Real Distributive and Emancipatory Dilemmas Within Disability Policy Regimes:

Comparative Perspectives with a Focus on Switzerland

Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Freiburg (Schweiz)

Vorgelegt von Christoph Tschanz von Grosshöchstetten (BE)

Art der Dissertation: Kumulative Dissertation

Genehmigt von der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Freiburg (Schweiz) auf Antrag von Prof. Dr. Monica Budowski, Prof. Dr. Justin J. W. Powell und Prof. Dr. Andreas Hadjar (Gutachter*innen). Fribourg, den 16. Februar 2022. Prof. Dr. Dominik Schöbi (Dekan)

UNIVERSITÉ DE FRIBOURG
UNIVERSITÄT FREIBURG

Real Distributive and Emancipatory Dilemmas Within Disability Policy Regimes:

Comparative Perspectives with a Focus on Switzerland

Cumulative Thesis to obtain a Doctor of Philosophy in Social Work and Social Policy at the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland)

Christoph Tschanz

E-Mail: christoph.tschanz@bfh.ch

Doctoral Supervisors:

Prof. Dr. Monica Budowski (Co-Supervisor)

Prof. Dr. Justin J. W. Powell (Co-Supervisor)

Submitted: 13 September 2021

Defended: 16 February 2022

Published: May 2022

DOI: https://doi.org/10.51363/unifr.lth.2022.001

UNI
FR

UNIVERSITÉ DE FRIBOURG
UNIVERSITÄT FREIBURG

This thesis received support by the the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) via Doc.CH grant (No. 172008).

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to thank my two supervisors, Monica Budowski and Justin J. W. Powell, from the bottom of my heart. They offered me excellent guidance, gave me a lot of freedom, and were always accessible and appreciative. Many thanks for accepting me at the University of Fribourg and for making the exchange semester at the University of Luxembourg possible.

Furthermore, I would like to thank the entire Department of Social Work, Social Policy, and Global Development team for welcoming me as a colleague, supporting me, and challenging me again and again. In particular, I would like to thank Daniel Künzler, who was always available for formal and informal questions and concerns. Furthermore, I also want to thank Robert Schäfer for the many lively lunch hours during which he gently but constantly challenged my social constructivist beliefs.

The opportunity to exchange ideas with other doctoral students was very valuable to me. I want to thank Matthias Schulz, Nina Jany, Jacqueline Kalbermatter, Saro Gibilisco, and, during my exchange semester at the University of Luxembourg, Marcelo Marques and Jennifer Dusdal. Such exchanges with peers also provided significant enrichment. Furthermore, it was beneficial to interact with other doctoral students and external experts and to receive critical feedback at the doctoral program PROWEL. Many thanks to swissuniversities for funding this doctoral program.

I would also like to express my gratitude for all the help I have received from support systems and mechanisms, both overt and behind the scenes. First and foremost, thanks go to the Swiss National Science Foundation and the University of Fribourg, which supported me with resources and infrastructure. But beyond these, I would also like to express my thanks for sources of support that remain hidden—librarians, editors, publishers, and numerous anonymous reviewers—for their constructive criticism and heartfelt support.

Last but not least, my deepest thanks go out to my personal environment. A big thank you to Anna for being the way she is and for always being there for me (even if my doctoral endeavor took up a lot of space). Charlotte, I want to thank you for being born and now being there every day. Lastly, many thanks to my family and friends. You have been an enormous source of support for me.

Dissertation Summary

Disability policy is an important policy field. However, it exhibits many contradictions and poses dilemmas. The central dilemma is that epistemic classifications often bring negative effects, but these, in turn, are necessary to provide targeted support and redistribution. The objective of this dissertation is to shed light on social policies, social services, and educational transition schemes in the area of disability policy. Disability policy regimes are assumed to comprise policies that structure reality in education, work, and care arrangements and govern disability and disablement. To investigate the different social realities of disability policy, the author has chosen a comparative perspective with a special focus on Switzerland. The dissertation employs ontological explorations, secondary data analyses, and comparative case studies.

The results of the dissertation allow, on the one hand, the classification of current Swiss disability policies in comparison to other Western countries. In doing so, policies at the interfaces between the welfare state and the labor market and between the welfare state and care and support arrangements are elucidated and rendered more comprehensible. On the other hand, by drawing on discourses of comparative welfare state research and disability studies, the results of the dissertation allow the case of Switzerland to be included in an academic field of discourse and a body of literature. The dissertation is framed by critical realism, which, in addition to its philosophy of science, also provides a very suitable ontology of emergentist materialism.

Keywords: disability policy, comparative social policy, disability studies, welfare state, social care, critical realism, Switzerland

List of Papers

I Tschanz, Christoph and Ivo Staub (2017). Disability-policy models in European welfare regimes: comparing the distribution of social protection, labour-market integration and civil rights. *Disability & Society, 32* (8), 1199–1215.

II Tschanz, Christoph (2018). Theorizing Disability Care (Non-)Personalisation in European Countries: Comparing Personal Assistant Schemes in Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. *Social Inclusion, 6* (2), 22–33.

III Tschanz, Christoph and Justin J. W. Powell (2020). Competing Institutional Logics and Paradoxical Universalism: School-to-Work Transitions of Disabled Youth in Switzerland and the United States. *Social Inclusion, 8* (1), 155–167.

IV Tschanz, Christoph (accepted for publication in *ALTER – European Journal of Disability Research*). Disability care services between welfare regime pre-conditioning and emancipatory change to independent living: A comparison of 10 European cases with fuzzy set ideal-type analysis.

V Editor-reviewed position papers for a wider public:

> Tschanz, Christoph (2017). Zwischen Barrierefreiheit, Aktivierung und Marktradikalismus. Der Zugang zum Arbeitsmarkt durch die Invalidenversicherung. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Heilpädagogik, 23* (3), 27–35.
>
> Tschanz, Christoph (2019). Anregungen zur Umsetzung von Artikel 19 der UN-BRK in der Schweiz: Herausforderungen und Lösungsvorschläge. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Heilpädagogik, 25* (9), 6–12.

Table of Contents

List of Tables[1]

List of Figures[2]

---

[1] *Referring to the Tables in Part A and Part C. For Tables in the papers (Part B) see the papers.*

[2] *Referring to the Figures in Part A and Part C. For Figures in the papers (Part B) see the papers.*

Preface

I want to provide the readers of this thesis with some biographical and thesis-specific information that is essential for a broader understanding of my (theoretical) paths and endeavors. This PhD thesis is the result of a couple of years of academic occupation with the welfare state and disability policy topics. The main time frame of this occupation ranged between October 2015 and October 2020. I had the opportunity to be employed at the University of Fribourg, first through a university employment contract and then thanks to a Doc.CH-grant provided by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF), and started my PhD thesis in September 2016. However, my occupation with these themes had already begun in March 2013, when I began to write my MA thesis around the same topic. Between March 2013 and August 2015, I was employed as a coach in a supported employment service for people within the autism spectrum on behalf of Swiss disability insurance, first as a working student and then prolonging my employment until summer 2015 when I left to start work at the University of Fribourg.

In principle, I may not be the best person to deal with disability studies. First, it is vital to know that I am a white, heterosexual, non-disabled man who grew up in a German-speaking Swiss middle-class environment with non-discriminatory access to public education. I have a bodyweight that is not in the range of socially desired normality. Still, apart from this fact, I am a prototype of a privileged and non-discriminated-against individual who can fearlessly swim in the shoal of current Swiss normality (although sensitive qualitative biographical researchers might also find things in my biography that could at least leave them open to not confirming this status in a categorical way).

Two factors at the heart of my reflections were my political orientation and my professional experiences. I have never been part of the disability movement; however, I was politicized by the campaign against the US invasion in Iraq and have been part of a local Bernese group of the leftist movement *attac*. While I was active in the *attac* group (2003–2008), the right-wing Swiss People's Party's attack on Swiss disability insurance bothered me deeply. Just a few years later, I found myself working under the new Swiss disability insurance activating paradigm. I encountered disability studies in the same time frame. One of my first readings was “The New Politics of Disablement” (Oliver and Barnes 2012), in which I hoped to find critical explanations of the ambivalent circumstances I experienced in my occupation.

On the one hand, I was highly fascinated by Oliver and Barnes (2012) since I love grand theories. On the other hand, I was also greatly disappointed. Their main direction did not seem to capture well the powerfully activating and partly regressive elements in Switzerland. In my occupation, I repeatedly experienced clients who received an adverse disability benefits decision. Following a facile understanding of Oliver and Barnes (2012), they should have felt liberated since being labeled by medicine and the welfare state is a form of oppression. In my everyday work experience, however, I instead encountered human beings facing crises and insecurity due to being officially labeled not disabled (enough). One case (that haunts me to this day) even reacted with a complete psychical breakdown and self-admission to psychiatric treatment because of a negative disability benefits assessment. In addition, I was stunned by the importance attributed by Oliver and Barnes (2012) to the idea of the materialistic social model. Placing an idea at the center in this way has a genuinely idealistic slant that I found incoherent with the Marxian view.

Another factor readers of this thesis must know is my mother’s occupation. I grew up in a highly social-democratic environment as the son of a social pedagogue. My mother’s familial and friendly contacts are defined by a high density of professional caregivers, social pedagogues, and social workers (therefore, I am familiar with discourses and self-descriptions of benevolent paternalism entirely from the inside). However, I was highly intrigued to encounter emancipatory disability activists as an undergraduate student in 2007/2008. I had the opportunity to contact Katharina Kanka and listen to Peter Wehrli in their fight for personal assistance, which was a contested topic at the time. I found my encounters with these activists utterly fascinating since they occurred during a time in my life when I was extremely open to radical contingencies since I was convinced that the world could and should be completely different.

But my social background has also influenced my view of things. I was, from the beginning, insecure about how to subsume those living radical independent activists into my previous political landscape. Their habitus seemed leftist; however, their demands, which seemed progressive and critical, were also directed against state actors and based on liberal assumptions. It took a few years before I encountered Nancy Fraser’s triple movement theory and experienced a considerable “Aha!” moment in this respect. My social background made me want to explore the terrain between emancipation and social protection because I did not want to give up the latter either. My social background was influential insofar as I never perceived my mother's status as overly privileged. During my thesis, I helped plan her retirement. Formerly employed almost full-time in a professional career and the primary caretaker for two children, she now lives on a pension that allows a lower-middle-class existence in Switzerland. In addition, I am part of a social protection organization. I am a proud member of the VPOD/SSP trade union, which played a critical role in highlighting the underlying ideas of cost reduction and the unsatisfactory wages of personal assistants in contested negotiations around the introduction of personal assistance in Switzerland (VPOD/SSP 2009).

In retrospect, my political orientation, professional experiences, and social background never allowed me to get out of my skin and shaped the way I read theory. When I heard the affirmative progress statement that disability used to be a phenomenon of the welfare state and now has to be dealt with exclusively in terms of human rights, I always cringed inwardly. My perception and experience have always been different: welfare state redistribution seems endangered to me, regressive-reactionary deconstructivism powerful, and progress uncertain. Beyond that, personal experience was shaping my thinking about the body. In April 2017, I had a panic attack, my first and only one so far. Fortunately, I got help quickly. Because I quickly got a handle on the sleep difficulties that co-occurred, I was, fortunately, able to avoid a more severe depressive phase. However, the panic attack was a deeply existential experience for me.

In principle, it led to my very personal discovery of my body and my psyche. In addition to psychotherapy, I began to go to Shiatsu and practice Tai Chi regularly, and I have learned to "loosen the reins" whenever sleep problems first occur and avoid pulling them even tighter. However, the event also had apparent social components. Studying for a doctorate is a great personal challenge that is not well protected socially (it would, for example, be sensible to have SNSF PhD wages that are above and not below the proposed minimum wage of the trade unions). Without wanting to go into a monocausal accusation, I must mention that I experienced the application process for the Doc.CH grant as particularly challenging and stressful. The great degree of freedom and free time I was able to experience afterward only came at the price of self-promotion in a competitive environment at an early stage of my professional career. It was painful to discover that intrinsic motivation for a specific topic is no longer enough and that you have to promote that motivation instead. However, I must, of course, emphasize my privilege. I received the grant on the first try. The fact that many leave empty-handed after this promotional tour is frustrating.

Furthermore, I only came to another very disappointing realization long after spring 2017: individuals who complete their doctorate by means of SNSF funding at the University of Fribourg have no social protection in case of prolonged illness (Schief 2020). Therefore, I realized not only that I was lucky not to be absent due to illness for a more extended period but also that maintaining my health was imperative given my situation. This circumstance has given me food for thought. The SNSF and the University of Fribourg must consider whom they might inadvertently exclude from studies through such apparent abdication of responsibility.

The major discovery for this dissertation was that of critical realism. I came into contact with critical realism in spring 2019. During a review process for the *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research*, an anonymous reviewer wrote something to the following effect: your theoretical considerations are interesting, but there is a lack of coherence in your philosophy of science. Because it seems as if your arguments are implicitly similar to critical realist positions, I strongly recommend reading Roy Bhaskar. This advice was key for my dissertation and has given it a new direction. Critical realism has helped me immensely and has played a constructive role as an “underlabourer” and “midwife” (Bhaskar 1998 [1979]: 197) for the final version of the dissertation.

In retrospect, my path to critical realism does not seem surprising. First, I always had an affinity for (grand) theory. Second, due to the nature of my privileged situation, the primary matter of concern has never been epistemic liberation. Instead, I have always sought to get theoretically closer to my observations and concerns around activation, neoliberalism, and emancipation in the field of disability politics and related policies. In my master’s thesis, being a social constructivist, I called this process of moving closer to things instead of away from them (Latour 2004: 231) a reconstruction (Tschanz 2015: 41). Third, I have never been a positivist. Instead, critical realism helped me take my first steps in thinking about causality. Before that, I always abstained from doing so because the terrain seemed to be highly burdened by positivism.

Moreover, the Popperian strategy of hypothesis testing has always stood in sharp contrast to the way my brain works. I cannot deal with a theory like an engineer or architect who first makes a sketch and then executes it. The fixation on one or two theories, which one tests afterward, runs contrary to my instincts. My approach to theory is much more like that of a (realist) collagist who never ceases making changes and additions until the collage is finished (my sincere apologies to both of my PhD supervisors for not sticking with the table of contents of this umbrella text as discussed in July 2021). My brain seems to take a reasonably retroductive approach to theory on its own.

A cumulative dissertation specifically requires that the umbrella text be written virtually last; thus, the thought process is further developed than when writing the papers, which, for readers, come later in the thesis. In the meantime, I have developed my thoughts further. I would like to apologize for my most problematic mistake. I sincerely apologize for using such a Western Eurocentric naming of Continental European cases as Central European cases in Paper I.

My thesis is located at the intersection of disability studies and the welfare regime approach. It is essential to keep in mind that the thesis can have very different effects on potential readers. On the one hand, it will be provocative reading for theorists of disability studies committed to radical emancipation and radical epistemic liberation. For researchers in comparative welfare, on the other hand, it is a relatively normal piece of research for which, at most, the positivist half of the community might accuse me of being too normative. Accordingly, there is a gap between the provocative potential of this thesis for one group and the relatively unspectacular impression it may make on the other. My goal, however, was never to be as provocative as possible toward theorists of disability studies. The intense preoccupation with these questions also had to do with an interest in self-development. In the course of the dissertation, my mind has been powerfully drawn to theoretical debates around disability studies and the place of critical realism within them. Comparative welfare research, on the other hand, has not exerted a comparable pull.

For people outside Switzerland, it might seem strange that I want to end this preface with the statement that I am unsure whether my dissertation should be categorized under disability studies. After all, I refer extensively to (or encroach upon) the body of literature of disability studies. From a Swiss point of view, however, this is a justifiable concern. Disability studies has not really been institutionalized in Switzerland yet (e.g., Köbsell, Hermes, Kuppers, Schönwiese, and Wehrli 2020; Pfahl and Powell 2014; Renggli 2004). The most remarkable impression on me in my encounters with emancipatory activists was made by Aiha Zemp, whom I was fortunate enough to encounter twice. I met her as an undergraduate student in a two-day block course and as a social pedagogue when we called her in as an expert to review the sexual concept at the Blidenschule Zollikofen.

From my point of view, it was a tremendous loss to see Aiha Zemp emigrate in 1997 because of numerous personal threats against her and the impossibility of living in a self-determined manner with personal assistance in Switzerland (Zemp 2000: 41–44). At the time of her emigration, she had her doctorate in the bag and wanted to reorient herself professionally because 25 years of work as a psychotherapist seemed enough (Zemp 2000: 41–44). If conditions had been more humane and progressive in Switzerland, she would have had a considerable pool of experience that could have been transferred into theory, as described by Boger (2019a). Without difficulty, it is possible to imagine her having already explored many theories at the Summer University in Kassel, which provided a starting point for disability studies in the German-speaking arena (Hermes and Köbsell 2003). Switzerland has thus lost its potentially first professor of disability studies with this emigration.

I am delighted to see the collective organization Interessensgemeinschaft Disability Studies forming now. However, it will be their collective and collaborative task to decide how to deal with me as a person who has had the privilege of transforming into theory experiences arising from a social background and professional occupation within (and not in tension with) the welfare state. I did not mention my panic attack in the preface to develop a crude argument that we are all vulnerable and therefore in the same boat. Of course, we are all vulnerable, but the fact that Aiha Zemp, unlike me, did not have the privilege to transform her experiences into theory points to many things that need to be thought through.

In this respect, I would like to end with reference to Ben Vautier: La suisse n’existe pas. Je pense alors je suisse. Les disability studies suisse n’existent pas encore. Je pense pour que je sois mais je ne suis pas disability studies suisse.

Part A: Theoretical and Methodological Framework

1 Introduction

Disability is not easy to grasp since it is an enigmatic category (Germann, Kaba, Nienhaus, and Wolfisberg 2006: 19). However, since the 1970s, one can observe a shift in the perception of disability in Western countries (Zahnd 2017) that is also evident in Switzerland (Johner-Kobi 2015). The world has seen many changes since the 1970s. The economic crisis of the 1970s, the abandonment of the gold standard, and the collapse of the Bretton Woods institutions have proven, in retrospect, to be key starting points for socio-economic transformations, which were accelerated by the collapse of state socialism in the late 1980s. On the other hand, one can observe an isochronic formation of new emancipatory social movements, of which the disability movement is one. The new emancipatory movements have brought in new ideas and challenged old ones.

Since the 1990s, two relatively new fields of social science research, disability studies and the welfare regime approach, have gained considerable momentum. Disability studies owes its essential impulses to the social movement of disabled people (Waldschmidt 2005: 9–10). At its core lies the imperative to embrace and bring in new ideas about disability and challenge old ones. The welfare regime approach, on the other hand, has a different orientation. Interestingly, it gained momentum as a field of research just as neoliberal globalization began to level traditional differences in the welfare state across countries (Borchert and Lessenich 2012: 12).

The emancipatory disability movement has achieved specific successes, the most prominent of which is implementing the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN-CRPD) (e.g., Arnardóttir and Quinn 2009; Powell, Edelstein and Blanck 2016). But believing in linear progress appears increasingly detached from the real world. In addition to neoliberalism and its compulsion to constantly resolve conflicts in favor of capital, the 2010s also saw a regressive-reactionary right-wing populism rise.

Surprisingly, there has been little research in comparative welfare studies that genuinely attempts to incorporate disability studies. Given the current world situation, the many austerity policies, and the challenges posed by right-wing populism, it is therefore central to take a closer look here at the intersection of disability studies and the welfare regime approach.

2 Intersecting Disability Studies and the Welfare Regime Approach

2.1 (In-)compatibilities of Disability Studies and the Welfare Regime Approach

While both disability studies and the welfare regime approach are currently thriving research areas in the social sciences, the graph of their points of intersection is sparse. On the one hand, few empirical quantitative studies detect overlap between welfare typology and disability policy within more than one or two welfare types (e.g., Böheim and Leoni 2018; OECD 2010; Scharle, Váradi and Samu 2015). On the other hand, few empirical quantitative studies deductively use welfare regimes to explore their effects on the living conditions of disabled people (Foubert, Levecque, van Rossem and Romagnoli 2014; O'Brien 2015; Penner 2012; Witvliet, Kunst, Stronks and Arah 2012). What is more, two works (Morris and Zaidi 2020; Morris 2021) on the quantitative empirical side make it a crucial point to criticize Esping-Andersen's (1990) neglect of disability-related data in its operationalization of decommodification and explore better operationalizations. Last but not least, only a few attempts outline possible theoretical intersections (Barnes 2000; Halvorsen, Waldschmidt, Hvinden, and Bøhler 2017; Maschke 2004; Waldschmidt 2009, 2011). Thus, it almost seems that the two research areas are theoretically incompatible with each other, and one must search for any attempt to outline potential theoretical compatibilities with a magnifying glass. Before I outline what we can find under this magnifying glass, let us first turn to the basic assumptions of the welfare regime approach.

The welfare regime approach was developed by Esping-Andersen (1990). One of his basic assumptions is that welfare states provide some degree of decommodification and regulate social stratification. Decommodification is understood as follows: "the concept refers to the degree to which individuals, or families, can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living independently of market participation" (Esping-Andersen 1990: 37). According to Esping-Andersen (1990), there are three worlds, models, or types of welfare capitalism. First, *liberal welfare states* are characterized by means-tested benefits, modest universal transfers, and subtle forms of social insurance benefits. In this model, the traditional liberal work ethic is predominant, and access to welfare state benefits is strictly controlled and associated with stigmas (Esping-Andersen 1990: 26–27). This type of regime minimizes decommodifying effects and limits the scope of social rights. Second, *conservative-corporatist welfare states* do not focus extensively on universal social rights (Esping-Andersen 1990: 27). Central to this type of welfare state is the preservation of status-differentiating characteristics. Accordingly, the granting of rights depends on the class and status of the respective individuals. In the corporatist model, the state has largely replaced the market as the provider of welfare state services without substantial redistributive effects (Esping-Andersen 1990: 27). Typical of this type of welfare state is that the influence of the churches has traditionally been robust and that traditional family forms are emphasized. Third, *social democratic welfare states* are characterized by the fact that they explicitly apply the principles of decommodification (Esping-Andersen 1990: 27–28). Instead of tolerating a dualism between the state and the market and between the working class and the middle class, social democrats have sought a welfare state that provides a high standard of equality and universal social rights (Esping-Andersen 1990: 27–28). On the one hand, this has been achieved by raising social services and benefits for all to a level corresponding to the aspirations of the new middle class. On the other hand, it was performed by guaranteeing the working class similar rights as the middle class (Esping-Andersen 1990: 27–28). The result is a mix of highly decommodifying, universal, and, at the same time, means-tested programs (Esping-Andersen 1990: 27–28).

The concept of the regime is essential. Regime theory aims to analyze the effects of a bundle of policies rather than single policies (Ciccia 2017: 2763–2764). Regime theories understand policy fields as interdependent and self-stabilizing networks through various mechanisms and institutions (Häusermann 2020: 565). The idea of an emergent interplay lies at the heart of the welfare regime approach:

> “Welfare regimes represent institutional and social class arrangements at the country level. They consist of the state, markets, families/households, and communities/non-profit organizations that distribute economic, social, and political resources to provide support and social protection. They reveal the country’s social solidarity pattern” (Budowski and Vera 2016: 2).

In addition to this retrospective descriptive side, the regime concept also has a forward-looking side. Esping-Andersen (1990) did not merely relegate welfare states to the status of a product of bygone struggles for social solidarity; he also described them as providers of “key institutions" (Esping-Andersen: 55) for the prospective structuring of class and the social order. The welfare regime is thus not only understood as something statically achieved but also as something that can offer opportunity structures:

> "We conceptualise welfare regimes as the interplay or articulation of institutional domains that provide opportunity structures for the population according to state legislation and interventions (politics and policies), opportunities within (labour and other) markets, communities and non-profit organisations, and the (unpaid) support of households and families" (Budowski and Schief 2017: 168).

Turning to theoretical intersections between disability studies and the welfare regime approach, one early attempt appearing under our magnifying glass was outlined by Barnes (2000). Referring to the stream of thought in the aftermath of Esping-Anderson's publication (1990), she compared welfare settings and the living standards of disabled people in the United Kingdom, Germany, and Sweden. These three countries are typical examples of a liberal, a conservative-corporatist, and a social-democratic welfare state, respectively. The significant contribution of Barnes (2000) lies in her theoretical attempts to rethink the conventional criteria for comparing welfare states for analysis in terms of disability. This attempt was inspired by the feminist critique in the aftermath of Esping-Anderson's publication (1990), criticizing its gender bias (see, e.g., Lewis 1997; Lister 1994; McLaughlin and Glendinning 1994; Orloff 1993; Sainsbury 1994). However, Barnes (2000) goes a step further by applying the feminist mode of critique to a critique and the exploration of alternative criteria to disability (see Table 1).

Other attempts at outlining theoretical intersections (and which therefore appear under our magnifying glass) are more explicit in criticizing or extending the concept of decommodification. Expanding on the concept of decommodification from a theoretical perspective, Gal (2004) outlined a second principle besides decommodification: the support for individual self-development. In this endeavor, he relies on Room's critique (2000) that, contrary to Marxian and Polanyian fundamentals, Esping-Andersen (1990) had only outlined "decommodification-for-consumption" rather than "decommodification-for-self-development" (Room 2000: 337). In combination with the concept of decommodification

(Esping-Andersen 1990), according to Gal (2004), the principle of welfare state disability policy can therefore be understood as the extent to which disabled individuals are guaranteed a socially acceptable standard of living and support for individual self-development.

Table 1: Comparing Welfare States

Conventional criteria • % of GDP spent on social expenditure • strength of church/left power (votes for confessional/social democratic parties) • stratification (modification or reinforcement of class position) • decommodification • means-tested versus universal social welfare • role of markets/state • outcomes – e.g. pre- and post-transfer poverty rates
Feminist analysis • maternity/paternity/parental leave • level of female employment/wage levels • poverty rates of women relative to men • childcare provision and funding • tax incentives to single/dual-earner households • individual/joint entitlement to pensions and benefits • provision and funding of care for older people and disabled people
Analysis by disability • employment rates/wages of disabled people • poverty rates relative to non-disabled people • right to work (compulsory employment or active labour market policies) • level and eligibility criteria for disability benefits • provision and funding of personal assistance • anti-discrimination legislation

Source: Barnes (2000: 31)

The concept of decommodification seems to be not so easily adoptable for disability studies. However, an elaborated theoretical critique of the concept of decommodification was outlined by Waldschmidt (2011), who concluded:

> “Die Wohlfahrtsstaatstheorie von Esping-Andersen vermag der behindertenpolitischen Reflexion wertvolle Impulse zu liefern. Gleichzeitig legt die Berücksichtigung der besonderen Situation von Menschen mit schwerer Behinderung auch einige ihrer Schwächen bloss. So wird aus Sicht der De-Kommodifizierungsthese verständlich, warum behinderungspolitische Konflikte einer eigenen Logik folgen. Während in wirtschaftlichen Rezessionsphasen mit hoher Arbeitslosigkeit Staat und Mark dazu tendieren, (nicht nur) behinderte Menschen (…) in dauerhafte De-Kommodifizierung zu drängen, tritt die Mehrzahl der kollektiven Akteure, die die Interessen behinderter Menschen vertreten für eine nachhaltige (Re-)Kommodifizierung ein, und zwar, weil sie in ihr ein wesentliches Mittel sozialer Anerkennung sehen: Arbeitskraft sein heisst am Wirtschaftsbürgertum und damit auch an den üblichen sozialen Rechten partizipieren zu können. Pointiert formuliert: Im Dreieck von Staat, Markt und Zivilgesellschaft dreht sich der soziale Kampf in der Behindertenpolitik weniger um die Freiheit vom Arbeitsmarkt, sondern im Gegenteil um das Recht, Teil der Ware Arbeitskraft sein zu dürfen” (Waldschmidt 2011: 71–72).

Waldschmidt (2011: 69–71) distinguishes three forms of commodification relevant for disability policy: *commodification per se*, *recommodification,* and *quasi-commodification. Commodification per se* means the provision of (inclusive) educational opportunities allowing pupils sustainable integration into commodified work; *recommodification* means the rehabilitation process that is intended to facilitate the regaining of work capacities after an injury or major illness; and *quasi-commodification* involves the provision of state-subsidized work opportunities in sheltered workshops and specialized institutions (Waldschmidt 2011: 69–70).

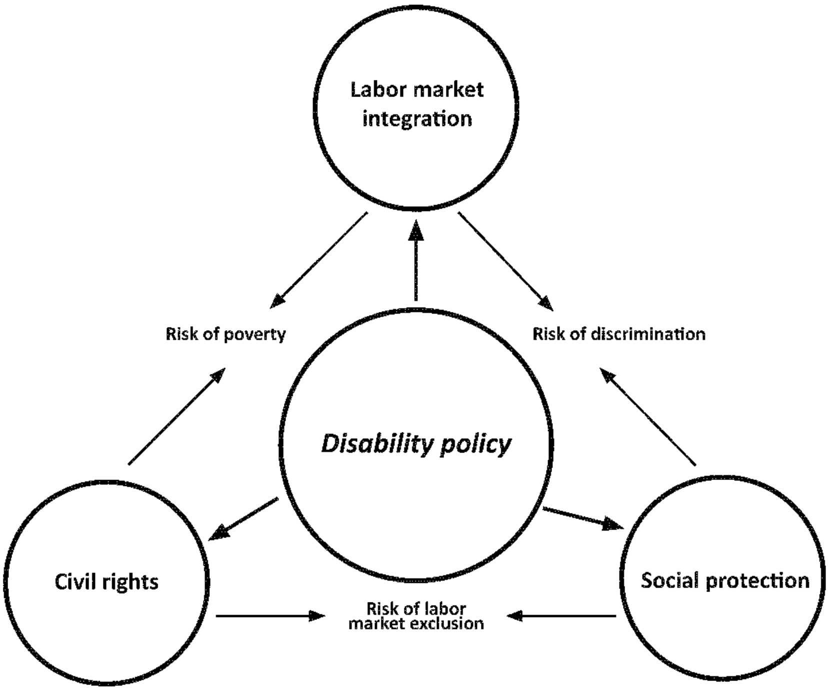
Another approach has been critical of the explanatory power of the welfare regime approach to disability policy (Maschke 2004; for an application to a comparison of 15 EU countries, see Maschke 2008).[3] Maschke (2004: 408) acknowledges that national disability policies are

---

[3] *There has also been an empirical development that must be considered. The OECD published a report in 2003 of which Maschke (2004) was perfectly aware. The OECD (2003: 129–130) conducted a cluster analysis and found no overlap between the three worlds of welfare capitalism and the disability policy dimensions. Seven years later, a more recent publication discovered an overlap using the same method (OECD 2010: 88–91).*

embedded in national traditions and welfare state institutions but may be at odds with the general welfare typology in their regulatory orientation and choice of primary distribution mechanism since some have a low degree of decommodification while providing generous assistance specifically to persons categorized as disabled. As an alternative, he proposes the systematization of disability policy, which comprises three ideal-typical dimensions: *social protection*, *labor-market integration,* and *civil rights* (Maschke: 2004). According to Maschke (2004), all three dimensions have their specific function (combatting poverty, preventing discrimination, or fostering labor market integration); therefore, an unbalanced disability policy creates different risks (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Risks of an Unbalanced Disability Policy



Source: Maschke (2004: 414), translation by author

Despite Maschke's attempts (2004) to formulate an alternative to Esping-Andersen's approach (1990), one work explicitly combined both even as she insinuated that the welfare regime approach was constrained by "gender and normality biases" (Waldschmidt 2009: 19). That work by Waldschmidt (2009) combined Maschke's reduction to three overarching dimensions (2004) with Esping-Andersen’s (1990) typology to explore the emphasis of the dimensions in the three different types (see Table 2).

Table 2: Disability Policy in Different Welfare Regimes

	Liberal	**Conservative-corporatist**	**Social-democratic**
Social protection	**X**	**XX**	**XXX**
Labor market integration	**XX**	**XXX**	**X**
Civil rights	**XXX**	**X**	**XX**

Source: Waldschmidt (2009: 20), minor renaming by the author for consistency with Figure 1

Along with a number of other studies that have focused on central dimensions of disability policy, the approach employed by Halvorsen, Waldschmidt, Hvinden and Bøhler (2017) aimed to understand the disability policy system as consisting of three interdependent subsystems: a *cash transfer subsystem* with redistributive income support for people who are not in employment and have higher expenses for special needs; a *service delivery subsystem* to help improve the abilities of people with disabilities and enable them to enjoy their independence and participate in their communities and the main areas of society; and a *social regulation subsystem* aimed at influencing the functioning of markets and the behavior of non-state and private actors to promote welfare objectives or human rights (Halvorsen et al. 2017: 13–17).

The conceptualization of Halvorsen et al. (2017: 13–17) points to another part of disability policy not yet discussed: within the service delivery subsystem, there are also social services included. However, here, the state of research is again much more limited. I only know of two works comparing disability social services within more than one or two welfare types. The first work, that of Aselmeier and Weinbach (2004), compared social services for people with intellectual disabilities. Subsequently, expanding upon this analysis, Aselmeier (2008) conducted a very detailed study on introducing community care for people with intellectual disabilities, comparing England, Germany, and Sweden. Both of these studies show an overlap of (developments within) disability social services with the countries’ fundamental welfare state orientations.

