g., by impacting on their involvement in unpaid work through the closure of schools and childcare facilities. By comparing countries with different policy reactions to the Covid-19 crisis, we aim to get a better understanding of these unintended policy consequences on gender inequalities in well-being.

Main Results

During the reporting period (01/2022-12/2022) we completed work on one paper that is based on the gender module of the Cluster's survey program on Covid-19 and inequality, in cooperation with Dr. Luna Bellani and Dr. Nevena Kulic, previously senior fellow at the Cluster. The paper was published in the Cluster's working paper series in December 2022 (see 2.1 Scientific Publications). It was moreover submitted to a scientific journal and is currently under review.

In addition, we have started to develop a further three papers. These papers are based on the data we targeted for this project: pairfam (DE), LISS (NL), ITA.LI (IT), Varhaiskasvatus (FI). Additionally, we have begun including the UK Longitudinal Household Study (UKHLS). The following sections report the progress on these three papers (which we have been working on most intensively), briefly describing their research questions and (preliminary) main results.

Paper I: A Longitudinal Perspective on Women's Perceived Stress During the Covid-19 Pandemic in Germany and the Netherlands. The Role of Part-time Employment and Parenthood for Different Educational Groups

This article aims to investigate the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on women's perceived stress by comparing their situation before the onset of the pandemic with two different phases during the pandemic. The analysis focuses on two factors that have been identified as important for explaining differences in stress, namely labour market involvement and parenthood. Moreover, education is considered as a protective factor against stress and its moderating potential is investigated.

The study compares two countries that were characterized by a similar gender regime before the pandemic but have differed in terms of pandemic governance: Germany and the Netherlands.

Using longitudinal household panel data in both countries (Pairfam, LISS), random effects models are estimated. For the Netherlands, the descriptive results show that women experienced an increase in perceived stress during the first phase of the pandemic but recovered in the second phase of the pandemic. For Germany, however, descriptive findings highlight a decrease of stress during the first lockdown, but only for women without children. The multivariate models show that, in Germany, fewer working hours were protective against perceived stress, particularly among women with higher levels of education. In the Netherlands, no such moderation effects were found. The main conclusion from this study is that country differences in pandemic governance policies, particularly the lengths of school and childcare service closures and financial compensation for job loss, may account for these differential patterns between countries and educational groups. We have presented the results of this paper at one national and two international conferences (see 2.4 Knowledge transfer) and will submit the paper to an international scientific journal in the first quarter of 2023.

Paper II: To the Fifties and back again. Couples' breadwinning arrangements before, during and after COVID-lockdowns in Finland, Germany, the Netherlands and the UK

Household-economic theory stresses the importance of educational resources and income when couples negotiate

their division of labour. This paper extends this theoretical idea to explaining changes in breadwinning arrangements among couples due to the pandemic, arguing that an increased demand for unpaid work during the first lockdown might have called for re-negotiations among couples. While income as a negotiation resource should be less affected by the pandemic – most workers who were furloughed or put on a short-work scheme received (more or less generous) wage replacements – education is a salient negotiation resource in this situation. Moreover, education is associated with future wage potentials, career prospects and women's career aspirations, which should also be considered in such negotiations. Thus, higher educated mothers are expected to be better protected against shifting into more unequal breadwinning arrangements. However, the protective effect of education may vary across countries with their different lengths of lockdowns, wage replacement rates and cultural norms, which are known to moderate negotiation processes.

Comparing Germany, Finland, the Netherlands and the UK, we draw on data from four longitudinal studies which are based on population-based samples and contain information on three time points: pre-pandemic, during the first lockdown in spring 2020, and after the first lockdown. Data come from the German Pairfam, the Finnish Varhaiskasvatus (ECEC) studies, the Dutch LISS panel, and the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS). We limit our analysis to the sample of parents of minor children who live in partnership in which at least one partner is employed. Exploiting both longitudinal and retrospective information, we analyse (1) trends of four types of breadwinner models: dual earner, male breadwinner, 1.5 breadwinner, and fe-

male breadwinner, and (2) intra-individual changes into more equal respectively more unequal patterns of breadwinning.

Initial analyses for Germany and Finland, in which pre-pandemic and post-lockdown breadwinning arrangements are compared, we find remarkable stability at the aggregate level. Rates of women in all four breadwinning arrangements are remarkably similar pre- and post-pandemic in both countries. However, when investigating arrangements during the lockdown, the picture changes. In both countries, the prevalence of dual earner models drops sharply, being replaced by male breadwinner models (in both countries) and partly also female breadwinner models (Finland). This indicates a temporary re-traditionalization with a development towards “back to normal”. Regarding the role of education, women with higher education are better protected against ending up in a male breadwinner model during the lockdown, but this is more pronounced in Finland. Looking at within-person changes, we find that changes to more unequal patterns are rather explained with the presence of small children in the household than education. The latter however promotes changes to more equal patterns in both contexts. We are currently integrating analyses from the Netherlands and the UK. Preliminary findings were presented at an international conference and the paper is planned to be finalized in the third quarter of 2023.

Paper III: Changes in Parents’ Positive and Negative Affect across the Covid-19 Pandemic

A third article addresses the question how well-being has changed during the Covid-19 pandemic. The problem with many surveys on changes in well-being due to the pandemic is that ad hoc sur-

vey fielded during the lockdown do not have a baseline measure. Hence, we have to rely on self-reported changes in well-being which may be prone to bias.

We make use of three panel studies which have collected information on positive and negative affect among individuals in Germany, Italy, and Finland before the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, during the first lockdown, and after the first lockdown. Yet, attrition between pre-pandemic and during-pandemic participation in such panel studies may depend on well-being, favouring the participation of those who do well during the pandemic. In order to estimate the “true effect” of the pandemic on well-being, we rely on matching techniques. By comparing individuals from pre-pandemic survey waves who are similar to other individuals participating in survey waves during Covid, we are able to assess the impact of the pandemic on well-being.

We find that in Finland, both men and women report higher levels of sadness and feeling depressed during the lockdown than before the pandemic. Women also report lower levels of happiness during the pandemic than before, but for men, no significant difference is found.

For Italy, we find that men are reporting higher levels of feeling disheartened after the lockdown, but only if they have minor children. Women in the Italian sample, however, report feeling more energetic and more calm after the lockdown. This applies to both women with and without children.

For Germany, we find that men report higher levels of sadness and feeling gloomy during the lockdown than before. Women feel more sad and depressed, but also more calm, during

the lockdown than before. When comparing the post-lockdown to the pre-lockdown period in Germany, we find that men report more calmness, sadness, depression and desperation. Women report more happiness and calmness but also more gloominess, depression and desperation than before the pandemic.

