

# Wer gewinnt, wer verliert? Zugespitzte Verteilungskonflikte in Zeiten multipler Krisen

Sektionstagung der DVPW Sektion Politische Ökonomie  
gefördert von der Fritz Thyssen Stiftung für Wissenschaftsförderung

22.-23. September 2022  
Villa Engler, Altensteinstraße 2, 14195 Berlin  
Freie Universität Berlin



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Freie Universität  Berlin

Fritz Thyssen Stiftung  
für Wissenschaftsförderung

**Donnerstag, 22. September 2022**

**Ab 8.30 Uhr**

**9.00 – 9.15 Uhr**

**Ankunft der Teilnehmer\*innen und Registration**

**Begrüßung** (Björn Bremer, Lea Elsässer und Thomas Rixen)

**9.30 – 11.00 Uhr**

**Panel 1a: Steuerpolitik in Zeiten der Globalisierung**

**André Walter** & Patrick Emmenegger

Ethnic Minorities, Interstate War, and Fiscal Capacity Development

**Loriana Crasnic**, Vincent Arel-Bundoc, Indra Römgens & Aaanor Roland

The EU and the Politics of Blacklisting Tax Havens

**Diederik Stadig**

The Unintentional Creation of a Tax Haven: How the Dutch Ruling Practice was Created, Continued, and Eventually Cracked Down on

**Jonas Horn**

Der Einfluss der COVID-19-Pandemie auf das internationale Steuersystem

Chair/Diskutant\*in

**Laura Seelkopf**

**Panel 1b: Wachstumsmodelle und ihre Konsequenzen für politische Konflikte**

**Erik Neimanns** & Lucio Baccaro

The Moderating Impact of Export-Led Growth on the Left

**Mischa Stratenwerth**

German Producer Groups and Export-led Growth: Macroeconomic Strategy or Emergent Policy Regime?

Philip Rathgeb & **Jonathan Hopkin**

The Growth Models Strategies of Anti-System Parties

**David Kläffling**

Varieties of Corporate Saving

Chair/Diskutant\*in

**Andreas Nölke**

**11.00 – 11.30 Uhr**

**Kaffeepause**

**11.30 – 13.00 Uhr**

**Panel 2a: Wählerpräferenzen und Steuerpolitik zur Bewältigung multipler Krisen**

**Leo Ahrens**

The Electoral Consequences of Taxation

**Julian Limberg**, David Hope & Nina Weber

Effort, Skill, and Fairness Perceptions: An Experimental Study on Preferences for Taxing the Rich in the Knowledge Economy

**Hanna Lierse**

Zero-Carbon Societies and Taxation

**Laura Seelkopf**, Philipp Genschel & Julian Limberg

Covid, Climate, and The Tax State

Chair/Diskutant\*in

**Nils Steiner**

**Panel 2b: Vermögen und politische Konflikte im *Asset Manager* Kapitalismus**

<b>Sebastian Kohl &amp; James Wood</b>	The State House Prices Make: The Political Elasticities of House Prices & Rents
<b>Hanna Doose</b>	Business Power, Asset Liquidity and the Regulation of Land Acquisition Taxes in Germany and Sweden
<b>Carmen Giovanazzi</b>	Whose Cake? Ownership Structures of Large Firms in Germany
<b>Dustin Voss</b>	The Politics of Asset Manager Capitalism: A Coalitional Perspective
Chair/Diskutant*in	<b>Benjamin Braun</b>

**13.00 – 14:00 Uhr****Mittagspause****14.00 - 15:45 Uhr****Panel 3a: Steuerpolitik, Umverteilung und die Rolle dominanter politischer Diskurse**

<b>Ursula Dallinger</b>	Vermögen und Verteilungskonflikte – mediale Rahmen und politische Unterstützung der Bürger für eine Vermögensteuer
<b>Florian Fastenrath &amp; Paul Marx</b>	Können Demokratien Reiche höher besteuern? Lehren aus dem Bundestagswahlkampf von 2021
<b>Bastian Becker &amp; Nora Waitkus</b>	Taxing Nazi Wealth: Historical Sources of Wealth and Preferences over Taxation
<b>Moritz Gartiser</b>	(Don't) Fear the Reaper: Tax Policy Frames in German Print Media
<b>Gerald Schneider &amp; Oleksandr Shevchuk</b>	Rescuing the Rich? Financial Crisis Management and Inequality
Chair/Diskutant*in	<b>André Walter</b>