2.2 Political Incompatibilities: Tensions Between Social Protection and Emancipation

Most attempts to critically and theoretically advance Esping-Andersen's welfare regime approach, as described above, are from scholars either in the closer or wider orbit of disability studies. However, from the social policy research side, there has been few genuine engagement with disability studies theory evident (at least to the best of my knowledge). However, even within the orbit of disability studies, the attempts have been timid. Disability studies are generally inspired to a great extent by their big sister, gender studies, although with some temporal delay regarding theoretical conceptualization (Garland-Thomson 2010: 353). However, what is surprising is that it has not entered the realm of "de-business" (yet).

In this respect, gender studies has paved the way much further by formulating alternatives to Esping-Andersen's concept of decommodification (1990): an isochronic formulation of the idea of defamilization/defamilialization was advanced by McLaughlin and Glendinning (1994) as well as Lister (1994) (see, for a discussion of both: Rauch, Olin, and Dunér 2018).[4] Furthermore, "de-business" has been developed under the influence of the proposal of the concepts of dedomestication (Kröger 2011), degenderization (Saxonberg 2013), and demotherization (Mathieu 2016). To get into "de-business" really means that one aims to occupy (parts of) the epistemic territory of welfare state research by starting to formulate one's own concepts that allow (comparative) social policy research around subsequently developed new ideas.

The feminist engagement in "de-business" in comparison with disability studies is interesting in two respects. First, "de-business" approaches regarding care have a problem with regard to granting disabled people agency. In this terrain, this statement of Helen Meekosha still has some relevance:

> "Feminist accounts of the disability relationship have tended to limit themselves to discussions of the Welfare State and the role of women as carers. The cared-for

---

[4] *The concept of defamilization/defamilialization is sometimes wrongly attributed to a publication by Esping-Andersen (1999). In a 1999 publication, he did indeed use the concept but omitted to give references for the feminist critiques of the 1990 publication and the mothers of the concepts. While this is itself a problematic act, to attribute him with being the father of this concept even deepens this epistemic injustice (cf. Fricker 2007).*

> were rendered genderless and objectified, often given significance only through their role as the Other for the carer" (Meekosha 1998: 165).

Among the concepts discussed above (Kröger 2013; Lister 1994; Mathieu 2016; McLaughlin and Glendinning 1994; Saxonberg 2013), only dedomestication (Kröger 2013) conceptualizes a role and a degree of freedom for the care-receiver.

The second reason for its interest is that it points to the necessity of genuine theoretical engagement around the questions of disability and the welfare state. There appear to be underlying factors that cause the two research traditions to have so few intersections. To venture a rationale for this, I would like to introduce the ideas of the "double movement" and the "triple movement" below.

The Great Transformation (Polanyi 2001 [1944]) is a seminal work in economic sociology that situates the economy as embedded in social relations and claims that society can and must counter the market with a countermovement that aims to protect the society itself. This claim is known for its description of the "double movement" of *marketization* and *social protection* (Polanyi 2001 [1944]: 136). According to Polanyi (2001 [1944]), there are two organizing principles in modern societies: the principle of economic liberalism and the principle of social protection. The underlying conflict between these two principles is best summarized as follows: "The expansion of an industrial market economy, particularly when left unregulated, threatens the broader social solidarity of society, which extends its destructive effects not only into man's economic well-being, but also into his very nature" (Richardson and Powell 2011: 73–74). Especially problematic is the principle of economic liberalism regarding three "fictitious commodities" as Polanyi (2001 [1944]: 71–80) calls them: land, labor, and money. "None of them is produced for sale. The commodity description of labor, land, and money is entirely fictitious" (Polanyi 2001 [1944]: 76).

In some respects, Polanyi is often mistakenly understood as theorizing capitalist industrialization as the attempt by economic liberalism to successfully install a disembedded market system (Block 2001: xxiv). However, he instead insists that a successfully and completely disembedded market system is a utopia and something that cannot exist (Block 2001: xxiv). On the other hand, Polanyi claims that the market mechanism is powerful in democratic capitalist market societies:

> “The commodity fiction, therefore, supplies a vital organizing principle in regard to the whole of society affecting almost all its institutions in the most varied way, namely, the principle according to which no arrangement or behavior should be allowed to exist that might prevent the actual functioning of the market mechanism on the lines of the commodity fiction. Now, in regard to labor, land, and money such a postulate cannot be upheld. To allow the market mechanism to be the sole director of the fate of human beings and their natural environment indeed, even of the amount and use of purchasing power, would result in the demolition of society” (Polanyi 2001 [1944]: 76).

While it is a utopian goal, classical and neoliberal economists strive for a society in which the economy is effectively disembedded, and they encourage politicians to pursue this objective (Block 2001: xxiv). Therefore, institutionalized principles of disembeddedness lead to a hegemonic orientation of institutions characterized by the prevalence of immediate self-interest over other types of relationships (Ghezzi and Mingione 2007: 16). Furthermore, the market principle means the weakening of other “forms of integration,” namely, reciprocity and redistribution in favor of the market (Polanyi 2001 [1944]; see also, for a more detailed description of the forms of integration: Polanyi 1957: 250–256).

In this respect, disembedded market mechanisms occupy a dual position in democratic capitalist market societies: while their categorical assertion is, on the one hand, a utopia, on the other hand, their intrinsic logic institutes a powerful reality. Due to the constraints placed on the market by its logic of competitiveness, it cannot resolve societal disputes within its boundaries (Ghezzi and Mingione 2007: 18). Therefore, the other principle, *social protection*, is always striving for a reembeddedness of priorly marketized structures and institutions.

Polanyi (2001 [1944]) was an essential text for Esping-Andersen (1990). However, while one can obviously align the former’s insights with the welfare regime approach, they do not seem to fit with the primary aim of disability studies. To get to more theoretically fruitful terrain, let us turn to an advancement of Polanyian theory that honors its insights as well as criticizes its blind spots.

Within feminism, there is an old discussion of whether there is a contradiction between social protection and emancipation. In this regard, the feminist philosopher Nancy Fraser outlined a "triple movement" (2011, 2013a, 2013b), expanding upon Polanyi's double movement concept by describing a triple movement that includes the additional category of *emancipation* impacting current Western societies. According to Fraser (2011, 2013a, 2013b), the double movement of marketization and social protection has been replaced since the second half of the 20th century by the triple movement of *marketization*, *social protection*, and *emancipation*.

In her preliminary works, Fraser (2003) outlined that society is characterized by two distinct realms of social ordering: economic and cultural. Struggles for social justice in the economic realm can be understood as struggles for redistribution, while those in the cultural realm can be understood as struggles for recognition (Fraser 2003). For Fraser (2014: 544), Polanyi too strongly counterposes a "bad market" against a "good society." Fraser (2013: 129) criticizes Polanyi's theory for ignoring domination, which is not executed through the market but rather lies in the society itself. According to Fraser (2011: 151–152), Polanyi's theory underestimates that social protection is not always positive and can also be hierarchical. In contrast to Polanyi, Fraser (2013: 235–236) argues that the process of *disembeddedness*—and thus the marketization of traditional community structures—can have positive effects in cases where it helps overcome hierarchical and oppressive social protection systems:

> "Emancipation differs importantly from Polanyi's chief positive category, social protection. Whereas protection is opposed to exposure, emancipation is opposed to domination. While protection aims to shield 'society' from the disintegrative effects of unregulated markets, emancipation aims to expose relations of domination wherever they root, in society as well as in the economy. While the thrust of protection is to subject market exchange to non-economic norms, that of emancipation is to subject both market exchange and non-market norms to critical scrutiny. Finally, whereas protection's highest values are social security, stability, and solidarity, emancipation's priority is non-domination" (Fraser 2013a: 233).

While the work of Nancy Fraser is generally fruitful for disability studies (e.g., Mladenov 2016; Plangger and Schönwiese 2015; Sépulchre 2020), the same can be said for the triple movement idea (e.g., Dodd 2016; Ville 2019). I argue that political incompatibilities explain possible incompatibilities between the welfare regime approach and disability studies. In doing so, I understand the welfare state and its institutions as a good exemplar of re-embeddedness of social relations under the main motive of social protection. In contrast, I see the emancipatory disability movement as mainly concerned with emancipation and non-domination.

2.3 The Cunning of History, Delayed Disability Emancipation, and Societal Regress

Nancy Fraser's concept of a triple movement (2011, 2013a, 2013b) is embedded in a broader critical analysis of the current state of society (in German-speaking social sciences, one could speak of a *Zeitdiagnose*). According to her, state-managed capitalism was prevalent in the post-second-world-war period. It then encountered a twofold crisis. First, new emancipatory social movements since the 1960s and 1970s have challenged the post-world-war compromise by pointing to the normalizing hegemonic power of the white, heterosexual, non-disabled man demanding more recognition and representation for all members of society not part of this hegemonic power block. Second, since the 1970s, state-managed capitalism has also reached a crisis and been replaced by neoliberal hegemony, which has challenged the redistributive achievements of the state-managed post-war era (e.g., the lowest social inequality in the era of capitalism, full employment, the expansion of welfare states, etc.). This mere halfway progress must be highlighted by social movements and critical theorists since it has coined some "cunning of history" (Fraser 2013a: 209–226).

One political orientation that exploits this halfway progress can be called *progressive neoliberalism* (Fraser 2016). According to Fraser (2016: 281–282), progressive neoliberalism can be understood as an alignment of emancipatory forces with those of cognitive capitalism and financialization, which are backed by left-of-center, Anglo-Saxon political parties, such as the United States' Democratic Party (beginning with Bill Clinton taking office in 1993) or the United Kingdom's New Labour (starting with Tony Blair taking office in 1997). The term *progressive neoliberal* refers to policies and politics that are highly progressive regarding the recognition and representation of formally marginalized groups but neoliberal regarding redistribution. The latter is covered up by leveraging the social movement's "emancipatory charisma" (Fraser 2016: 282).

Within German-speaking disability studies, there exists a related theoretical description. Waldschmidt (2012) coined the term "belayed emancipation." The idea is that disabled people experience a temporal delay regarding their emancipation in relation to other societal groups: the consensus of the welfare state has crumbled—just when disabled people began to demand emancipation and the demand for further expansion of the welfare state has given way to calls for the privatization of social risks. However, since the disability sector has a feudalist imprint, liberation is still essential and legitimate (Waldschmidt 2012: 49). On the other side, most of the different parts of society have already liberated themselves and enjoy a high degree of individualism, live their lives profitably with a high degree of self-management, and accept the coercions of the markets willingly. Thus, late modernity has led to a paradoxical situation for disabled people: it allows their emancipation while simultaneously confronting them with the simply unfulfillable requirement of radical individualism and independence (Waldschmidt 2012: 49).

It is easy to theorize that neoliberal hegemony has reached its peak. However, what appeared in the 2010s was a decade of regressive-reactionary populist forces. In an essay published in 2004, Bruno Latour expressed his uncertainty about the role of critique (Latour 2004). He described his astonishment that "critique" and "deconstruction" seem to belong with more exclusively progressive forces but are increasingly used by regressive and reactionary forces. For example, he found it unsettling that US Republicans were beginning to sow doubts about scientific findings on human-made climate change with arguments resembling social constructivism (Latour 2004). What concerned him alike was the rise and boom of conspiracy theories, which, as "instant revisionism," revised the official version of events immediately after the event (Latour 2004: 228). He wondered whether the originally progressive spirit of "critique" and "deconstruction" was increasingly perverted:

> "What were we really after when we were so intent on showing the social construction of scientific facts? Nothing guarantees, after all, that we should be right all the time. There is no sure ground even for criticism. Isn't this what criticism intended to say: that there is no sure ground anywhere? But what does

> it mean when this lack of sure ground is taken away from us by the worst possible fellows as an argument against the things we cherish?" (Latour 2004: 227).

I would like to argue that Latour (2004) demonstrates in this essay a clear and early sensorium of the increasing social problematization of the factual, which has since become accentuated. While Latour (2004) has fallen short of the potential of poststructuralist analyses (Flatscher and Seitz 2018), he is, in my view, utterly correct in criticizing a critical mind that frugally reveals something to be socially constructed to achieve societal progress. The formulation of essential texts of social constructivism (e.g., Berger and Luckmann 1991 [1966]; see also: von Foerster and von Glasersfeld 2014) appeared in an era of dominance of state-managed capitalism (Fraser 2013a). Moreover, the diagnosis of postmodernism was proclaimed at a time when state-managed capitalism was already in decline but still hegemonic (Lyotard 1979).

However, the decade of the 2010s brought fundamental shifts to light, and I argue that the societal fundaments of those days have evaporated. The psychoanalyst and social philosopher Erich Fromm[5] pointed out that nationalist tendencies can be explained psychoanalytically by the phenomenon of group narcissism (Fromm 1980 [1964]: 62–94). According to Funk (2020), this is a better explanation for the current flare-up of right-wing populism in Western Europe and North America than the frequently put forward theoretical coupling of fears of globalization and the turn to authoritarianism. The main reason for the flare-up of group narcissism is a fundamental threat to the self-experience of many people. The marketing orientation and the self-optimization of late-modern societies are highly problematic in this regard (Funk 2020: 112–115).

The intense pressure for self-marketing and self-optimization leads people to constantly split off cognitive and emotional sides that are not helpful to their optimally marketable self. The effect is narcissistic compensation, in which the one's and the group's selves become unduly inflated (Funk 2020: 115–120). The ambivalent liberalization of late modernity and its high degree of individualism, profit orientation, and self-management (Waldschmidt 2012: 49) led

---

[5] *Many thanks to Griebel (2016) for drawing my attention to Erich Fromm.*

to this basis for societal regress (see, for a similar thesis regarding conspiracy theories: Amlinger and Nachtwey 2021).

Narcissistic compensation resembles authoritarianism because it requires and produces logics of idealization and devaluation, produces images of the enemy, aims at the destruction of the enemy, is hostile to pluralism, and has a claim to grandeur; *summa summarum*, it is marked by a great need for division (Funk 2020: 116–117). However, the distinction between an authoritarian social character and a narcissistic social character (Fromm 1980 [1964]; Funk 2020) is theoretically valuable in that the two differ in terms of epistemic authority/epistemic deconstruction. Whereas authoritarianism is about a know-it-all authoritarian ideology, group narcissism is more about the effect of inflating the individual and the group through the reconstruction of new knowledge. Or, to put it another way: authoritarianism needs an authoritarian administered and centrally enforced ideology whereas group narcissism does claims to grandeur in a widely ramified network stabilized by the constant reconstruction of new truths and the departure from reality (Funk 2020: 119).

Conspiracy theories that pop up uncontrollably and are uploaded onto the social networks are not a threat to right-wing populism but part of its lifeblood. The leaders of right-wing populism must simply define and constantly challenge what they see as hostile epistemic authorities to initiate a flood of narcissistic inflations and questioning. Instead of ideologues, they are primarily regressive-reactionary deconstructivists.

I argue that the hegemony of neurotic bourgeois epistemes defined the era of state-managed capitalism. For critical minds of the left, it was, therefore, for quite some decades, a valuable endeavor to mainstream (de-)constructivist’s thoughts, criticize epistemic powers, and support new social movements. However, in the 2010s, a partial collapse of the hegemony of bourgeois neurotic epistemes became apparent. Psychoanalytically, the narcissistic is precisely not neurotic (Fromm 1980 [1964]: 62–94). The regressive-reactionary populist forces have now also found ways to attack neurotic bourgeois epistemes (or to occupy formally bourgeois right-of-center political parties). They attack and deconstruct bourgeois epistemes and epistemic authorities without scruple, say established scientists, media, or constitutional institutions. Let us now turn to the Swiss disability policy, which has been affected by regressive-reactionary populist forces.

2.4 The Swiss Case as a Prism for Delayed Emancipation in an Era of Regress

Esping-Andersen (1990) struggled with subsuming the Swiss welfare state into its triad of welfare types (Knöpfel 2015: 23). The Swiss case coins a hybrid construct (e.g., Bonoli and Kato 2004; Knöpfel 2015; Nollert and Schief 2011). Since 1960, Switzerland has had a disability insurance scheme called *Invalidenversicherung/assurance-invalidité* (e.g., Fracheboud 2015; Germann 2008, 2010) (hereafter *disability insurance*). Disability insurance is an integral part of the Swiss welfare state that is challenging to classify within the Three Worlds of Welfare rationale.

First, it has a Bismarckian denomination. Furthermore, it is profoundly inspired by a Bismarckian logic: since its benefits are earnings-related, it has developed, decentralized policy management, and it is gendered (Häusermann 2010: 213–215). However, in line with the dominance of liberal forces in Swiss history, the Swiss disability insurance scheme was, from the start, deeply concerned with the (re-)commodification of its insurants (e.g., Fracheboud 2015; Germann 2008, 2010), although this focus weakened between the 1970s and 1990s (Wicki 2018).

However, since it is part of the first pillar of the Swiss social security system, it also follows some social democratic logic with egalitarian, universalist, and redistributive elements (Häusermann 2020: 567). Consequently, it is formally universal, and contrary to Bismarckian logic, there is no strict work-based eligibility for benefits. Instead, the insurance provides access to all registered workers or residents after one year of living in Switzerland, including children and youth. Furthermore, it redistributes resources since contributions that must be paid are not capped, while the maximum pension paid out is capped at twice the minimum benefit. Moreover, people entitled to disability benefits are similarly entitled to *Ergänzungsleistungen/prestations complémentaires*, a hybrid between a universal and means-tested benefit scheme that allows a minimum standard of living.

Swiss disability care is also a highly hybrid construct with many different stakeholders and funding mechanisms (Fritschi, von Bergen, Müller, Bucher, Ostrowski, Kraus, and Luchsinger 2019). It has a problematic history characterized by segregated organizations (Steffen 2017). What is vital for its outlook is its historically developed and decentralized policy management. Its governance can be described as highly corporatist if we understand corporatism in social services as the planned and coordinated intermeshing of private nonprofit actors and public providers of social services to achieve a common goal (Münder 1998: 4).

Switzerland generally has a strong nonprofit sector with a long historical tradition (Helmig, Gmür, Bärlocher, von Schnurbein, Degen, Nollert, Budowski, Sokolowski, and Salamon 2011). In the history of Swiss disability politics, private nonprofit actors play a central role. They were financially supported as consolation for the non-introduction of social insurance in the 1920s (Germann 2020: 12). Furthermore, they strengthened their position with the implementation of disability insurance at the beginning of the 1960s (e.g., Kaba 2010: 84–85; Wicki 2018: 120–138). The result is many private nonprofit actors in Swiss disability policy (Schwarzmann 1987) that are still financed by the state today (Baumgartner and Uebelhart 2009). Since one must understand paid caring activities in the disability sector in a Polanyian way, that is, as an embedded form of work (Porter, Shakespeare, and Stöckl 2021: 4), its emergence is intertangled with other nonprofit actors in the realm of social protection. On the one hand, there are the trade unions of care workers. On the other hand, the syndicates of the disability care institutions, mainly INSOS (the syndicate of disability care institutions) and Curaviva (the syndicate of all care institutions, including those for the elderly), are important players within the field of disability care.

The emancipatory disability movement took shape in Switzerland at the end of the 1970s. One example is the social movement Club Behinderter und ihrer Freunde (CeBeeF) with its magazine *PULS* (Graf, Renggli and Weisser 2011; McGowan 2011). Characteristic of its emancipatory fight was criticism of the historically developed private nonprofit actors, as shown, for example, by explicit criticism of the most potent player among them, Pro Infirmis (e.g., Hauser and Witschi 1981).

The late 1990s and early 2000s saw an intensification of emancipatory protests and initiatives. Emancipatory disability associations launched a popular initiative that would have introduced a legal situation in Switzerland modeled on the United States' Americans with Disabilities Act (e.g., Hess-Klein 2007; Prerost 2000). Furthermore, after its establishment in 1996, the Centre for Independent Living Zürich conducted an illegal occupation of a public municipal park in Bern, right next to the BSV/OFAS (the upper supervisory ministry of the Swiss Disability Insurance), for several days (Wehrli 2012). In 1999, another emancipatory organization called Fachstelle Assistenz Schweiz (FAssiS) was founded by Katharina Kanka, which organized several demonstrations and vigils (Wehrli 2012).

As early as 2003, however, the emancipation train came to a halt. The popular initiative was rejected, and only the much more toothless *Behindertengleichstellungsgesetz/Loi sur l'égalité pour les personnes handicapées* came into force (e.g., Hess-Klein 2007). In the same year, the right-wing populist Swiss People's Party launched a campaign against *Scheininvalide*. The word is best translated into English as "invalid-pretenders" or "pseudo-invalids." This campaign alleged that (specific groups of) claimants and pensioners were systematically feigning the appearance of invalidhood to receive unjustified welfare state benefits. The accusations were directed explicitly against people with mental health challenges and with a migration background. The word *Scheininvalide* did not work in French, but other abusive language variants were used (Rosenstein 2013).

The attack was launched by Christoph Blocher[6] personally (Weisser 2005: 25). Since his successful fight against Switzerland joining the European Economic Area in 1992, Blocher has become a leading figure in the (rise of the) right-wing populist Swiss People's Party (e.g., Hildebrand 2017). His discourse maneuver around *Scheininvalidität* developed an astonishingly powerful momentum of its own (Weisser 2005). Other discursive players took up this basic argument: "Swiss DI recipients are described by the media, by the general public, by politicians, and by welfare institutions as 'shirkers,' 'benefit cheats,' 'not bothered,' or 'wasters'" (Piecek, Tabin, Perrin, and Probst 2019).

The campaign enabled a neoliberal restructuring of Swiss disability policy through three revisions within a decade (e.g., Ferreira 2020; Hassler 2021; Probst, Tabin, and Courvoisier 2015). This restructuring mainly involved an activation turn and a shrinking of the disability category (Stone 1984) by tightened medical assessments (Caduff and Budowski 2012: 76–79). As a result, after peaking in 2003 at 5.9‰ residents of Switzerland receiving a positive disability benefits decision, this annual rate of new decisions was reduced to 2.8‰ in 2012 and has since hovered roughly around the level of 3.0‰ (Bundesamt für Sozialversicherungen 2021: 7).

---

[6] *In 2018, Steve Bannon was invited to Zürich by Roger Köppel for a lecture (e.g., Oelkers 2020: 29). In this lecture he praised Christoph Blocher very much and held him up as a role model. All three, Bannon, Blocher and Köppel, are examples of regressive-reactionary deconstructivists. The biography of the publisher and politician Roger Köppel is a good example of the breaking away from bourgeois neurotic territory, which normally is typical for Switzerland (Ryser 2018). One of his friends aptly describes it: „Dieses eingefleischte Sicherheitsdenken, wie es in der Schweiz speziell ausgeprägt ist, akzeptiert er nicht mehr. Köppel ist ein Meister der Dekonstruktion, eine grinsende Abrissbirne, eine Leuchtreklame der Apokalypse" (Bruno Franzen in Ryser 2018: 264).*

At the same time, however, the emancipatory disability movement succeeded in fighting for a variety of pilot tests for personal assistance models (Baumgartner 2002), which were firmly implemented as part of Revision 6a in 2012 (Egloff 2017). Apart from this success, however, the impact of the movement was modest. The emancipatory disability movement in Switzerland had the great misfortune that it had to fight for delayed emancipation (almost) at the same time it had already run up against a regression in the policy field. In this sense, it did not even have enough luck to make progress in recognition and representation in a stable, progressive neoliberal environment for a while.

2.5 Social, Feminist, Critical Realist and Postmodern Ideas and Interventions

In this chapter, I discuss disability studies theory in more detail. However, I refrain from starting a model discussion here. I refrain not because I do not understand the importance of the range of different models developed by disability studies but rather because a summary description of the model has already been undertaken several times by scholars who have a more genuine right to act as epistemic gatekeepers to disability studies than myself (e.g., Goodley 2011; Waldschmidt 2020).

My writing is guided by my perspective, which is that of a tentative postmodern critical realist. Important to this is the search for materiality in the materialist social model. Critical realism can provide some clarification and further development here. For example, from the critical realist side, it is mentioned that the metaphor of construction invites “idealist slippage” (Sayer 2000: 92). Mike Oliver, interestingly, has never called himself a constructivist but often prefers to use the term *creation* (Oliver 1989, 1990; Oliver and Barnes 2012). However, as I will argue, changing the metaphor from construction to creation does not solve the problem of what I will call *the fixation of the human body in ontological limbo*.

However, I would like to distance myself from strong realism for the moment. I fully agree with Mladenov (2015: 41) in his analysis that metaphors concerned with reality can invite “essentialist or reductionist slippage.” This is why I deliberately stay away from the metaphor of calling the human body a “brute fact,” as suggested by other realists (e.g., Vehmas and Mäkelä 2009: 47–49). The danger of slippage due to metaphors should not be countered in kind with a counter-metaphor. To use a metaphor of my own, this only has the effect of moving to the slippery slope on the other side of the mountain.

Let us now turn to the social model of disability. Despite its many critics, it is hard to imagine the academic field of disability studies without this social model (Siebers 2019: 39). The term *social model of disability* primarily refers to a specific form of a British materialist social model. Michael Oliver, who was the first professor of disability studies in the United Kingdom, was responsible for the naming of the model (Oliver 1983), which is based on a dichotomy between the physical dimension (impairment) and the social-political dimension (disability). Being part of the emancipatory disability movement himself, Oliver (1983) referred to the grassroots movement's claims of the Union of Physically Impaired against Segregation (UPIAS) with the aim of transferring this kind of knowledge production into the academic sphere:

> "In our view, it is society which disables physically impaired people. Disability is something imposed on top of our impairments by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation in society. To understand this, it is necessary to grasp the distinction between the physical impairment and the social situation, called 'disability', of people with such impairment" (UPIAS 1976, quoted in Oliver 1983: 24).

Rather than seeing its objective as a mainly academic endeavor, the goal of the social model of disability is to formulate a new paradigm and fundamentally change society's views about disability (Oliver 1983: 24). This distinction (Oliver 1983) was inspired by the gender theory dichotomy between sex and gender.[7] Like this dichotomy, the social model also includes a dichotomy between the sphere of the natural (impairment) and the socially constructed sphere of the social and the political (disability).

As another dichotomy, social modelists claim that on the other side of the social model, there is an (implicit) model, which is sometimes referred to as the "individual model of disability" and sometimes as the "medical model of disability." The social model presents itself as the "big idea" of the disabled peoples' movement with a vast progressive potential (Oliver 2013:

---

[7] *However, Oliver, in his 1983 publication, omitted to give references to his feminist inspirations.*

1024). On the other hand, individual and medical approaches to disability and matters of embodiment are dismissed by social modelists as a return to the bad old days of medical hegemony (Hughes 2009: 401).

Furthermore, the social model of disability is strongly associated with a metaphor. The metaphor of a barrier or barriers helps to redirect and reorganize the problem that disabled people face: “disability is presented as a social and political problem that turns an impairment into an oppression either by erecting barriers or by refusing to create barrier-free environments (where barrier is used in a very general and metaphoric sense)” (Davis 2013: 271). In the social model’s logic, the problem is no longer the impairment itself but society’s unwillingness to create barrier-free environments. Therefore, collective claims can be directed to political and societal actors based on the idea that eradicating barriers is their responsibility.

Since the British social model was strongly associated with the UPIAS, it set the tone in a hard-line, male-dominated, and determined manner (Shakespeare 2013: 215). Therefore, it is no surprise that feminist writers among the disabled movement activists were the first to question (parts of) the social model (Thomas 2007: 124–125). For instance, Jenny Morris (1991) took the stance that impairment should be integrated into the picture of looking at disability and claimed that the social model is not enough. Or Sally French, who interposed that “some of the most profound problems experienced by people with certain impairments are difficult, if not impossible, to solve by social manipulation” (French 1993: 17). Overall, some influential feminist theorists were skeptical about the coercive persuasiveness deployed by the social model to take the human body and impairment entirely out of the equation. Liz Crow formulated this skepticism very concisely:

> “The medical model makes the removal of disadvantage contingent upon the removal or ‘overcoming’ of impairment – full participation in society is only to be found through cure or fortitude. Small wonder, therefore, that we have focused so strongly on the importance of disabling barriers and struggled to dismantle them. In doing so, however, we have tended to centre on disability as ‘all’. Sometimes it feels as if this focus is so absolute that we are in danger of assuming that impairment has no part at all in determining or experiences. Instead of tackling the contradictions and complexities of our experiences head on, we have

> chosen in our campaigns to present impairment as irrelevant, neutral and, sometimes, positive, but never, ever as the quandary it really is" (Crow 1996: 208).

Feminist thinkers like Crow (1996) have unveiled that the dichotomy between disability and impairment risks under-recognizing the extra-social parts, leaving this terrain open to non-progressive actors (Köbsell 2010: 27–28). Those feminist voices have been very central in Tom Shakespeare's path to becoming critical toward the social model (Shakespeare and Watson: 2001), especially in his proposal of a critical realist perspective (Shakespeare 2006).

Critical realism is a philosophy of science developed by the philosopher Roy Bhaskar (for two seminal first works, see: Bhaskar 2008 [1975], 1998 [1979]; for an introduction, see: Mader, Lindner, and Pühretmayer 2017). Critical realism is skeptical about the dichotomy between the sphere of nature and the social sphere. Generally (and in contrast to the consensus in the German-speaking social sciences), critical realism challenges the strict separation between social sciences and natural sciences and between social ontology and general ontology (Müller 2017: 364). Instead, critical realism proposes its logic of the relationship between ontology (statements about the being of the world), epistemology (statements about our ability to experience and describe the world), and methodology (statements about our ability to explore the world). From a critical realist perspective, the impairment-disability dualism of the social model falls apart:

> "Critical realism means acceptance of an external reality: rather than resorting to relativism or extreme constructionism, critical realism attends to the independent existence of bodies which sometimes hurt, regardless of what we may think or say about those bodies. Critical realists distinguish between ontology (what exists) and epistemology (our ideas about what exists). They believe that there are objects independent of knowledge: labels describe, rather than constitute, disease" (Shakespeare 2006: 54).

From the standpoint of critical realism, it is the task of the social scientist to balance between two possible fallacies: the ontic fallacy and the epistemic fallacy (Hartwig 2007: 173–175). On the one hand, the ontic fallacy means the ontification or ontologization of knowledge and knowledge production (Hartwig 2007: 173–175). Such ontification is the case in all endeavors claiming that one can experience and describe the real world completely independently from one's standpoint. To avoid the ontic fallacy, critical realism distinguishes itself from basic assumptions of naïve objectivism and naïve realism to approach the essence of things wholly and directly (Sayer 2000: 32–66). In this respect, critical realism shares many concerns that have been problematized during the so-called cultural turn (Mader et al. 2017: 8). On the other hand, however, critical realism also tries to avoid the epistemic fallacy. The epistemic fallacy means the reduction of ontology to epistemology, increasingly appearing in the linguistic fallacy version, which reduces all ontology to epistemic considerations around (the power of) knowledge and language (Hartwig 2014: 173–175).

Bhaskar (2008 [1975]: Chapter 1) distinguishes between the transitive and intransitive aspects of sciences. In its "transitive" dimension, science is a social process in which facts are generated and integrated into epistemic constructs utilizing theories. On the other hand, in its "intransitive" side, science refers to a reality that is structured in itself, to objects and their mechanisms that exist independently of investigations and investigators. Regarding the fallacies, this means: "If the epistemic fallacy collapses the intransitive dimension, effecting the derealisation of reality, the ontic fallacy collapses the transitive dimension, effecting the desocialisation of science and other ways of knowing" (Hartwig 2007: 174).

In his realist view on the disability debate, Shakespeare (2006) has been preceded (e.g., Williams 1999; Danermark 2002; Danermark and Coniavitis Gellerstedt 2004), isochronically accompanied (Bhaskar and Dandermark 2006), or followed (e.g., Vehmas and Mäkelä 2009; Lid 2013; Craig and Bigby 2015; Mladenov 2015; Budd 2016; Watson 2020; Stylianou and Zembylas 2020) by other realists. However, while Shakespeare's intervention (2006) was a valuable intervention into the disability discourse,[8] it also created considerable friction with the first generation of social model theorists.

---

[8] *Regarding valuable interventions, I would like to express my sympathy and appreciation for the essay by Christoph P. Trüper, which unfortunately was not included in the proceedings of the Disability Studies Conference 2018 in Berlin. The self-published text (Trüper 2019) has the problem, with its overly comprehensive critique of social constructivism, of falling slightly into naïve realism. On the other hand, the essay is highly interesting in terms of content and can be read as a pioneering text of a realist perspective within German-speaking disability studies. The essay poses the justified question of the extent to which (and whether at all) a radical constructivist nature-social dualism can theorize materialities such as climate change and the ecological crisis.*

He attacks the heart of the materialist social model rationale by characterizing the UPIAS as a group dominated by male wheelchair users characterized by harsh male ideological conflicts and a Leninist democratic centralism, expelling people with divergent opinions from the movement (Shakespeare 2006: 13). Other realist endeavors or endeavors close to realism gave more credit to social model theory in its given historical circumstances (e.g., Mladenov 2015; Siebers 2008; Thomas 2007). However, Shakespeare's book (2006) is nothing less than a rebellion against an entire generation of preceding theorists and has evoked their ire. For example, Mike Oliver, Colin Barnes, Len Barton, and John Swain publicly protested against Tom Shakespeare being invited by the University of Leeds to give a "Finkelstein lecture" (Pring 2017).