These findings imply that there are gender-specific patterns to the development of positive and negative affect. The finding also suggest that the changes are specific to the stage of the pandemic. Taken together, these findings suggest that negative affects more strongly increased during lockdown, whereas positive affects increased after the lockdown. These tendencies hold for both Italy and Germany.

In a next step, we explore the different work- and family-related patterns behind these changes, we will ask: do the tendencies differ between parents of young children, or by respondents’ employment status.

Problems and Delays

While the two research visits of one of our PIs (Dr. Ariane Bertogg) at the Finish research institute that hosts the Finish dataset has greatly helped in progressing the preparation and analysis, the Italian data have still not been published as scientific use file which restricts the possibility to use them for the project. Although the established cooperation with Prof. Mario Lucchini allows us to do initial preparations of the data, the analysis of the data will be much easier once the data are publicly available. Since these delays have led to a longer period of data preparation, we are grateful for the cost-neutral extension of the project that allows us to prolong the working contract for the post-doctoral researcher, Dr. Matteo Piolatto, for six months until September 2024.

Outline of Next Steps

We have scheduled a two-day workshop in Konstanz in February 2023 to work on the publications outlined above. This face-to-face meeting will also allow us to discuss our continued contribution to the Cluster project for the coming months. We are planning to submit Paper I to a scientific journal in the first quarter of 2023. Paper II is planned to be presented at a conference in the second quarter of 2023 and submitted to a scientific journal in the third quart of 2023. The submission of Paper III is similarly scheduled for the third quarter of 2023. At the same time, further paper ideas are being discussed and developed, such as a comparative paper on the effect of Covid-19 policies on gender inequalities in unpaid work and a paper on the special situation of essential workers.

OUTPUT

Scientific Publications

Bellani, Luna, Ariabe Bertogg, Nevena Kulic, Susanne Strauss, 2022, How information about inequality impacts support for school closure policies. Evidence from the pandemic. Working Paper Series of the Cluster of Excellence "The Politics of Inequality", No. 11 (December 2022), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:352-2-xo357en3e3x01>.

Planned Key Publications

- See above, Paper I-III
- Moreover, we have also submitted the working paper (see 2.1) to a scientific journal and will further work on its publication.
- Matteo Piolatto and Anna Zamberlan are preparing a meta-analysis on the gendered relationship between paid and unpaid work, covering studies before and during the Covid-19 pandemic.
- Lastly, we are also preparing a comparative article on the effect of Covid-19 policies on gender inequalities in unpaid work and discussing the possibility to have a comparative paper on the specific situation of essential workers.

Research Data Generated by Project

- No own data collection planned

Knowledge Transfer

Preliminary results from the projects' papers have been presented to the following conferences:

Matteo Piolatto, Ariane Bertogg, Mara Yerkes, Susanne Strauss: Who feels stressed when school is closed? German and Dutch parents' stress levels before and during the Covid-19 pandemic, In_equality Conference 2022 | April 6th – 8th April, Konstanz and online.

Matteo Piolatto, Ariane Bertogg, Mara Yerkes, Susanne Strauss: Who feels stressed when school is closed? German and Dutch parents' stress levels before and during the Covid-19 pandemic, RC28 Conference 2022 | April 21st – April 23rd, London.

Matteo Piolatto, Ariane Bertogg, Mara Yerkes, Susanne Strauss: Who feels stressed when school is closed? German and Dutch parents' stress levels before and during the Covid-19 pandemic, 7th pairfam Interdisciplinary International Conference | May 11th – May 13th, Munich and online.

Matteo Piolatto, Ariane Bertogg, Mara Yerkes, Susanne Strauss: Who feels stressed when school is closed? German and Dutch parents' stress levels before and during the Covid-19 pandemic, International conference 'Family Work and Social Policy' | May 26th – 28th, Poznan.

Guilia Dotti Sani, Ariane Bertogg: To the Fifties and back again. Couples' breadwinning arrangements before, during and after COVID-lockdowns in Finland and Germany, Analytical Sociology: Theory and Empirical Applications Seminar in Cooperation with Venice International University and Academy of Sociology, San Servolo, 14th – 17th November, Venice.

Promotion of Young Researchers

The postdoctoral researcher, Dr. Matteo Piolatto, is the main author of Paper I and has presented it on one national and two international conferences (see 2.4). He is moreover working on a meta-analysis on the gendered relationship between paid and unpaid work, together with Anna Zamberlan. Moreover, he might join more of the paper initiatives that will be discussed at the two-day project workshop in February 2023..

18. PERCEPTIONS OF POLITICAL CHARISMA IN LOW-STATUS SPEAKERS

Principal Investigators: Tamara Rathcke, Diego Frassinelli, Susumu Shikano

Project Researchers: Judit Vári, Duangkamol Srismith

Disciplines: Computational Linguistics, Computing Science, English Linguistics, Political Psychology, Political Science

Funding Period: 09/2021 - 02/2025

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

To convince, persuade, entice or enchant an audience, it is not just about what a speaker says, it is also about how they say it and who says it. In the current era of “post-truth” and “post-fact” politics, understanding what factors influence impressions of politicians’ charisma, trustworthiness, persuasiveness and competence is more relevant and timely than ever before. Previous studies, including our own pilots, have shown that perceptions of speaker attributes lie in the eye – and the ear – of the beholders. The overarching goal of this project is to understand how political charisma is perceived in politicians from a politically marginalised background and what role receivers’ own socio-political views play in the creation of a charismatic effect, and to engage in a conversation about impacts of perceived charisma. Specifically, the project has the following objectives: (1) collect judgements of the perceived charisma in political-minority, low-status speakers in the UK and Germany; (2) obtain measurements of the background of British and German raters and to investigate the moderating ef-

fects of such personal characteristics on individual perceptions of charisma in political-minority, low-status speakers; (3) arrange dissemination of the project results among interested audiences and stakeholders; (4) improve the understanding of political charisma among the general public and to involve diverse audiences into the discussion of its impact on political participation and public opinion; (5) disseminate the results through appropriate academic outlets.

Main Contribution to the Cluster’s Research Program

Our project contributes to the Cluster’s research program by addressing how willingly attributes of political charisma are awarded to speakers who can be considered minorities in the context of a white male dominated political arena of the UK and Germany. To our knowledge, no empirical investigation to date has addressed the issue of charisma perception in low-status, political-minority speakers in a cross-cultural comparison between the United Kingdom and Germany. Similarly, no study so far

has addressed and compared the current understanding of charisma in the two countries.

