

## Summaries

### **Tanja Brühl & Andreas Nölke: Tracing the Fragments of Global Social Policy.**

Whereas some authors argue that global social policy – defined as global redistributive policies, global social regulatory policies and elements of global provision and empowerment – does exist, other observers challenge this claim. These contradictory positions are the starting point of our article. In the first part, we investigate to what extent elements of global social policy can be found; we demonstrate that only fragments of global social policy exist, namely some norms of social justice and some weak global regulatory mechanisms. In the second part of our article, we identify reasons for the limited articulation of global social policy. We sketch social policy theories which have been developed for the national level and discuss their relevance for global social policy. In doing so, we highlight limited industrialization at the global level, the weakness of global trade unions and churches, the dominance of liberal international organizations, the veto power of powerful national governments and the weakness of (Scandinavian) welfare states in global politics as possible reasons for the rather fragmentary existence of global social policy.

### **Ingrid Wehr: Esping-Andersen travels South: Some Critical Remarks on the Comparative Research on Welfare.**

Until recently, comparative studies of welfare regimes have mainly been confined to a handful of countries in the North; thus, research on welfare regimes in the South is a rather new field. The following article presents a critical summary of the major advances and shortcomings of recent studies on welfare regimes in the South, focussing mainly on Latin American examples. Despite efforts to de-centre the comparative research agenda, analyses of welfare regimes outside the OECD-world still suffer from a euro-centric bias. In the context of a proliferation of typologies based on varieties of Esping-Andersen's three worlds of welfare capitalism, central aspects concerning the political reproduction of social inequality, i.e. power and authority relations, have so far been neglected. In discussing the central characteristics of exclusive and fragmented welfare regimes in Latin America, this article comes to some suggestions which would help to intensify the dialogue between welfare and post-transitional studies and refocus the research agenda on the central topic of redistribution.

### **Silke Staab: Families, women and volunteers – the limits of unpaid care in a development context.**

The past decades have witnessed the emergence of a rich body of literature on the gender dimensions of welfare states, social policy and care. While feminist research on care has made important theoretical, conceptual and empirical contributions, it has also been remarkably „local“, focusing mainly on the institutionalized welfare states of the advanced capitalist economies. Given this, many of the trends, issues and policies it has documented are not universal. This article draws on feminist debates in the „North“ to (re)think care in the „South“, where states

and markets often fail to create the basic conditions for decent livelihoods and care provision. In contexts of widespread poverty and inequality, precarious and informal labour markets, weak state capacity, as well as poor access to social protection and basic infrastructure, households and families assume a disproportionate share of material and social provisioning. The case of Tanzania is used to illustrate how the legacy of health sector restructuring, along with the additional care needs associated with the HIV/AIDs pandemic, are placing an increasingly unmanageable burden on families and so-called ‘community volunteers’, most of whom are women. It is argued that the residual social policies, emergency programmes and measures aimed at a more equitable distribution between men and women at the household-level are insufficient to address current care deficits. The article closes with a number of policy implications for reducing and redistributing women’s care burden in a development context.

**Katharina Lenner: The local translation of global political paradigms: on the politics of poverty reduction in Jordan.** This article analyses the role of local political forces and strategies in Jordan vis-à-vis the global agenda of poverty reduction. It argues that the development of poverty reduction policy, a new field of political intervention in Jordan since the 1990s, signifies the increased relevance of the global concept of poverty alleviation, which aims to target the poorest of the poor, helping them to help themselves. This global concept is being translated into the local political context, where it is articulated within the established Jordanian model of the paternalistic provider state. The emerging forms of social policy reflect the efforts of various groups who aim to have their strategies inscribed into the state’s apparatuses, as well as attempts from above to integrate politically relevant groups in symbolic and material terms and control those (socio-)political groups regarded as a potential risk to political stability.

**Anne Tittor: Privatization and social cuts as part of Global Social Policy? The role of international organizations in El Salvador’s Health Policy.** This article analyses the role of international organizations in the formation of national social policy by questioning their concrete interventions in El Salvador’s healthcare policy. As El Salvador is an exclusive welfare state where traditional elites have governed for a long time, one might assume that the efforts of International Organizations have had a positive effect. In contrast to this assumption, this article argues that International Organizations have been decisively involved in the history of the country and have helped stabilize a regime that for decades gave no priority to social policy and social reforms. As in many Latin American countries, the World Bank, the Interamerican Development Bank, the World Health Organization and bilateral development agencies have pushed forward neoliberal health reforms. A strong local social movement stopped the privatization of healthcare and started a discussion about „good“ healthcare policies.

**Kerstin Priwitzer: The Social Protection Index of the Asian Development Bank. A conceptual query with reference to Vietnam.** In the wake of the Asian financial crisis, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) has broadened its thematic focus from economic development to social protection. One of the bank's initiatives in this area was to design a Social Protection Index to measure and compare the social activities of member states. An analysis of the Vietnamese social protection system exemplifies two major restraints of the index: first, the index has severe conceptual shortcomings in that it leaves out questions of social rights and redistribution; secondly, the measurement of social protection in Vietnam does not take vulnerable groups such as ethnic minorities, the urban poor and women adequately into account. Given the current deficiencies, the allocation of development projects based on the index could further enhance the exclusion of certain vulnerable groups.

**Sina Lucia Kottmann: 'Moors' on Christian shores – repelling and incorporating the 'Other' in Southern Spain.** Since the Muslim presence on the Iberian Peninsula and the Christian (Re-)Conquista of Al' Andalus from the beginning of the 8th century, the encounter between Muslim and Christian cultures has left visible traces in the concrete landscapes, as well as invisible traces in the collective memory, of today's Spain. Spain's South is still an important site of junction and fracture between the Occident and Orient, Europe and Africa. Mainly illegal, immigration from the Maghreb and Sub-Saharan countries over the Mediterranean Sea has been on the increase since the 1980s, a fact that has revitalized the old dichotomy of Moors against Christians. The attacks by Al Qaeda in Casablanca and Madrid (2003/2004), as well as the dramatic 'sceneries of flight' into the barbed wire embankments of the Spanish enclaves Ceuta and Melilla, have heighten social tensions and nourished new fears of foreign Muslim infiltration. In the face of current global events, 'clash' and dialog with the cultural, religious or ethnic 'Other' are a central theme in social discourse as well as in the folklore practices of Southern Spain, which are described in the article.

**Kolja Lindner: 25 Years after the „Marche des Beurs“: Immigrant Struggles in France in the 1980s and Today.** The present essay appears twenty-five years after the 'Marche des Beurs', the name given to demonstrations staged throughout France by the children of North African immigrants. It studies the social and political context of this movement, examining both its successes and its failures. By looking at the present-day conflicts in the suburbs (*banlieues*), it argues that the configurations that came about in the 1980s continue to influence immigrant struggles. Yet, despite this influence, today's 'housing-estate generation' clearly differs from the 'Beur Generation'. Thus, despite the tense social situation, a depoliticisation has occurred, which, in conjunction with the interventions of the French president Nicolas Sarkozy, has confronted immigrant struggles in contemporary France with new challenges. Accordingly, the essay concludes with a discussion on the anti-racist strategies that propose to take up these challenges, as well as critically assimilate the experiences of the 'Marche des Beurs'.