The battle of the 2006 Shakespeare publication against the first generation of social model theorists goes beyond the level of a theory debate by being a fierce and aggressive recognition war between different generations of male human beings. As I would like to argue, these frictions may have led to some unhelpful frictions in the theoretical discussion. On the one hand, Shakespeare's attack (2006) on the social model is a pretty far-reaching assault on its Marxian origin by subsuming the materialist social modelists into ideological Leninists (Shakespeare 2006: 13). But, on the other hand, in their fight against the renegade son, Oliver and Barnes (2012: 181) accuse Shakespeare (2006) of being a careerist and "supportive of the social relations of capitalism."

Both attempts are unaware that there is a "deep-seated relationship" between Marxism and critical realism (Callinicos 2006: 9). In my view, the main theoretically essential profit of realism is, in line with postmodern thinking, the overcoming of what I will call *the fixation of the human body in ontological limbo*. For that, I follow a conception of critical realism that understands itself as part of postmodern thinking, although in a tentative form (e.g., Elder-Vass 2012; Pühretmayer 2010; Rutzou 2015, 2017).

To understand this endeavor, I first outline two principles of critical realism that are somewhat distinct from radical constructivist and poststructuralist principles. First, critical realism developed the principle of emergentist materialism (Bhaskar 1998 [1979]). This principle assumes that there exist different layers of reality.[9] According to Danermark and Coniavitis

---

[9] *In critical realism, the terms* level *and* layer *are used depending on the author, but they are synonymous in the sense of "levels or layers of reality." I decided to use the term* layer *because in comparative welfare research, levels are often used to explain the strength of an expression, e.g.,* level of redistribution.

Gellerstedt (2004: 350), the layers of reality that a social science perspective on disability should be concerned with are the following:

- cultural,
- socio-economic,
- psychosocial
- psychological, and
- biological.

Emergentist materialism (Bhaskar 1998 [1979]) follows a bottom-up ontology. Human beings are inseparable parts of nature and, therefore, parts of biological reality. However, as a second principle, critical realism puts much weight on the concept of emergence and emergent properties by claiming that reality is layered. Each layer of social reality is viewed as an emergent property of another underlying reality (Bhaskar 1998 [1979]). Emergence is central insofar as the whole is always more than its individual parts. In every layer of reality, complexity increases. This idea of emergence is central in the critical realist anti-reductionist rationale: each layer of reality is distinct from its underlying reality because the whole is more than its parts and is, therefore, more complex. Thus, applying Danermark's and Coniavitis Gellersted's five layers of reality (2004), the psychological cannot be reduced to the biological, the psychosocial cannot be reduced to the biological and the psychological, etc.

One central problem of the materialist social model is linked with Marxian theory itself. Karl Marx's work is insignificant regarding the conceptualization and theoretical prescription of the human body. One must consciously search for and explicate the body in his literature (e.g., Bates 2015; Fracchia 2004). In parts of his work, the human body remains mired in mind-body dualism and is so theoretically underdeveloped that it remains stuck in a latent idealism and ontological limbo (Bates 2015: 134). The first generation of materialist social model theorists have virtually cultivated and also fixed the human body in ontological limbo (Oliver 1989, 1990, 2013; Oliver and Barnes 1998, 2012).

This fixation of the human body in ontological limbo led to a paradox. On the one hand, the theorists of the materialist social model are strong—and almost reductionist—realists about capitalism, assuming that capitalism creates such a totalitarian reality that any engagement with culture, discourse, or fundamental philosophical questions is a misapplication of the energies of the disability movement and disability studies (Oliver and Barnes 2012: 179–182). On the other hand, they implicitly fix the human body anti-realistically.

I agree with Neukirchinger (2020) that the materialist social model has contributed a great deal to questioning capitalist certainties, but at the same time, it needs further developments in critical theory. Disability studies generally allows social sciences a new epistemological perspective on the phenomenon of disability (Waldschmidt and Schneider 2007: 15). In this endeavor, disability studies are following the aim of epistemic liberation. An approach to overcoming the ontological limbo while keeping or even expanding epistemic liberation has been undertaken with postmodern thought, the cultural model, and critical disability studies (e.g., Dederich 2007; Ellis, Garland-Thomson, Kent and Robertson 2019; Goodely 2014; Snyder and Mitchell 2006; Shildrick 2020; Tremain 2005, 2017; Waldschmidt 2005; Waldschmidt, Berressem and Ingwersen 2017). I cite the following as an example of such early overcoming:

> "In contrast, we see both the self and the body, as well as the disability status, as being not social constructions, but discursive constructions. And though to some extent it is difficult to avoid speaking of self and body as separate entities, the feminist take up of postmodernism is marked by its insistence on the embodied self. So, just as the self-present human subject has been brought into question by postmodern thinking, so too has the unitary and stable condition of the body. We would stress that it is not that the matter of the body has no reality. The claim is that there is no direct access to the unmediated body prior to discourse; no essential matter upon which meaning is inscribed; no way of regarding biology as a kind of neutral given. Rather, the body is materialized through discourse and practice" (Shildrick and Price 1996: 98).

Such endeavors have the advantage of being (epistemologically) much more consistent by resolving the ontological paradox of the materialist social model with a consistent prioritization of epistemology. From a critical realist perspective, such statements have high veracity regarding their epistemological content but should only be carefully understood as ontological statements. If we search Shildrick and Price (1996: 98) for these ontological statements, it is easy to find counterexamples. One such counterexample—with some unpleasant actuality —is infection with a virus. Catching a virus is an extra-discursively physical process, although we can only understand it discursively (Sayer 2000: 37). It is not the discursive process or knowledge that infects people with the COVID-19 virus and leads to a materialization of this virus in their body. On the contrary, people not aware of COVID-19 or holding it to be a hoax because of a conspiracy theory may be far more likely to have the virus materialize in their bodies because of their less careful practices. Another counterexample would be the experience of a panic attack. A panic attack is a sudden materialization within the psyche and the body that can only be moderated in retrospect through discourse and practice.

From a critical realist standpoint, Butlerian arguments, as outlined by Shildrick and Price (1996: 98), conflate the "knowledge and understanding of matter, which operate in the transitive realm, with matter itself, which belongs in the intransitive realm" (Bates 2015: 132). Thus, critical realism offers another route that helps to overcome the conceptualization of the human body in ontological limbo in an anti-reductionist way. Inspired by emergentist materialism, Bates (2015) comes to this conclusion:

> "This conceptualisation of the human subject as both stratified and an emergent whole then leads to the paradox of human beings both having, and being, bodies. The body is both a component of the subject and an object. Although ontologically prior, the human body and its constituent parts are not ontologically primary in the creation of the human being. Concurrently, matter, at a lower level of reality, is ontologically prior to mind but, again, mind cannot be reduced to matter. Thus, the body is a prerequisite but neither a simple nor determining one in the production of the human subject" (Bates 2015: 141).

However, such critical realist claims have their shortcomings too. The counterexamples against Shildrick and Price (1996), as mentioned above, and the accusation of conflation do partial injustice to the postmodern project in disability studies. On the one hand, the counterarguments refer to very sudden events. However, disability studies is not about being a critical science of sudden illness events but about the critical description of long-term negotiations and power relations around the body. Furthermore, Shildrick and Price (1996:

98) explicitly do not deny the reality of the matter of the body. If their endeavor can be criticized for anything, it is for leaving ontology itself in ontological limbo. Furthermore, contrary to the first generation of materialist social model thinkers, the postmodern project in disability studies has no inclination toward fixation since they have proven to be highly self-reflexive (e.g., Goodley, Lawthom, Liddiard, and Runswick-Cole 2019) and are in search of materiality (e.g., Flynn 2017) and ontology (e.g., Feely 2016).

While the conceptualization of Bates (2015: 141) provides an excellent anti-reductionist rationale, it also has problematic points. In disability studies, it has been revealed many times that argumentation with anthropological constants is not unproblematic (e.g., Boger 2019b). To state as an anthropological constant that we all both have and are bodies and that the body is both a component of the subject and an object makes sense (Bates 2015: 141). However, Shildrick and Price (1996) very accurately argue according to a Butlerian rationale that there is a discursive and cultural coding that determines 1) for whom the body is an object of a subject that, accordingly, has a body and 2) for whom the body is seen as a subject of which the human being itself is just an object. The healthy male body is culturally coded as a subject having a body, while all others—the female body, the sick body, the disabled body—are seen as deviations from this ideal of normality by being bodies (Shildrick and Price 1996: 98–99). A beneficial achievement of postmodern theory has been to point out the importance and violence of such binaries.

2.6 The Challenge of a Hypercomplex Non-linear World

Here I would like to explain why the discussion around the human body includes fewer rifts than perhaps assumed. In this I follow Mladenov (2015), who states:

> “Many analyses in disability studies, informed by diverse theoretical perspectives (structural-materialist, feminist, phenomenological, poststructuralist, critical realist), oscillate between the weakly realist and the strongly realist positions with regard to the body. Sometimes the difference between the two positions within a

> single account is undecidable. Cases of extreme antirealism or relativism are rare and can usually be exposed as tacitly presupposing some degree of realism with regard to bodily difference. As a rule, disability scholars do not accept that restrictions of activity are to be located solely within the body of the disabled individual. Even the extremely strong realists do not indulge in this type of naïve realism that is critically regarded as an instance of biological reductionism or essentialism" (Mladenov 2015: 44).

It seems to me that the current central question of disability studies is that of liberation from reductionisms (and causality). Critical realism provides us with an anti-positivist conceptualization of causality understood more as mechanisms than as compulsory events, that is, "mechanisms working at various levels, generating a range of outcomes in different contexts" (Danermark and Coniavitis Gellerstedt 2004: 350). Critical realism assumes every layer of reality to have powers and properties as generative mechanisms (Archer 1995: 14). These generative mechanisms can be there without being activated. However, even if these powers and properties were to be activated, it does not mean that they would be realized linearly. Instead, they act as "tendencies" that other generative mechanisms can thwart or mitigate (Mader et al. 2017: 14).

Critical realism assumes every layer of reality has powers and properties that enjoy relative autonomy from other layers (Archer 1995: 14). However, the different layers are, of course, not independent of one another. After all, the higher layers are emergent products of the layers below. In addition, there is the phenomenon of downward causation from one layer of reality to those below (e.g., Bhaskar(2008 [1975]: 85; Mader et al. 2017: 17).

Let us first return to the discussion in the previous chapter. Culture and discourse are the most emergent and complex phenomena social science can and must (critically) examine. Furthermore, I fully agree with Flatschart (2012: 243) that as far as the concept of power is concerned, hardly any reasonable realist position today can get behind the Foucauldian rupture. We know since this rupture that simple causal conceptions of power, which disregard the social contextualization of the power relationship, are insufficient because power and knowledge belong together (Flatschart 2012: 243).

In view of the above, one can synthesize the intentions of Shildrick and Price (1996) with the counterarguments put forward against them. Catching a virus or experiencing a panic attack are simple activations of powers and properties at the layer(s) of biological reality or biological and psychological reality. However, because humans are, by nature, fundamentally social and cultural beings, downward causation via cultural discourses is also very powerful and can materialize in the layer of biological reality, say, in the body. Accordingly, the bodily materializations of dichotomies described by Shildrick and Price (1996) are very real and require epistemic liberation.

The materialistic social model before sought liberation from reductionisms by freeing itself as radically as possible from causality. The anti-reductionist rationale of the social modelists builds on a linear Marxist understanding of history in a phase concept in terms of historical materialism (critically, see: Neukirchinger 2020). The anti-reductionist rationale works quite simply with an antithesis to the unstated notion of the causality of capitalism. Thomas mentioned critically:

> “The denial of a causal link between impairment and disability has now become the hallmark of the social model. Consequently it has become associated with the view that disability studies, and disability rights politics, must put preoccupations about living with impairment to one side so that energies can be directed toward targeting and dismantling disabling social barriers” (Thomas 2004: 25).

From a critically realistic point of view, the radical negation of causality between X and Y is not particularly appropriate argumentation. Even after obtaining liberation from reductionism, one continues to accept the narrative that the world consists mainly of events between an X and a Y, which is actually an old and problematic fallacy of Western philosophy (Bhaskar 2008 [1975]).

The radical negation of causality between impairment and disability, for instance, neglects the complexity of inverted downward causation from the socio-economic layer of reality to the psychological or biological layer of reality materializing in bodies. O’Brien (2013) has described this as the direct-disabling pathway. This causality is relatively complex in its relation to the causality attributed to bodies and is often not recognized. An instance of downward causation being leveled was described in the 1990s by Meekosha regarding Australia:

> "Women have been more likely than men to develop symptoms of repetitive strain injury, owing to their social and economic positioning in the labour force and their domestic responsibilities in the home; yet arguments advanced by an army of lawyers, medical practitioners and the media claim the injuries are psychosomatic and in particular 'hysterical' (womb-based) in origin and not physiological at all. The injured women are then forced to 'prove' that the injuries are 'really' physiological, caused by faulty ergonomics and poor work practices – thereby forced into a mind/body and public/private separation. In public imagery RSI has come to be closely connected with a view of women which portrays them as essentially hysterical" (Meekosha 1998: 167–168).

In her example, she demonstrates very well that reductionisms can be used for leveling downward causation from the socio-economic layer of reality. However, this leveling still works via bottom-up reductionism in her example. The disregard of the activation powers and properties in the biological layer of reality caused by the socio-economic layer of reality is achieved by reducing women to a crude biological and psychological essence. I would argue that bottom-up reductionism was a typical, powerful tool of neurotic bourgeois epistemes. The social model became so successful precisely because it can resist bottom-up reductionism very effectively. Declaring something to be a construction or creation immediately liberates one from this kind of reductionism.

However, I would now like to argue that with the rise of regressive-reactionary deconstructivism, different things need to be considered. Regressive-reactionary deconstructivism is even more fluid in its exercise of power than bourgeois neurotic bottom-up reductionism. The deniers of man-made climate change, for example, now try to deconstruct the reality of the downward causation of human activity from the social-economic layer of reality by accusing natural scientists of propagating an opinion of their own. Furthermore, the coronavirus deniers deconstruct the fact that the COVID-19 virus can activate powers and properties at the layer of biological reality, with many crude conspiracy theories referring to the relativity of knowledge. The regressive-reactionary crowd has now also discovered that knowledge and power belong together.

I would like to point to a feeling of astonishment that I have been experiencing for a long time related to Aiha Zemp. In 2008, Zemp wrote the following lines in a biographical review:

> Als ich nach sieben Jahren in Südamerika in die Schweiz remigrierte, habe ich festgestellt, dass dieses Land bezüglich sozialer Themen in eine Regression gefallen ist. Wir müssen alles daran setzen, dass es allen Menschen in diesem Land wieder besser geht und nicht nur dem Geld. Dass wir zum Beispiel so viele psychisch Behinderte haben, hängt mit den Umstrukturierungen in der Wirtschaft zusammen. Und dass diese nun dafür auch noch bestraft werden sollen, indem man sie als Scheininvalide abwertet, ist ein Skandal. Die Widersprüche in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft können nicht mit populistischen Parolen gelöst werden“ (Zemp 2008: 324–325).

Zemp (2008: 324–325) also formulates the criticism that downward causation from the socio-economic layer of reality to the psychological layer of reality, triggered by economic restructuring, has not been taken into account by policymakers. What is striking about this is her use of the term *psychisch Behinderte.* This term surprises because Aiha Zemp previously also followed an epistemic liberation project. In the early 1990s, she advanced Foucauldian deconstructivist arguments (Zemp 1993). Moreover, in the preface to her PhD thesis, she spoke out against using the term *Behinderte* (Zemp 1997: 15–16). However, in 2008, she deliberately used *psychisch Behinderte* (Zemp 2008: 324–325).[10] A straightforward explanation would be that she experienced a regression in her ideas; however, she was far too intelligent and far too vigilant to fall into unconscious regression.

The regressive-reactionary deconstructivists in Switzerland have attacked medicine, an epistemic authority held in extreme esteem by bourgeois neurotic power. These allegations have been tightly coupled with accusations of medical authorities being far too generous and

---

[10] *In the academic year 2008/2009, I had the opportunity to participate as an undergraduate student in a two-day block course of hers. To my memory, she used this term frequently and very consciously.*

benevolent in their categorization. The right-wing populists have predominantly accused family doctors and psychiatrists of being part of an effeminate welfare state industry. Meanwhile, people with mental health challenges have been told to pull themselves together, think positively, and get back to work.

A new way out toward a better unification of (critical) realist and postmodernist approaches could be by reference to Deleuze and Guattari (1972; 1980). As Feely (2016) shows, relying on Deleuze (and Guattari) can open a new path between constructivism and realism. A terrific work now available in this sense is that of Boger (2019b). One can wander or dance around on her rhizomatic map and notice that either rather realist or (radically) deconstructivist theorizations are viable, depending on one's location. Boger (2019b) demonstrates that disability studies has no alternative but to commit itself to radical theoretical pluralism.[11]

The campaign around *Scheininvalide* is an excellent example of a double-bind insinuation as well as a command, as described by Boger (2019b). One cannot be simultaneously in fixed invalidhood and be so active that one willfully and constantly deceives the welfare state. Thus, the term simultaneously addresses two contradictory commands to individuals: Be an invalid and start working! Aiha Zemp has resisted the latter order with her reintroduction of the term *psychisch Behinderte*. Characteristic of double-bind commands is the triggering of two possible legitimate responses and, therefore, two different possibilities of theorizations (Boger 2019b). A critical deconstructionist theorist from mad studies can critically deconstruct the first command with equal legitimacy.

Moreover, it is also unclear how to classify this move by Aiha Zemp. As outlined above, Latour (2004) conducts an admirable analysis of the problems of critique in times of regressive-reactionary deconstructivism but hardly provides any functional solutions for handling it. The most useful proposal is to get closer to things with a "stubbornly realist attitude" (Latour 2004: 231). A completely different approach would be to understand Zemp's move as strategic essentialism in the sense of Spivak (1988). People closer to realism would probably opt for the former, while those favoring postmodernism would probably prefer the latter. However, it would be entirely presumptuous for me to pull Aiha Zemp to one side or the other.

---

[11] *Therefore, to contradict Oliver (2013: 3): One thing is for sure; the talking has to stay open and must be continued.*

I would much rather use a metaphor based on Greek mythology to describe the hypercomplexity in our non-linear world. Rutzou (2019), relying on a Nietzschean idea, coined the metaphor of an Apollonian/Dionysian interplay between chaos and structure and between realism and postmodernism. The two brothers Apollo and Dionysus represent two directions of critical theory, the former standing for clarity and structure and the latter for process and chaos.

Dionysus was optimistic until recently. He has already been able to shape certain liberations in the last 50 years, and the world has become a little more chaotic. He is aware, however, that progressive neoliberals have been stealing sips of his wine for some time. Jenny Morris (2011), for instance, concluded that the British government has wholly taken possession of the social model since she credits 13 years of New Labour's government with having corrupted and colonized the social model as well as the ideas of independent living, user involvement, and co-production. Dionysus is reassured by this. However, from his point of view, there is no going back to an earlier time, and he is not surprised. He has always known that history is not linear and that capitalism is a fluid that can encroach on ideas. Moreover, he was also never quite sure if the social model was his. He always saw the outlines of his brother in it as well.

What both brothers are now very worried about, however, is the reappearance of Ares. He is hardly recognizable by being unusually fluid. It is as if he had found the water source of Narcissus and looked at his reflection there for a long time, getting drunk with wine stolen from Dionysus. Dionysus is frightened—this is not the kind of chaos he wants. But Apollo is also very fearful. Even though he is less charismatic than Dionysus, he has also contributed to successes as an auxiliary. The emancipatory disability movement has succeeded in occupying the terrain of law, which was historically clearly occupied by a bourgeois impulse to defend private property. Apollo has helped to install, with the UN CRPD, a legal instrument that is imbued with emancipatory values, and he is now very worried that Ares will take away these achievements.

Since reactionary-regressive power is fluid, one must expect to be challenged again and again by something or somebody unexpected. There is much for critical theory to do to be ready to deal with the unexpected without falling in relativism. However, it is too significant a burden for this dissertation to think through all the consequences here. I do have one modest idea, though. Beckett and Campbell (2015) proposed understanding the social model of disability as an oppositional device to introduce contingency into the present. The goal is “re-focusing discussion on the social model away from evaluating its description of disability towards considering its merits as a tool of struggle” (Beckett and Campbell 2015: 280).

What will probably be needed is a whole range of devices to deal with the present world. Maybe one will even need a social protection device. This dissertation can, in this sense, contribute to a better understanding of powers and properties in the socio-economic layer of reality. The welfare regime approach is helpful for this undertaking because it already provides many methods and possibilities for dealing with data and conceptualizes the welfare state as an emergent whole.

3 Explicating Research Strategies, Methodologies, and Data Sources

3.1 In Search of Disability Policy Regimes in Comparative Perspective

The comparative method has a long tradition in the social sciences (Borchert and Lessenich 2012: 9–10), and a particular comparative challenge characterizes my endeavor here. On the one hand, I am an expert in a single case (Switzerland). On the other hand, in writing my doctoral thesis, I deliberately decided to place this case at the center of my considerations to move closer to things instead of away from them (Latour 2004: 231). This endeavor entailed specific methodological implications because I cannot be a single-country expert while, at the same time, compare different cases from a quasi-independent point of view.

However, allow me to lay out the following considerations to help undergird this endeavor. The first consideration is related to the data situation and data collection for disability policy comparisons. The second is based on research's understanding of critical realism. For the third, I draw on Charles Ragin's thoughts regarding case comparisons. Finally, I intertwine the latter two.

Let us begin by examining the first consideration. Grönvik (2009) has demonstrated very clearly that different definitions of disability lead to empirically different results. This is a fundamental challenge since disability is an enigmatic category (Germann et al. 2006: 19). Beyond the problems of standardization, the situation is also relatively challenging because of the few empirical comparisons and data sets available. For example, Priestley and Grammenos (2021) show that disability equality has not been very effectively addressed in EU public statistics and that challenges exist both in data definition and data collection. Furthermore, a fundamental challenge for comparative social policy is that potential pools of cases have been pre-selected by historical and political processes since they mediate data availability (Ebbinghaus 2005).

Comparing disability policies, however, puts us even more at the mercy of the selection bias described above. I have never experienced such selection bias solely as a question of data. Instead, I have understood it as a theoretical one as well. For example, the fact that the British social model is so strongly directed against the medical model of disability cannot, in my view, be entirely separated from the fact that the National Health Service is the universalistic manifestation of the British welfare state. In my approach, I have never compared statements of disability studies regarding the welfare state alone without also comparing, implicitly, the discourses themselves. I have always looked for a way to integrate the continental European case of Switzerland into the discourses and body of literature that is strongly influenced by Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian perspectives. The discourse of German-language disability studies was also very helpful. But even there, there were certain theoretical bridges that I could not see because they were covered by the same selection bias to a certain extent. The German welfare state also adopted a very strong neoliberal orientation at the beginning of the new millennium; however, it did not reform the disability pension much in the process (e.g., Brussig, Drescher and Kalina 2019). Accordingly, the descriptions from the United Kingdom regarding work and disability pensions were again more helpful than those from Germany.

Accordingly, bringing in a Swiss view already has a genuine added value. However, I want to mention that I consciously abstain from claiming to approach the real world completely independently from my standpoint. I do not have direct access to the reality of any other continental European case. All I claim is that it is possible to move closer to things, but my point of view predetermines this motion. Therefore, all scholars who possess knowledge of cases other than mine (Switzerland) should understand what I have written this thesis in the context of my own case knowledge and my motion toward my case. The fact that I place their cases, to some extent, in knowledge-specific limbo should, of course, cause them to remain skeptical about my statements regarding their cases, just as scholars with knowledge of Switzerland should remain skeptical about my a priori assumptions, which were arrived at prior to my motion toward my case.

Let us now examine the second consideration. Critical realism is generally anti-empiricist but not anti-empirical (Fleetwood 2001: 52). Since the separation between the social and natural sciences and between social and general ontology are delusive for critical realism, and since it tries to balance on the precipice between the ontic fallacy and the epistemic fallacy, it can be characterized as a philosophy of science located between empiricism/positivism and relativism (Bailey 2008: 235) or between positivist and constructivist philosophies of science (Dengler 2020: 25). The recommended method for comparisons within critical realism is retroduction (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen and Karlsson 2002: 105–106). Retroduction is the inference of explanatory structures from their effects. It is a form of inference of the best explanation, which is carried out by answering the question, “How did X become possible?” (Hartwig 2007: 257; Steinmetz 2021).

Let us now move on to our third consideration and draw on Charles Ragin’s thoughts regarding case comparisons. He made a very convincing case that going back and forth between theory and empiricism is itself a process in case studies that he calls “casing”:

> “The two main problems social scientists face as empirical researchers are the equivocal nature of the theoretical realm and the complexity of the empirical realm. As researchers our primary goal is to link the empirical and the theoretical—to use theory to make sense of evidence and to use evidence to sharpen and refine theory. This interplay helps us to produce theoretically structured descriptions of the empirical world that are both meaningful and useful. Casing is an essential part of this process; cases are invoked to make the linking of ideas and evidence possible. Casing is an essential part of the process of producing theoretically structured descriptions of social life and of using empirical evidence to articulate theories. By limiting the empirical world in different ways, it is possible to connect it to theoretical ideas that are general, imprecise, but dynamic verbal statements. In this perspective a case is most often an intermediate product in the effort to link ideas and evidence” (Ragin 1992: 224–225).

My endeavors can accordingly best be described as retroductive comparative casing. I follow a retroductive approach to the case of Switzerland while also conducting comparative casing by intermingling both the former and latter with retroductive comparative casing. In what follows, I would like to discuss the comparative method critically.

3.2 Opportunities and Pitfalls of Comparisons and Comparative Methods

Critical realism assumes that ontology precedes epistemology, which precedes methodology (Hay 2006: 84). This conclusion derives from critical realism's skepticism toward attempts to dissolve ontological explanations because "the attempt to abstain from theory results merely in the generation of an implicit theory" (Bhaskar and Danermark 2006: 282). The latter stems from critical realism's dedication to an anti-positivist and methodologically anti-naturalist rationale: "The world consists of things, not events" (Bhaskar 2008 [1975]: 41). It is ontologically assumed that "it is the nature of objects that determines their cognitive possibilities for us" (Bhaskar 1998 [1979]: 27).

Comparison entails both opportunities and pitfalls. I would like to discuss them based on its potential for introducing contingency into the present. Let us start with these opportunities for contingency. For Borchert and Lessenich (2012: 14), the main goal of comparative research is to break down social implicitness by confronting one's social reality with other forms of social realities. International and intranational comparisons can foster critiques of the status quo and highlight the contingency of developments (Köpfer, Powell and Zahnd 2021: 15). Thus, comparisons can also optimally serve to introduce contingency into the present. Comparisons clarify that the status quo does not necessarily have to be the way it is because it is different elsewhere.

Furthermore, comparisons offer the possibility of underpinning the introduction of contingency with quasi-real cases. One does not compare the status quo with the desired or the discursively possible but with existing cases. Elsewhere, it is different and differently possible, which is the conclusion one can draw from the comparison.

Metaphorically speaking, however, a possible pitfall of the comparative approach is that the possibility of contingency stops where Sweden starts. Brennan, Traustadóttir, Rice, and Anderberg (2018) have explicitly described this danger: by conducting interviews with leaders in the independent living movement in Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, they show that it proves problematic for them to live in countries with reputations as leaders in independent living. The problem is that policymakers and organizational actors are usually very selective in their use of comparative case knowledge (e.g., Powell 2020: 15). Comparisons can be abused by a somewhat problematic realist rationale declaring what is comparatively progressive to be the best possible reality.

Another problem is that comparisons can even be used to make a neoliberal race-to-the-bottom argument. In its 2010 report, for example, the OECD linked Switzerland to its call to take an activation stance:

> “Disability benefits like unemployment benefits target jobless people who are, in many cases, able to work at least partially. However, the operation of a disability benefit scheme differs drastically from that of an unemployment benefit scheme, with strict participation requirements in the latter but not in the former. This difference is justified for people who are unable to work but not for the much larger number of those who have partial work capacity, in part explaining the low take-up of potentially effective services. The logic to make every effort to activate an unemployment benefit recipient should also be applied to the disability benefit system; for instance, benefit payments should be linked to the willingness of the beneficiary to co-operate with the responsible authority and engage in employability-enhancing and, where appropriate, job-search activities. Some countries use a rehabilitation-before-benefit principle and countries such as Switzerland are recently trying to tighten this by moving towards a rehabilitation-instead-of-benefits principle” (OECD 2010: 13).

This example shows that the OECD deals with the same case discussed in this thesis but in a completely different way, respectively following an entirely different theoretical and normative stance than the author of this thesis. Here, the casing is fundamentally distinct. In its progressive-neoliberal theoretical approach, which, incidentally, appropriates the metaphor of barriers, Switzerland is described as a case that has done much to reform its disability policy and, accordingly, should be considered progressive.

Overall, this leads to a more general observation. Methods are just methods. Ideally, they provide indispensable tools that help you get closer to the things you want to investigate. However, there are no methods that are intrinsically normatively positive. Therefore, it makes sense to assume that ontology precedes epistemology, which, in turn, precedes methodology. One can see clearly from these examples that methods require theoretical/ontological embedding. Moreover, epistemic questions are central. That is, who applies the methods, for what reason they are applied, and how the discursive power is distributed both in the application of the methods as well as in the interpretation and execution of their results.

I would like to make a reference back to the discussion above. Part 2 of this thesis shows that deconstruction is not always, in all places, and for all things positive. Deconstruction can also be understood as a technique that is, in principle, a philosophical method. Its aim is simply less about getting closer to things and more about getting away from discursively essentialized things. But if one thinks of deconstruction as a method, then it becomes clear that the same is true for it as for other methods. There is no normative-progressive essence in the method itself.

3.3 The Methods Applied to Comparisons and Data Sources Used for the Comparisons

Critical realism is fully committed to methodological pluralism. From a critically realistic point of view, it is wrong to assume that the methods of the natural sciences are superior to those of the social sciences. Take, for example, the study of discourse. In the nature of discourse lie certain specifics that determine the cognitive possibilities for its investigators. There are, of course, better and worse methods of exploring discourses. However, the search for better ones should be left to poststructuralism, cultural studies, and the sociology of knowledge. To try to impose methods from another field or declare them superior is an encroachment that must be firmly rejected.

However, the critical realist rationale also lends legitimacy to a quantitative comparison of redistribution levels. It would be wrong to declare quantitative methods entirely problematic. Instead, we must consider the nature of (re-)distribution and how this determines our cognitive possibilities. The nature of (re-)distribution is one of money and resources. It is readily apparent that these can and may be quantified.

The quantitative methods of this thesis are mainly exploratory and include cluster analysis and fuzzy set ideal type analysis, two standard methods of comparative social policy (Hudson and Kühner 2010). Cluster analysis is used for numerous areas of social policy research (e.g., Bambra 2007; Gough 2001) and has also been applied to comparative disability policy (Böheim and Leoni 2018; OECD 2010). Fuzzy set ideal type analysis was developed by Kvist (2007) and has also been applied to comparison in the realm of disability policy (Lee 2014; Precious 2021).

The two more case-specific comparisons of this thesis instead follow a process of social inquiry best described by Ragin (1992). The goal of employing this process is to intertwine in-depth case knowledge and to link ideas and evidence with the aim of meaningful “theoretically structured descriptions of the empirical world” (Ragin 1992: 225). These two comparisons do not have a particular data source. Instead, they draw their information primarily from the existing literature. Furthermore, case knowledge is used for this purpose. In one article, the knowledge was that of the author. In the other article, thanks to collaboration with Justin J. W. Powell, it was possible to draw on case knowledge from two cases.

However, the two quantitative articles do have specific data sources. One article relies on the operationalization of the OECD (2010). The OECD (2010) operationalizes social protection and labor-market integration with data from 2007. Both dimensions’ policy provisions and instruments are operationalized with a summative classification of 10 sub-dimensions. Furthermore, these data are linked to data from two Eurobarometers: a Flash Eurobarometer survey focused on accessibility (Eurobarometer 2012a) and a Special Eurobarometer survey focused on discrimination (Eurobarometer 2012b). The other article relies on three primary data sources: the Social Expenditure Database of the OECD (2017/2020); the Personal Assistance Tables of the European Network of Independent Living (ENIL 2017); and the “Deinstitutionalisation and community living – outcomes and costs” report by Mansell, Knapp, Beadle-Brown, and Beecham (2007).

Part B: Papers

4 Paper I: Disability-policy models in European welfare regimes: comparing the distribution of social protection, labour-market integration and civil rights (Co-authored with Ivo Staub)

Tschanz, Christoph and Ivo Staub (2017). Disability-policy models in European welfare regimes: comparing the distribution of social protection, labour-market integration and civil rights. *Disability & Society, 32* (8), 1199–1215.

I would like to thank Ivo Staub for the collaboration. It was a great experience writing this paper with him. He is, of course, only co-responsible for the content of this paper. All other parts of the dissertation were my sole responsibility. Likewise, the discussion of this article in Part 9 was my sole responsibility.

Published in "Disability & Society, 32(8), 1199–1215"
which should be cited to refer to this work.