Our project focuses on the UK and Germany as political institutions and the resulting political communications differ substantially across the two countries. The Westminster model of the UK has majoritarian, alternating governments while Germany has multi-party governments in its federal system. In the UK, the parliamentary debates are the most important arena for the government and opposition leaders to dispute their views, whereas German plenary sessions are less visible to the public, with discussions taking place among heterogeneous participants from the federal and state levels. In addition to the visibility of the debates, political actors of Germany are slightly less diverse than in the UK, leading to a lower overall visibility of politicians from minority groups in Germany compared to the British system. As such, a cross-cultural comparison of the perceived charisma in the UK and Germany promises valuable insights into the workings of the charismatic effect in politics.

Progress and Main Results

The project team submitted a revised proposal (February 2022) which was selected for presentation at the selection workshop (March 2022) and the selection committee awarded the project full funding. Following the workshop (March-August 2022), the project team worked on addressing the feedback provided by the selection committee regarding a lack of an overall theoretical framework of charisma. The project team engaged with the approaches recommended by the selections committee for example, computational approaches to argumentation and sociological approaches to status. Judit Vári and Tamara Rathcke wrote a position paper outlining a sociolinguistic approach to the definition of charisma based on the Social Identity Theory of Leadership (Hogg, 1998 and Lord & Hall 1984). A summary of this position paper has been submitted to the editors of the journal *Language and Society* for consideration. In addition, the project team further explored literature on perceptions of standard languages vs. regional language varieties particularly in Germany, in order to engage with the criticism of the selection committee regarding the project’s potentially UK-centric view of the standard versus regional language dichotomy in Germany. A similarly extensive literature review informed the final selection of the accents and dialects to be investigated.

This selection was followed (beginning July 2022) by an ongoing search for speakers who could produce the experimental stimuli in specific accent and dialect. The search for speakers included public outreach via social media and in cooperation with the University’s Communications and Marketing department.

In addition, the project team made major progress in creating stimuli for the experimental measurement of explicit as well as implicit charisma perception. The project team manually extracted and adapted around 300 stimuli sentences from speakers of various political parties in Germany and the UK on the topics of environment, health and migration (March-September 2022). The statements provided a wide range of political stances and were further adapted to balance linguistic features, e.g., personal pronouns. A selection of these statements was identified to be later used in studies on explicit charisma measurement (September-October 2022). For implicit charisma measurement, the project team identified words which, on the one hand, referred to topics of health and environment and, on the other hand, were also of neutral emotional valence as well as highly frequent in German or English. These requirements were established by manually checking four established corpora of emotion words and frequency ratings (May-June 2022).

The stimuli creation was further informed by a small-scale study which was motivated by the lack of literature on character traits associated with charismatic individuals in Germany. The data collection of this small-scale study was combined with outreach events at the Lange Nacht der Wissenschaft (May 2022) which increased the visibility of the project in the local community around Konstanz. Similarly, the project team ran a small-scale study on explicit charisma perceptions in German texts at the Berlin Science Week (October 2022). Both events provided great opportunities for public outreach as well as a chance to advance the research agenda of the project.

The project team has recently (December 2022) started the first round of recordings to create stimuli for Standard and Swabian accents of German. The sessions include audio and video recordings of speakers to produce the voices as well as the visual avatar representations which will be part of the main experiment at the main data collection stage.

Additional progress was made analyzing preliminary data collected at the University of Kent, UK in 2018–2019, examining the correlates of charisma. Judit Vári finished analyzing the data and presented the results at two conferences (In_equality Conference, April 2022; Influence, Manipulation, Seduction workshop, November 2022). The presentations focused on the link between perceived femininity and charisma and on the role modality (spoken vs. written) in charisma perceptions. Judit Vári, Tamara Rathcke, and the project's cooperation partner Prof. Aleksandra Chichoka, co-authored a manuscript for consideration of the *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*. The manuscript reports the results of the study on how emotional messages increase the perceived charisma, but only in a written setting. Charisma perceptions do not seem to be influenced by emotional word choices in a spoken delivery of a political message.

As the project also aims to investigate how perceptions of political charisma are moderated by the gender and skin color of the speakers situated in the context of a political debate—we have developed a novel approach to systematically vary such properties by recreating human speakers as animated avatars. Using this novel method, we are able to systematically manipulate such properties while maintaining

other inherent properties such as facial movement and auditory delivery. This year, Duangkamol Srismith further developed and finalized the pipeline for animated stimuli creation. The pipeline converts simple video recordings of human speakers' facial motion and features into high-fidelity, 3D-rendered, animated avatar stimuli. This allows us to achieve state-of-the-art results without having to invest in an extensive full body scanning and motion capture systems (e.g., Qualisys and Vicon systems). Two commercial (i.e., Faceware Studio and Reality Capture, both of which we have obtain academic licenses for) and three free-to-use software (i.e., Unreal Engine 5.0, MetaHuman Creator, DaVinci Resolve 18) were utilized as integral parts of the pipeline. The pipeline would allow us to directly run the full system by guaranteeing the perfect integration of the various tools required to automatically convert videos into the corresponding avatars. A detailed documentation was created in order to maximize transferability of the technological know-how and implementation to other members of the project. The pipeline documentation is created, maintained and updated by Duangkamol Srismith.

Problems and Delays

The project team faced unexpected difficulties with the stimulus creation for the planned experiments, especially the collection of speech samples. The original plan to recruit professional speakers via voice acting agencies and acting schools had to be reconsidered, given an unexpectedly high cost of professional recordings. The project team specifically encountered unexpected problems when trying to find multilingual and multidialectal speakers in short travel distance to the University who could produce the required accents and dialects as well as the standard language variety. In addition, first recordings highlighted the need to conduct the sessions in person instead of recording the stimuli remotely as originally planned. Only in-person recordings can deliver the quality appropriate for the perception studies with avatars as planned.

Outline of Next Steps

From the beginning of 2023, we plan to accomplish the following goals:

1. finish the stimulus creation in UK and Germany (February–April 2023)
2. collect and analyse norming data for stimuli (March–June 2023)
3. conduct three experimental studies (testing the role of gender, socioeconomic status, ethnicity) (July–December 2023)
4. disseminate the results of the three experiments (August–December 2023)

OUTPUT

Publications and Work in Progress

Vári Judit, Tamara Rathcke, Aleksandra Cichocka (submitted). Perception of Charisma in Text and Speech: The Role of Emotion Dimensions and Inclusive Deixis in Brexit Speeches of Four British Politicians. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*.
Shikano Susumu, Erik Herron (forthcoming) Was gibt es Neues beim Triell? Personalisierung der Politik bei der deutschen Bundestagswahl 2021. In: Schoen, Wessels (eds.), Wahlen und Wähler. Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2021. Springer.

