

# 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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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 und Thomas Rixen)

**9:30 – 11:00 Uhr**

**Grüner Raum (1. OG)**

**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 Römogens & **Aaanor**

The EU and the Politics of Blacklisting Tax Havens

**Roland**

**Diederik Stadig**

Are the Danes Dumb or Decent? Why did the Netherlands  
become a tax haven and Denmark did not?

**Jonas Horn**

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

Chair/Diskutant\*in

**Laura Seelkopf & Lukas Hakelberg**

**Blauer Raum (EG)**

**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?

**David Kläffling**

Varieties of Corporate Saving

Chair/Diskutant\*in

**Andreas Nölke**

**11:00 – 11:30 Uhr**

**Kaffeepause**

**11:30 – 13:00 Uhr**

**Blauer Raum (EG)**

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

**Leo Ahrens** & **Frank Bandau**

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

**Moritz Gartiser**

(Don't) Fear the Reaper: Tax Policy Frames in German  
Print Media

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

Covid, Climate, and The Tax State

Chair/Diskutant\*in

**Nils Steiner**

### Grüner Raum (1. OG)

#### **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 – 15:30 Uhr

### Blauer Raum (EG)

#### **Panel 3a: Steuerpolitik, Umverteilung und die Rolle dominanter politischer Diskurse**

<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>Gerald Schneider &amp; Oleksandr Shevchuk</b>	Rescuing the Rich? Financial Crisis Management and Inequality
Chair/Diskutant*in	<b>André Walter</b>

### Grüner Raum (1. OG)

#### **Panel 3b: Finanzmärkte und verteilungspolitische Konflikte**

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

### Roter Raum (1. OG)

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

<b>Benjamin Daßler, Tim Heinkelmann-Wild &amp; Andreas Kruck</b>	When Established Powers Revolt: Negative Institutional Power and the Contestation of International Institutions
<b>Inken von Borzyskowski &amp; Felicity Vabulas</b>	The Unequal Effects of State Withdrawal from International Organizations
<b>Bernhard Reinsberg &amp; M. Rodwan Abouharb</b>	The Local Political Economy of IMF Lending: Partisanship, Protection, Punishment, and Protest
<b>Lisa Dellmuth, Frank Schimmelfennig &amp; Dominik Schraff</b>	Distributive Fairness and Legitimacy in Regional Trade Organizations
Chair/Diskutant*in	<b>Andreas Kruck &amp; Inken von Borzyskowski</b>

15:30 – 16:00 Uhr

**Kaffeepause**

16:00 – 17:45

**Blauer Raum (EG)**

**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>Andreas Nölke</b> Chair/Diskutant*in	The Corona Crisis and Its Effects on Inequality <b>Björn Bremer</b>

**Grüner Raum (1. OG)**

**Panel 4b: 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> Chair/Diskutant*in	Primary Dealer Systems as Power Figurations <b>Martin Höpner &amp; Andrea Binder</b>

**Roter Raum (1. OG)**

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

<b>Paula Haufe</b>	European Climate Finance: Uneven Unfoldings and (Neo-)Colonial Patterns?
<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>Lukas Hakelberg &amp; Loriana Crasnic</b>	The Colonial Origins of Tax Havenry: Money Panic, Decolonialization and Race
<b>Clara Weinhardt &amp; Johannes Petry</b> 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>

**18:00 – 19:30**

**Empfang mit anschließenden, gemeinsamen Spaziergang zum Restaurant**

**19:30 Uhr**

**Abendessen in der Eierschale Dahlem** (Podbielskiallee 50, 14195 Berlin)

**Freitag, 23. September 2022**

**9:00 – 10:30 Uhr**

**Roter Raum (1. OG)**

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

<b>Jonas Bunte &amp; Patrick Bayer</b>	Emissions, Audits, and the EXIM Bank
<b>Jonas Fischer</b>	Deindustrialization and the Political Geography of Climate Change
<b>Felix Anderl</b> and Anna Wolkenhauer	Distributing the Countryside: The Agrarian Question of the 21st Century and the Contradictions of the Smallholder
<b>Clara Heinrich</b>	Blackrock's Stakeholder Capitalism - On the Productive Power of Passive Investors.
Chair/Diskutant*in	<b>Andrea Binder &amp; Laura Seelkopf</b>

**Grüner Raum (1. OG)**

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

<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>

**Blauer Raum (EG)**

**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>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>Clara Weinhardt &amp; Philipp Genschel</b>

**10:30 – 11:00 Uhr**

**Kaffeepause**

**Blauer Raum (EG)**

**11:00 – 12:30 Uhr: Sektionstreffen**

**12:30 – 13:30 Uhr**

**Mittagspause**

**Blauer Raum (EG)**

**13:30 – 14:30 Uhr: Unsere Sektion und Wissenschaftler\*innen in der Qualifizierungsphase mit Inputs von Berenike Prem (DVPW Q-Ausschuss) & Armin Schäfer (DVPW Vorstand)**

14:30-14:45 Uhr

Kaffeepause

14:45 – 16:15 Uhr

**Grüner Raum (1. OG)**

**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 & Jonas Bunte**

**Blauer Raum (EG)**

**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**

**Roter Raum (1. OG)**

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

Thomas Schwab & **Lucas Resende**  
**Carvalho**

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 Laudенbach**, 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 Uhr

Kaffeepause

16:30 – 16:45 Uhr

**Verabschiedung** (Björn Bremer und Thomas Rixen)