Disability-policy models in European welfare regimes: comparing the distribution of social protection, labour-market integration and civil rights

Christoph Tschanz and Ivo Staub

Division of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work, Department of Social Sciences, University of Fribourg, Fribourg, Switzerland

ABSTRACT

This paper examines different models of disability policy in European welfare regimes on the basis of secondary data. OECD data measuring social protection and labour-market integration is complemented with an index which measures the outcomes of disability civil rights. Eurobarometer data is used to construct the index. The country modelling by cluster analysis indicates that an encompassing model of disability policy is mainly prevalent in Nordic countries. An activating and rehabilitating disability-policy model is predominant mainly in Central European countries, and there is evidence for a distinct Eastern European model characterized by relatively few guaranteed civil rights for disabled people. Furthermore, the Southern European model, which indicates a preference for social protection rather than activation and rehabilitation, includes countries which normally have diverse welfare traditions.

KEYWORDS

disability policy; welfare state regimes; comparative analysis; social policy; equal rights

Points of interest

- Much is written about links between capitalism and the modern concept of disability, but little research has compared disability policy across different types of welfare capitalism.
- Research has measured and compared social protection and labour-market integration for disabled people in member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.
- There are theoretical claims that disability civil rights form a third dimension of a welfare state's disability policy; therefore, the authors of this article use self-reported perceptions of discrimination and accessibility to compute an index of disability civil rights.

CONTACT Christoph Tschanz christoph.tschanz@unifr.ch

- Including all three dimensions, the analysis suggests that European welfare regimes have four distinct disability-policy models.
- For disability studies, it is helpful to see that some countries are committed to all three dimensions of disability policy without any trade-offs.

Introduction

In industrialized western countries between one in five and one in seven people live with a disability or chronic illness (OECD 2010, 22). To avoid an individualistic view of this figure, one can take into account the historic role of the capitalist state in relation to disability. According to Oliver and Barnes (2012, 16) the implementation of 'individualized wage labour' during the beginning of industrialization initiated today's category. Changing social relationships, new ways of governing people and the burgeoning medical profession paved the way for establishing disability as an 'individualized medical problem' (2012, 16). According to Roulstone and Prideaux (2012, 9–11) the emergence of the welfare state did have a significant impact on the concept of disability. Nowadays, the disability category has a strong welfare state dimension and the category is the fundament of a need-based distribution system (Stone 1984, 21), and there is the significant danger of marginalization from the labour market for disabled people (Barnes and Mercer 2005, 541).

Current welfare states are quite heterogeneous, but in this heterogeneity there are different worlds or regimes with similarities: this is one of the main messages of Esping-Andersen's (1990) *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* typology. According to Esping-Andersen (1990), there are liberal (Anglo-Saxon), conservative-corporatist (Central European) and social-democratic (Nordic) welfare regimes. Linked with this theory is a significant amount of criticism, including further developments and extensions (Van Kersbergen 2013). A strong strand of criticism is connected with the theory's gender blindness (for example, Bambra 2007; Gálvez-Muñoz, Rodríguez-Modroño, and Domínguez-Serrano 2011; Lewis 1997; Orloff 1993; Sainsbury 1994). Furthermore, there are claims that Southern European countries (for example, Ferrera 1996) and Eastern European countries (for example, Aidukaite 2009) both form a distinct welfare state type as well. Nevertheless, the typology still seems to be a good starting point for detecting different worlds of welfare, and it may be fruitful for the comparison of disability policies.

Defining the content of a disability policy for comparative purposes is a challenge because disability policy can be seen as a mix of 'redistributive and social regulatory provisions' (Hvinden 2013, 376). Maschke (2004) undertook preliminary work for handling this challenge; this work is in line with claims of gender studies, such as that Esping-Andersen's (1990) concept of decommodification (social protection) is not sufficient for specific social policy fields. Decommodification refers to the degree to which people can 'uphold a socially acceptable standard of living' without being forced to sell their own labour as a commodity (Esping-Andersen

1990, 37). According to Waldschmidt (2011, 69–71) disability policy also has a strong component of labour-market integration, which comprises commodification per se, recommodification and quasi-commodification. Having in mind a specific part of disability policy, Gal (2004, 57) claims that the concept of decommodification has to be extended through support for 'self-development'. Overall, it cannot be ignored that current developments in disability policy clearly tend towards rights-based approaches (Priestley 2010, 419). To reduce complexity, Maschke (2004) proposes that disability policy is consistent with three dimensions: social protection, labour-market integration and civil rights.

A body of empirical literature compares the disability policies of more than two welfare regimes, either within a three-dimensional framework (Maschke 2008; Waldschmidt 2009) or with a larger recognition of a redistributive and regulative mix (Barnes 2000; Cohu, Lequet-Slama, and Velche 2005; Drake 1999; Hvinden 2003). Interestingly, another important observer's approach (OECD 2010, 2003) also reduces the complexity of disability policy to its meta-dimensions, but it operationalizes only two of them: social protection and labour-market integration.

With regard to disability-policy regimes, two studies (Waldschmidt 2009; OECD 2010) are of particular interest. Both have connections to Esping-Andersen's (1990) theory. Waldschmidt (2009) combines this theory with the three-dimensional framework of Maschke (2004). Waldschmidt (2009) deductively develops a matrix as a heuristic tool to describe how welfare regimes favour the three possible dimensions. The matrix (2009, 20) indicates that the liberal regime's strongest dimension is that of civil rights, with labour-market integration in the middle and social protection as the weakest dimension. Furthermore, the matrix suggests that labour-market integration is the strongest dimension in the conservative-corporatist welfare regime; social protection comes second and civil rights third. Finally, it points out that, in the social democratic regime, social security is most pronounced; civil rights follow, and labour-market integration comes last (2009, 20). On the contrary, the OECD (2010) inductively finds a link to Esping-Andersen (1990). In 2010, an Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report operationalized disability social security and disability labour-market integration. This operationalization is in line with a prior publication (OECD 2003). Both reports (OECD 2003, 2010) included a cluster analysis. While the first comparative study (OECD 2003, 129) finds early indications of distinct disability-policy regimes, the second publication (OECD 2010, 88) finds that there is a strong overlap between the cluster results and the welfare types of Esping-Andersen (1990). According to the OECD (2010), the division of the countries' disability policies fit within the countries' expected welfare regimes – although Germany, Switzerland and Ireland are exceptions.

Waldschmidt (2009) provides an in-depth analysis that gives meaningful insight into the relationship between a welfare regime and its disability-policy orientation, but the argument relies on a qualitative document analysis and therefore a quantitative comparison of the distribution of the dimension relative to that of other countries is not possible. Because it has another structure, the data provided by the OECD (2010) allow this kind of quantitative modelling approach. One question that needs to be asked, however, is whether the dimension of civil rights should be included and whether this would have an impact on the modelling results.

This article seeks to complement the data of the OECD (2010) by adding the dimension of civil rights. Furthermore, the article intends to apply a cluster analysis (including data from all three dimensions) so that it is conducive to disability-policy modelling. For this purpose, the article is divided into different parts. After this introduction, the second part lays out the three dimensions. The third part lays out the methods that are used for indexing the civil rights dimension and for the cluster analysis. The fourth part presents the results. The fifth part includes a discussion of the results and a critical assessment of the limitations of this quantitative approach.

The three dimensions of disability policy

The classification of disability policies in our analysis is inspired by Maschke (2004), Waldschmidt (2009, 20) and OECD (2010), and includes three dimensions: social protection, labour-market integration and social rights. Although being aware of touching important political and academic debates,[1] the understanding of the three dimensions is not a fully theoretically deliberated understanding but rather is primarily data driven.

The dimension of social protection includes the question of the universality of entitlements, the required work incapacity level for entitlements, the extent of the payment level, the permanence of benefits, medical assessment criteria, vocational assessment criteria, sickness benefit levels, and durations and information on sickness absence monitoring (OECD 2010, 99).

The dimension of labour-market integration includes the question of consistency across support and coverage rules, the complexity of benefit and support systems, the employer's obligations, the existence of supported, subsidized and sheltered employment programmes, information on the comprehensiveness and timing of vocational rehabilitation, and information on the existence of a benefit suspension option and work incentives (OECD 2010, 100).

The dimension of civil rights contains, according to Maschke (2004, 410), anti-discrimination laws, equality laws, building codes and regulations with regard to public transport and communication. The index is constructed with a selection of Eurobarometer questions, which seem to measure the outcomes of this dimension. Table 1 presents these questions in detail.

Methods

Index: civil rights

Instead of applying advanced endeavours for comparing and monitoring disability rights (for example, Lawson and Priestley 2013; Quinn and Flynn 2012;

Table 1. Construction of the index.

Discrimination Eurobarometer		Accessibility Eurobarometer		
Question[a]: For each of the following types of discrimination, could you please tell me whether, in your opinion, it is very widespread, fairly widespread, fairly rare or very rare in (OUR COUNTRY)? Discrimination on the basis of …	*Question*[b]: Using a scale from 1 to 10, please tell me how you would feel about having someone from each of the following categories serve in the highest elected political position in (OUR COUNTRY). '1' means that you would feel totally uncomfortable and '10' means that you would feel totally comfortable.	*Question*[c]: Have you and/or someone from your household who has a disability ever experienced difficulties in any of the following:	*Question*[d]: Have you and/or someone from your household who has a disability ever experienced difficulties in any of the following:	*Question*[e]: Have you and/or someone from your household who has a disability ever experienced difficulties in any of the following:
Disability	A person with a disability	Taking a taxi/bus/train/flight	Entering a building or an open public space	Voting in an election
Possible answers: Very widespread = a Fairly widespread = b Fairly rare = c Very rare = d Non-existent = e	*Possible answers*: Uncomfortable (1–4) = a Fairly comfortable (5–6) = b Comfortable (7–10) = c	*Possible answers (similar for all three questions)*: Most of the time = a From time to time = b Almost never or never = c		
Calculation (with % of answers): $1 - \frac{4a+3b+2c+d}{400}$	*Calculation (with % of answers)*: $1 - \frac{2a+b}{200}$	*Calculation (with % of answers)*: $1 - \frac{2a+b}{200}$		

Notes: The Disability Civil Rights Index is the sum of all five calculations.

[a] Data from Eurobarometer (2012b, T6 in Annex).

[b] Data from Eurobarometer (2012b, T33 in Annex).

[c] Data from Eurobarometer (2012a, T8 in Annex).

[d] Data from Eurobarometer (2012a, T9 in Annex).

[e] Data from Eurobarometer (2012a, T13 in Annex).

Waddington and Lawson 2009; Waddington, Quinn, and Flynn 2015), we chose a simpler approach with the aim of computing a civil rights index. According to Maschke (2004, 410), the disability civil rights dimension implies two main components: anti-discrimination and accessibility. At the level of the European Union, data sources capture disability components; these include Special or Flash Eurobarometer surveys (Van Oorschot et al. 2009). Recently, a Special Eurobarometer survey focused on discrimination (Eurobarometer 2012b), and a Flash Eurobarometer survey focused on accessibility (Eurobarometer 2012a). The Eurobarometer surveys provide data for every member country of the European Union; they are conducted on behalf of the European Commission. The data allow an index to be constructed. This indexing approach is chosen because it allows for the bundling of single information items, thus reducing complexity while simultaneously remaining multidimensional (Pickel and Pickel 2012, 2). Furthermore, survey data can be used for comparative research on welfare regimes (for example, Gálvez-Muñoz, Rodríguez-Modroño, and Domínguez-Serrano 2011; Van Oorschot 2013).

Table 1 shows the construction of the index. The Discrimination Eurobarometer asks about the views and attitudes of a representative sample of the total population. The Accessibility Eurobarometer asks disabled people or their household members about their experiences with (non-)accessibility. The index is constructed from values for five questions. The first focuses on general feelings of discrimination against disabled people, and the second examines how the respondents would feel if a disabled person was elected to the highest political office. The final three questions assess disabled people's accessibility to transport, public buildings and elections. The results of the five questions form a summative index between five (referring to perfect accessibility and no discrimination) and zero (referring to no accessibility and absolute discrimination).

This approach has its limitations. One has to consider that the Eurobarometer data have a relatively low number of respondents (generally around 1000 people per country). Second, survey data can only measure policy outcomes. Therefore, high index values may not be entirely due to specific disability legislation; further reasons for different outcomes cannot be ruled out. On the other hand, the fact that the Accessibility Eurobarometer surveys disabled people or their household members provides an advantage: this index, which is about disabled people's civil rights, is not completely constructed without disabled people's voices.

Indexes: social protection and labour-market integration

The OECD (2010) operationalizes social protection and labour-market integration with data from 2007. Both dimensions' policy provisions and instruments are operationalized with a summative classification of 10 sub-dimensions. The mean of each score is between zero and five, with a high score indicating a strong occurrence of the dimension and a low score indicating a weak occurrence (OECD

2010, 85). These data can be compared with the constructed index, which also has a score between zero and five. The combination of the index data and the OECD data implies a reduction of the countries in the sample. Out of the initial index sample, which consisted of 27 EU countries, only 19 are also part of the OECD (2010) report.[2]. Furthermore, one has to consider that the data come from different sources and are computed differently. The civil rights dimension has a higher mean value, and the variance differs. Therefore, with the objective of better comparability, the data are Z-transformed for further calculations. Z-transformation is a statistical method with the aim of the standardization of data. After a Z-transformation the data are normally distributed, and Z-transformed data from different sources can therefore be compared better. Working with *Z*-scores is common in cluster analysis (Bambra 2007; Gough 2001; Obinger and Wagschal 1998).

Cluster analysis

The goal of cluster analysis is to detect structural similarities in the index values of the countries in our sample. The method puts the countries into distinct groups: countries with similar index values get grouped into the same cluster whereas countries with dissimilar values are put into different clusters. We use cluster analysis to find different models of how European nations combine the three dimensions of disability policy. Cluster analysis is often used in comparing welfare regimes (for example, Bambra 2007; Gálvez-Muñoz, Rodríguez-Modroño, and Domínguez-Serrano 2011; Gough 2001; Obinger and Wagschal 1998; OECD, 2010, 2003). According to recommendations (Bambra 2007, 330–335; Gough 2001, 165), a hierarchical cluster should be combined with a *k*-means cluster analysis.

A hierarchical cluster analysis is helpful in deducing the appropriate number of clusters. The method can help to detect how many distinct groups of countries can be drawn. The determining procedure for the appropriate number of clusters has to do with the basic criteria of cluster analysis: the cluster solution simultaneously has an appropriate homogeneity within clusters and the greatest possible heterogeneity between clusters (Schendera 2010, 17). The method has, as a starting point, an allocation of each individual case as a separate cluster; subsequently, cases with the smallest distance (greatest similarity) are merged (2010, 23). This procedure is continued until *n* cases (after *n* – 1 steps) are merged into a single cluster (2010, 23). The procedure is hierarchical because the steps are carried out in sequence and because, if a case is classified, it stays in place.

On the other hand, the *k*-means cluster analysis is partitioned and based on a predefined number of clusters (Schendera 2010, 117–118). The method can help to detect the specificities of the distinct groups of countries. There are a number of clusters, called *k*, and cluster centres, called *k*-means. The number of clusters is determined by the researcher at the beginning of the process. Within the process an algorithm first searches for *k* initial values and calculates the inclusion of the cases' centroids (means). The procedure of defining the centroid and recalculating it with the inclusion of the cases is iterated many times until no further changes occur in the values of the centroids (2010, 117–118). The cases' membership is defined by their positions relative to the nearest final cluster centre (final centroid). Unlike in the hierarchical cluster analysis, the distance to their neighbours does not play a role in the definite *k*-means classification.

The hierarchical cluster analysis helps to find a good solution with regard to the trade-off between intracluster homogeneity and intercluster heterogeneity because the distances in the merging process can be observed. Because the hierarchical cluster analysis is to some extent 'atheoretical', a combination with a *k*-means cluster analysis is recommended (Bambra 2007, 329). Furthermore, *k*-means cluster analysis also offers the possibility of checking a different number of clusters to observe the stability of the results with regard to an alternative number of clusters (Gough 2001, 165).

Results

Index: civil rights

Table 2 presents the summative index,[3] organized by descending values. The table includes values for all 27 countries in the Eurobarometer (2012a, 2012b) surveys. The highest scores are those for Malta, Sweden and Denmark. Hungary, Slovakia and Cyprus have the lowest scores.

Table 2. Disability Civil Rights Index.

Country	Index
Malta	4.09
Sweden	3.95
Denmark	3.88
Germany	3.79
Luxembourg	3.78
Ireland	3.77
The Netherlands	3.75
Poland	3.73
Spain	3.73
Romania	3.70
Slovenia	3.69
Finland	3.67
Austria	3.54
United Kingdom	3.52
Lithuania	3.51
France	3.50
Latvia	3.49
Estonia	3.48
Bulgaria	3.45
Portugal	3.45
Italy	3.43
Greece	3.41
Belgium	3.37
Czech Republic	3.22
Cyprus	3.11
Slovakia	2.99
Hungary	2.95

Note: Cronbach's alpha = 0.72.

Indexes: social protection and labour-market integration

Table 3 presents the index scores for social protection and labour-market integration for the 19 countries in the OECD report (2010, 101–102). For better comparability of the three dimensions, the disability civil rights values are also included.

Cluster analysis

The result of the hierarchical cluster analysis is shown in Figure 1. The dendrogram can be read from left to right. Different countries are merged together in a step-by-step process; subsequently, clusters emerge. Countries with very similar scores in the three indexes are first combined with each other (e.g. Greece and Italy). At the beginning of the fusion, cases merge relatively constantly. Thereafter, the distance to the next fusion increases sharply. Therefore, a four-cluster solution is suitable for the *k*-means cluster analysis.

The *k*-means cluster analysis offers the possibility of testing a diverging number of clusters. Table 4 presents five different *k*-means cluster solutions with predefined start numbers of two, three, four, five and six clusters. In addition, each case's distance to each final cluster centre is specified.

Overall, it appears that the four-cluster solution is appropriate. Beyond the four clusters, there is no distinct fifth or sixth cluster of multiple countries; rather, single countries form separate clusters (five clusters: Portugal; six clusters: Portugal and Sweden). For the three-cluster solution, a large cluster (Cluster 1) forms. The results with two or three clusters have large and inappropriate intracluster heterogeneity, measured as the cases' distances to their cluster centres.

Table 3. Combining data.

	Social protection[a]	Labour-market integration[b]	Civil rights[c]
Austria	2.4	3.0	3.54
Belgium	2.5	2.4	3.37
Czech Republic	2.4	2.1	3.22
Denmark	2.8	3.7	3.88
Finland	3.2	3.2	3.67
France	2.5	2.6	3.50
Germany	3.2	3.5	3.79
Greece	2.5	1.6	3.41
Hungary	2.8	2.8	2.95
Ireland	2.6	1.7	3.77
Italy	2.6	1.8	3.43
Luxembourg	2.8	2.4	3.78
The Netherlands	2.4	3.5	3.75
Poland	2.5	2.2	3.73
Portugal	3.3	1.6	3.45
Slovakia	2.6	2.1	2.99
Spain	2.7	2.2	3.73
Sweden	3.7	3.2	3.95
United Kingdom	2.1	3.2	3.52

Notes:
[a] Data: mean compensation policy dimension score (OECD 2010, 101).
[b] Data: mean integration policy dimension score (OECD 2010, 102).
[c] Data: Authors' own calculations (see Table 1 and Table 2).

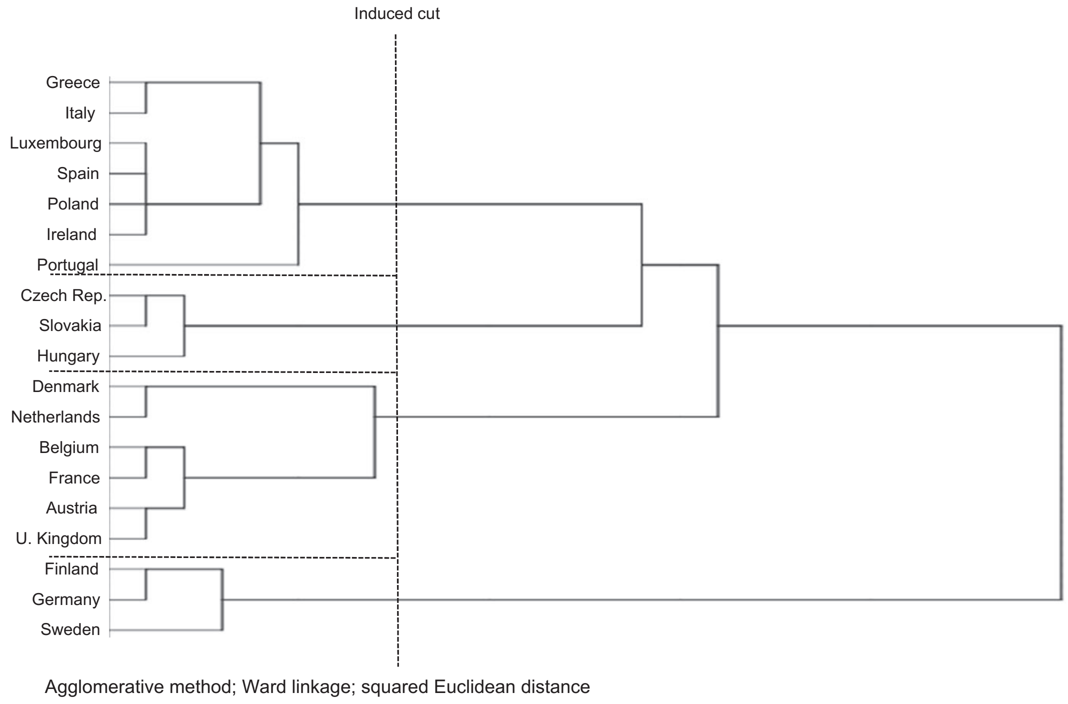


Figure 1. Dendrogram of a hierarchical cluster analysis.

Second, Table 4 presents the cases' stability (or lack thereof). Most of the countries are stable in their cluster position, but there are exceptions. Denmark is in a different cluster for the five-cluster solution than for the other solutions; Belgium has a different position for each solution with between three and six clusters; and the Netherlands is in a different cluster for the two-cluster solution than in the other solutions. Both Denmark and Belgium were also clustered differently in the hierarchical cluster analysis.

Denmark appears to be on a border between two clusters. In the hierarchical cluster, Denmark is closest to the Netherlands, and these two cases are merged with a cluster consisting of Belgium, France, Austria and the United Kingdom. However, in the *k*-means analysis, Denmark's position is closer to the final cluster centre of Cluster 4 than that of Cluster 3. Belgium seems relatively discontinuous and switches between three different options. Rather than being a borderline case, Belgium's appropriate classification seems to be unclear.

Further conclusions

According to Schendera (2010, 131) the interpretability is the most important criterion of a good cluster solution. Table 5 presents the values for the final cluster centres of the *k*-means analysis with a predefined number of four. Each cluster centre shows its relative value compared with other cluster centres. In addition, and in a broader sense in line with Waldschmidt (2009, 20), the relative expression is also shown in X values. This design, which is inspired by Waldschmidt (2009, 20), refers to the quantitative data of the cluster centres. The cluster group with the

Table 4. *k*-means clusters.

Two clusters			Three clusters			Four clusters			Five clusters			Six clusters		
k	Country	Distance	*k*	Country	Distance	*k*	Country	Distance	*k*	Country	Distance	*k*	Country	Distance
1	Austria	1.221	1	Austria	1.062	1	Greece	1.034	1	Portugal	.000	1	Portugal	.000
	Belgium	.437		Belgium	.783		Ireland	.712						
	Czech Republic	1.017		France	.512		Italy	.755	2	Greece	1.044	2	Belgium	1.015
	France	.565		Greece	1.270		Luxembourg	.938		Ireland	.618		Greece	.980
	Greece	1.013		Ireland	1.165		Poland	.805		Italy	.814		Ireland	.779
	Hungary	2.025		Italy	.977		Portugal	1.690		Luxembourg	.919		Italy	.722
	Ireland	1.391		Luxembourg	.924		Spain	.566		Poland	.549		Luxembourg	.973
	Italy	.686		The Netherlands	1.846					Spain	.489		Poland	.584
	Luxembourg	1.295		Poland	.621	2	Belgium	.871					Spain	.561
	Poland	1.028		Portugal	2.218		Czech Republic	.653	3	Belgium	.871			
	Portugal	2.066		Spain	.649		Hungary	1.083		Czech Republic	.653	3	Czech Republic	.849
	Slovakia	1.682		United Kingdom	1.759		Slovakia	.631		Hungary	1.083		Hungary	.925
	Spain	1.010								Slovakia	.631		Slovakia	.410
	United Kingdom	1.879	2	Czech Republic	.849	3	Austria	.215						
				Hungary	.925		France	.844	4	Austria	.469	4	Austria	.215
2	Denmark	.831		Slovakia	.410		The Netherlands	.897		Denmark	1.472		France	.844
	Finland	.694					United Kingdom	.704		France	1.024		The Netherlands	.897
	Germany	.388	3	Denmark	1.201					The Netherlands	.612		United Kingdom	.704
	The Netherlands	1.717		Finland	.623	4	Denmark	1.201		United Kingdom	.979			
	Sweden	1.755		Germany	.205		Finland	.623				5	Denmark	.853
				Sweden	1.339		Germany	.205	5	Finland	.655		Finland	.653
							Sweden	1.339		Germany	.523		Germany	.348
										Sweden	1.019			
												6	Sweden	.000

Note: Data rounded to three decimal places.

Table 5. *k*-means final cluster centres, *k* = 4.

Z-score	Cluster 1(Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Poland, Portugal, Spain)	Cluster 2(Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, [Belgium])	Cluster 3(Austria, France, The Netherlands, United Kingdom)	Cluster 4(Finland, Sweden, Germany, [Denmark])
Social protection	0.00 (XXX)	−0.36 (XX)	−0.94 (X)	1.31 (XXXX)
Labour-market integration	−0.93 (X)	−0.32 (XX)	0.74 (XXX)	1.21 (XXXX)
Civil rights	0.23 (XXx)	−1.49 (X)	0.10 (XXx)	0.98 (XXXX)

Note: XXXX, cluster with highest score within the cluster centres; X, cluster with lowest score within the cluster centres; XXx means an ambiguous classification between XX and XXX.

highest relative expression receives XXXX, and the one with the lowest receives X. This approach is ambiguous in the case of the civil rights dimension between Cluster 1 and Cluster 3. On the one hand, the values are close together, and on the other the descending order would change if Denmark, a borderline case, was assigned to Cluster 3. Therefore, in the civil rights dimension, Cluster 1 and Cluster 3 are considered to be equal.

In Table 5, the first cluster includes Southern European and Catholic countries: Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Poland, Portugal and Spain. All of the Southern European countries included in the analysis are in this cluster. This cluster is characterized by an emphasis on social protection rather than labour-market integration. The second cluster provides moderate social security, moderate activating and few rights safeguards. The second cluster includes the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia, which could thus be called an Eastern European cluster. Cluster 3 provides little social protection, high activating and average rights safeguards. This cluster includes three countries of the conservative-corporatist (or Central European) welfare type: Austria, France and the Netherlands. The United Kingdom is also clustered with these countries. Finally, the fourth cluster encompasses a high value for all three dimensions of disability policy, without trade-off between the different types of disability policy. The fourth cluster contains the three Nordic countries and Germany, and Denmark strongly leans towards the third cluster and needs to be considered as a borderline case. This cluster can be seen as the social-democratic or Nordic model of disability policy. To complete the picture, Belgium has to be mentioned; it is indistinguishable due to ambiguous positioning in the cluster analysis.

Discussion

Detection of disability models

The most striking result to emerge from the data is the detection of four distinct models of disability policy in European capitalist welfare states. Each of them has a different pattern of combining the social protection, labour-market integration and civil rights. Although welfare regime patterns are visible in the results, a significant number of countries are not clustered as they would be expected to in the traditional welfare state theory. The cluster with the Southern European countries includes three other countries that have different welfare traditions. Interestingly, Ireland, Luxembourg and Poland are traditionally Catholic countries. It is possible to hypothesize that the low occurrence of disability labour-market integration could be a residual effect of a Catholic economic tradition (for example, Weber [1904–1905] 2001). Furthermore, in contrast to its positioning in welfare state theory, the United Kingdom is clustered with Central European countries. This may be understandable with regard to the convergence between the liberal and conservative-corporatist forms of disability labour-market integration (OECD 2010, 90). In addition, in contrast to earlier findings and reasoning – which suggested that the United Kingdom is an ideal version of a liberal welfare regime that has advanced, rights-based policies (Barnes 2000; Waldschmidt 2009) – the United Kingdom does not have remarkably high values in the civil rights index. In fact, the United Kingdom's results show a discrepancy between anti-discrimination and accessibility. While the nation's two indicators of anti-discrimination have high values, the United Kingdom is near the European average regarding values for self-reported problems of accessibility. Because Ireland is in a Southern European cluster and the United Kingdom is in a Central European cluster, it is understandable that this cluster analysis indicates a four-cluster solution without a distinct liberal model instead of a five-cluster solution. Lastly, one exception with regard to welfare-state theory has to be mentioned. In line with the OECD's (2010, 88) analysis, Germany's disability policy is clustered in the social-democratic cluster.

Limitations

Some facts have to be mentioned about the type of data used for the modelling approach (OECD 2010, 99–102). First, the data on social protection capture the formal eligibility and not the actual level of disability social spending. Therefore, this leads to a view that differs from studies in which spending is considered (for example, Maschke 2008; Priestley 2010). Second, the data for labour-market integration exclusively operationalize policy instruments for integration into a formal and paid labour market and therefore do not cover informal or unpaid work. Third, it should be noted that the data from the OECD (2010, 99–102) capture the year 2007. The picture these data create is therefore a pre-crisis picture. This is especially important because the financial crisis, the Great Recession and the turning to austerity may have changed countries' political economies. This could especially be the case for countries in the first cluster. According to Josifidis et al. (2015), Portugal and Greece have already left their institutionalized welfare traditions due to the economic crisis and the impact of the Troika (consisting of the European Central Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the European Commission). Furthermore, there is evidence for a recent convergence in disability policy (Scharle, Váradi, and Samu 2015). Further, the examination is a pre-United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities analysis: the Convention (for example, United

Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner 2014) will most likely have an impact on all the three dimensions.

Limitations from a disability studies standpoint must also be mentioned. Both index building and cluster analysis strongly reduce the complexity of the chosen topic. Because of this reduction, it is not possible to capture the complexity of disabled people's experiences and the impact of policies on the daily life of people, nor is it possible to capture any kind of disability-policy discourse and the approach is quite distant from the reality of disability in its construction. An example of this is Malta, the country with the highest index value. First, the question needs to be asked: is the high value of the index interlinked with the Maltese policy of promoting accessible tourism (Callus and Cardona 2013)? It is even more important to consider that, in Malta, disabled people still face considerable barriers to full inclusion (Cardona 2013). Therefore, countries with a high position in the index do not have to be regarded as an example of 'the end of history', because further improvements and greater involvement of the disability movement are still needed. Rather, the index can be read as an indicator that positive developments (e.g. in the Maltese context: the implementation of an anti-discrimination act in 2000 or changes in disability mainstreaming outlined by Cardona [2013, 279–280]) seem to be lacking in other cases, such as that of Hungary, and that such developments may need intensified political attention. This scepticism can be applied for the OECD (2010) data as well. To frame the limitation from a disability studies standpoint, Jolly's (2003) dichotomy is very helpful: with the applied data, one can detect macroeconomic but not micro-psychological power relations (2003, 521).

Implementations for disability policy-making

With regard to macroeconomic power in the political economy, one result is worth mentioning. According to Esping-Andersen (1990), the welfare state has a significant impact on social stratification, and the social-democratic countries have the strongest historic commitments to reducing social inequalities. It is very striking to detect these effects on disability policy: the countries in the fourth cluster are among the top European countries with regard to all three dimensions. It can be concluded that attempts to reduce social inequalities for people with impairments do not imply any trade-offs between welfare and labour-market integration or between redistributive and rights-based policy approaches. Rather, it shows that a commitment to the development and maintenance of all three disability-policy dimensions is possible. This finding could be fruitful for both national and supranational disability policy-making.

Notes

1. We do not want to imply that social protection and labour-market integration are deliberated denominations, having in mind that speaking about social rights or labour-market rights could have a more appropriate meaning. We chose these terms in order to

have a denomination in line with Waldschmidt (2009, 20) and Maschke (2004). With our understanding of civil rights, we do not want to imply that we are following a certain liberal argument, such as that the provision of civil rights is the sufficient obligation a state has vis-à-vis its citizens.

2. The 19 EU countries in both primary data sources are Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the Czech Republic, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Luxembourg, Slovakia and Denmark.
3. Cronbach's alpha measures the internal consistency of the index. Because the index variables are aimed to measure the same overarching construct (disability civil rights), they should correlate with one another. A Cronbach's alpha value above 0.7 is considered satisfactory (for example, Bland and Altman 1997), so this comparison's Cronbach's alpha of 0.72 is an indication that its internal consistency can be considered satisfactory even though the data come from two different Eurobarometer surveys.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

ORCID

Christoph Tschanz http://orcid.org/0000-0003-4686-4659

References

Aidukaite, Jolanta. Mar 2009. "Old Welfare State Theories and New Welfare Regimes in Eastern Europe: Challenges and Implications." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 42: 23–39. doi: 10.1016/j.postcomstud.2009.02.004.

Bambra, Clare. 2007. "Defamilisation and Welfare State Regimes: A Cluster Analysis." *International Journal of Social Welfare* 16 (4): 326–338. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2397.2007.00486.x.