**Panel 3b: Finanz- und Geldpolitik zwischen demokratischer Kontrolle und Technokratisierung**

<b>Maximilian Krahé</b>	Democratising the Allocative Function of Finance: Mechanisms and Risks
<b>Joscha Wullweber</b>	Central Banks as Wealth Redistributors of Last Resort? Dilemmas of Post-Lehman Monetary Policies
<b>Christoph Scherrer &amp; Nora Horn</b>	The Political Economy of Asset versus Consumer Inflation
<b>Charlotte Rommerskirchen</b>	Central Banking and Public Debt Management in Times of Financial Dominance
<b>Jenny Preunkert</b>	Primary Dealer Systems as Power Figurations
Chair/Diskutant*in	<b>Andrea Binder</b>

**Panel 3c: Herausforderungen für internationale Organisationen**

<b>Eugénia C. Heldt</b> , Henning Schmidtke & Omar Ramon Serrano Oswald	China's Varieties of Multilateral Engagement in Global Economic Governance
<b>Inken von Borzyskowski &amp; Felicity Vabulas</b>	The Unequal Effects of State Withdrawal from International Organizations
<b>Gisela Hirschmann</b>	The Costs of Membership Withdrawal for IO Authority
<b>Bernhard Reinsberg &amp; M. Rodwan Abouharb</b>	The Local Political Economy of IMF Lending: Partisanship, Protection, Punishment, and Protest
Chair/Diskutant*in	<b>Andreas Kruck</b>

**15:45 – 16:15 Uhr****Kaffeepause**

## 16.15 – 18.00

### Panel 4a: Ungleichheit und politische Polarisierung

<b>Nils D. Steiner</b>	Economic Inequality, Unfairness Perceptions, and Populist Attitudes
<b>Lukas Haffert</b> , Tabea Palmtag & Dominik Schraff	Appealing to the Local Voter: Place-Based Campaigning and the Supply-Side of the Urban-Rural Divide
<b>Alexander Horn</b> , Martin Haselmayer & Jonathan Klüser	Party Responsiveness to Economic Inequality: Challenging Received Wisdom Using New Data
<b>Hannah Löffler</b>	What Happens to Renters? Housing Prices, Risks and Political Trust
<b>Andreas Nölke</b> Chair/Diskutant*in	The Corona Crisis and Its Effects on Inequality <b>Björn Bremer</b>

### Panel 4b: Finanzmärkte und verteilungspolitische Konflikte

<b>Mareike Beck</b>	Extroverted Financialisation and the Search for High Yielding Assets
<b>Michael Schwan</b> , Mark Cassell & Marc Schneiberg	Resiliency Through Plurality: Alternative Banking, Economic Policymaking and the Distribution of Covid-19 Loans in Germany
<b>Tobias Pforr</b> , Fabian Pape & Steffen Murau	After the Allocation: What Role for the Special Drawing Rights System?
<b>Konstantin Dulin</b> Chair/Diskutant*in	Variegated Financialization: The Case of Higher Education <b>Charlotte Rommerskirchen</b>

### Panel 4c: Sich wandelnde Nord-Süd-Beziehungen im Kontext von Imperialismus und Postkolonialismus

<b>Kai Koddenbrock</b>	African States in World Markets: Systemic Hierarchies and the Postcolonial International Political Economy of Governing Senegal
<b>Carina Schmitt</b> & Amanda Shriwise	Imperialism and the Emergence of Western Welfare States
<b>Paula Haufe</b>	European Climate Finance: Uneven Unfoldings and (Neo-)Colonial Patterns?
<b>Lukas Hakelberg</b> & Loriana Crasnic	The Colonial Origins of Tax Havenry: Money Panic, Decolonialization and Race
<b>Clara Weinhardt</b> , Johannes Petry & Klaus Dingwerth Chair/Diskutant*in	What is a Developing Country? Comparing the Politics of Status in Finance, Trade and Climate Governance in a Multipolar Era <b>Tobias ten Brink</b>

18.30 - 19.00

**Empfang mit anschließendem Abendessen**

**Freitag, 23. September 2022**

**9.00 – 10.45 Uhr**

**Panel 5a: Politische Ökonomie der ökologischen Transformation**

<b>Jonas Bunte &amp; Patrick Bayer</b>	Emissions, Audits, and the EXIM Bank
<b>Jonas Fischer</b>	Wiedervereinigung, Deindustrialisierung und Klimapolitik
<b>Felix Anderl</b> and Anna Wolkenhauer	Distributing the Countryside: The Agrarian Question of the 21st Century and the Contradictions of the Smallholder
Chair/Diskutant*in	<i>to be confirmed</i>