Planned Key Publications

In 2023, we aim to submit the following manuscripts:

1. Judit Vári, et al.: Is charisma a male phenomenon? Perceived femininity and the stereotypicality of charismatic leaders. *Language and Communication*.
2. Judit Vári, et al.: Cross-linguistic Differences between German and English Semantic Correlates of Charisma. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*.
3. Duangkamol Srismith et al.: The social perception of human versus virtual avatars speakers: a methodological validation. *Scientific Reports*.
4. Susumu Shikano, Erik Herron: Chancellor candidate dilemma in the 2021 German federal election.

Research Data

In the reporting period, the project generated two sets of research data: (a) data collected at the Lange Nacht der Wissenschaft and follow-up: 107 participants (71 female) answered two open end questions regarding examples of charismatic individuals and their character traits.

(b) data collected at the Berlin Science Week: 59 participants (30 female) were randomly presented with a total of 24 statements, two statements each political orientations (left, politically non-identifiable, right) and two topics (health, climate policies). Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions. In the first condition, statements were framed by female versus male speakers, in the second condition, statements were framed by a female speaker versus a speaker of unknown gender and in the third condition statements were framed by a male speaker versus a speaker of unknown gender. All participants were asked to rate speakers' perceived charisma on a 7-point Likert scale.

One additional dataset was part of further analysis and dissemination: (c) data collected by the PI at the University of Kent in 2018–2019: In the reporting period, data was analysed which was collected by the PI at the University of Kent in 2018–2019.

This dataset was collected using online questionnaires with linguistic stimuli presented to the study participants in written vs. spoken form. One hundred forty-nine British participants (110 female) were asked to evaluate either auditory or orthographic extracts of Brexit speeches given by David Cameron, Nicola Sturgeon, Nigel Farage and Theresa May. The participants rated the extracts on a total of 14-character traits (e.g., charisma, persuasiveness, femininity), using Likert scales. Stimuli varied regarding the emotional valence of the linguistic extract. A series of principal component analyses and ordinal mixed-effects regressions have been performed to analyze the concept of charisma in British politics.

Outreach

Presentations/ talks

Judit Vári: "Is charisma a male phenomenon? A perceptual study of British political leaders", 07/04/2022, In_equality Conference Konstanz.
Judit Vári: "Perceived persuasiveness and the modality of emotion effects: A perceptual study of Brexit speeches" 18-19/11/2022, Conference Influence, Manipulation & Seduction 2 – Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Persuasive Language, University Bayreuth.
Judit Vári: "Das Charisma der Macht", Berlin Science Week, 04/11/22, Naturkundemuseum Berlin.
Judit Vári: "Charisma – die Magie der Überzeugung", Lange Nacht der Wissenschaft, 14/05/2022, Universität Konstanz.
Project team (Frassinelli, Rathcke, Shikano, Srismith, Vári, Aslan, Görtz: Info booth with poster and quiz at Lange Nacht der Wissenschaft, 14/05/2022, Universität Konstanz.
Judit Vári: Project presentation at the Cluster's Research Day: Perception, 28/07/2022.

Media outlets

Uni'kon, October 2022: "Mit Avataren dem Charisma auf der Spur" Epd-Landesdienste: Ulrich Fricke: "Wer eine tolle Ausstrahlung hat - Umfrage über das Charisma mit überraschenden Ergebnissen"

Promotion of Young Researchers

The project supported career development activities of the main ECR responsible for the project (Judit Vári) by enabling her to attend conferences and workshops related to her career stage. Judit Vári attended the Sixth Summer School on Statistical Methods for Linguistics and Psychology at the University Potsdam (September 2022). She also was given the opportunity to present her PhD work at the University Salzburg, Austria with a presentation entitled "Norms of usage and codified norms manifesting in explicit and implicit attitudes? Standard varieties' evaluation in Luxembourg and Belgium" at the conference "Double Standards: Codified norms and norms of usage in European languages (1600 – 2020)" in April 2022.

From March onwards, Judit Vári supervised three research assistants (Gizem Aslan, Marthe Görtz, Lena Weinmann) who worked at various stages on the project to help with stimuli creation, set up of the two small-scale studies, data analyses and outreach activities. Their training focused on fundamental issues of experimental research as well as science communication.

In December, Duangkamol Srismith started supervising two Linguistics students who were attracted to work within the project as research assistants (Sara Sultan and Iro Malta) with a focus on learning how to optimize different technological aspects of the animated avatar creation pipeline.

The PIs were involved in teaching and supervision of postgraduate students at the University of Konstanz, promoting the theme of the project and the Cluster across disciplines. Frassinelli and Rathcke have co-supervised a Master thesis (Marie-Ange Mulot, Linguistics) on the perception of charisma in male and female speakers with more vs. less prototypical voices in political contexts discussing health, migration and climate policies. Rathcke and Shikano have co-taught a cross-disciplinary seminar on "Perception of Speaker Characteristics" that attracted 28 postgraduate students from GSBS, linguistics (MA/PhD level), political science and social and economic data science (an interdisciplinary master program). During this course, Dr Katharina Hecht, a post doctoral fellow of the Cluster was invited to give a guest lecture about perception of richness. Further, Shikano taught a course on "Designing and Implementing Online Survey Experiments" in which the participants conducted their own surveys as group projects. One of the groups was assigned to the topic "Perception of Charismatic Leadership" and implemented an experiment in which visual and audio stimuli were manipulated. The results based on about 1000 subjects recruited by an online access panel demonstrate the varying effects of outfit on different dimensions of charisma.

19. THE POLITICS OF LABOR MARKET INEQUALITY AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Principal Investigators: Thomas Kurer

Project Researchers: Valentina Consiglio, Kattalina Berriochoa, Mats Faulborn

Guest Researchers: Carlotta Giustozzi (visiting from the University of Frankfurt)

Disciplines: Political Science, Political Economy, Sociology

Funding Period: 01/2022 – 12/2025

RESEARCH REPORT

Main Results

This research project studies the political implications of occupational change and asks how and why a transforming employment structure affects (1) individual perceptions of economic opportunity and how such perceptions translate into (2) political behavior.

The project extends the existing literature by a close examination of the intermediate steps between structural inequality and individual political behavior. More specifically, we argue that processes of intragenerational, intergenerational and spatial occupational mobility create salient reference points that crucially shape individual perceptions of economic opportunity.

In that sense, inequality perceptions feature prominently in our conceptual framework, i.e. as central underlying mechanisms linking structural economic change and individual political reactions. But our research group has a clear analytical focus on behavioral outcomes that builds on and extends the important insights that other Clus-

ter projects with a focus on perceptions generate. We study political behavior broadly conceived and are similarly interested in attitudinal (e.g. redistribution preferences or education preferences) as in behavioral (e.g. political integration or voting behavior) responses. By examining whether and, if yes, how individual perceptions of economic opportunity in a changing world of work translate into political reactions, we directly connect two core themes of the Cluster.