Barnes, Helen. 2000. *Working for a Living: Employment, Benefits and the Living Standards of Disabled People*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Barnes, Colin, and Geof Mercer. 2005. "Disability, Work, and Welfare: Challenging the Social Exclusion of Disabled People." *Work, Employment & Society* 19 (3): 527–545. doi:10.1177/0950017005055669.

Bland, J. Martin, and Douglas G. Altman. 1997. "Statistics Notes: Cronbach's Alpha." *British Medical Journal* 314: 572. doi:10.1136/bmj.314.7080.572.

Callus, Anne-Marie, and Gordon C. Cardona. 2013. "The (Untapped) Potential of Inclusive Tourism." *Insider* (Special Edition): 62–63. http://www.knpd.org/pubs/pdf/InclusiveTourism.pdf

Cardona, Gordon C. 2013. "Overcoming Disabling Barriers: Disability and Attitudes to Disability within the Maltese Context: An Insider's Perspective." *Disability & Society* 28 (2): 279–284. doi:10.1080/09687599.2012.753186.

Cohu, Silvie, Diane Lequet-Slama, and Dominique Velche. 2005. "Les politiques en faveur des personnes handicapées dans cinq pays européens." [Policies in Favour of Handicapped People in Five European countries.] *Revue française des affaires sociales* 59 (2): 11–34.

Drake, Robert F. 1999. *Understanding Disability Policies*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Eurobarometer. 2012a. *Flash Eurobarometer 345: Accessibility*. Brussels: European Commission. http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl_345_en.pdf

Eurobarometer. 2012. *Special Eurobarometer 393: Discrimination in the EU in 2012*. Brussels: European Commission. http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_393_en.pdf

Ferrera, Maurizio. 1996. "The 'Southern Model' of Welfare in Social Europe." *Journal of European Social Policy* 6 (1): 17–37.

Gal, John. 2004. "Decommodification and beyond: A Comparative Analysis of Work-Injury Programmes." *Journal of European Social Policy* 14 (1): 55–69. doi:10.1177/0958928704039795.

Gálvez-Muñoz, Lina, Paula Rodríguez-Modroño, and Mónica Domínguez-Serrano. 2011. "Work and Time Use by Gender: A New Clustering of European Welfare Systems." *Feminist Economics* 17 (4): 125–157. doi:10.1080/13545701.2011.620975.

Gough, Ian. 2001. "Social Assistance Regimes: A Cluster Analysis." *Journal of European Social Policy* 11 (2): 165–170. doi:10.1177/095892870101100205.

Hvinden, Bjørn. 2003. "The Uncertain Convergence of Disability Policies in Western Europe." *Social Policy & Administration* 37 (6): 609–624. doi:10.1111/1467-9515.00361.

Hvinden, Bjørn. 2013. "Disability." In *The Routledge Handbook of the Welfare State*, edited by Bent Greve, 371–380. London: Routledge.

Jolly, Debbie. 2003. "The Government of Disability: Economics and Power in Welfare and Work." *Disability & Society* 18 (4): 509–522. doi:10.1080/0968759032000081039.

Josifidis, Kosta, John B. Hall, Novica Supic, and Emilija Beker Pucar. 2015. "The European Welfare State Regimes: Questioning the Typology during the Crisis." *Technological and Economic Development of Economy* 21 (4): 577–595. doi:10.3846/20294913.2015.1055612.

Lawson, Anna, and Mark Priestley. 2013. "Potential, Principle and Pragmatism in Concurrent Multinational Monitoring: Disability Rights in the European Union." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 17 (7–8): 739–757. doi:10.1080/13642987.2013.834494.

Lewis, Jane. 1997. "Gender and Welfare Regimes: Further Thoughts." *Social Politics* 4 (2): 160–177. doi:10.1093/sp/4.2.160.

Maschke, Michael. 2004. "Behinderung als Feld wohlfahrtsstaatlicher Politik: Eine Systematisierung der Behindertenpolitik." [Disability as a Field of Welfare State Policy: A Systematisation of Disability Policy.] *Berliner Journal für Soziologie* 14 (3): 399–420. doi:10.1007/BF03204588.

Maschke, Michael. 2008. *Behindertenpolitik in der Europäischen Union: Lebenssituation behinderter Menschen und nationale Behindertenpolitik in 15 Mitgliedstaaten* [Disability Policy within the European Union: The living Situation and National Disability Policies in 15 Member States.]. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Obinger, Herbert, and Uwe Wagschal. 1998. "Drei Welten des Wohlfahrtsstaates? Das Stratifizierungskonzept in der clusteranalytischen Überprüfung." [Three World of the Welfare State? Reviewing the Stratification Concept with a Cluster Analysis.] In *Welten des Wohlfahrtskapitalismus: Der Sozialstaat in vergleichender Perspektive* [Worlds of Welfare Capitalism: The Welfare State in Comparative Perspective], edited by Stephan Lessenich and Ilona Ostner, 109–135. Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). 2003. *Transforming Disability into Ability: Policies to Promote Work and Income Security for Disabled People*. Paris: OECD. http://www.oecd.org/els/emp/transformingdisabilityintoability.html

OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). 2010. *Sickness, Disability and Work: Breaking the Barriers*. Paris: OECD. http://www.oecd.org/publications/sickness-disability-and-work-breaking-the-barriers-9789264088856-en.html

Oliver, Michael, and Colin Barnes. 2012. *The New Politics of Disablement*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Orloff, Ann Shola. June 1993. "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States." *American Sociological Review* 58: 33–328. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2095903

Pickel, Gert, and Susanne Pickel. 2012. “Die Messung von Indizes in der vergleichenden Politikwissenschaft – Methodologische Spitzfindigkeit oder substantielle Notwendigkeit.” [The Measurement of Indices in Comparative Political Sciences – Methodological Subtlety or Substantial Necessity.] In *Indizes in der vergleichenden Politikwissenschaft* [Indices in Comparative Political Sciences], edited by Gert Pickel and Susanne Pickel, 1–17. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Priestley, Mark. 2010. “Disability.” In *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, edited by Francis G. Castles, Stephan Leibfried, Jane Lewis, Herbert Obinger, and Christopher Pierson, 406–420. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Quinn, Gerard, and Eilionóir Flynn. 2012. “Evolutions in Antidiscrimination Law in Europe and North America: Transatlantic Borrowing: The past and Future of EU Non-Discrimination Law and Policy on the Ground of Disability.” *American Journal of Comparative Law* 60 (1): 23–48.

Roulstone, Alan, and Simon Prideaux. 2012. *Understanding Disability Policy*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Sainsbury, Diane, ed. 1994. *Gendering Welfare States*. London: SAGE Publications.

Scharle, Ágota, Balázs Váradi, and Flóra Samu. 2015. “Policy Convergence across Welfare Regimes: The Case of Disability Policies. » In *Work Package 102: Working Paper No 76*, edited by: Welfare Wealth Work WWWforEurope. Vienna: WWW for Europe. http://www.foreurope.eu/fileadmin/documents/pdf/Workingpapers/WWWforEurope_WPS_no076_MS10.pdf

Schendera, Christian F. G. 2010. *Clusteranalyse mit SPSS: Mit Faktorenanalyse* [Cluster Analysis With SPSS: Inclusive Factor Analysis]. München: Oldenbourg Verlag.

Stone, Deborah A. 1984. *The Disabled State*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. 2014. *The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. Training Guide*. New York: United Nations Publication.

Van Kersbergen, Kees. 2013. “What Are Welfare State Typologies and How Are They Useful, If at All?” In *The Routledge Handbook of the Welfare State*, edited by Bent Greve, 139–147. London: Routledge.

Van Oorschot, Wim. 2013. “Comparative Welfare State Analysis with Survey-Based Benefit Recipiency Data: The ‘Dependent Variable Problem’ Revisited.” *European Journal of Social Security* 15 (3): 224–248.

Van Oorschot, Wim, Maarten Balvers, Marjon Schols, and Ilse Lodewijks. 2009. *European Comparative Data on the Situation of Disabled People: An Annotated Review*. Brussels: Academic Network of European Disability Experts. http://www.disability-europe.net/content/aned/media/ANED%20report%20European%20Comparative%20Data%20on%20the%20Situation%20of%20Disabled%20People%20%28corrected%29.pdf

Waddington, Lisa, and Anna Lawson. 2009. *Disability and Non-Discrimination Law in the European Union: An Analysis of Disability Discrimination Law within and beyond the Employment Field*. Brussels: European Commission.

Waddington, Lisa, Gerard Quinn, and Eilionóir Flynn, eds. 2015. *European Yearbook of Disability Law*. 5 vols. Cambridge: Intersentia.

Waldschmidt, Anne. 2009. “Disability Policy of the European Union: The Supranational Level.” *ALTER – European Journal of Disability Research / Revue européenne de recherche sur le handicap* 3 (1): 8–23. doi: 10.1016/j.alter.2008.12.002.

Waldschmidt, Anne. 2011. “Existenzsicherung – Ein soziales Recht? Überlegungen zur Theorie der Behindertenpolitik unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Menschen mit schwerer Behinderung.” [The Minimum Standard of Subsistence as a Social Right? Reflections About Disability Policy with Special Attention to People with Severe Disabilities.] In *Herausforderungen: Mit schwerer Behinderung leben* [Challenges: Living with Severe Disability], edited by Markus Dederich and Katrin Grüber, 61–74. Frankfurt am Main: Mabuse-Verlag.

Weber, Max. [1904–1905] 2001. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Routledge.

5 Paper II: Theorizing Disability Care (Non-)Personalisation in European Countries: Comparing Personal Assistant Schemes in Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom

Tschanz, Christoph (2018). Theorizing Disability Care (Non-)Personalisation in European Countries: Comparing Personal Assistant Schemes in Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. *Social Inclusion, 6* (2), 22–33.

COGITATIO

Social Inclusion (ISSN: 2183–2803)
2018, Volume 6, Issue 2, Pages 22–33
DOI: 10.17645/si.v6i2.1318

Article

Theorising Disability Care (Non-)Personalisation in European Countries: Comparing Personal Assistance Schemes in Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom

Christoph Tschanz

Division of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work, University of Fribourg, 1700 Fribourg, Switzerland;
E-Mail: christoph.tschanz@unifr.ch

Submitted: 19 December 2017 | Accepted: 6 February 2018 | Published: 17 May 2018

Abstract

This article examines four European countries (Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom) with respect to their degree of disability care personalisation. The approach is embedded in a broader theoretical analysis, which in turn is inspired by the notion of bivalent social justice as presented by Nancy Fraser (2003). The theoretical argument is that claims for personal assistance are part of a broader movement toward emancipation. However, it is argued that the specific settings of welfare regimes provide structures that empower or mitigate the possible implementation of personal assistance schemes. The author argues that conservative-corporatist welfare regimes provide less-supportive opportunity structures for policy change pertaining to personal assistance than other welfare regimes. This heuristic argument is developed further by looking more closely at key figures of Sweden, Germany, and the United Kingdom as being ideal-typical welfare regime cases. Furthermore, the case of Switzerland is outlined in an in-depth manner as it seems to have conservative-corporatist characteristics regarding the organisation of disability care while simultaneously being difficult to theorise. It is the aim of this article to serve as a first heuristic undertaking for analysing the low level of disability care personalisation in certain continental European cases.

Keywords

comparative social policy; disability care; Nancy Fraser; personal assistance; personalisation; social movements; social services; social stratification; Switzerland; welfare state regimes

Issue

This article is part of the issue "Global Perspectives on Disability", edited by Shaun Grech (The Critical Institute, Malta) and Karen Soldatic (Western Sydney University, Australia).

1. Introduction

In recent years, some countries have de-institutionalised their residential disability care facilities. An emerging central idea is the organisation of disability care through personal assistance. This phenomenon has been most pronounced in the United States of America, Canada, Australasia, and—in the European context—Scandinavia and the United Kingdom (Mansell & Beadle-Brown, 2010, p. 104). Personal assistance is characterised by the direct funding of disabled people instead of the service provider and by the person's freedom to choose the desired services (Ratzka, 2004, pp. 2–3). The policy change in disability services to personal assistance, instead of residential care (hereinafter, personalisation), is key to enable independent living. Although the term 'personalisation' is used ambiguously in the United Kingdom's recent political practice (Beresford, 2014, pp. 5–6), for simplification purposes this article uses the term in its original meaning as direct payments for personal assistance (Slasberg & Beresford, 2015, p. 481). Personal assistance liberates the impaired person from the role of a passive care recipient and makes the person a "customer or boss" (Ratzka, 2004, p. 3).

In the extant literature, only a few studies (Aselmeier, 2008; Aselmeier & Weinbach, 2004; Baumgartner, 2009, 2008; Rimmerman, 2017; Rummery, 2011; Šiška, Beadle-Brown, Káňová, & Tøssebro, 2017; Waterplas & Samoy, 2005; Wemßen, 2014) compare disability care and living arrangements by including continental European countries. What is more, there are also reports (ANED, 2009; BSV, 2007; ENIL, 2017b; ESN, 2013; FRA, 2013) comparing countries of different sets of geographical origin. Nevertheless, to the best of my knowledge, there is a need for the proliferation of social-theory-grounded comparative insights regarding continental European countries.

Some continental European countries seem to show greater reluctance toward personalisation than Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries. I address this issue through a comparative social-policy perspective by including the cases of Germany and Switzerland. In both cases, the policy change from residential care to personal assistance occurred to a more limited extent than within the European personalisation-pioneer countries—Sweden and the United Kingdom. The article drafts a theoretical framework in which all four countries can be compared. This analysis is embedded in a broader theoretical approach of welfare and disability theories and aims to make the first theoretical illustration for a possible framework for comparing these diverse cases by understanding the continental European cases particularly.

Following the introduction, the second part of this article lays out a possible understanding of personalisation, drawing on an overarching social theory framework. As Richardson and Powell (2011, p. 75) point out, the works of Marshall (1950) and Polanyi (1944/2001) are well-suited to provide an understanding of the underlying dynamics, which lead to similar events in countries that are otherwise quite dissimilar (for an application of Marshall, 1950, to personal assistance see: Christensen, Guldvik, & Larsson, 2014). These very well-known meta-theoretical argument classics are combined with the insights of Nancy Fraser (2013) as well as Fraser and colleagues (Fraser & Honneth, 2003). It is a central claim of this article that the bivalent understanding of social justice given by Nancy Fraser is highly fruitful for this theoretical undertaking. Within this understanding, a genuine disability theory (Drake, 1999) is included. The aim of the second part of this article is to provide a narrative for underlying dynamics that are similar in all four countries included in this comparison. The claims for personal assistance are seen as a typical claim of an emancipatory movement, given a special framework within the bivalent understanding of social justice.

The third part of this article has a slightly different aim—it attempts to provide an explanation for the more reluctant implementation of personal assistance in the two continental European countries in this comparison, and therefore tries to explain the dissimilarities in policy outcome, despite the similar claims of the emancipatory disability movement. These dissimilarities are explained with two theories—the power resource theory and corporatism theory—which are related, according to Ebbinghaus (2015), by being genuine conflict theories. Ebbinghaus (2015, p. 55) points out that one important contribution of the power resources theory applied to social policy is *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* by Gøsta Esping-Andersen (1990). This framework, which assumes different welfare regimes, is applied to explain dissimilarities regarding personalisation within the four compared countries and is combined with a somewhat bigger theoretical framework of disability rights. The insights about disability rights in the second part are combined with insights about welfare regimes in the third part in order to understand the dissimilarities.

In the fourth part, a more in-depth analysis is generated regarding the four countries. The United Kingdom, Sweden, and Germany are taken as ideal-typical cases for three different welfare regimes. Key figures about social spending and the amount of people receiving personal assistance are compared. Furthermore, Switzerland provides a challenge for regime theory because it shows key figures of the conservative-corporatist case in disability care contradicting its classification in welfare regime typology. Ciccia (2017) points out that one can overcome some limitations of regime theory by combining welfare regime macro theorising with an in-depth analysis of disaggregated concrete policies. This approach is conducted with the Swiss case in a single case study. Looking closer at Switzerland, one detects that the organisation and governance of social service in the disability sector is another key factor for theorising. So, following the insights of disability rights and the insights of welfare regimes, the insights of the organisation of social services completes the argumentative picture.

The fifth part is the conclusion. In the conclusion, the interplay of disability rights, welfare regime, and the organisation of social services are summarised again. The main aim of this article is to develop a heuristic approach to incorporate a continental European view within comparative studies about personalisation. This article attempts to make an illustrative argument that may be useful for more concrete empirical investigations in the future.

2. A Fraserian Perspective on Welfare and Disability Rights

2.1. The Bivalent Nature of Social Justice

The theory proposed by critical theorist Nancy Fraser can be very fruitful for disability policy analyses (for analyses in the Western capitalist context: Dodd, 2016; Knight, 2015; Mladenov, 2016; for analyses in the global context: Soldatic, 2013; Soldatic & Grech, 2014; for care policy: Swaton, 2017; for personal assistance: Mladenov, 2012; Mladenov, Owens, & Cribb, 2015; Owens, Mladenov, & Cribb, 2017). According to Fraser (2003), there are generally two dimensions of social justice: recognition justice and redistributive justice. The former corresponds to status-based disadvantage while the latter corresponds to socio-economic class hierarchy. In a plausible expression, the aim of redistributive justice is material egalitarianism while the aim of recognition justice is societal diversity (Fraser, 2003, p. 7). Redistributive justice is characterised by a more just distribution of income and wealth, while with recognition justice one does not have to pay the price of assimilation to gain equal respect (Fraser, 2003, p. 7). Applied to personalisation, this means:

> Fraser's two-dimensional framework implies that personalisation's potential for contributing toward social justice depends on its ability to bring together redistribution and recognition in ways that, first, guarantee the economic resources needed by service users for equal participation in social life (thus satisfying concerns about redistribution), and second, institutionalise patterns of cultural interpretation that equalise the status of service users in social interaction (thus satisfying the principle of recognition). (Owens et al., 2017, p. 8)

I mainly claim that one can achieve a fruitful link between welfare theory and disability theory by standing on the shoulders of Nancy Fraser, but this needs a constructive contention of two existing theories pertaining to the bivalent framework.

2.2. The Works of Marshall and Drake through the Bivalent Perspective

In the research field of the welfare state, the essay *Citizenship and Social Class* by T. H. Marshall (1950) is very well-known. Marshall (1950) analyses the attributions that individuals can receive in markets and compares these to the attributions that one can get as a citizen. He describes a partial withdrawal of individuals from purely market-shaped assignments toward a citizenship with social rights. The evolution of rights can be studied in different phases—the development of *civil rights* in the 18th century, *political rights* in the 19th century, and *social rights* in the 20th century (Marshall, 1950). On the other hand, Drake (1999) espouses a genuine disability theory and distinguishes between the different models of disability policies that can be observed in history. The *laissez-faire model* is characterised by the fact that the state plays a minimal role in the lives of disabled people (Drake, 1999, pp. 36–37). In this case, the burden of care falls on communities or on households and families (Budowski & Schief, 2017). The *piecemeal approach* to policy-making is characterised by the broad adoption and application of the medical model of disability; people are classified and categorised according to their impairments and the state responds to the needs of the disabled people (Drake, 1999, pp. 36–37). In the *maximal policy model*, the state starts to combat structural inequalities linked with disability and develops welfare responses to combat these disparities (Drake, 1999, pp. 36–37). The *social or rights-based model* is characterised by the fact that disability is more than a welfare issue (Drake, 1999, pp. 36–37). In this model, the state accepts disablement to be a product of society itself and accepts responsibility to serve all its citizens (Drake, 1999, p. 36). In this case, the social model of disability is fully accepted and serves as the main guide for disability policy-making.

I make the case that the difference between the theories of Marshall (1950) and Drake (1999) seems to be basically a difference in succession between the two different kinds of justice described by Nancy Fraser. This idea is inspired by a comparative educational idea of Richardson and Powell (2011, p. 76), which asserts that special education also did not follow a "benign linearity" directly from exclusion to inclusion (Richardson & Powell, 2011, p. 76). Rather, it started as a (distributive) support and service scheme for people who were totally excluded from public schooling while the new (recognition-oriented) societal norms of participation occurred later in its history (Richardson & Powell, 2011, p. 76). Long before the turning point to 'inclusive education', the school system was—and in many cases still is—characterised by supportive but non-inclusive 'special education' (Powell, 2006).

In this article, I make the fundamental claim that both theories (Drake, 1999; Marshall, 1950) lack the narrative of linearity within the framework of bivalent justice. As shown in Figure 1, both form a curve in which one kind of justice is first adopted more strongly, provoking later claims to fulfil the other part of social justice. One can understand the narrative of Marshall (1950) as that of an increase in recognition justice followed by an increase in redistributive justice: in the 18th and 19th centuries, the burgeoning class of male workers gained recognition and rights. This triggered claims for redistributive policies, which were applied as social rights in the 20th century. In contrast, Drake (1999) puts forth another narrative for the disability policy: first, the redistributive justice is increased with the implementation of welfare states. Thereafter, with a basic social security, impaired people started to claim more civil and political rights to increase recognition justice.

These thoughts are just heuristic and do not completely satisfy the complexity of these two theories. The period of these two theories was different, as were the respective study populations. While Marshall's analysis (1950) describes the development of working-class men over three centuries, Drake's examination (1999) focuses on disabled people and maps different possible cases of disability policy. But the understanding of a conversely arranged development curve can be used as a heuristic tool for approaching the current state of disability care organisation in different welfare regimes because it tells us something about the principal societal tensions.

2.3. Personal Assistance as a Form of Emancipation

Within the disability movement, there is the claim that while residential care residents are "well-fed and clean", there is a lack of "inedible" conditions like equality and

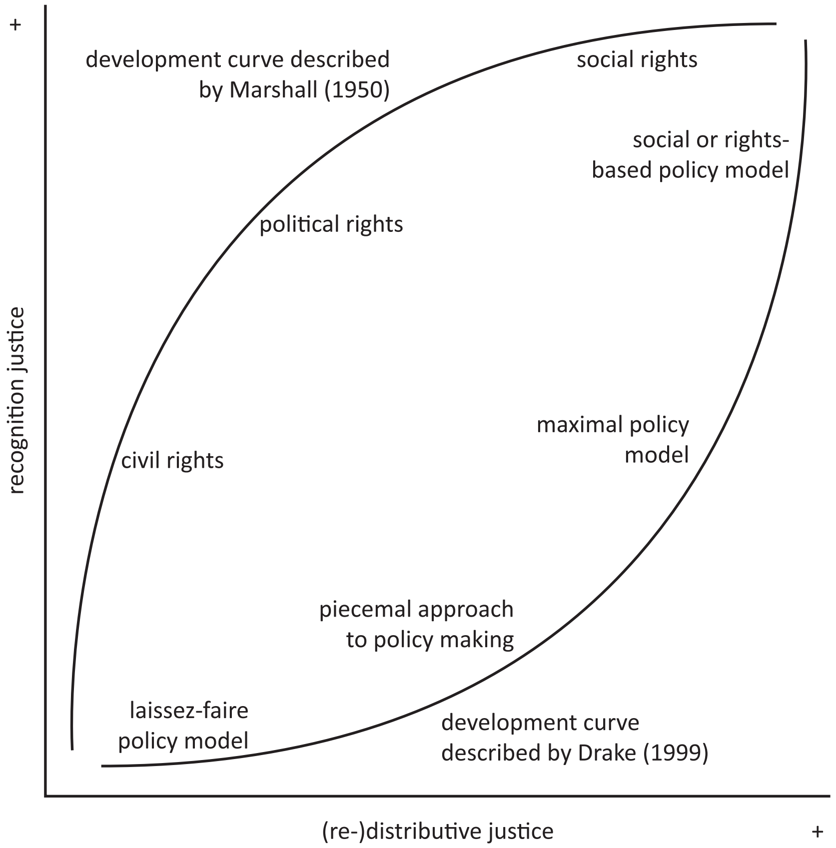


Figure 1. Synthesis of theories to explore disability rights. Source: Adaptation by author, inspired by Fraser (2003, 2013), Marshall (1950), and Drake (1999).

participation (Wehrli, 2016, p. 530). With this criticism, Peter Wehrli, one of the most influential emancipatory disability activists in Switzerland and the former leader of the Centre for Independent Living Zürich, refers to the mode of expression of the emancipatory disability movement (Krüppelbewegung) in Germany. Being “well-fed and clean [satt und sauber]” (Wehrli, 2016, p. 530) is a critical and ironic look at the condition of residential care: it points to the (over-)supply of distributive provisions like food, medical facilities, and hygienic measures, and the under-supply of recognition as an autonomous and free individual.

Drawing and expanding the work of Karl Polanyi (1944/2001), Fraser (2013) explains the current structural and ideological tensions within capitalist democracies as triple movement of marketization, social protection, and emancipation. For Fraser (2013), the new social movements established in recent decades are the main drivers of emancipation:

> Often focused more on recognition than redistribution, these movements were highly critical of the forms of social protection that were institutionalized in the welfare and development states of the post-war era. Turning a withering eye on the cultural norms encoded in social provisions, they unearthed invidious hierarchies and social exclusions. (Fraser, 2013, p. 127)

According to Dodd (2016, p. 162), the disability movement is a good example of the triple movement of emancipation because it is critical toward domination through both marketization and social protection. With the triple-movement framework, one can understand current politics in care policy (Swaton, 2017). I make the case that the claims for personal assistance (see e.g., Ratzka, 2004) are emancipatory claims for more recognition justice, pertaining to a situation in which mainly only redistribution justice is provided by the residential care institution. In other words, referring to Figure 1, the disability movement starts to act in a disability policy situation that lies in the bottom-right quadrant of the square.

3. Welfare Regime Stratification and (Non-)Personalisation

3.1. The Welfare Regime as an Opportunity Structure for Disability Movements

While the triple movement framework provides valuable insights into the politics of disability care in recent decades, it fails to explain why some countries went for a significant policy change toward personalisation while others show stability by staying stuck in the bottom-right quadrant of the square in Figure 1. I argue that the different degrees of the fulfilment of personal assistance can be explained by welfare regimes (e.g., Esping-Andersen, 1990). It is assumed that the differences of cases cannot be solely attributed to the emancipatory movement itself but rather one has to also look at the way the welfare regime was set up. Esping-Andersen (1990) provides a coherent explanation of the interwoven nature of actors, ideas, and institutions comprising a welfare regime. This work relies on the power resource theory by explaining the occurrence of a welfare regime due to class conflict (Ebbinghaus, 2015, pp. 55, 70). Ebbinghaus (2015, p. 70) points out that there are also power resource theory applications pertaining to new social movements. I follow the argument that new social movements depend on the political opportunity structures provided by the political system in which they act (see Tarrow, 2011; see for an application of this theory to disability protests: Barnartt & Scotch, 2001, chapters 6 and 7).

3.2. Welfare Regimes and (Non-)Opportunities for Claiming Personalisation Rights

One must ask whether the stratification tradition of a given welfare regime is open to the claiming of personalisation rights of the emancipatory disability movement. I argue that the class structure of a welfare regime is especially formative for the opportunity structure because both the disability movement itself and its claims for personal assistance are characterised by intersections with class. On the one hand, “people with disabilities, at least as a group, may have been the first to join the ranks of the underclass” (Charlton, 2010, p. 149) due to historical oppression. Disabled people face status-reducing effects as a group (Maschke, 2007, p. 299). On the other hand, the disability movement’s claims for personal assistance resemble the middle-class claims related to self-determination and personal responsibility. Given the situation of a lack of recognition justice, the emancipatory movement claiming middle-class rights therefore strongly implies upward social status aspirations. For Esping-Andersen (1990), the regulation of social stratification is a core element of a welfare regime. According to Esping-Andersen (1990, pp. 29-30) different welfare regimes follow different patterns of how they moderate inequalities between the underclass and the middle class. Recent research shows that welfare regimes can also moderate the effects of status on subjective well-being (Samuel & Hadjar, 2016). In this line, it is assumed that they can empower or mitigate the upward social status aspirations of collective groups.

The ideal-type *social democratic regime* should provide a sufficient opportunity structure for the emancipatory disability movement. Historically, social-democratic reforms have always aimed to significantly correct the stratification produced by the market (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 65). The social democrats found a framework for a middle-class standardised universalism (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 69) aiming to provide every citizen with middle-class rights. Therefore, the idea of middle-class rights for impaired people fits well with the social-democratic ideal of common equality. Additionally, the ideal-type *liberal regime* should also provide a sufficient opportunity structure for the emancipatory disability movement. As per liberal thoughts (here, in contrast to social-democratic ideas), it is inappropriate for social policy to significantly correct stratification patterns produced by the marketplace (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 62). However, traditional liberal thoughts favour the provision of de jure and pre-market universalism and equality (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 62). Hence, the de jure provision of equal rights for disabled people should be achievable within a liberal framework (while post-market redistributive funding, in contrast to the social-democratic ideas, is ideologically under more scrutiny). Mainly in contrast to the other two regimes, the ideal-type *conservative-corporatist regime* could be an insufficient opportunity structure for the emancipatory disability movement. Stratification in conservative social policy follows the guideline of retaining traditional status relations (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 58). This regime is less averse to correct stratification effects caused by the market as compared to the liberal regime (Esping-Andersen, 1990). However, since the conservative-corporatist regime is guided by traditional ideas of status stability, emerging ideas of middle-class rights for impaired people are in danger of being regarded as somewhat at odds. The conservative-corporatist disability policy is characterised by “paternalism” (Waldschmidt, 2009, p. 19) and “benevolent paternalism” (Richardson & Powell, 2011, p. 184).

4. Comparing the Four Cases and a Closer Look at Switzerland

4.1. Comparing Key Figures: Switzerland as a Challenge for Regime Theory

Following Aselmeier (2008) and Aselmeier and Weinbach (2004), one can see the United Kingdom as an example of the liberal, Sweden as an example of the social democratic, and Germany as an example of the conservative-corporatist regime. Looking at recent key figures, one can detect major dissimilarities (see Table 1). The data for social spending is derived from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Within the OECD Social Expenditure Database, there is a category called “Public Incapacity-Related Spending”, with a sub-category “Benefits in Kind”, which in turn has a sub-category “Residential-Care/Home-Help Services” (OECD, 2017a). This category is of great interest because personalised and residential services are measured under one umbrella. Surely, the terminology ‘incapacity-related’ can be criticised to follow the medical model of disability. Second, this umbrella measurement does not measure the same policies in all four countries. This umbrella category has further sub-categories, which differ in the four countries. For instance, in 2013, Switzerland spent more than two thirds of this umbrella category on

Table 1. Key figures of disability care personalisation.

Country	Welfare Regime	Social Spending on *Residential-Care/Home-Help Services*[a] as ‰ of *GDP*[b]	People with *Personal Assistance*[c] as ‰ of *Total Population*[d]
United Kingdom	liberal	2.34	3.85
Germany	conservative-corporatist	5.40	0.25
Sweden	social-democratic	16.45	2.08
Switzerland	hybrid case	4.82	0.15

Notes: Own calculations, rounded to two decimal places. Data sources: a) OECD Social Expenditure Database (OECD, 2017a); b) OECD National Accounts (OECD, 2017b); c) UK, SE & CH: ENIL Personal Assistance Tables (ENIL, 2017a), DE: Wemßen (2014, p. 8); d) Eurostat Population Database (2017). Data of a) and b) relate to the year 2013, data of c) and d) relate to a time range of 2012–2015.

"Institutions for disabled people", while in the same period, the United Kingdom spent more than three quarters for "Assistance in carrying out daily tasks: local authority personal social services" (OECD, 2017a). But the fact that personalisation is not established to the same degree in the countries included in this comparison is the main topic of this article and can be explained theoretically. Nevertheless, the umbrella category is, to the best of my knowledge, the most appropriate comparative measurement for the degree of the welfare state's redistributive social spending for disability care. The other key measurement is the proportion of people receiving personal assistance of the total population. The data comes from the Comparative Survey on Personal Assistance in Europe of ENIL for Switzerland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, and from Wemßen (2014) for Germany.

One can see that social redistributive spending follows the welfare regime path, as expected, and follows the character of redistributive preferences described by Esping-Andersen (1990). The liberal United Kingdom has the lowest degree of redistributive spending, conservative-corporatist Germany lays in the middle, and social democratic Sweden has the highest degree of redistributive spending. In contrast, the degree of personalisation does not follow the order of having the conservative-corporatist cases between the liberal and social democratic cases. Here, the liberal United Kingdom shows the highest degree of personalisation, followed by social democratic Sweden. In contrast, the personalisation degree of conservative-corporatist Germany is much lower.

Switzerland, as such, seems to be a very interesting case because, as shown in Table 1, its degree of personalisation is even below that of Germany while the redistributive figure is somewhat below, but close to that of Germany. However, Esping-Andersen (1990) classified Switzerland as being part of the world of liberal welfare regimes. In more recent studies, Switzerland is rather classified as a hybrid case, with liberal as well as conservative characteristics (see e.g., Bonoli & Kato, 2004). Overall, Switzerland is generally hard to classify in comparative social policy (Ciccia, 2017, p. 2762). Considering its long liberal tradition of providing the male and able-bodied part of society with extended civil and political rights, the low extend of personalisation in Switzerland seems to be a challenge for the theorising of the nexus of welfare regimes and disability care personalisation. Therefore, following Ciccia (2017) the analysis of the hybrid case of Switzerland is now combined with a disaggregated in-depth policy analysis.