**Panel 5b: Verteilungspolitische Konflikte in der EU**

<b>Magnus Schoeller &amp; Sebastian Heidebrecht</b>	A Case of Policy Learning? Germany's Eurozone Trilemma and the Distributional Consequences of Persistent Inflation
<b>Nils Oellerich &amp; Jasper Simons</b>	Functional Requirements and Political Determinants: Explaining Variation in Recovery and Resilience Plans in Central and Eastern Europe
<b>Ann-Kathrin Reinl &amp; Francesco Nicoli</b>	EU Health Solidarity During the COVID-19 Pandemic: Exploring the Role of Regional Inequalities and the Transnational Cleavage in Public Preferences for EU Medicines Procurement
<b>Katrijn Siderius</b>	Towards a European Investment State? The European Green Deal and the Politics of the Climate-Neutral Welfare State
Chair/Diskutant*in	<b>Daniel Seikel</b>

**Panel 5c: Geo-Ökonomie und verteilungspolitische Konflikte**

<b>Hans-Jürgen Bieling &amp; Joscha Abels</b>	The Geoeconomics of Infrastructures Viewing Globalisation and Global Rivalry through a Lens of Infrastructural Competition
<b>Elisabeth Winter</b>	Geoökonomie und Gerechtigkeit: Bestehende Ungleichheiten im Spannungsfeld von Wirtschafts- und Sicherheitspolitik
<b>Helena Gräf &amp; Stefan Schmalz</b>	Conflicts Over the Rise of Chinese Capitalism: The Political-Economic Reconfiguration of the European Union's Economic Governance
<b>Andreas Kruck &amp; Moritz Weiss</b>	Rules, Expertise, and the Political Economy of the Emerging Regulatory Security State
<b>Daniel Mügge</b>	Regulatory Interdependence in Artificial Intelligence
Chair/Diskutant*in	<b>Kai Koddenbrock</b>

**10.45 – 11.15 Uhr Kaffeepause**

**11.15 – 12.45 Uhr: Sektionstreffen**

**12.45 – 13.30 Uhr**

**Mittagspause**

**13.30 – 14:30 Uhr: Unsere Sektion und Wissenschaftler\*innen in der Qualifizierungsphase**

**14:45 – 16:15 Uhr**

**Panel 6a: Arbeitsmarkt, Wirtschaftspolitik und verteilungspolitische Konflikte**

**Georg Picot**, Michal Kozák &  
Peter Starke

Do Minimum Wages Crowd Out Union Density?

**Benedikt Bender**

Class Conflict or Consensus? Understanding Social  
Partner Positions on Social Policy Reforms in Germany  
Through a Systematic Content Analysis of all Press  
Releases

Adrienn Győry, **Kerem Gabriel  
Öktem** & Dorottya Szikra

Welfare State Development in Hungary, Poland, Russia  
and Turkey under Democratic Backsliding

**Pauline Kohlhase**

The German Export-Led Growth Model – Who Benefits?  
A Quantitative Approach to Intersectional Labour Market  
Integration Inequality in the Export Sector

Chair/Diskutant\*in

**Alexander Horn & Carina Schmitt**

**Panel 6b: Finanzmärkte und die ökologische Transformation**

**Andrea Binder**

The Bank of England's Sustainability Mandate and the  
(Re)Politicisation of Money

**Kardelen Günaydin**

Unpacking Climate-Related Financial Risks: The Central  
Bank-Finance Nexus in Climate Risk Disclosure

**Benjamin Braun** & Daniela Gabor

Green Macro-Financial Regimes

**Jan Fichtner**, Johannes Petry &  
Robin Jaspert

To ESG or not to ESG? The Emerging Governance and  
Regulation of Green Finance

Chair/Diskutant\*in

**Thomas Rixen**

**Panel 6c: Europäische Integration und ihre verteilungspolitischen Auswirkungen**

**Thomas Schwab**

Who Gains, Who Loses? European Regions and the Twin  
Transition

**Andrew Watt**

Does Negative Integration Dominate Positive Integration?  
An Empirical Analysis

**Daniel Seikel**

Europäische Integration und gesellschaftliche  
Kräfteverhältnisse: Alte und neue Asymmetrien im  
europäischen Mehr-Ebenen-System

**Franziska Laudenbach**, Philipp  
Gies & Marcus Franke

The Renaissance of Sectoral Social Dialogues: Did the  
Covid-19 Pandemic Serve as an Amplifier of  
Transnational Workers Solidarity at the Level of Sectoral  
Social Dialogues?

Chair/Diskutant\*in

**Hans-Jürgen Bieling**

**16:15-16:30**

**Kaffeepause**

**16:30 – 16:45 Uhr**

**Verabschiedung** (Björn Bremer, Lea Elsässer und  
Thomas Rixen)