While the first phase of the project was dominated by conceptual refinement of the guiding theoretical framework, we concentrated on operationalization, measurement and data collection in the second year. This has been an interesting and productive effort that resulted in a variety of promising research ideas with already realized or very concretely planned data collections. (1) Early in 2022, we have acquired extremely detailed and encompassing data on online job vacancies in Germany between 2014 and 2021. This data will be used both for Valentina Consiglio's dissertation project and for collaborative projects within the research group. With about 80 million job vacancies, this is a big data endeavour and we were happy to be able to hire Mats Faulborn, a Master student in data science at the University of Konstanz, to support us in making research with this large dataset practical and feasible. (2) In a joint research project by Valentina Consiglio and Thomas Kurer, we collected a large number of regional indicators at the NUTS-3 (Landkreis) level to create a multidimensional indicator of local opportunity for Germany. The resulting "opportunity map" is a corner stone of an ongoing paper project. (3) Valentina Consiglio teamed up with two researchers from the University of Zurich to collect original survey data from three European countries including information on respondents' social network (both

weak and strong ties) using an innovative survey methodology. (4) In cooperation with a large professional organization, Thomas Kurer has fielded an original panel survey with apprentices in white-collar clerical jobs ("kaufmännische Berufe") before and after the completion of their apprenticeship and transition into the labor market. A total of four different surveys yields more than 10'000 responses on expectations and experiences in a labor market strongly exposed to digitalization. (5) Valentina Consiglio signed a contract with the survey company Bilendi to field an original survey in Germany in 2023, in which low-income workers will be strongly oversampled. The resulting data is a central component in her dissertation.

Valentina Consiglio has submitted and successfully defended an encompassing research proposal for her dissertation in October 2022. Her dissertation focuses on the social and geographical drivers of labor market inequalities and implications for political outcomes in times of structural change. A core interest is to investigate barriers to good jobs and social mobility and the possibility to address these through policy making. She presented the project outline and first findings from an exploratory analysis for her first dissertation paper on occupational mobility in the low-wage sector in Germany and the role of social networks during a workshop organized by the University of Zurich. In the summer semester 2022, she attended courses at the University of Konstanz on the causal inference and the politics of inequality as well as the Inequality Colloquium of the Cluster to receive feedback on her proposal. She also successfully completed a Summer School at the LSE on Applied Econometrics and Big Data and attended two GESIS training course, one on network theory, methods and applications, and

one on tools for efficient workflows, smooth collaboration and optimized research output.

The research group has been undergoing additional changes in terms of organization and personnel. PI Thomas Kurer has accepted a position as an Assistant Professor in "Politics and Inequality" at the University of Zurich starting in August 2022. However, it was agreed that he remains affiliated with the Cluster and continues his role as research group leader. He will play a central role in bridging the Cluster with the University of Zurich's Research Priority Program on "Equality of Opportunity" and institutionalize exchange and cooperation between the two spatially and thematically very close research centers. In October 2022, Kattalina Berriochoa joined the group as a postdoctoral researcher. Her research focus on how local context shapes political preferences ideally complements the team. Beyond a substantive fit, her previous positions at the University of Konstanz make her ideally suited to take on the operative lead of the daily business in the team and ensure the continued success of the research group despite a reduced presence by Thomas Kurer.

In terms of joint research output, Valentina Consiglio and Thomas Kurer are working on a paper examining the impact of spatial mobility on political integration in Germany that relies on the above-mentioned indicator of local economic opportunity at the NUTS-3 level. The paper has been presented various times during the year (workshops at the University of Duisburg, Institute for Employment Research, and the University of Zurich) and currently undergoes another round of revisions. Kattalina Berriochoa has resubmitted a co-authored paper with Luna Bellani, another member of the Cluster, to Socio-Economic Review.

The guiding research questions of our project span across various subfields of the social sciences and lend themselves for interdisciplinary exchange within the Cluster. In order to foster such exchange, we have set up a bi-weekly reading group that is open to all interested Cluster members. The sessions have been attended by a diverse group of early career researchers, visiting researchers, postdocs and members of the admin team during the first half of 2022. Our interdisciplinary exchange was enriched by a visiting stay of Carlotta Giustozzi, a postdoctoral researcher in Sociology from the University of Frankfurt.

Outline of Next StepsData Collection

- Completion of field work of ongoing survey data collection in collaboration with University of Zurich (Valentina Consiglio)
- Finalize application for Sample of Integrated Employment Biographies (SIAB) and National Education Panels Study (NEPS) data (Valentina Consiglio)
- Fielding of original survey (currently planned for April/May 2023); survey will provide data for first paper and oversample low-wage workers in Germany (Valentina Consiglio)
- Fielding of original cross-national survey on local context and political behavior in fall 2022 (Kattalina Berriochoa)

Research Projects

- Full working paper on opportunity map (Consiglio/Kurer) with presentations at the University of Basel (February 2023) and University of Glasgow (June 2023, acceptance pending)
- First draft of paper on labor market transition and social policy demand (Kurer) among white-collar apprentices with presentation at the University of Zurich (June 2023)
- First draft of dissertation paper on occupational mobility in the low-wage sector in Germany (Consiglio) with presentation at the University of Milan (January 2023) and University of Glasgow (June 2023, acceptance pending)
- Collaboration with Maj-Britt Sterba from Cluster project “Political Elites and Inequality”: explorative analysis of data on social ties, inequality perceptions and redistribution preferences (Consiglio)
- Submission of paper on farm bill and of paper on local knowledge economies (Berriochoa)
- First draft of paper on wildfires and government support (Berriochoa)

Knowledge Transfer

- Workshop organized by the research group on the political drivers and consequences of labor market inequality and changing opportunities across places and people (May 2023).
- Co-organization of a statistics retreat for female ECRs at the Cluster in March 2023.

OUTPUT**Scientific Publications**

Kurer, Thomas, Briita van Staaldin, 2022, Disappointed Expectations: Downward Mobility and Electoral Change. American Political Science Review.

Schoell, Niko, Thomas Kurer, forthcoming, How Technological Change Affects Regional Voting Patterns. Political Science and Research Methods (forthcoming).

Consiglio, Valentina, GSBS Dissertation Proposal.