4.2. The Role of the Historical Institutionalization of Disability Services and Disability Organisations

Strong similarities between Switzerland and Germany are obvious by looking at the organisation of disability services. Aselmeier and Weinbach (2004) compare social services for people with intellectual disabilities in Sweden, England, and Germany. As an example of the *social democratic regime*, they see in Sweden evidence of a Universalist approach characterised by the provision of access for disabled people to common public welfare services (Aselmeier & Weinbach, 2004, p. 104). In Sweden specialised services for disabled people just played a limited role (Aselmeier & Weinbach, 2004, p. 104), thanks to access to universal welfare. Standing for the *liberal welfare regime*, in England Aselmeier and Weinbach (2004, pp. 104–105) detect Universalist community-based and rights-based policies in the hands of local social services. However, in Germany, as an example of the *conservative-corporatist model*, one can detect a historical differentiation of specialised social services for disabled people (Aselmeier & Weinbach, 2004; Rohrmann & Schädler, 2011). Charities (Wohlfahrtsverbände, private Träger) often organise these specialised social services in a corporatist tie-up with the state (Aselmeier & Weinbach, 2004, pp. 105–107). According to Aselmeier and Weinbach (2004, p. 105), the actors of these specialised disability services show a strong persistence against the implementation of more flexible services.

Münder (1998, p. 4) defines corporatism in social services as the planned and coordinated intermeshing of voluntary, as well as public, providers of social services with the aim to achieve a common goal. Corporatism within the provision of social services is linked with the welfare regime. While corporatist settings in the economy were decisive both for social democratic as for conservative-corporatist welfare regimes (Esping-

Andersen, 1990), the social democratic governance of social services follows the principle of strong public services while the Christian democratic governance follows the principle of subsidiarity (Huber & Stephens, 2000, pp. 325–326). Christian democratic governance of social services prefers the proliferation of social services by diverse stakeholders (families, clerical charities, civil society) to strong public providers with centralised governance (Huber & Stephens, 2000, pp. 325–326). In Germany, charities with historical ties to the church play an important role in the provision of social services (Münder, 1998) and especially in the provision of disability care (Rohrmann & Schädler, 2011).

Despite not being similarly influenced by Christian democratic ideas, I argue that we have major similarities in Switzerland regarding the governance of social services. We know from research about other social services that the subsidiarity-oriented governance of social services seems not to be bound to Christian democracy in Switzerland: having the Swiss Christian democrats mostly prevalent in catholic regions, Kersten (2015, chapter 6) outlines a perfect example of subsidiarity-oriented governance of victim counselling services in the protestant canton of Bern.

One can understand the corporatist setting of social services as a historically developed supplement to subsidiarity (Münder, 1998). This is especially true for disability care in Switzerland because disability care institutions were meant to supplement the caring function of the traditional family. Therefore, there are many disability organisations with a history of being established as parental organisations in Switzerland. Since Switzerland is a welfare state latecomer (Häusermann, 2010), the collective organisations of parents had to actively organize in order to convince the state to undertake some of the caring responsibility. Hence, the parents' movement was once a social movement fighting for better distributive justice for their disabled children and collectively fought for special education and residential care institutions in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s (see e.g., Insieme Solothurn, 2006, pp. 20–32). Therefore, both, disability organisations with a parents' movement history, as well as the specialized residential care institutions, are today important institutionalised stakeholders in Swiss disability care policy making. The existence of this kind of institutionalised stakeholders and the lack of a strong centralised governance provides a strong degree of corporatism within the field.

4.3. Limited Opportunities for Contentious Politics and Policy Change in Switzerland

The central welfare provider for disabled people in Switzerland is called Invalidenversicherung (IV). The Swiss history of the emancipatory push for personal assistance is strongly linked with the IV. After being established in 1996, the Centre for Independent Living Zürich gained momentum in 1997 with an illegal occupation of a public municipal park in Bern, right next to the BSV (the upper supervisory ministry of the IV) for several days (Wehrli, 2012). This protest provoked huge media response and support of local residents and forced the ministry to enter into dialogue with the protesters (Wehrli, 2012). In 1999, another emancipatory organisation called Fachstelle Assistenz Schweiz (FAssiS) was founded by Katharina Kanka, which organised several demonstrations and vigils (Wehrli, 2012). As result of this contentious process, the emancipatory activists were invited to a bargaining process with already institutionalised stakeholders and with policy makers, which was initiated and moderated by the BSV. On one hand, this kind of corporatist conflict moderation gave the emancipatory activist quite early access to the bargaining table. On the other hand, their abilities for further contentious actions were limited and they were forced to find coalitions with existing institutionalised stakeholders and political parties.

The likely alliance with the liberals seemed to be successful at first. Having encountered major issues in forming coalitions with the social democrats, the activists relied on the ideological support of centre-right and right-wing politicians, who openly admitted to being interested in the ability of personalisation in order to transform responsibility and reduce costs (Wehrli, 2012). This ideological support put the centre-left parties under pressure and later helped Katharina Kanka to form a multipartisan group of supporters of a personalisation reform which was also consistent with leftist and centre-left politicians. However, the then-established orthodoxy that social expenditure after the personalisation reform should be lower or at least cost-neutral was decisive for further development. In 2006, a pilot program for personal assistance was started but could not be implemented in a cost-neutral manner (Flückiger, 2011, p. 73). Mainly the non-monetized care work of relatives was, to some extent, a cost driver because this kind of work started to be monetised in the personalisation pilot (Flückiger, 2011, p. 74). The encounter with the unpaid (and mostly female) care work made it impossible for the pilot program to satisfy its orthodoxy of cost reduction. With these results, the possibility of a profound liberal reform was minimised. In addition, the simultaneous push of right-wing politicians for austerity measures within the disability pension scheme of the IV produced an additional obstacle for the activists (Wehrli, 2012). A further hindrance was the fact that within the bargaining process, the governance of disability services was further transferred to the cantonal level because of a new cantonal fiscal equalization scheme: Neuer Finanzausgleich (Flückiger, 2011, p. 45). Overall, the opportunity for a policy coalition with liberal forces for a profound policy change was restricted.

In the bargaining process, it was as much decisive that the other likely allies, the Swiss social democrats, were very sceptical about the claims of the emancipatory activists (Wehrli, 2012). The position of the social democrats in the early 2000s can be understood by looking at the corporatist settings of disability service providers and disability organisations with which they were aligned. First, the syndicates of the disability care institutions, mainly INSOS (syndicate of disability care institutions) and Curaviva (syndicate of all care institutions, including those for the elderly), are important players within the field of disability care. These syndicates have traditionally strong ties with social democratic politicians. Second, the social democrats have traditionally strong ties with institutionalised disability organisations. For the emancipatory activists, however, the influence of the historically grown parents' organisations proved to be very challenging. The parents' organisations opposed major claims of the emancipatory movement and particularly argued for the continuance and protection of institutional care in the field of intellectual disability (Wehrli, 2012). Third, a social democratic policy maker earns praise by joining the board of trustees (Stiftungsrat) of a disability care institution as an unpaid member. Being part of such a board provides the politician with an inside overview of the challenges the institutional provider faces but does not provide the politician with a critical look from the outside at the parameters being set up by institutionalisation. Fourth, the orthodoxy of cost-neutrality prevented a possible coalition with the trade unions of care workers and therefore the formation of a progressive left-leaning coalition for personal assistance. For the trade syndicate, the underlying ideas of cost reduction were deplorable and the proposed wages for personal assistants unsatisfactory (VPOD, 2009). In closing, the Swiss social democrats were, on this issue, more strongly influenced by their ties with certain actors and institutions rather than by their ideas of universalism and equality. Overall, the opportunity for policy coalitions with social democratic forces for profound policy change was restricted.

Since January 1, 2012, the IV has provided an official contribution called Assistenzbeitrag, which allows people to employ personal assistants (Egloff, 2017). In practical terms, this personal assistance system mostly includes people older than 18, with a strong focus on people with physical disabilities (Büro BASS, 2017, pp. 22, 73). This system is means-tested and has a strict and long assessment procedure one has to actively initiate. The Swiss government projects the dropouts of residential care institutions to not be greater than 10% in the long run (Egloff, 2017, pp. 133–142, see the full book for a substantive qualitative in-depth analysis regarding this phenomenon).

4.4. Stability through Institutionalised Status Inequalities: Or Bringing Regime Theory Back In

I now return to regime theory. The possibility to analyse the effects of a bundle of policies rather than single policies represents a major advance of regime theory (Ciccia, 2017, pp. 2763–2764). I argue that the emergent effect produced by the Swiss disability care policy bundle is the best explanation for the current state of art in Swiss disability care policy.

Overall, the Swiss welfare state is a historically matured multilayer system, being predominantly Bismarckian while simultaneously relying on other diversely structured social policy systems (Häusermann, 2010, pp. 211–212). The IV, which was established in 1960 has Bismarckian characteristics. The Bismarckian social legislation had a significant impact on the ideas of the Swiss political elites at the beginning of the 20th century (Lengwiler, 2007, p. 50). However, the high degree of federalism in Switzerland and social-legislation hindering referenda made the coherent implementation of the Bismarckian social legislation unachievable (Lengwiler, 2007, pp. 55–60). On the other hand, the Beveridge approach, which provided an alternative to Bismarckian social insurance, was heavily debated in 1943 in Switzerland but was rejected by important interest groups (Degen, 2006, p. 33). This led to the establishment of a mixed, but overall Bismarckian system in the golden years of welfare state expansion after the Second World War. Regarding the eligible population, the IV is not genuinely Bismarckian, although its procedures for benefit-assessments are highly influenced by Bismarckian ideas.

Bismarckian social policy was never intended to support societal change; rather, its purpose is to conserve societal class and status structures. It is aimed to protect societal groups from the market, but does not aim to significantly change the relations between societal groups. This conservative stratification tradition seems to be a stabiliser for residential care in Switzerland: the personal assistance system is mainly designed for disabled people, who already have middle-class skills and a middle-class consciousness. The assessment procedure is particularly designed for these people and does not empower other people to gain a middle-class right and middle-class skills. Therefore, the stability of the existing residential care path is maintained by institutionalised status inequalities. It provides access to personal assistance only to those people who are successful in the assessment procedure thanks to their skills of rights claiming, and simultaneously hampers the energy of the disability activists with the most potential to conduct contentious actions. Overall, the Swiss personal assistance system allows the stability of residential care facilities and simultaneously provides pacification of possible emancipatory protests.

5. Conclusion

Within this heuristic undertaking, we have seen that the analysis of bivalent social justice is helpful for theorising personalisation. The evolvement of disability rights following a path of nonlinear distribution of both kinds of justice led to the claim for more recognition justice through emancipatory movements (Fraser, 2013). According to Fraser (2013), emancipatory movements are aiming to overcome oppressive social protection and they can possibly ally with marketization forces or with (new) forces of social protection. However, this article analysed a case in which none of these possible alliances occurred profoundly. I argued that conservative-corporatist disability care cases have a strong institutionalisation of oppressive social protection and benevolent paternalism. We verified that in the case of Switzerland, this setting could not (yet) be profoundly transformed by forces of emancipation. In this respect, the case of Switzerland did prove to be illuminating. Switzerland seems to resemble conservative-corporatist cases in the field of disability care. Therefore, the Swiss case provides some insights on the process of limited personalisation of disability care in continental European countries. Furthermore, the analysis of the characteristics of Switzerland in this policy field is a contribution to welfare regime research.

Nonetheless, some limitations have to be mentioned as well. First, this analysis lacks the potential to provide general evidence for all continental European countries. Instead, it only provides evidence that the developments in Switzerland have been shaped by continental European conservative-corporatist specificities. Second, the influence of the welfare regime as an opportunity structure may decrease in the future because of transnationalisation (Sturm, Waldschmidt, Karačić, & Dins, 2017). Article 19 of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities will particularly provide an important tool for political actors who aim to increase independent living. Third, this analysis is only a heuristic approach. Further theoretical and empirical insights of personalisation in continental European countries would be highly desirable.

Acknowledgement

I owe special thanks to Justin J. W. Powell for his support and assistance and for his excellent comments and advice. Furthermore, I would like to thank all participants of the Doctoral Program *PROWEL Social Problems and Welfare*, Switzerland, in May 2017, for their helpful comments and suggestions regarding an early version of this article. Similarly, many thanks to all participants at the meeting of the *Institute for Education and Society*, University of Luxembourg, in October 2017, for their helpful comments and suggestions regarding a more advanced version of this article. All remaining omissions and mistakes are my sole responsibility. I acknowledge the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) for the funding of the research as well as for the funding of the open access publication fee. Both are provided through a Doc.CH grant (Number 172008).

Conflict of Interest

The author declares no conflict of interest.

References

ANED. (2009). *The implementation of policies supporting independent living for disabled people in Europe: Synthesis report* (VT/2007/005). Brussels: Academic Network of European Disability Experts.

Aselmeier, L. (2008). *Community Care und Menschen mit geistiger Behinderung: Gemeinwesenorientierte Unterstützung in England, Schweden und Deutschland*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Aselmeier, L., & Weinbach, H. (2004). Drei Welten der Hilfen für Menschen mit Behinderung? Unterstützung für Menschen mit geistiger Behinderung aus der Perspektive vergleichender Wohlfahrtsforschung. In K. Grebe & J. Schädler (Eds.), *Sorge und Gerechtigkeit: Werkleute im sozialen Feld* (pp. 95–112). Frankfurt: GAFB-Verlag

Barnartt, S., & Scotch, R. (2001). *Disability protests. Contentious politics 1970–1999*. Washington, DC: Galllaudet University Press.

Baumgartner, E. (2008). Verheissungen von Assistenzmodellen für Menschen mit Behinderung. Eine Diskussion von Beispielen und Erkenntnissen aus Europa. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Soziale Arbeit*, *2008*(5), 83–104.

Baumgartner, E. (2009). Das Persönliche Budget im internationalen Vergleich: Erfahrungen in Schweden, den Niederlanden, Großbritannien und der Schweiz. *Archiv für Wissenschaft und Praxis der sozialen Arbeit*, *40*(1), 78–89.

Beresford, P. (2014). Personalisation: From solution to problem? In P. Beresford (Ed.), *Personalisation* (pp. 1–26). Bristol: Policy Press.

Bonoli, G., & Kato, J. (2004). Social policies in Switzerland and Japan: Managing change in liberal-conservative welfare states. *Swiss Political Science Review*, *10*(3), 211–232. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1662-6370.2004.tb00037.x

BSV. (2007). *Assistenzmodelle im internationalen Vergleich. Leistungen und Massnahmen zur Unterstützung selbstbestimmten und eigenverantwortlichen Lebens in ausgewählten Ländern* (Forschungsbericht nr. 11/07). Bern: Bundesamt für Sozialversicherungen.

Budowski, M., & Schief, S. (2017). Strategies of households in precarious prosperity in Chile, Costa Rica, Spain and Switzerland. In J. Mackert & B. S. Turner (Eds.), *The transformation of citizenship, volume 1: Political economy* (pp. 167–187). Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.

Büro BASS. (2017). *Evaluation Assistenzbeitrag 2012–2016* (Forschungsbericht nr. 8/17). Bern: Büro für arbeits- und sozialpolitische Studien.

Charlton, J. (2010). The dimensions of disability oppression. In L. J. Davis (Ed.), *The disability studies reader* (3rd ed., pp. 147–159). Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.

Christensen, K., Guldvik, I., & Larsson, M. (2014). Active social citizenship: The case of disabled peoples' rights to personal assistance. *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research*, *16*(sup1), 19–33. https://doi.org/10.1080/15017419.2013.820665

Ciccia, R. (2017). A two-step approach for the analysis of hybrids in comparative social policy analysis: A nuanced typology of childcare between policies and regimes. *Quality & Quantity*, *51*(6), 2761–2780. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-016-0423-1

Degen, B. (2006). Entstehung und Entwicklung des schweizerischen Sozialstaates. *Studien und Quellen* (pp. 17–48). Bern: Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv.

Dodd, S. (2016). Orientating disability studies to disablist austerity: Applying Fraser's insights. *Disability & Society*, *31*(2), 149–165. https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2016.1152952

Drake, R. F. (1999). *Understanding disability policies*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-27311-9

Ebbinghaus, B. (2015). Machtressourcentheorie und Korporatismusansatz. In G. Wenzelburger & R. Zohlnhöfer (Eds.), *Handbuch Policy-Forschung* (pp. 55–79). Wiesbaden: Springer VS. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-01968-6_3

Egloff, B. (2017). *Selbstbestimmt unterstützt durch Assistenz. Eine empirische Untersuchung zur Einführung und Umsetzung des Assistenzbeitrags in der Schweiz*. Bern: Edition SZH/CSPS.

ENIL. (2017a). Personal assistance tables from the comparative survey on PA in Europe. *European Network on Independent Living*. Retrieved from http://enil.eu/policy/personal-assistance-tables

ENIL. (2017b). *The right to live independently and be included in the community. Addressing barriers to independent living across the globe*. Brussels: European Network on Independent Living.

ESN. (2013). *Independent living: Making choice and control a reality. An ESN report on how social services in Europe are promoting choice and control alongside people with disabilities*. Brighton: European Social Network.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Eurostat Population Database. (2017). Population on 1 January. *Eurostat*. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tps00001

Flückiger, S. (2011). *"...Er ist schon mein Chef, aber es ist ein ganz anderes Gefühl.": Theoretische Analyse und empirische Erkundung der Anforderungsstruktur von Assistenzsettings* (Master thesis). Department for Special Education, University of Fribourg, Fribourg.

FRA. (2013). *Choice and control: The right to independent living. Experiences of persons with intellectual disabilities and persons with mental health problems in nine EU Member States*. Vienna: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights.

Fraser, N. (2003). Social justice in the age of identity politics: Redistribution, recognition, and participation. In N. Fraser & A. Honneth (Eds.), *Redistribution or recognition? A political-philosophical exchange* (pp. 7–109). London: Verso.

Fraser, N. (2013). A triple movement? Parsing the politics of crisis after Polanyi. *New Left Review*, *81*, 119–132.

Fraser, N., & Honneth, A. (2003). *Redistribution or recognition? A political-philosophical exchange*. London: Verso.

Häusermann, S. (2010). Reform Opportunities in a Bismarckian Latecomer: Restructuring the Swiss welfare state. In B. Palier (Ed.), *A long goodbye to Bismarck? The politics of welfare reforms in continental Europe* (pp. 207–231). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. https://doi.org/10.5117/9789089642349

Huber, E., & Stephens, J. D. (2000). Partisan governance, women's employment, and the social democratic service state. *American Sociological Review*, *65*(3), 323–342. https://doi.org/10.2307/2657460

Insieme Solothurn. (2006). *Vom Rand in die Mitte. 40 Jahre Insieme Solothurn*. Grenchen: Insieme Solothurn. Retrieved from http://www.insieme-solothurn.ch/uploads/media/festschrift_insieme_jan_2006.pdf

Kersten, A. (2015). *Opferstatus und Geschlecht. Entwicklung und Umsetzung der Opferhilfe in der Schweiz*. Zürich: Seismo Verlag.

Knight, A. (2015). Democratizing disability: Achieving inclusion (without assimilation) through "participatory parity". *Hypatia*, *30*(Winter 2015), 97–114. https://doi.org/10.1111/hypa.12120

Lengwiler, M. (2007). Transfer mit Grenzen: Das "Modell Deutschland" in der schweizerischen Sozialstaatsgeschichte (1880–1950). In G. Kreis & R. Wecker (Eds.), *Deutsche und Deutschland aus Schweizer Perspektiven* (pp. 47–66). Basel: Schwabe Verlag.

Mansell, J., & Beadle-Brown, J. (2010). Deinstitutionalisation and community living: Position statement of the comparative policy and practice special interest research group of the international association for the scientific study of intellectual disabilities. *Journal of Intellectual Disability Research*, *54*(2), 104–112. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2788.2009.01239.x

Marshall, T. H. (1950). *Citizenship and social class and other essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maschke, M. (2007). Behinderung als Ungleichheitsphänomen: Herausforderung an Forschung und politische Praxis. In A. Waldschmidt & W. Schneider (Eds.), *Disability Studies, Kultursoziologie und Soziologie der Behinderung: Erkundungen in einem neuen Forschungsfeld* (pp. 299–320). Bielefeld: Transcript. https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839404867-013

Mladenov, T. (2012). Personal assistance for disabled people and the understanding of human being. *Critical Social Policy*, *32*(2), 242–261. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018311430454

Mladenov, T. (2016). Disability and social justice. *Disability & Society*, *31*(9), 1226–1241. https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2016.1256273

Mladenov, T., Owens, J., & Cribb, A. (2015). Personalisation in disability services and healthcare: A critical comparative analysis. *Critical Social Policy*, *35*(3), 307–326. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018315587071

Münder, J. (1998). Von der Subsidiarität über den Korporatismus zum Markt? *Neue Praxis. Zeitschrift für Sozialarbeit, Sozialpädagogik und Sozialpolitik*, *18*(1), 3–12.

OECD. (2017a). Social expenditure database. *OECD.Stat*. Retrieved from http://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx?DatasetCode=SOCX_DET#

OECD. (2017b). National Accounts. *OECD.Stat*. Retrieved from http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DatasetCode=SNA_TABLE1#

Owens, J., Mladenov, T., & Cribb, A. (2017). What justice, what autonomy? The ethical constraints upon personalisation. *Ethics and Social Welfare*, *11*(1), 3–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/17496535.2016.1234631

Polanyi, K. (2001). *The great transformation. The political and economic origins of our time*. Boston: Beacon Press. (Original work published 1944)

Powell, J. J. W. (2006). Special education and the risk of becoming less educated. *European Societies*, *8*(4), 577–599. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616690601002673

Ratzka, A. (2004). Model national personal assistance policy. *Independent Living Institute*. Retrieved from http://www.independentliving.org/docs6/ratzka200410a.html

Richardson, J. G., & Powell, J. J. W. (2011). *Comparing special education: Origins to contemporary paradoxes*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. https://doi.org/10.11126/stanford/9780804760737.001.0001

Rimmerman, A. (2017). *Disability and community living policies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316493045

Rohrmann, A., & Schädler, J. (2011). Von der Anstaltsfürsorge zur Assistenz. Soziale Dienste im Feld der Unterstützung von Menschen mit Behinderungen. In A. Evers, R. G. Heinze, & T. Olk (Eds.), *Handbuch Soziale Dienste* (pp. 425–441). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-92091-7_22

Rummery, K. (2011). A comparative analysis of personalisation: Balancing an ethic of care with user empowerment. *Ethics and Social Welfare*, *5*(2), 138–152. https://doi.org/10.1080/17496535.2011.571064

Samuel, R., & Hadjar, A. (2016). How welfare-state regimes shape subjective well-being across Europe. *Social Indicators Research*, *129*(2), 565–587. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-015-1125-0

Šiška, J., Beadle-Brown, J., Káňová, Š., & Tøssebro, J. (2017). Active citizenship through community living: A multi-level perspective. In R. Halvorsen, B. Hvinden, J. Bickenbach, D. Ferri, & A. M. Guillén Rodriguez (Eds.), *The changing disability policy system. Active citizenship and disability in Europe* (Vol. 1, pp. 72–89). Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.

Slasberg, C., & Beresford, P. (2015). Building on the original strengths of direct payments to create a better future for social care. *Disability & Society*, *30*(3), 479–483. https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2015.1007672

Soldatic, K. (2013). The transnational sphere of justice: Disability praxis and the politics of impairment. *Disability & Society*, *28*(6), 744–755. https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2013.802218

Soldatic, K., & Grech, S. (2014). Transnationalising disability studies: Rights, justice and impairment. *Disability Studies Quarterly*, *34*(2). https://doi.org/10.18061/dsq.v34i2.4249

Sturm, A., Waldschmidt, A., Karačić, A., & Dins, T. (2017). Exercising influence at the European level: Political opportunity structures for disability rights advocacy and the impact of the UN CRPD. In R. Halvorsen, B. Hvinden, J. Bickenbach, D. Ferri, & A. M. Guillén Rodriguez (Eds.), *The changing disability policy system. Active citizenship and disability in Europe* (Vol. 1, pp. 159–176). Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.

Swaton, S. (2017). Introduire le concept de personne en économie? Des capabilités au care: Réciprocité et responsabilité. *Éthique et économique/Ethics and Economics*, *14*(1), 11–23.

Tarrow, S. G. (2011). *Power in movement. Social movements and contentious politics* (Vol. 3). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511973529

VPOD. (2009). *Vernehmlassungsvorlage 6. IV-Revision: Stellungnahme des vpod zum Teil "Assistenzbeitrag"*. Bern: VPOD Zentralsekretariat. Retrieved from http://www.zslschweiz.ch/z_alteseite/Archiv/PDF/Vernehmlassung%206.%20IVG%20Revision_vpod.pdf

Waldschmidt, A. (2009). Disability policy of the European Union: The supranational level. *ALTER: European Journal of Disability Research/Revue Européenne de recherche sur le handicap*, *3*(1), 8–23. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alter.2008.12.002

Waterplas, L., & Samoy, E. (2005). L'allocation personnalisée: Le cas de la Suède, du Royaume-Uni, des Pays-Bas et de la Belgique. *Revue française des affaires sociales*, *2005*(2), 61–101.

Wehrli, P. (2012). *Geschichte der Persönlichen Assistenz in der Schweiz*. Retrieved from http://www.assistenzforum.ch/viewtopic.php?f=3&t=71

Wehrli, P. (2016). Selbsthilfe. In I. Hedderich, G. Biewer, J. Hollenweger, & R. Markowetz (Eds.), *Handbuch Inklusion und Sonderpädagogik* (pp. 528–532). Bad Heilbrunn: Julius Klinkhardt.

Wemßen, F. (2014). Das persönliche Budget. Entwicklungsstand in Deutschland und im europäischen Ausland. *Sozial Extra*, *3*, 6–9. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12054-014-0056-3

About the Author

Christoph Tschanz is a PhD candidate at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, where he works at the Division of Sociology, Social Policy, and Social Work funded by a Doc.CH grant provided by the SNSF. Part of this analysis was conducted during a stay as visiting PhD candidate at the Institute of Education & Society (InES), at the University of Luxembourg. He is specialising in comparative perspectives on European disability policies. Christoph holds a Master's degree in Sociology and a Bachelor's degree in Remedial Education and Social Pedagogy, both from the University of Fribourg. He previously worked as a social pedagogue in a supported employment program for people with an autism-spectrum condition.

6 Paper III: Competing Institutional Logics and Paradoxical Universalism: School-to-Work Transitions of Disabled Youth in Switzerland and the United States (Co-authored with Justin J. W. Powell)

Tschanz, Christoph and Justin J. W. Powell (2020). Competing Institutional Logics and Paradoxical Universalism: School-to-Work Transitions of Disabled Youth in Switzerland and the United States. *Social Inclusion, 8* (1), 155–167.

I would like to thank Justin J. W. Powell for the collaboration. It was a great experience writing this paper with him. He is, of course, only co-responsible for the content of this paper. All other parts of the dissertation were my sole responsibility. Likewise, the discussion of this article in Part 9 was my sole responsibility.

COGITATIO

Social Inclusion (ISSN: 2183–2803)
2020, Volume 8, Issue 1, Pages 155–167
DOI: 10.17645/si.v8i1.2373

Article

Competing Institutional Logics and Paradoxical Universalism: School-to-Work Transitions of Disabled Youth in Switzerland and the United States

Christoph Tschanz [1,]* and Justin J. W. Powell [2]

[1] Department of Social Work, Social Policy and Global Development, Faculty of Humanities, University of Fribourg, CH-1700 Fribourg, Switzerland; E-Mail: christoph.tschanz@unifr.ch
[2] Institute of Education & Society, University of Luxembourg, L-4366 Esch-sur-Alzette, Luxembourg; E-Mail: justin.powell@uni.lu

* Corresponding author

Submitted: 4 October 2019 | Accepted: 27 January 2020 | Published: 18 March 2020

Abstract
Disablement is a complex social phenomenon in contemporary societies, reflected in disability policies oriented towards contrasting paradigms. Fraught with ambivalence, disability raises dilemmas of classification and targeted supports. Paradoxical universalism emphasizes that to achieve universality requires recognizing individual dis/abilities and particular contextual conditions and barriers that disable. Myriad aspects of educational and disability policies challenge both conceptualization and realization of universal policies, such as compulsory schooling, with widespread exclusion or segregation prevalent. Resulting tensions between providing support and ubiquitous stigmatization and separation are endemic, and particularly evident during life course transitions that imply shifting memberships in institutions and organizations. Particularly visible among disabled youth, school-to-work transitions are fundamentally challenged by contrasting policies, institutional logics, and institutionalized organizations. Analyzing institutional logics facilitates understanding of the lack of coordination that hinders successful transitions. Examining such challenges in the United States and Switzerland, we compare their labor markets and federal governance structures and contrasting education, welfare, and employment systems. Whereas lacking inter-institutional coordination negatively impacts disabled young adults in the United States, Switzerland's robust vocational education and training system, while not a panacea, does provide more coordinated support during school-to-work transitions. These two countries provide relevant cases to examine ambivalence and contestation around the human right to inclusive education as well as the universality of the right (not) to work.

Keywords
comparative education; comparative social policy; disability; disability policy; education; educational policy; institutions; institutional logics; organizations; school-to-work transitions

Issue
This article is part of the issue "'Universalism' or 'Universalisms' in Social Policies?" edited by Monica Budowski (University of Fribourg, Switzerland) and Daniel Künzler (University of Fribourg, Switzerland).

1. Introduction: Situating Disablement in School-to-Work Transitions

Compulsory schooling during childhood and youth, and commodified work during adulthood, have come to constitute the core principles of a "normal" life course in most contemporary societies yet cannot be taken for granted in the case of disabled people. If educated citizenry are the foundation of a democracy, they also represent the basis of a nation's economy because skill formation is crucial not only for formulating political values but also for working in complex organizations. Compulsory schooling laws were originally enacted to socialize national citizens and to ensure the preparation of future workers (Heidenheimer, 1997). By offering free public education and making it compulsory, democratic nation-states acknowledge the intimate relationship between education and citizenship (Marshall, 1950/1992, p. 16). At the nexus of industrializing nation-states, forceful social movements and growing citizenship rights, mass schooling arose with the cultural ideologies of the nation-state (e.g., Boli, Ramirez, & Meyer, 1985). Global ideals are more powerful than ever in “schooled societies” (Baker, 2014) in which schooling increasingly determines individual identities and life chances.

Although special education programs have fostered integration into education systems and provide supports to access curricular contents, children and youth with recognized impairments or special educational needs (SEN) are routinely stigmatized and separated or segregated from their peers—this constituting much of their disablement (Powell, 2011/2016). Their school-to-work transitions are especially challenging, as comparisons of transition outcomes from the United States (Haber et al., 2016) and Europe (Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2018) emphasize. The focus on transitions between schooling and vocational education and training (VET) and labor markets is driven by the importance of success in mastering these transitions for life chances. The factors bearing on transitions are complex. Learning opportunities provided within environments of schooling, VET programs, and firms foster development. The information and support youth receive from state programs and within their social networks facilitate transitions, even as gatekeepers’ recruitment behavior adds bias in the face of “institutional discrimination” (Gomolla & Radtke, 2002). Individual motivation, competencies, and decision-making are crucial (see Ludwig-Mayerhofer et al., 2019).

At macro and meso levels, institutions and organizations that constitute the adjoining spheres of education and work are central to constructing disability categories. These determine who is eligible for targeted support and services—and impact which youth become (classified as) disabled. Organizations are embedded in contrasting “institutional logics” (Aldrich & Ruef, 2006; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012), with individuals needing to adapt to these sets of values, ideals, and practices that provide meaning to daily activities. Logics and the challenges of inter-institutional coordination, we argue, are particularly salient as individuals (attempt to) transition from school to work, as these institutional logics demand of individuals different kinds of performances. The supports provided also differ markedly. In educational policies, tensions between the need for the provision of learning opportunities and well-being in schooling, and the ever-present risk of stigmatization via “negative classification” (Neckel & Sutterlüty, 2005) are endemic. Receiving specific supports and special services may be viewed positively or negatively, especially when an official classification is required, described as the “resource-labeling-dilemma” (Füssel & Kretschmann, 1993). Welfare state institutions structure the ambiguous and ambivalent disability classification systems and their categories. Access to a need-based distribution system as a substitute for a work-based distribution system involves institutions favoring official medical or legal knowledge and standards to classify impairments and (chronic) illnesses, and consequently people, representing a “distributive dilemma” (Stone, 1984) in policymaking.

At the intersection of schooling, VET, and work, we argue, the contrasting, even competing, logics guiding education and work institutions and organizations become starkly evident. Neither stakeholders nor individuals seem adept at negotiating or mastering contradictory institutionalized ideas, norms, and regulations in these major institutions that shape so much of our contemporary life courses. Thus, we here analyze these competing institutional logics and uncover the paradoxical universalism in disability policies impacting school-to-work transitions, exemplified by the contrasting cases of the United States and Switzerland.

Facilitating our comparative analysis, these two country cases have federal governance structures and liberal labor markets but contrasting education, welfare, and employment systems. Our process of social inquiry follows the case study method (Ragin, 1992). We intertwine our in-depth knowledge, gained through numerous prior research projects, of the cultures and structures of US and Swiss educational, welfare, and employment institutional arrangements (e.g., Powell, 2011/2016; Tschanz, 2017). We link ideas and evidence in a collaborative process and present the characteristics of these country cases, aiming for meaningful “theoretically structured descriptions of the empirical world” (Ragin, 1992, p. 225). We examine educational and social policies and their underlying characteristics of universalism versus selectivism with regard to the construction of “kinds” of persons via official categories, their provisions and institutionalized organizations, and outcomes. Furthermore, we discuss the contrasting macro regimes and institutional logics driving these (sub)national education and social systems and challenges faced within two federal countries.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Paradoxical Universalism and Dilemmas of Disability Classification

Disability policies in education and employment as well as in social protection are characterized by paradoxical universalism and dilemmas resulting from disability classification and categories that often stigmatize individuals and groups even as they benefit from targeted policies and programs. Universalism is a polysemic concept having contrasting meanings within the academic field of social policy research (Stefánsson, 2012). Indeed, recent research proposes to acknowledge and investigate “varieties of universalism” (Anttonen & Sipilä, 2014, p. 3) or to use the paradoxical term "universalisms" (Künzler & Nollert, 2017, p. 9). When applied, the ambiguity of the term universalism manifests itself, particularly, we argue, when analyzing classifications and categories of impairment, disability, and special (educational) needs which are themselves contested and dynamic concepts when applied to individuals because of the environmentally contingent nature of disablement as a social and political process (see, e.g., Verbrugge & Jette, 1994). The most common definition of universalism would require the theoretical and practical applicability to all members of one kind (Stefánsson, 2012). However, "disabled people" or "people with disabilities" are overarching categories of diverse groups that reflect the relationality and context-dependence of disability in various institutions and organizations as in society more generally—and throughout the life course (Powell, 2003). Classificatory concepts of kinds of people continuously and sometimes rapidly morph (Hacking, 1999), emphasizing the importance of historical analyses of often ambivalent meanings of dis/ability categories. These are embedded in diverse disability policies and programs, originating in different eras, that reflect often contrary models of disability, from deficit orientation to human rights (see, e.g., Maschke, 2008).

In fact, classical contributions to disability studies emphasize that disability is a universal human condition that affects every human being to a certain degree over their life course (Zola, 1989). Yet, instead of an advancing universalism, institutional arrangements in education and employment do not counteract disablement but have rather been built upon ideas of disability as bodily, mental, and social deviance, with policies oriented to a mythical yet influential notion of the "normal life course" (Powell, 2003; Priestley, 2000). In many contemporary societies, educational inequalities have decreased with regard to access, participation, and attainment, such as in terms of gender (Hadjar & Becker, 2009). "Normalcy" in adulthood among men was long associated with commodified work (Polanyi, 1944/2001), whereas for women this is increasingly associated with labor force participation along with unpaid reproductive activities (Becker-Schmidt, 2010). However, regarding disability these associations are much more precarious and contradictory since people with a wide variety of perceived impairments and disabilities are often stigmatized and excluded from both productive as well as reproductive activities (Waldschmidt, 2010, p. 49). Unlike other characteristics, continuous growth and differentiation of disability classification has led to a large, highly diverse minority group, to be understood as representing ubiquitous human variation (Schriner & Scotch, 2001).

Firstly, the massive expansion of education at all levels has made most education systems more inclusive, with compulsory schooling the most universalistic policy in most countries. However, within that increasingly inclusive context, special education serves an ambivalent role: Historically, it ensured participation for many pupils previously entirely excluded from formal education, yet it also accomplished this by diverting pupils with recognized SEN into lower-status and often spatially distinct learning spaces. Special education, especially when it is offered in segregated or separated settings is per se anti-universalistic. Indeed, the existence of such structures calls the inclusivity of the entire educational system into question—in stark contrast to the mandate of the UN Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities (UN-CRPD), now ratified by almost all countries, but not the United States. The 50 US education systems retain an institutional logic of "separation" with special classes within general schools. The German-speaking countries maintain a logic of "segregation"—evidenced by their ubiquitous segregated special schools—in the *Länder* of Germany and Austria and in the Swiss *Kantone*/*cantons* (see section 3.2). Special facilities or special classes are dependent on the classification of a certain group of pupils as deviant or "abnormal." Paradoxically, this approach, under the guise of widening access to include all children and youth, has historically been associated with an anti-universalistic, targeted distribution of "special" or additional resources (Richardson & Powell, 2011, p. 76). To be labelled as being a pupil "with SEN" often coincides with the provision of special resources to cover specific identified learning needs beyond the usual provisions of a particular school setting. However, school segregation continues to lead to lower educational achievement and further disadvantage in school-to-work transitions—incompatible with the human right to inclusive education (Blanck, in press; Pfahl, 2011). Thus, this trade-off of being officially classified and labeled to get special resources has been called a "resource-labeling-dilemma" (Füssel & Kretschmann, 1993). However, theories claim that this dilemma may be mitigated by the universalization of the provisions to entire inclusive learning groups or schools. Such universal provision requires considerable, sustained resources. Yet even among highly inclusive Nordic societies there are differences, with Iceland and Finland having high classification rates, whereas Sweden avoids specific SEN categories (Powell, 2011/2016).

Secondly, the dimension of social protection in adulthood mirrors this educational dilemma. Disability benefits for young adults are also per se anti-universalistic and selective because in modern capitalist states "normal" adulthood is associated with a work-based distribution system. The allocation into a need-based distribution system is dependent on the medical-legal classification of a certain group, which is provided by the validation device of the societal knowledge about individuals (Stone, 1984, p. 21). The welfare state intertwines this medical-legal classification with a special resource allocation system (Tschanz, 2015). "Disability" has the function of a "categorial resolution," as individuals are classified as deviant from the norm within a work-based distribution system and provided with access in a need-based distribution system to compensate their recognized needs (Stone, 1984,

p. 21). This dilemma could be mitigated by the recognition of the needs of the whole population and the recognition of disability as a universal human condition (Zola, 1989). Such universal recognition would require a considerable change in the culture-specific perception of "normalcy" and a "normal life course." Flexibilization would allow for more permeable understandings of all human beings as inherently fragile and needy beings whose capabilities and needs change over the life course. Such an approach would prevent the perception of disabled people as being different, and having their collective needs pitted against other societal groups (Zola, 1989, p. 19).

In social policy research, questions around universalism often target the distribution of provisions to secure a "socially acceptable standard of living independently of market participation" (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 37). Yet labor market participation is tenuous for many disabled people, and prevalent exclusion from work comes with huge material disadvantages, reduced social participation, and vilification (Waldschmidt, 2011, p. 71). This is the reason most collective actors representing the interests of disabled people demand sustainable integration in commodified work seen as a precondition to full recognition and citizenry (Waldschmidt, 2011, p. 71). Therefore, for disabled people, alongside the right not to work, the right to engage in paid employment is valuable (Grover & Piggott, 2015). Ideally, engagement in the world of work has the characteristics of gainful employment (Kronauer, 2018).

However, current liberal democracies with capitalist market economies cannot provide universalistic answers in absolute terms to both of these rights. As Dahrendorf (2000, p. 1067) argues, an individual's freedom not to work is an important liberal principle. Only authoritarian regimes execute(d) policies of forced and compulsory labor. Western liberal democracies have rather built welfare states that provide some degree of de-commodification (Esping-Andersen, 1990). On the other hand, the universal right to gainful employment is something liberalism cannot enforce (Dahrendorf, 2000, p. 1067). Inherent to the process of selling people's labor as a "fictitious commodity" (Polanyi, 1944/2001), there is a cleavage between the societal goal of inclusion and the employer's freedom to select the most "productive" workers (Nadai & Canonica, 2019). Liberalism cannot enforce the universality of the former because it attaches remarkable importance to the latter. However, some liberal democracies have placed the other right—freedom not to work—under serious threat due to a new form of authoritarianism consisting of rigid workfare policies and a relentless hunt for cases of welfare fraud, making tighter control measures inevitable (Dahrendorf, 2000, p. 1067). Classification provides access to some options for negotiating the world of work; however, less so in work than in education can the state aim for universalistic policies and programs (Maschke, 2008). Examining the contrasting institutional logics regarding education and work helps understand why.

2.2. Neo-Institutionalism, Logics, and Inter-Institutional Coordination of Education and Work

Institutions are "stable designs for chronically repeated activity sequences" (Jepperson, 1991, p. 145). These designs come in various forms, and social life unfolds within them following various logics. Thornton and Ocasio (2008, p. 101) define institutional logics as "socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality." This institutional logic approach focuses on the consequences of institutional characteristics in shaping organizations and the individuals acting in them, accordingly; conversely, individuals and organizational actors also participate in evolving institutional logics—linking institutions and action as well as structures and processes (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, p. 100). Conceptualizing such logics, Friedland and Alford (1991) emphasize that the bureaucratic state, the capitalist market, and democracy are key institutional sectors, each with its own distinct logic, that operate together as an inter-institutional system.

The existence of contrasting institutional logics and institutionalized organizations fundamentally challenges universal social policies, visible especially at inter-institutional transition points, such as young adults' school-to-work transitions. Policies like compulsory schooling or social assistance exist in many countries (World Bank, 2019). Usually policies focus on one stage of life, with few, such as job coaching (Pfahl, 2011) and employment counseling (Blanck, in press), facilitating interaction or supporting individuals in transitioning between life course phases. If institutions of education and work exhibit important similarities relating to dis/ability, they also have significant differences in their logics, which, we argue, result in their (lack of) inter-institutional coordination.

The institutional logics of schooling and employment are ideationally driven by conceptions of achievement and performance. However, whereas the aim of schooling is to foster and compensate via learning opportunities to develop knowledge and skills, employment support is provided to enable individuals to apply their knowledge and skills to achieve certain tasks. In the normative dimension, the values and orientations of professions in determining goals and relevant activities but also in adjudicating who may provide appropriate support—whether in schools, employment agencies, or in firms—exemplifies an overarching logic across institutions. Finally, in the regulative dimension, the logic is one of additional resources and specialized assistance to access the curriculum or the world of work.

Having explicated conceptions of institutional logics, we now address various ideal-typical dimensions of the institutions of education (schooling) and work, comparing Switzerland and the United States. Following

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) and Scott (2013), we analyze institutionalization processes that reflect ideas (cultural-cognitive), standards (normative) and policy (regulative) mechanisms that drive reproduction and change. Each of these dimensions suggests a different rationale for legitimacy, either by virtue of being legally sanctioned (regulative), morally governed (normative), or culturally supported (cognitive). In the cultural-cognitive dimension, we can identify the ideal in both institutions as achievement (performance), the expectation held for individuals (more or less meritocratically). Aligned with this is the dis/ability paradigm, extending across institutional boundaries of education and work: a mythical binary suggesting "normality"—whether as an idealized pupil or worker—that could be contrasted with supposed "abnormality." Whose performances and achievements suffice and whose do not is, however, context-dependent.

The highly problematic notion of ab/normality has been unmasked and critiqued for decades; it is an important strand of work within disability studies (see, e.g., Davis, 1997). Specifically, in terms of classification and categories applied to defining human "kinds" (Hacking, 1999) a range of clinical and legal concepts exists. These demonstrate contrasting institutional logics: Whereas in education (*besondere pädagogische Bedürfnisse/besoins éducatifs spécifiques*) are defined mainly in medical, psychological, and educational terms, in work the main category is a binary defined in medical and legal terms of "un/employability" (*Invalidität/invalidité*). For such categories of "abnormal" people, over centuries, professions have established expert claims and organizations have developed to address, serve, and control these groups. Often, being considered "abnormal" due to cumulative disadvantages has led to segregation in special schools, workhouses or asylums (Richardson & Powell, 2011).

Despite recent emphasis on lifelong learning, the focus of education remains on schooling in childhood and up to young adulthood, with compulsory schooling lasting through the teenage years, followed by vocational education and postsecondary education. The world of work dominates adulthood, ideal-typically stretching from a person's twenties to their sixties and beyond. Compulsory schooling has become a fully universal policy in most societies (Boli et al., 1985), yet special education diffused everywhere increasingly over the past century to ensure that pupils with recognized impairments, disabilities, and illnesses could take part to varying degrees, in publicly-provided schooling (Powell, 2011/2016). The target groups for employment policies are largely demand-driven, depending on sector, occupation, and local labor market conditions. Expectations of employment have become more inclusive of persons with disabilities previously excluded, also due to the effective universalization of schooling that conveyed certificates based on their participation and achievement. Despite higher qualification levels as a group, disabled people attain less education relative to other groups.

For disabled people who routinely face tenuous commitments to their equalized opportunities, a society's collectivist or individualistic direction bears significantly on forms and rates of participation (see Richardson & Powell, 2011, Chapter 4). Nevertheless, in the dimension of resource provision—whether expectations or responsibilities—states and families provide (more or less) support and inputs to ensure the provision of learning opportunities. By contrast, in employment, it is individuals who are expected to contribute to the production of products and services (outputs). Turning to the organizational forms, there are diverse kinds of schools and more or less inclusive classrooms in education as well as diverse firms and state-financed organizations—such as sheltered workshops—in employment sectors.

Finally, in the regulative dimension, in governance, states vary in their de/centralization, in turn determining how much autonomy school systems and individual schools have to address the challenge of inclusion given local conditions. Labor markets, too, differ considerably, evident in varieties of capitalism, social policy provisions, and political economies (Ebbinghaus & Manow, 2001; Hall & Soskice, 2001). In regulatory terms, the state assumes first-order functions of control and funding of schooling, including the accreditation and hiring and firing of teachers in public schools, but has second-order functions in employment, such as quota regulations. Thus, across the different dimensions of institutions—cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative—important similarities and differences exist between schooling and work (see Table 1).

2.3. Challenges and Opportunities during Transitions from School-to-Work

Transitions from educational settings to labor markets can principally take three paths. Firstly, there is the possibility of a transition directly into that segment of the labor market completely governed by market forces in the form of a sustainable integration in commodified work (Waldschmidt, 2011, pp. 69–71). Such a transition requires pupils who have been (comprehensively) empowered by the educational system to function and be competitive within markets reflecting an employment logic. Here the idea of individual performance and expectations held for individuals (more or less meritocratically) can be directly transformed from education to the myriad of firms and other work organizations. Cultural-cognitively, stigmatizing labels of ab/normality must be avoided, since meta-analyses indicate that participation in inclusive education increases the likelihood of labor market integration compared to special education (EASNIE, 2018). In the normative dimension, resource provision could be resolved and the "resource-labeling-dilemma" in education mitigated by universalizing adequate resource provision to entire learning groups or schools—resolving the need to identify "abnormality," with numerous (un)intended consequences. In the regu-

Table 1. Institutional dimensions of education and work.

	Education (schooling)	Work
Cultural-cognitive dimension		
Ideal (expectation of individuals)	Achievement (performance)	
Dis/ability paradigm	Individual deficit versus "normality"	
Classification system (categories)	Pedagogical, psychological, medical; "special educational needs"	medical-legal; "un/employability"
Normative dimension		
Life stage	childhood; youth (often extended to 18, 21 or 25 years of age)	adulthood
Target group	universal (compulsory schooling)	demand-driven (depends on sector, occupation, local labor market conditions)
Resources: expectations, responsibility	state provides resources (inputs) supporting learning opportunities of individuals	individuals contribute to the production of products and services (outputs)
Organizational form(s)	diverse school types (classrooms)	diverse firms and state-financed organizations
Regulative dimension		
Governance	state (variance: de/centralized)	market (types of labor market)
Regulation (state)	first-order function (control & funding)	second-order function (e.g., quota regulations)

lative dimension, universalizing such transitions requires the possibility to legally sanction individuals or firms who try to negate the idea of individual performance differences or discriminate against those who do not manage to sufficiently react to market demands.

Secondly, transitions are possible into organizations having characteristics of a quasi-commodification (Waldschmidt, 2011, p. 69), allowing labor market uptake of those unable to compete within pure markets due to functional limitations or impairments—or because of mismatch between employer expectations and youth qualifications. However, such quasi-markets may solidify lacking competencies due to special programs that are often stigmatizing. Here the interconnected principles of individual learning opportunities, expectations, and school performance are not transferable to employment, evident in mostly failed bureaucratic attempts to provide effective transition support (Blanck, in press; Pfahl, 2011). Rather, the powerful norms stemming from deficit-oriented, within-individual models of disability that view disabled people as "abnormal," even "incompetent" (see Jenkins, 1998) is transferred into labor markets. This occurs simultaneously with ongoing education expansion, which paradoxically stigmatizes less-educated youth more than ever (Solga, 2005). Sheltered workplaces are characterized by irrefutable ambivalences, since they enable access to some employment for those not considered competitive in the primary labor market, while they also segregate, with negative effects on participants' educational levels, social networks, income levels, and social prestige (Hassler, 2017). In the regulative dimension, employers are legally sanctioned if they do not fulfill their obligations to recruit and employ disabled employees (given quota regulations). Often, then, financial penalties are partly used to finance quasi-commodification in support programs and employment beyond the primary labor market.

Thirdly, pathways exist in the realm of coordinated market economies that support gradual and stepwise labor market integration. Such bridges often integrate VET programs that are hybrids, containing elements of both education and employment institutions and providing platforms for continuous (re)negotiation between institutional logics of education and work. Busemeyer and Trampusch (2012) emphasize that the political economy of (vocational) education systems mirrors the overall political economy of labor markets. A stepwise labor market integration enables successful transitioning to commodified work of youth as it ideally enhances the match between employer expectations and youth qualifications and facilitates accumulation of formalized skills and employment experiences in early adulthood. In the regulative dimension, such a transition requires sophisticated inter-institutional coordination in the governance of education and labor market institutions.

In sum, institutionalized differences in how and when youth transition affect their learning opportunities and their experience levels, and interest development throughout their careers. In transitioning´ between the institutional spheres of education and work, individuals must be flexible, managing conflicting demands that derive from the above-delineated contrasting institutional logics. Grounding the relational conceptions and contingent classification processes of dis/ability and their consequences with empirical material, we turn now to the contrasting case studies: United States and Switzerland.

3. Case Studies of Inter-Institutional Coordination and Paradoxical Universalism

3.1. United States

Learning opportunities and skill formation have become increasingly valued public goods, relied on for social and economic development as well as for democratic governance. While compulsory attendance affirmed the goal of participation of all school-age children, it also specified the rules for the exemption of those deemed "ineducable" or "disabled": Developments in special education reflect changes in these rules of access to, and passage through, schooling over a century of decreasing exclusion from public provision of learning opportunities (Richardson & Powell, 2011). As the emergent mass educational system in the United States reflected heightened standards for education and evolving conceptions of citizenship, the rise of special education changed the dialectical relationships between in/educability, ab/normality, and dis/ability. Over many decades, special educators elaborated their profession, specializing on types of student dis/ability most often based on statistically derived and psychometric definitions of ab/normality and intelligence. From the beginning, such cultural ideologies and models, inscribed in educational policies, affected which children were classified disabled and schooled in mostly segregated special education, if at all. The spread of special education, gradually at first, resulted in the concomitant establishment of special classes and schools to meet these newly acknowledged needs and rights of disabled and disadvantaged students; however, the emphasis in recent decades has been on a continuum of settings, with the majority of students with SEN spending some part of the school day in a special classroom, but nearly all students attend regular schools, thus reflecting an institutional logic of "separation" (Powell, 2011/2016).

When accomplished in practice, compulsory schooling of all children greatly increased student body diversity, as girls, children of low socioeconomic status, migrants and ethnic minorities, and finally those with perceived impairments entered formal schooling. Educational systems responded to this challenge of increasing differentiation through school structures, such as age grading and special education. The goal of these reforms was to homogenize learning groups, attempting to resolve tensions between expanded access to common schooling and organizational constraints (Richardson & Powell, 2011). Rising expectations and standards have led to increasing proportions of students who participate in special education programs. Socializing and integrating diverse student populations continue as crucial challenges facing schools, since the 1970s including all children and youth with disabilities, although the United States has not ratified the UN-CRPD (Powell, 2011/2016).

Examining transitions, analyses of instructional, interpersonal, and institutional processes confirm that placement in higher-level ability groups accelerates achievement growth, whereas placement in lower-level ability groups has the opposite effect. A National Research Council review concluded that students are indeed worse off in low tracks: "The most common reasons for this disadvantage are the failure to provide students in low-track classes with high-quality curriculum and instruction and the failure to convey high expectations for such students' academic performance" (Heubert & Hauser, 1999, p. 102). Such questions as to the interactions between individual dis/ability, effort, and educational environments and their impact on transitions were pursued in successive waves of the US National Longitudinal Transition Studies (commonly known as the NLTS; see Wagner, Newman, Cameto, Levine, & Garza, 2006). Crucially, these studies chart accumulation of disadvantages over entire careers and show the impact of disablement on personal, social, and economic outcomes as youth transition from adolescence to adulthood (Wells, Sandefur, & Hogan, 2003). Funded by the US Department of Education, these important studies document the experiences of a national sample (youth between 13–16 years of age in 2000) as they transitioned, reaching 21–25 years of age in 2009. Key findings show that postsecondary education participation by youth with disabilities more than doubled over time, increasing to nearly a third of youth out of high school up to two years and who had enrolled in a 2- or 4-year college or a postsecondary vocational, technical, or business school (Wagner, Newman, Cameto, & Levine, 2005). Increasing educational attainment has lifted occupational options and earnings. Beyond the negative effect on postsecondary education participation, differences between disabled youth who did and did not complete high school emphasize that dropouts did not share in the improvements in earnings relative to the federal minimum wage and the shifts in the types of jobs held (i.e., declines in maintenance and clerical jobs, increase in retail jobs) by those who completed high school (Wagner et al., 2005).

While educational attainment is no guarantee of later labor market integration, certification is a precondition, also among disadvantaged and disabled youth. Analyzing student, family, and school factors as predictors of employment after leaving high school, Carter, Austin, and Trainor (2012) emphasize that employment success is correlated with having held a paid, community-based job while still in high school and that having independent self-care skills, higher social skills, more household responsibilities, and higher parent expectations increases the odds of labor market integration. Detailed investigations of the types of support provisions and programs offered in secondary schools to improve vocational preparation as well as provided adult services and local labor market conditions are crucial, because the goals of individualized support for accessing the curriculum and for transitioning to vocational training, postsecondary education, and employment are not always met. Labor market exclusion and precarity are less buffered given the limited welfare state, despite the fact that disability was institutionalized as an integral part of national and state policies and social provisions (Skocpol, 1995). Simultaneously, architectural barriers have been removed and unemployment rates have declined. Yet since the Great Recession (2007–2009), work conditions and stress on social systems had particularly negative effects on people with disabilities—and those affected by job loss, itself a source of chronic illness and disability (Kalleberg & von Wachter, 2017; see also O'Brien, 2013).

In sum, despite increasing participation and attainment rates as well as diverse support programs, disabled youth remain disadvantaged as they attempt to transition. The more active disabled young adults are while in school, the more likely they are to remain integrated in labor markets after graduation. However, supports provided are often insufficient or not individualized enough to ensure successful transitions. Our second case, Switzerland, has an education system structured differently, with an advanced VET system, and a similarly liberal labor market with few protections for most workers.

3.2. Switzerland

Schooling in Switzerland, compulsory since 1874, universalized access, also for children understood to have SEN (Wolfisberg, 2002, pp. 61–68). Yet Swiss special educational history is ambivalent, conflicting, and partly injust, evident in segregated organizations (Wolfisberg, 2002). Even today special education retains the institutional logic of segregation, despite the demands of the Federal Disability Equality Law (*Behindertengleichstellungsgesetz/Loi sur l'égalité pour les handicapés*) and UN-CRPD for universal inclusive education across the life course. Few cantons follow this principle and achieve inclusion, remaining unreprimanded by federal jurisdiction (Kurt & Heinzmann, 2018). For years, gradually increasing, inclusively schooled populations were not accompanied by decreases in the segregatively schooled population: Advancing inclusive schooling has been accompanied by rising classification rates (Bless & Kronig, 2000). Recently, the segregation rate has fallen from above 5% of all pupils (Swiss mean in 2000) to below 3.5% (Swiss mean in 2016), yet with considerable inter-cantonal disparities (Mejeh & Powell, 2018, pp. 423–424).

Switzerland is well-known worldwide for its "dual" VET system, in which more than two-thirds of each cohort participates. After compulsory schooling, pupils follow a firm-based training program, accompanied by a school-based component of one to two days per week (Bonvin & Dahmen, 2017, p. 282). These programs are governed by public and private actors (Bonvin & Dahmen, 2017; di Maio, Graf, & Wilson, 2019). Switzerland is a strong collective skill system (Busemeyer & Trampusch, 2012). A third duality is the interplay and tension between economic and social goals (di Maio et al., 2019). For disabled youth, training conditions can be adjusted by the recognition and compensation mechanism *Nachteilsausgleich/compensation des inégalités* (Schellenberg, Studer, & Hofmann, 2016, p. 487). For some youth with impairments or functional limitations, a short-track apprenticeship (*Eidgenössisches Berufsattest/attestation fédérale de formation professionnelle*) is an important alternative, taking two rather than the usual three to four years of training (Schellenberg et al., 2016, pp. 487–488). Another option is practical education (*INSOS PrA/INSOS FPra*), not part of official education systems but standardized by INSOS, the syndicate of disability care institutions (Schellenberg et al., 2016, p. 488).

Since 1960, Switzerland has disability insurance (*Invalidenversicherung/assurance-invalidité*) that is federally governed (see Fracheboud, 2015). Disability insurance is formally universal, providing access to all registered workers or residents after one year, including children and youth. However, selectivity typical for disability insurance schemes is present, with only officially classified children and youth eligible for this support.

Comparing employment rates of people with disabilities, Switzerland's rate is higher (around 55%) than in the United States (below 40%), although both lie considerably under general employment rates (OECD, 2010, p. 51). Switzerland's higher rate may be attributed to some extent to the VET system, which enables more robust means of integrating disabled young people into labor markets as it smooths transitions and counteracts supply-demand mismatches. Generally, research shows clear associations of strong VET programs with prevention of youth unemployment (Kriesi & Schweri, 2019, pp. 58–59). Compared to the United States, problems of inter-institutional coordination are targeted more comprehensively, whereas distributive dilemmas resulting in paradoxical universalism remain endemic.

Firstly, while disability insurance is governed by the Swiss confederation and upper secondary education is governed jointly by the Swiss confederation and cantons (with business interest organizations, private companies and trade unions for VET), primary education and lower secondary education are governed entirely by the cantons. Cantonal education policies are certainly not universally inclusive, with persistent inter-cantonal disparities ranging from high segregation rates (special schooling) to more inclusive schooling, mainly at primary level (Mejeh & Powell, 2018). Attempts to foster transitions are hindered by stigmatizing notions of ab/normality and its (un)intended negative consequences due to institutionalized cantonal special education organizations. Research demonstrates that inclusively schooled pupils more successfully access the labor market (Eckhart, Haeberlin, Sahli Lozano, & Blanc, 2011). Seen from this perspective, segregated schooling in cantons negatively affects employment. Enhanced inter-institutional coordination between disability insurance and upper secondary education with cantonal (special) education schemes would be necessary. Federally, the disability insurance could play an important role in this process. With a bundle of new policies (*Weiterentwicklung der IV/développement continu de l'AI*) the Swiss disability insurance currently plans to improve inter-institutional coordination for eligible persons between 13 to 25 years of age, supporting first vocational training opportunities (Lüthi, 2017, p. 17). The expansion of case management support, educational bridging offers and access to private employment agencies, and temporary recruitment services are under way (Lüthi, 2017. p. 17). A bundle of policies exists: employment counselling, job coaching services, opportunities for re-education, job placement services, work trials, daily allowances for youth in a short-track apprenticeship in the primary labor market, and wage subsidies as incentives for employers (Lüthi, 2017, p. 17). Paradoxically, while the insurance program focuses strongly on labor market integration, its classifying of individuals as "invalid" (*invalid/invalide)* is associated with stigmatization, an explicit category of "abnormality" originating in the 18th century (Stone, 1984; Tschanz, 2015).

Secondly, Swiss VET governance is among the most liberal among coordinated market economies. Business interest organizations and private companies have strong bargaining power in formulating teaching contents and an essential say in VET (Bonvin & Dahmen, 2017). While school-to-work transitions are generally eased via the vaunted Swiss VET system that supports the majority of youth to adjust as expectations and performances shift from education to employment, the principle of getting an apprenticeship follows mainly market-based selection procedures (Dahmen, Bonvin, & Beuret, 2017), suboptimally adjusted to the needs of minority groups (Imdorf, 2005). For instance, in contrast to Denmark's and Germany's short-track apprenticeships, Switzerland puts more emphasis on economic efficiency rather than social equality (di Maio et al., 2019). Unlike other countries, Switzerland does not provide a "Youth Guarantee" with a universal right to an apprenticeship or training opportunity, instead following a market-based allocation model (Dahmen et al., 2017, p. 156). Exceptions include youth with certain medical-psychological classification because in these cases the disability insurance is obliged to guarantee the first vocational training opportunity (Lüthi, 2017, p. 17). Paradoxically, while overall inter-institutional coordination works very well for youth who succeed in the market-based selection procedure, youth with impairments or functional limitations are dependent on anti-universalistic medical-psychological classification to approximate the universal Youth Guarantee.

Thirdly, Switzerland reformed disability insurance over the last 20 years thrice (Probst, Tabin, & Courvoisier, 2015). While the right to gainful employment has not been codified since Switzerland lacks legal obligations imposed on employers—there is neither an employment quota nor strict anti-discrimination legislation (Nadai & Canonica, 2019, p. 89; Nadai, Gonon, & Rotzetter, 2018, p. 407)—these reforms rely on the belief that the medical profession is capable of drawing objective boundaries between deserving people with impairments or illnesses and undeserving applicants; emphasizing tightened medical assessments (Caduff & Budowski, 2012, pp. 76–79). Furthermore, the recent discourse constructs disablement as a motivational problem justifying the introduction of tighter control mechanisms, which reinforce societal hierarchies based on assumed capabilities (Piecek, Tabin, Perrin, & Probst, 2019). Therefore, recent developments for adults have increased the legal sanctioning of those individuals who cannot or will not, for whatever reason, work. This danger simultaneously exists for prospective transition policies. In other areas of contemporary Swiss youth policies, a direction best described as "educationfare" arises (Dahmen et al., 2017, p. 155). This neologism, inspired by the term "workfare," means the establishment of stronger welfare conditionality criteria for youth in conjunction with targeting their integration into apprenticeships or other educational settings (Dahmen et al., 2017, p. 155). Therefore, the right to be accompanied by inter-institutional coordination on pathways into the labor market is thwarted by ever-earlier expectations of successful individual performance and outputs. Facilitated inter-institutional coordination via VET and the Swiss disability insurance will have to be critically examined regarding its possible paradoxical consequences for the right not to work.

In sum, contrary to the United States, the main challenge in Switzerland is not activation prior to leaving the education system, since its dual VET system (hardly reproduceable in the United States) provides multiple institutionalized pathways to formalized skills and employment experiences. However, the market-based allocation procedure to access such pathways continues to disadvantage some disabled youth, precluding universal access to VET and the (primary) labor market. For many, their life chances are determined by ambivalent effects of categorical membership (acquired during their cantonal school careers) and the requirements of individual performance and outputs of a liberal labor market. Or they are confronted by the paradox that one has to obtain the former in order to get access to support programs smoothing the pathway to the latter.

4. Conclusion

In our comparative case studies (Ragin, 1992), we linked ideas and evidence with theoretically structured descriptions. In particular, we outlined the school-to-work transitions of disabled youth in the United States and Switzerland from an institutional logics perspective. We considered the paradoxical "universalism" that affects contemporary education and disability policy. Both countries constructed a dialectical relationship between in/educability, ab/normality, and dis/ability with the establishment of compulsory universal schooling. This, the most crucial universal policy early in the life course, determines life chances to an increasingly large degree in "schooled societies" (Baker, 2014). This field remains especially challenging because these core institutions are characterized by different institutional logics and complex arrangements of institutionalized organizations, whether stigmatizing special classes (United States) or schools (Switzerland), and the lack (United States) or presence (Switzerland) of VET as a formal bridge between schooling and labor markets that demands coordination and must adjudicate the competing principles of social integration and efficiency.

In both countries, the logic of investment in human capital via years of schooling is matched by enforcement of the logic of performance of paid employment and individual adaptation to labor market conditions. We contrasted their institutional arrangements to support disabled youth transitioning. Especially in transition processes, the interrelation between education and social policies and between families and school and firm environments must be considered. While in the United States, the lack of inter-institutional coordination in the transition phase follows its liberal approach vis-à-vis limited state governance of markets, Switzerland, as a coordinated market economy, provides more transition opportunities via its VET system and has extended social policy insurance, which also supports transitions of classified youth. However, Switzerland does not fully coordinate education and employment systems to ensure successful transitions, also due to its market-based allocation of apprenticeships. Additional and intensified coordination between social policies and employment is partially counteracted by Swiss disability insurance's classification demands, creating a support-labeling-dilemma.

In Switzerland and the US, education and labor market institutions have institutionalized deficit-oriented conceptions of disability, with no paradigm shift towards socio-political, minority or human rights-based models. Both remain strongly oriented towards the ideal of individual performance, whether schooling (learning progress) or paid employment (task accomplishment). The necessity to provide universal opportunities, following the human right to inclusive education or right to work codified in the UN-CRPD, demands such a paradigm shift. This may be coupled with critical assessments of dominant ideas and values surrounding "ab/normality."