Planned Key Publications

- Revised draft of paper on relationship between spatial and social mobility (Valentina Consiglio and Thomas Kurer)
- Analysis of panel study on young labor market entrants in commercial professions (white-collar clerks exposed to digitalization) (Thomas Kurer)
- First full draft of Valentina Consiglio's paper on occupational mobility in the low-wage sector and the role of social networks combining administrative data (SIAB) with survey data

Knowledge Transfer

Conferences and presentations of research group content

- Politics and Society Workshop, University of Milan (March 17-18, 2022)
- TECHNO workshop, University of Barcelona (March 24-25, 2022)
- Policy and Regulation Workshop, King's College London (online, June 16, 2022)
- Labor Market Workshop, Institute for Employment Research (September 2022)
- Politics and Society Workshop II, University of Duisburg (September 21, 2022)
- Status Workshop, University of Zurich (September 29, 2022)
- Castasegna Retreat, University of Zurich (November 2022)
- TECHNO workshop II, Sciences Po, Paris (November 2022)

Workshop organized by the research group: “The Politics of Place”, August 30 2022, University of Konstanz with participants from ETH Zurich, IPZ and the Inequality Cluster.

Promotion of Young Researchers

- weekly meetings among PI and project researchers
- bi-weekly reading group open to all interested ERCs at the Cluster
- visiting guest researchers

20. CLIMATE INEQUALITIES IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH: FROM PERCEPTIONS TO PROTEST (CIGS)

Principal Investigators: Sebastian Koos, Gabriele Spilker

Project Researchers: Rebecca Strauch, Summer Isaacson,

Viktoria Jansesberger

Disciplines: Political Science, Sociology

Funding Period: 09/2022 – 12/2025

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

The causes and consequences of climate change are inherently linked to economic, political and social inequalities. While we know much about the causes, we know comparatively little about the social and political consequences of climate change and its link to inequality, especially in those regions, where climate change induced environmental harms are most strongly felt, the Global South (Eckstein et al., 2021). In these regions, more frequent and severe extreme weather events (e.g., storms, floods, landslides) as well as more gradual environmental changes (e.g., droughts, salinization) are among the most threatening consequences of climate change (IPCC, 2018), causing immense destruction and rendering certain ways of living impossible (Strömberg, 2007; Tennant & Gilmore, 2020). The distinct pre-existing socio-economic and political inequalities in low-income countries are often further increased by such climate-induced weather events (Roberts & Parks, 2006) and if the asso-

ciated grievances become too large, they might trigger political protest. A systematic understanding of when and how perceptions of climate change-induced grievances and inequalities feed into protest behaviour, i.e., a form of political participation, is currently missing from the broader discussion. This project therefore addresses the overarching research question: Why and under which circumstances do climate change-induced environmental consequences cause protests?

Main Contributions to the Cluster's Research Program

The project contributes to the Cluster's research program on political and socio-economic inequalities and its link to climate change in countries of the Global South. Ultimately, we seek to understand whether and how climate change induced extreme weather events interact with different forms of inequality in provoking political protest. As a first contribution, we add the link between inequality and climate change to the Cluster's research agenda, thereby broadening the overall thematic scope of the Cluster. In doing so, we study how the consequences of climate change and climate change related policies induce new or reproduce existing inequalities. These pertain to both, standard economic, i.e., vertical, forms of inequality as well as group-based, i.e., horizontal, forms of inequality (e.g., gender-based differences, disparities between ethnic groups).

Mobilization around the "climate crisis" in the Global North is mainly perceived as a middle-class phenomenon (Della Porta & Portos, 2021). However, in the Global South, the societies where climate change has the most devastating consequences, we know much less about how climate inequalities feed into protest dynamics. Demonstrations, riots, and strikes often result from a complex interplay between (perceived) injustices and the presence of some resources needed for protest behavior to occur (Chenoweth & Ulfelder, 2017). While some studies claim that political mobilization first and foremost requires such re-

sources (Brady et al., 1995; Edwards & Gillham, 2013; Verba et al., 1993; Edwards and Gillham, 2013) and more deprived citizens are therefore less likely to protest (Solt, 2015), others argue for a specific "environmentalism of the poor" (Martinez-Alier, 2003). Consequently, our project aims at providing a more thorough understanding of the conditions under which some groups in society mobilize in response to climate change induced grievances. To better understand the link between climate inequality and protest, we argue it is necessary to unpack the nexus between perception and participation. We thus, thirdly, contribute to understanding how perceptions of extreme weather events interacting with socio-economic inequality and/or horizontal inequalities contribute to mobilizing grievances, i.e., grievances that lead to protest. Finally, by focusing on the Global South, we extend the regional context of the Cluster to a region so far only sparsely covered by other projects.

In sum, by combining a sociological and a political science perspective, the project strengthens the research of the Cluster in at least four ways by 1) intensifying research on how perceptions turn into participation, 2) conducting comparative research in the Global South, 3) enlarging the thematic scope on social inequality to the very pressing issue of climate change and 4) its link to protest.

Main Results

Since the project has just started, there are no results to report on yet.

Sampling and Data Collection

Data collection for WP1 on climate change induced protests will begin in February 2023. Since the start of the project, we have hired six research assistants who needed to be trained in coding the assigned news articles, which form the basis of our protest event coding. As envisaged, we are able to rely on the Konstanz-based coding structure of MMAD ("Mass Mobilization in Autocracies Database"). We discussed intensely about the existing coding scheme of MMAD and came to the decision to slightly extend it, however, ensuring that new data is fully consistent with the existing MMAD data. Upon completion of their training, the coders will be able to uniformly extract information on the location, protest intensity, involved actors and links to climate change-induced grievances; the latter being the added category to MMAD for our project.

For WP2, we started working on the selected countries, reviewing existing literature and gaining knowledge of the context in terms of social inequalities, climate change and political protest. Among others, we are in contact with the Universidad de Cuenca in Ecuador, which is a partner university of the University of Konstanz and could be a helpful partner when conducting fieldwork.

Problems and Delays

When looking at existing data from MMAD, we detected that only a few of the protest events were directly related to climate change or global warming. The few cases that we found were about natural disasters like floods, mudslides or earthquakes and citizens' demand for the government to act upon their precarious situation or for compensation. More frequently, protest participation was caused by a lack of food supply, the general absence of providing water or electricity, or land- right related issues. Other protest movements targeted construction projects or environmental pollution. As we will expand the sample to democratic countries of the Global South, we expect to gather more detailed information on these various issues in regions which are affected in the most drastic way by climate-change related issues. However, protest movements like 'Fridays for Future' or 'Earth Day', which are clearly connected to expressing concerns about the overall topic of climate change, are still comparatively rare in the Global South. Thus, we expect to see protest mobilization as a response to climate change-induced issues in a broader sense like food shortages, a supply bottleneck of basic services in power supply or health care, or in the redistribution of land as an indirect consequence of global warming.

For the case studies of WP 2 the violent protest currently taking place in Peru is a potential challenge for our project. While protest is obviously widespread, the focus currently is very much on governmental, rather than environmental issues. More importantly though, it is unclear how the protest will develop and whether we can safely travel to Peru to collect data. Conversely, in South Africa, floods as well as water and energy shortages have led to new protests, which are connected to climate change.

Outline of Next Steps

The project is divided into three major working packages addressing different levels of analysis to better understand the link between perception of climate change, the development of grievances and protest participation. On the macro-level, WP1 will expand on the coding scheme of MMAD and start covering countries of the Global South to document climate change-induced grievances to allow for a cross-country comparison of protest mobilization. In 2023, we seek to compile a significant amount of data and at the end of the year provide first statistical results in this large-N study.

WP2 investigates the micro-level, explaining in two case studies how the causal pathways that connect experiencing climate change hardships, its impact on social inequality and taking part in protests are linked to each other. For this, we will conduct expert interviews with local activists, members of (I) NGOs and local officials in South Africa and Peru. This year we will proceed in planning the country case studies, specifically identifying and contacting activists and other relevant actors for the expert interviews. We will start to plan the field trips and make some first progress with the development and organization of the population survey.

Finally, WP3 will address the role of (I) NGOs in mediating the relationship between climate events and protests. For the latter half of 2023, we will start compiling a list of relevant actors and begin to develop the organization survey.

OUTPUT

Publications and Work in Progress

As the project is comparatively new, we cannot report any publications that have come directly out of this project. However, we have started to compile a list of key publication projects and responsible collaborators. Moreover, Gabriele Spilker has already published two papers that are related to the project in 2022:

Koubi, Vally, Lena Schaffer, Gabriele Spilker, Tobias Böhmelt, 2022, Climate events and the role of adaptive capacity for (im-) mobility. *Population and Environment*, 1-26.

Campbell, Susanna P., Gabriele Spilker, 2022, Aiding War or Peace? The Insiders' View on Aid to Postconflict Transitions. *The Journal of Politics*, 84(3), 1370-1383.

Furthermore, Viktoria Jansesberger whose dissertation project is tightly related to this project is about to submit two papers to top journals in the field in the coming months. These research articles are not so much concerned with protests as such but the individual attitudes and contextual conditions connecting extreme weather events and protest occurrence.

When thinking about anti-government demonstrations as collective action of a number of citizens, individual predispositions move into the center of attention (Dalton et al., 2010; Koubi et al., 2021; Malhotra & Kuo, 2008). The paper ti-

tled "Political after all? Exploring the impact of drought exposure on political trust." thus studies in what ways citizens having suffered extreme weather events adjust their opinions about their government. The findings yield that individuals who were recently exposed to a drought hold significantly lower levels of political trust than their unaffected counterparts. While individual attitudes influence which parts of the citizenry are particularly prone for protest mobilization, the government is the most relevant actor when it comes to allowing or preventing protests from happening (Chenoweth et al., 2017; Davenport, 2007). The paper "Silencing dissent in the wake of catastrophe? An examination of the repression dynamics following weather-related rapid-onset disasters" investigates if sudden destructive weather events alter the way governments make use of repressive tactics to handle actual or potential protest. The results confirm the anticipated repression inciting effect of sudden weather catastrophes but suggest that it is mostly restricted to non-democracies.

Finally, Sebastian Koos and Summer Isaacson have started working on a paper that maps climate change inequalities. with recent ISSP data (2020 module on environment). Specifically, they work on a comparative analysis of how gender and socio-economic status are related to perceptions of being affected by extreme weather events.

Research Data

WP1: Data gathering, documentation and storing will all be managed within the MMAD project based at the University of Konstanz

Promotion of Young Researchers

Sebastian Koos hired one PhD student for WP2, working on the relationship between gender, being affected by climate change and protest (Summer Isaacson). As an independent PhD fellow Niklas Hänze is now also affiliated to the project group, working on inequalities in climate change. Viktoria Jansesberger is supporting the project as envisaged in the project proposal.

21. CONDITIONS OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY (CONSOLI)

Principal Investigators: Sharon Baute, Dirk Leuffen

Project Researcher: Max Heermann

Disciplines: Political Science, Sociology

Funding Period: 10/2022 – 09/2025

RESEARCH REPORT

Initial Questions and Objectives of the Project

What makes citizens support international solidarity? To better understand the conditions of support of international solidarity, the CONSOLI project integrates the three main components of the “redistributive chain”: donors, recipients and the institutions linking these two groups.

First, what are the conditions of international solidarity, at the level of the donors (redistribution from perspective)? How is support constructed by group identities and how do norms of group conformity affect citizens’ willingness to support aid? Second, who deserves international solidarity (redistribution to perspective)? How do need, control and reciprocity in the recipient countries affect citizens’ readiness to support solidarity, both from a backward- and a forward-looking perspective? Third, how does the institutional setup linking donors and recipients influence support for solidarity (redistribution through perspective)? Do strong international and European institutions affect citizens’ confidence in international solidarity, or do they prefer bilateral aid channels?

Main Contributions to the Cluster’s Research Program

Problems without passports, from climate change to financial crises, often lead to increases in international inequality. In response to rising inequalities, international solidarity has received extensive attention in public and academic debate. However, an important question remains: Under what conditions are citizens willing to support solidarity at the European and international level? This is not a trivial question. In the European Union (EU) for instance, debates about who is deserving under which conditions can differ widely between donor and recipient countries (Ferrera, Miró, & Ronchi, 2021; Katsanidou, Katsanidou, & Reinl, 2021). Since the legitimacy of international solidarity hinges on public support, there is a need to reconcile international obligations and national democracy.

CONSOLI provides the next leap forward in our understanding of the conditions of international solidarity, by developing and testing a refined conceptual model on the distributive chain, integrating the redistribution from, to and through components in a unified framework.

The project designs and conducts two original cross-national surveys. The first survey will be fielded among 12,000 individuals in eight European countries; the sample countries vary in terms of EU net-recipient versus net-contributor states, economic performance and welfare state regimes. This way, we capture a balance between North-South and East-West

European polities that may have different views on international solidarity. The second survey will be fielded among 7,500 respondents in five countries and, by including Japan and the US, extending beyond Europe. These two surveys include novel survey experiments to assess the conditions of international solidarity at the level of the donors, the recipients and the institutional setup channeling support between donors and recipients.

CONSOLI lies at the intersections of international politics, (political) sociology and social psychology. It thus has a strong interdisciplinary character, bringing together different disciplines represented at the Cluster of Excellence “The Politics of Inequality”. The conceptual framework and its empirical application through survey experiments addresses the Cluster’s “3Ps”: participation, perceptions and policies. The “redistribution-from” study relates to the “participation” pillar because it studies how group dynamics in donor countries influence citizens’ preference formation regarding international solidarity. We plan to introduce interactive elements in our survey to simulate how respondents participate in solidarity actions. “Perceptions” are at the heart of the “redistribution-to” study, which investigates which social groups and countries are deemed to be deserving of international solidarity. In particular, we are interested in how donors perceive and evaluate past behavior of potential recipients as compared to expectations concerning their future behavior. In other words,

does a retrospective or prospective outlook determine solidarity choices? “Policies” are particularly prominent in the “redistribution-through” study, in which we inquire about public attitudes for different policy designs.

We vary the policy areas and forms of solidarity in all our studies. Finally, the results of the CONSOLI project will offer important lessons and policy implications regarding the appropriate policy design as well as the political justifications for international solidarity.

Main Results

We are currently preparing the first of two original surveys. This first survey will be fielded in eight European countries in spring 2023. For this survey, we are in the process of designing several factorial survey experiments. These experiments link all three parts of the distributive chain outlined above.

Because the experiments should be as realistic as possible, we work on connecting them to current international challenges, such as the energy crises resulting from the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the problem of democratic backsliding in some EU member states. Moreover, in our current stage we are also very much engaged in working on the theoretical underpinning of our empirical work.

Our theoretical work builds on research in social psychology, sociology and political science, in particular in the subfields of welfare state and social policy research, European integration and international organisations, as well as foreign and development aid, all of which we have surveyed extensively. While these diverse literatures have all touched upon important empirical questions related to CONSOLI, we are identifying shared causal mechanisms, which explain citizens' willingness to provide solidarity beyond the nation state across different policy areas and crises. For this purpose, we are building on models or principles of human behaviour established through lab and survey experiments in behavioural economics and social psychology. In particular, we are theorizing principles such as reciprocity, identity, need and control, the latter is closely re-

lated to blame attribution. In our first survey, we want to test how citizens weigh retrospective and prospective considerations when applying these principles. Do citizens in donor countries primarily care about the past actions of potential recipients of solidarity? Or do they factor in expectations about future behaviour? By posing this research question, we connect the study of solidarity to other research areas within political behaviour that have a strong time dimension, such as for example, the literature on prospective and retrospective voting.

Our theory-building and the designing of the survey can partly build on our previous research at the Cluster, for example on two recent (or forthcoming) publications based on the Cluster's COVID-19 and Inequality survey program: In December 2022, the article "Who Deserves European Solidarity? How Recipient Characteristics Shaped Public Support for International Medical and Financial Aid during COVID-19" co-authored by Max Heermann, Dirk Leuffen and Sebastian Koos has been published in the British Journal of Political Science. The article "Mobilizing Domestic Support for International Vaccine Solidarity – Recommendations for Health Crisis Communication" by Dirk Leuffen, Pascal Mouchid, Max Heermann and Sebastian Koos has recently been conditionally accepted by npj Vaccines. These two articles show that German citizens value the same "deservingness" principles when it comes to medical and financial solidarity. These results have important policy implications, especially for governments or political elites who want to win voters' support for solidary policies.

Based on the team members' own research, as well as a literature review, we have further developed policy implications in a contribution to the 2022 Progressive Governance Summit reader, titled "European Solidarity and the Politics of Blame and Reciprocity" (authored by Sharon Baute, Max Heermann and Dirk Leuffen), which was also published in the Green European Journal (see below).

Problems and Delays

Since we are still in the survey preparation stage, we have not yet encountered practical problems.

OUTPUT

Publications, Conferences, Knowledge Transfer

The CONSOLI team was invited to the Progressive Governance Summit 2022, taking place in Berlin in October 2022 (co-hosted by Das Progressive Zentrum and the Cluster on the Politics of Inequality) to present and discuss insights from current social science research on the public support for international solidarity. The audience consisted, besides academics, of policy-makers and NGO members, assuring fruitful and inspiring exchanges. We prepared a short commentary piece for the summit reader; a more extensive version was published in the Green European Journal. The article, titled "European Solidarity and the Politics of Blame and Reciprocity" synthesizes the findings – presented by Sharon Baute on a panel – from our research (partly funded by prior Cluster funding rounds) to provide evidence-based policy recommendations.

In July 2022, we presented the CONSOLI project at the Cluster Research Day.

Publications

Baute, Sharon; Heermann, Max; Leuffen, Dirk, 2022, European Solidarity and the Politics of Blame and Reciprocity. Green European Journal. 11/10/2022. <https://www.greeneuropeanjournal.eu/european-solidarity-and-the-politics-of-blame-and-reciprocity/> (condensed version published in "Progressive Governance Summit 2022: Summit Reader – Onwards and Upwards: Delivering on the Promise of Progress", available at: <https://progressive-governance.eu/progressive-voices/>).

Related Work

Heermann, Max, Sebastian Koos, Dirk Leuffen, 2022, Who Deserves European Solidarity? How Recipient Characteristics Shaped Public Support for International Medical and Financial Aid during COVID-19. British Journal of Political Science, available at: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/british-journal-of-political-science/article/who-deserves-european-solidarity-how-recipient-characteristics-shaped-public-support-for-international-medical-and-financial-aid-during-covid19/AB849083588680312E1AD8400BF6E455#>
Leuffen, Dirk, Pascal Mouchid, Max Heermann, Sebastian Koos, conditionally accepted for publication, Mobilizing Domestic Support for International Vaccine Solidarity – Recommendations for Health Crisis Communication. npj: Vaccines.

Documentation

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Vice Rector for Sustainability, Information and Communication Technology

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Managing Director

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Professor of Comparative Politics

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Professor of Policy Analysis & Political Theory

Prof. Dr. Miriam Butt

Professor of Theoretical & Computational Linguistics

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Professor for Personnel Economics and Human Resource Management

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Professor of Microsociology

Prof. Dr. Regine Eckardt

Professor of German and General Linguistics

Prof. Dr. Steffen Eckhard

Professor of Public Administration & Public Policy, ZU Friedrichshafen

Prof. Ph.D. Christina Felfe de Ormeño

Professor of Political Economy

Prof. Dr. Sebastian Findeisen

Professor of Political Economy

Prof. Dr. Urs Fischbacher

Professor of Applied Research in Economics

Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Gaissmaier

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Professor of Development Research

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Prof. Dr. Theodoros Marinis

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Prof. Dr. Gerald Schneider

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Professor of International Economics & Political Economy

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Prof. Dr. Rüdiger Wilhelmi

Professor of Civil Law with a Focus on Commercial Law

Prof. Dr. Nick Zubanov

Professor Organizational Economics

Prof. Dr. Christina Zuber

Professor of German Politics & Public Administration

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