Acknowledgments

We gratefully acknowledge helpful comments on early drafts received from Robin Samuel and three anonymous reviewers. Christoph Tschanz acknowledges the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) for his Doc.CH grant (No. 172008), and both authors thank the SNSF for providing funding to publish this article open access.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

References

Aldrich, H. E., & Ruef, M. (2006). *Organizations evolving* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Anttonen, A., & Sipilä, J. (2014). *Varieties of universalism*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Baker, D. (2014). *The schooled society: The educational transformation of global culture*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Becker-Schmidt, R. (2010). Doppelte Vergesellschaftung von Frauen [The double socialization of women]. In R. Becker & B. Kortendiek (Eds.), *Handbuch Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung* [Handbook on women and gender research] (3rd ed., pp. 65–74). Wiesbaden: Springer.

Blanck, J. M. (in press). *Übergänge nach der Schule als "zweite Chance"?* [*Post-school transitions as a "second chance"*]. Weinheim: Beltz Juventa.

Bless, G., & Kronig, W. (2000). Im Schatten der Integrationsbemühungen steigt die Zahl der Sonderklassenschüler stetig an [In the shadow of intregration attempts, the number of pupils in special classes rises]. *Schweizer Schule*, *87*, 3–12.

Boli, J., Ramirez, F. O., & Meyer, J. W. (1985). Explaining the origins and expansion of mass education. *Comparative Education Review*, *29*(2), 145–170.

Bonvin, J.-M., & Dahmen, S. (2017). The Swiss welfare state system: With special reference to education policy. In C. Aspalter (Ed.), *The Routledge international handbook to welfare state systems* (pp. 274–290). London: Routledge.

Busemeyer, M. R., & Trampusch, C. (Eds.). (2012). *The political economy of collective skill formation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Caduff, P., & Budowski, M. (2012). "Scheininvalide"? Zum Problem der Grenzziehung zwischen legitimen und "illegitimen" Krankheitsbildern ["Invalid-pretenders?" On the problem of the boundary drawn between legitimate and "illegitimate" medical conditions]. In M. Budowski, M. Nollert, & C. Young (Eds.), *Delinquenz und Bestrafung* [Delinquency and penalization] (pp. 62–82). Zurich: Seismo.

Carter, E. W., Austin, D., & Trainor, A. A. (2012). Predictors of postschool employment outcomes for young adults with severe disabilities. *Journal of Disability Policy Studies*, *23*(1), 50–63.

Dahmen, S., Bonvin, J.-M., & Beuret, B. (2017). The dynamics of youth policies in Switzerland: Between participation and activation. In H.-U. Otto, V. Egdell, J.-M. Bonvin, & R. Atzmüller (Eds.), *Empowering young people in disempowering times* (pp. 144–159). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Dahrendorf, R. (2000). Die globale Klasse und die neue Ungleichheit [The global class and the new social inequality]. *Merkur*, *54*(619), 1057–1068.

Davis, L. J. (1997). Constructing normalcy. In L. J. Davis (Ed.), *The disability studies reader* (pp. 9–28). London: Routledge.

DiMaggio, P. J., & Powell, W. W. (1983). The iron cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields. *American Sociological Review*, *48*, 147–160.

di Maio, G., Graf, L., & Wilson, A. (2019). Torn between economic efficiency and social equality? Short-track apprenticeships in Denmark, Germany and Switzerland. *European Educational Research Journal*, *18*(6), 699–723.

EASNIE. (2018). *Evidence of the link between inclusive education and social inclusion*. Odense: European Agency for Special Needs and Inclusive Education.

Ebbinghaus, B., & Manow, P. (Eds.). (2001). *Comparing welfare capitalism*. London: Routledge.

Eckhart, M., Haeberlin, U., Sahli Lozano, C., & Blanc, P. (2011). *Langzeitwirkungen der schulischen Integration* [Long-term effects of school integration]. Berne: Haupt.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fracheboud, V. (2015). *L'introduction de l'assurance invalidité en Suisse (1944–1960)* [The introduction of the disability insurance in Switzerland (1944–1960)]. Lausanne: Antipodes.

Friedland, R., & Alford, R. A. (1991). Bringing society back in: Symbols, practices and institutional contradictions. In W. W. Powell & P. J. DiMaggio (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis* (pp. 232–263). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Füssel, H.-P., & Kretschmann, R. (1993). *Gemeinsamer Unterricht für behinderte und nichtbehinderte Kinder* [Joint instruction for disabled and nondisabled children]. Witterschlick: Wehle.

Gomolla, M., & Radtke, F. O. (2002). *Institutionelle Diskriminierung* [Institutional discrimination]. Opladen: Leske & Budrich.

Grover, C., & Piggott, L. (2015). A right not to work and disabled people. In C. Grover & L. Piggott (Eds.), *Disabled people, work and welfare* (pp. 239–255). Bristol: Policy Press.

Haber, M. G., Mazzotti, V. L., Mustian, A. L., Rowe, D. A., Bartholomew, A. L., Test, D. W., & Fowler, C. H. (2016). What works, when, for whom, and with whom: A meta-analytic review of predictors of postsecondary success for students with disabilities. *Review of Educational Research*, *86*(1), 123–162.

Hacking, I. (1999). *The social construction of what?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hadjar, A., & Becker, R. (Eds.). (2009). *Expected and unexpected consequences of the educational expansion in Europe and the USA*. Berne: Haupt.

Hall, P. A., & Soskice, D. (Eds.). (2001). *Varieties of capitalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Halvorsen, R., & Hvinden, B. (2018). Youth, diversity and employment in times of crisis and economic restructuring: An introduction. In R. Halvorsen & B. Hvinden (Eds.), *Youth, diversity and employment* (pp. 1–31). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Hassler, B. (2017). Geschützte Arbeitsplätze und Eingliederungsmanagement [Sheltered workshops and integration management]. In T. Geisen & P. Mösch (Eds.), *Praxishandbuch Eingliederungsmanagement* [Handbook of integration management in praxis] (pp. 1–13). Wiesbaden: Springer.

Heidenheimer, A. J. (1997). *Disparate ladders: Why school policies differ in Germany, Japan, and Switzerland*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Heubert, J. P., & Hauser, R. M. (Eds.). (1999). *High stakes: Testing for tracking promotion and graduation*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Imdorf, C. (2005). *Schulqualifikation und Berufsfindung* [School qualification and vocational orientation]. Wiesbaden: Springer.

Jenkins, R. (Ed.). (1998). *Questions of competence: Culture, classification and intellectual disability*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jepperson, R. L. (1991). Institutions, institutional effects, and institutionalism. In W. W. Powell & P. J. DiMaggio (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis* (pp. 143–163). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Kalleberg, A. L., & von Wachter, T. M. (2017). The U.S. labor market during and after the great recession. *RSF*, *3*(3), 1–19.

Kriesi, I., & Schweri, J. (2019). Types of education, achievement and labour market integration over the life course. *Social Inclusion*, *7*(3), 58–64.

Kronauer, M. (2018). Gainful employment between inclusion and exclusion In G. Wansing, F. Welti, & M. Schäfers (Eds.), *The right to work for persons with disabilities* (pp. 121–134). Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Künzler, D., & Nollert, M. (2017). Varieties and drivers of social welfare in sub-Saharan Africa. *Socialpolicy.ch*, *2*(2), 1–23.

Kurt, S., & Heinzmann, A. (2018). Ein Umdenken ist gefordert. Kindeswohl als Argument für die schulische Segregation [Rethinking child well-being as an argument for school segregation]. *SozialAktuell*, *6*, 38–39.

Ludwig-Mayerhofer, W., Pollak, R., Solga, H., Menze, L., Leuze, K., Edelstein, R., . . . Kühn, S. (2019). Vocational education and training and transitions into the labor market. In H. P. Blossfeld & H. G. Roßbach (Eds.), *Education as a lifelong process* (3rd ed.). Wiesbaden: Springer.

Lüthi, A. (2017). Verstärkung der beruflichen Eingliederung [Strengthening vocational integration]. *CHSS Soziale Sicherheit*, *June*(2), 15–19.

Marshall, T. H. (1992). *Citizenship and social class*. London: Pluto Press. (Original work published 1950)

Maschke, M. (2008). *Behindertenpolitik in der Europäischen Union* [Disability policy in the European Union]. Wiesbaden: Springer.

Mejeh, M., & Powell, J. J. W. (2018). Inklusive Bildung in der Schweiz—Zwischen globalen Normen und kantonalen Besonderheiten [Inclusive education in Switzerland: Between global norms and cantonal specificities]. *Bildung und Erziehung*, *71*, 412–431.

Nadai, E., & Canonica, A. (2019). The moralization of labor: Establishing the social responsibility of employers for disabled workers. In S. Schiller-Merkens & P. Balsiger (Eds.), *The contested moralities of markets* (pp. 87–106). Bingley: Emerald.

Nadai, E., Gonon, A., & Rotzetter, F. (2018). Costs, risks and responsibility. Negotiating the value of disabled workers between disability insurance and employers. *Swiss Journal of Sociology*, *44*(3), 405–422.

Neckel, S., & Sutterlüty, F. (2005). Negative Klassifikationen. Konflikte um die symbolische Ordnung sozialer Ungleichheit [Negative classifications. Conflicts surrounding die symbolic order of social inequality]. In W. Heitmeyer & P. Imbusch (Eds.), *Integrationspotenziale einer modernen Gesellschaft* [Integration potentials in contemporary society] (pp. 409–428). Wiesbaden: Springer.

O'Brien, R. L. (2013). Economy and disability: Labor market conditions and the disability of working-age individuals. *Social Problems*, *60*(3), 321–333.

OECD. (2010). *Sickness, disability and work: Breaking the barriers*. Paris: OECD.

Pfahl, L. (2011). *Techniken der Behinderung. Der deutsche Lernbehinderungsdiskurs, die Sonderschule und ihre Auswirkungen auf Bildungsbiografien* [Technologies of disability. The German discourse on learning disabilities, the special school and its effects on educational biographies]. Bielefeld: Transcript.

Piecek, M., Tabin, J.-P., Perrin, C., & Probst, I. (2019). The 'compliant,' the 'pacified' and the 'rebel': Experiences with Swiss disability insurance. *Disability & Society*, *34*(4), 583–606.

Polanyi, K. (2001). *The great transformation*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press. (Original work published 1944)

Powell, J. J. W. (2003). Constructing disability and social inequality early in the life course. *Disability Studies Quarterly*, *23*(2), 57–75. Retrieved from http://dsq-sds.org/article/view/414/575

Powell, J. J. W. ({2011} 2016). *Barriers to inclusion: Special education in the United States and Germany*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Priestley, M. (2000). Adults only: Disability, social policy and the life course. *Journal of Social Policy*, *29*(3), 421–439.

Probst, I., Tabin, J.-P., & Courvoisier, N. (2015). De la réparation à la réversibilité. Un nouveau paradigme dans l'assurance invalidité? [From compensation to reversibility. A new paradigm in disability insurance?]. *Swiss Journal of Sociology*, *41*(1), 101–117.

Ragin, C. C. (1992). "Casing" and the process of social inquiry. In C. C. Ragin & H. S. Becker (Eds.), *What is a case?* (pp. 217–226). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richardson, J. G., & Powell, J. J. W. (2011). *Comparing special education: Origins to contemporary paradoxes*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Schellenberg, C., Studer, M., & Hofmann, C. (2016). Transition Übergang Schule-Beruf [School-to-work transitions]. In I. Hedderich, G. Biewer, J. Hollenweger, & R. Markowetz (Eds.), *Handbuch Inklusion und Sonderpädagogik* [Handbook of inclusion and special education] (pp. 485–490). Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt.

Schriner, K., & Scotch, R. K. (2001). Disability and institutional change: A human variation perspective on overcoming oppression. *Journal of Disability Policy Studies*, *12*(2), 100–106.

Scott, W. R. (2013). *Institutions and organizations* (4th ed.). London: Sage.

Skocpol, T. (1995). *Social policy in the United States*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Solga, H. (2005). *Ohne Abschluss in die Bildungsgesellschaft* [Without qualification in the education society]. Opladen: Barbara Budrich.

Stefánsson, K. (2012). What is in a word? Universalism, ideology and practice. In A. Anttonen, L. Häikiö, & K. Stefánsson (Eds.), *Welfare state, universalism and diversity* (pp. 42–68). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Stone, D. A. (1984). *The disabled state*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Thornton, P. H., & Ocasio, W. (2008). Institutional logics. In R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, R. Suddaby, & K. Sahlin (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of organizational institutionalism* (pp. 99–129). London: Sage.

Thornton, P. H., Ocasio, W., & Lounsbury, M. (2012). *The institutional logics perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tschanz, C. (2015). Die Welten des Aufbaus und Brechens von Barrieren—Europäische Behindertenpolitiken im Vergleich [The worlds of constructing and breaking of barriers—A comparison of European disability policies]. *Newsletter Studienbereich Soziologie, Sozialpolitik und Sozialarbeit*, *16*, 41–54.

Tschanz, C. (2017). Zwischen Barrierefreiheit, Aktivierung und Marktradikalismus: Der Zugang zum Arbeitsmarkt durch die Invalidenversicherung [Between accessibility, activation and market radicalism: Accessing the labor market via disability insurance]. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Heilpädagogik*, *23*(3), 27–35.

Verbrugge, L. M., & Jette, A. M. (1994). The disablement process. *Social Science and Medicine*, *38*(1), 1–14.

Wagner, M., Newman, L., Cameto, R., & Levine, P. (2005). *Changes over time in the early postschool outcomes of youth with disabilities*. Menlo Park, CA: SRI International.

Wagner, M., Newman, L., Cameto, R., Levine, P., & Garza, N. (2006). *An overview of findings from wave 2 of the National Longitudinal Transition Study-2 (NLTS2)*. Menlo Park, CA: SRI International.

Waldschmidt, A. (2010). Das Mädchen Ashley oder: Intersektionen von Behinderung, Normalität und Geschlecht [Intersections of disabilty, normality, and gender]. In J. Jacob, S. Köbsell, & E. Wollrad (Eds.), *Gendering disability* (pp. 35–60). Bielefeld: Transcript.

Waldschmidt, A. (2011). Existenzsicherung—Ein soziales Recht? [The minimum standard of subsistence as a social right?]. In M. Dederich, & K. Grüber (Eds.), *Herausforderungen: Mit schwerer Behinderung leben* [Challenges: Living with severe disability] (2nd ed., pp. 61–74). Frankfurt am Main: Mabuse.

Wells, T., Sandefur, G. D., & Hogan, D. P. (2003). What happens after the high school years among young persons with disabilities? *Social Forces*, *82*(2), 803–832.

Wolfisberg, C. (2002). *Heilpädagogik und Eugenik* [*Special education and eugenics*]. Zurich: Chronos.

World Bank. (2019). *The atlas of social protection indicators of resilience and equity*. Washington, DC: World Bank. Retrieved from http://datatopics.worldbank.org/aspire

Zola, I. K. (1989). Toward the necessary universalizing of a disability policy. *The Milbank Quarterly*, *67*(2), 401–428.

About the Authors

Christoph Tschanz is a PhD candidate at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, in the Department of Social Work, Social Policy and Global Development, funded by a Doc.CH grant. He specializes in comparative perspectives on European disability policies. Christoph holds a master's degree in Sociology and a bachelor's degree in Special Education and Social Pedagogy, both from the University of Fribourg. He previously worked at the Service für unterstützte Berufsbildung, a specifically VET-oriented supported training and employment program for people with an autism-spectrum condition on behalf of the Swiss disability insurance.

Justin J. W. Powell is Professor of Sociology of Education in the Institute of Education & Society, University of Luxembourg. His comparative institutional analyses chart persistence and change in special and inclusive education, in vocational training and higher education, and in science systems and research policy. His award-winning books include *Barriers to Inclusion: Special Education in the US and Germany* (Routledge, 2011/2016), *Comparing Special Education: Origins to Contemporary Paradoxes* (Stanford University Press, 2011), and *The Century of Science: The Global Triumph of the Research University* (Emerald, 2017/2019).

7 Paper IV: Disability care services between welfare regime pre-conditioning and emancipatory change to independent living: A comparison of 10 European cases with fuzzy set ideal type analysis

Tschanz, Christoph (accepted for publication in *ALTER – European Journal of Disability Research*). Disability care services between welfare regime pre-conditioning and emancipatory change to independent living: A comparison of 10 European cases with fuzzy set ideal-type analysis.

Disability care services between welfare regime pre-conditioning and emancipatory change to independent living: A comparison of 10 European cases with fuzzy set ideal-type analysis

Les services de soins aux personnes handicapées entre le préconditionnement du régime de protection sociale et l'émancipation vers la vie autonome : Une comparaison de 10 cas européens avec fuzzy set ideal type analysis

Full name of the author

Christoph Tschanz

Author affiliation

Bern University of Applied Sciences
Department of Social Work
Institute for Social Security and Social Policy
Hallerstrasse 8-10
3012 Bern
Switzerland
christoph.tschanz@bfh.ch

Part of a PhD thesis

This article is part of the PhD thesis “Real Distributive and Emancipatory Dilemmas Within Disability Policy Regimes: Comparative Perspectives with a Focus on Switzerland” conducted at the Department of Social Work, Social Policy and Global Development at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland.

Abstract

According to Nancy Fraser's concept of the triple movement of social protection, emancipation, and marketisation, the forces of emancipation can form an alliance with social protection or marketisation. A genuine example of emancipation is the transformation of residential disability care services to personal assistance. However, what remains unclear is why some reforms overlap more with marketisation and others overlap more with social protection, whereas other countries did not undertake any pervasive reforms in their disability care services. This paper attempts to illuminate this issue by examining the morphogenetic approach to explain developments within disability care services in 10 European countries. A fuzzy set ideal type analysis was used to delineate four types of disability care services. The analysis assigned Greece, Slovenia, and Spain to the domestic-traditional type; Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland to the benevolent–paternalist type; Sweden to the encompassing-progressive type; and Latvia, the Slovak Republic, and the United Kingdom to the precarious-progressive type.

Keywords

disability care, social services, comparative social policy, triple movement, morphogenetic approach, fuzzy set ideal type analysis

Résumé

Selon le concept de Nancy Fraser du triple mouvement de protection sociale, d'émancipation et de marchandisation, les forces d'émancipation peuvent former une alliance avec la protection sociale ou la marchandisation. Un véritable exemple d'émancipation est la transformation des services résidentiels de soins aux personnes handicapées en assistance personnelle. Toutefois, on ne sait pas encore très bien pourquoi certaines réformes se chevauchent davantage avec la marchandisation et d'autres avec la protection sociale, alors que d'autres pays n'ont pas entrepris de réformes généralisées de leurs services de soins aux personnes handicapées. Cet article tente d'éclairer cette question en examinant l'approche morphogénétique pour expliquer l'évolution des services de soins aux personnes handicapées dans dix pays européens. Une fuzzy set ideal type analysis a été utilisée pour délimiter quatre types de services de soins aux personnes handicapées. L'analyse a classé la Grèce, la Slovénie et l'Espagne dans le type domestique-traditionnel, la Belgique, l'Allemagne et la Suisse dans le type bienveillant-paternaliste, la Suède dans le type universel-progressif, et la Lettonie, la République slovaque et le Royaume-Uni dans le type précaire-progressif.

Mots clés

soins aux personnes handicapées, services sociaux, politique sociale comparée, triple mouvement, approche morphogénétique, fuzzy set ideal-type analysis

1 Introduction

The seminal work of Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1990), remains highly influential in comparative social policy. Considered from a disability studies perspective, this welfare regime approach is constrained by 'gender and normality biases' because it solely theorises the 'normal' abled-body male worker as agent vis-à-vis the market and vis-à-vis the welfare state (Waldschmidt, 2009: 19). However, disabled people and the movement of disabled people were agential subjects in their struggles for the right to personal assistance (PA), which aims to replace the funding of residential care services with direct payments for disabled persons, allowing them to recruit personal assistants. The term 'personal assistance' originated within the framework of the disability rights movement (Degener & Begg, 2017: 9). Pressure from the disability movement finally resulted in the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN-CRPD), an international treaty ratified in 2006, in which article 19 codifies the right to independent living and to PA as a social service (Della Fina, Cera & Palmisano, 2017: 353-373).

The work of Esping-Andersen (1990) relied on Karl Polanyi's seminal work, *The Great Transformation* (2001 [1944]). Polanyi (2001 [1944]) argued that contrary to what liberal idealists might think, the process of marketisation/commodification is not accompanied by passive social and economic policies. Instead, marketisation/commodification requires state interventions to secure the market and the dissolution of alternative (redistributive and/or reciprocal) exchange systems. Furthermore, Polanyi (2001 [1944]) explained the underlying dynamic of a market society as a *double movement* characterised by the categories of *marketisation/commodification* and a countermovement of *social protection.* This Polanyian seminal work in economic sociology (taken up by Esping-Andersen as outlined in the first paragraph) also has difficulties capturing the disability movement's and independent living movement's claims for direct payments for PA. On the one hand, a change to direct payments entails an intensification of the commodification of care work and care workers rather than decommodifying policies (Spandler, 2004). On the other hand, the independent living movement would be mischaracterised as a primary force of marketisation/commodification and is best described as a civil rights movement (Morris, 1997).

To overcome the 'gender bias' and the 'normality bias' present in the Polanyian double movement narrative and honour his valuable insights, Nancy Fraser (2011, 2013) recently outlined the theoretical concept of a *triple movement*. Fraser (2011, 2013) argued that Polanyi's theory of the double movement of *marketisation/commodification* versus *social protection* must be extended by the category of *emancipation* to understand current societal tensions and developments in democratic capitalist market societies. The triple movement concept seems a better fit to conceptualise independent living policies and PA because it has been increasingly used by researchers to analyse (and criticise) current disability care services (Dodd, 2016; Edwards, 2019; Tschanz, 2018; van Toorn, 2021; Ville, 2019, 2020). These studies, however, have focused on a single nation-state case study (Dodd, 2016; Edwards, 2019; Ville, 2019, 2020), two nation-state cases combined with a cross-national focus (van Toorn, 2021), or four nation-state cases (Tschanz, 2018).

Because the triple movement approach was successful in these circumstances, we must ask whether this concept could also be fruitfully applied to an analysis with a larger amount of cases. Furthermore, Esping-Andersen's welfare regime approach cannot entirely be characterised as dated. When looking not at specific disability independent living policies or disability social services but rather at all type of social services provided by welfare states, the comparative social policy literature has continued to find consistency and conformity with Esping-Andersen's welfare typology (e.g. Buhr & Stoy, 2015: 272-275; Stoy, 2014). His triad of welfare types (Esping-Andersen, 1990) was expanded to a tetrad by Ferrera (1996), according to whom there is a *Scandinavian type,* an *Anglo-Saxon type*, a *Continental type*, and a *Mediterranean type* of welfare in Europe. Because comparative social policy research has continued to find these patterns regarding social services, the second question we must ask is whether this finding applies simultaneously to disability social services and PA schemes. To answer these questions, this paper expands the scope of single case studies or small-N case studies by applying a small medium-N comparison with a fuzzy set ideal type analysis based on comparative social policy data.

2 Theoretical background

2.1 The challenge to understanding 'changes within' and 'differences between' cases

A central idea of the triple movement approach is that all three forces can have ambivalent effects (Fraser, 2011, 2013). In contrast to Polanyi, Fraser (Fraser, 2011, 2013) argued that the process of marketisation of traditional structures can also have positive effects in cases where it helps to overcome hierarchical and oppressive social protection systems. According to Fraser (Fraser, 2011, 2013), Polanyi's theory underestimated that social protection is not always positive but can have negative effects when organised in hierarchical and oppressive manners. Hierarchical orderings of social protection can provoke emancipatory counterforces, and it is possible to include the movement of disabled people under the third force of emancipation (Dodd, 2016). Additionally, emancipation can have ambivalent effects because it produces liberation but can strain existing solidarities (Fraser, 2011, 2013).

However, the triple movement approach does not fully provide explanatory insights into the pre-conditioning of welfare structures (as a product of social protection) on emancipatory forces (as a product against oppressive social protection) for multicase analysis. The triple movement approach (Fraser, 2011, 2013) is a general macro theory describing general tendencies in democratic capitalist market societies but does not explain differences and divergences between the types of such societies. Overall, the triple movement approach explains changes *within* a case but does not entirely explain differences *between* cases, in which we may find the absence of emancipatory forces or their inability to cause change.

By contrast, the welfare regime approach provides insights into the pre-conditioning of welfare structures on opportunity structures for emancipatory forces (Tschanz, 2018). By applying the welfare regime approach, we can explain differences and divergences between the types of welfare configurations, stressing the path-dependent character of ideological orientations and institutions (Stoy, 2014: 345). Esping-Andersen (1990) relegated welfare states not merely as a product of bygone fights for social protection but also as a provider of 'key institutions' (p. 55) for the prospective structuring of class and the social order. However, using exclusively the neo-institutional concept of path dependence would cause problems in the analysis conducted in this paper. Article 19 of the UN-CRPD is strongly associated with discourses and practices of deinstitutionalisation (Mladenov & Petri, 2020: 16). Resembling a tautologic wordplay, the following question summarises the problem: How much does the reliance on theories of institutional persistence make sense to explain deinstitutionalisation? Because the welfare regime approach tends to promote an over-socialised concept of agency stressing ideological and institutional persistence, it is useful to explain the differences *between* diverse cases but not entirely useful to explain changes *within* these diverse institutional settings.

2.2 Applying an inclusive critical realist perspective

To bridge this theoretical challenge, this paper follows metatheoretical considerations related to critical realism. Critical realism has become an important approach in disability studies and co-exists with other metatheoretical and philosophical approaches (Watson & Vehmas, 2020: 5). As a philosophy of sciences, critical realism is concerned with ontology, social structure, agency, and the layered reality of disability (e.g. Bhaskar & Danermark, 2006; Danermark & Coniavitis Gellerstedt, 2004) and can be applied to an overarching range of ontological and normative questions regarding disability (e.g. Shakespeare, 2014). Mostly prominent in the Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and Italian social sciences, critical realism has begun to be used in German (e.g. Lindner & Mader, 2017) and French (e.g. Archer & Vandenberghe, 2019) social sciences discourses.

One important development originating from the metatheoretical framework of critical realism is the morphogenetic approach of Margaret S. Archer (1995). Archer (1995) proposed a three-stage model of change or absence thereof: In the first stage, there is a social and cultural pre-conditioning of social practices and agency; in the second stage, there is a phase of an interaction of the social practice of groups with pre-existing structures and cultures, resulting in the third stage, namely, the reproduction (morphostasis) or change (morphogenesis) of pre-existing structures and cultures (see for an application to disability social services: Prandini & Orlandini, 2018). The morphogenetic approach is more sensitive to the possibility of path change than path dependency theory (Greener, 2005: 65-69).

Being a critical realist account, the morphogenetic approach puts much weight on the concept of emergence and emergent properties by claiming that reality is layered (Archer, 1995). Each layer of social reality is viewed as an 'emergent property' of another underlying reality. One must differentiate between 'resource-to-resource relations' as structural emergent properties and 'rule-to-rule relations' as cultural emergent properties (Archer, 1995: 176). An especially important idea related to the concept of emergence is that the whole of a 'emergent property' has characteristics that its single underlying parts do not have.

Structural and cultural emergent properties are not productions of themselves or independent of human agency: 'no people: no society' (Archer, 1995: 154). However, the morphogenetic approach makes two claims: structure/culture necessarily pre-date social action, and structural/cultural elaboration post-dates social action (Archer, 1995: 165-170). For this reason, agency does not create structure/culture but rather every new generation of human beings is merely able to reproduce or transform structural/cultural emergent properties (Archer, 1995: 165-170). Altogether, the morphogenetic approach insists that there is ontologically no agential subject outside a pre-existing structural/cultural reality and that no reproduction/transformation of this realty is possible without agential subjects.

Critical realism is helpful to enrich Nancy Fraser's insights (Danermark & Coniavitis Gellerstedt, 2004). This paper follows Thomas (2007: 34) by considering critical realism as a manifestation of conflict theory. From the standpoint of conflict theory, the triple movement framework of Fraser (2011, 2013) provided a helpful general explanation of current societal conflictual tensions but was missing theoretical consistency regarding a conflict's normative solution. Fraser demanded a new alliance between emancipation and social protection (2011, 2013). However, because the conflict between agents of care and caring and agents of independent living and PA is intrinsic (e.g.; Morris, 1997; Watson, McKie, Hughes, Hopkins & Gregory, 2004), the possibility of an alliance is intrinsically unstable (e.g. Ville, 2020). Therefore, the Fraserian proposal of an alliance between emancipation and social protection has a slight tendency to be an under-socialised concept of agency by implicitly proposing that social movements are 'rational' and 'free' to opt for alliances. The critical realist perspective applied in this paper therefore enriches and underlies the triple movement framework with a heuristic tool about different possibilities of conflictual set-ups by providing explanations of different proximities or distances between social protection and emancipation while the perspective simultaneously avoids a collapse of the ontological detection of an intrinsic conflict between those two forces.

2.3 A heuristic morphogenetic tool for disability care conflicts

The emergent structural and cultural properties are possibly pre-conditionings for (emancipatory) conflicts and/or elaborations of (emancipatory) conflicts. The relevant conflicts regarding independent living are in (not) established in two temporally different morphogenetic cycles. The main conflictual social relations underlying the welfare state are different class coalitions resulting from capitalist production and conflictual disputes on the distribution of this production's resources since industrialisation (Polanyi, 2001 [1944]), leading to different emergent properties of redistributive welfare states established especially in the post second world war welfare state era (Esping-Andersen 1990). The structural emergent property of the welfare state is in turn the underlying but also the pre-conditioning conflictual social relation between the vested interests of welfare service providers and new social movements emerging from the 1960s onward (Fraser, 2011, 2013), of which the disability movement pointed to the hierarchical and paternalist cultural codes enshrined in residential care provisions (Morris, 1997; Watson et al., 2004: 335-337).

As an emergent property of the first morphogenetic cycle, the welfare state may provide care policy as *dedomestication* (Kröger, 2011)[1]. From a care receiver's perspective, dedomestication of care means that care for a disabled individual becomes independent from the care provided by relatives and close persons within the domestic spheres because it is provided by the welfare state's social services and formal and paid caregivers (Kröger, 2011: 429–430). The first column of Table 1 distinguishes between the possibility of whether in the first morphogenetic cycle some degree of dedomestication and thus welfare state redistribution was accomplished. If there is no degree of dedomestication, this leads to an implicit dependence on the compatibility of the interests of informal caregivers and care receivers in the continuation of domestic care (line 2 in Table 1).

---

[1] Please note: Teppo Kröger (2011: 424) acknowledged Anne Skevik as the co-creator of this concept.

Table 1: A heuristic morphogenetic tool for disability care conflicts

Structural emergent property after the first morphogenetic cycle	**Situational logic in phase two of the second morphogenetic cycle**	**Structural emergent property in phase three of the second morphogenetic cycle**	**Cultural emergent property in phase three of the second morphogenetic cycle**	**Likelihood of path dependency after second morphogenetic cycle**
Emergent property not existing → domestic care	Implicit compatibilities (in first and second morphogenetic cycle)	Implicitly traditional (in first and second morphogenetic cycle)	Implicitly traditional (in first and second morphogenetic cycle)	Implicitly high (implicit morphostasis)
Welfare state dedomestication and redistribution	Necessary compatibilities	Protection of centricity	Protection of paternalism	High (morphostasis)
Welfare state dedomestication and redistribution	Necessary incompatibilities	Compromise to reciprocal symmetry	Syncretism to reciprocal recognition	Medium (double morphogenesis)
Welfare state dedomestication and redistribution	Contingent incompatibilities	Elimination and marketization	Individualized choice	Low (morphogenesis)

Source: Adaptation by author, inspired by Archer (1995), Greener (2005: 66), and Polanyi (1957: 250-256)

The structural emergent property after the first morphogenetic cycle is simultaneous with the structural emergent property in phase one of the second morphogenetic cycle. It is emergent insofar as the whole of the structural emergent property of dedomestication is more than its single parts of caregivers and care receivers. The first morphogenetic cycle led to the establishment of specific institutional settings and vested interests of disability interest organisations, trade unions of care workers, caring institutions' interest groups, and interest groups of parents and relatives.

Polanyi specified his typology of economic institutions in a book chapter in 1957. He distinguished three 'forms of integration', which are redistribution, reciprocity, and exchange, linked to three 'instances of institutional support', which are centricity, symmetry, and the market (Polanyi, 1957: 250-256; see for an application to welfare state change: Leitner & Lessenich, 2003). This typology provided the heuristic framework of different possibilities of structural emergent properties in the third phase of the second morphogenetic cycle (column 3 in Table 1). Decisive for the development into one of these directions is the situational logic in the interaction between different groups (column 2 in Table 1). On the one hand, different interest groups can either consider the other group's interests as necessary, recognising their mutual relationships as interdependent, or consider them as contingent, stressing that they are able to work relatively autonomously from one another (Greener, 2005: 66). On the other hand, interest groups can either consider their interests as compatible with the interests of the other groups, because they have considerable interests in common, or they can consider their interests as incompatible (Greener, 2005: 66).

Given welfare state dedomestication and redistribution and the necessary compatibilities between the main vested interests, the protection of the status quo with centricity and paternalism is the probable outcome (line 3 in Table 1). In such a case, the power of emancipatory groups is insufficient to make their voices heard, and the path dependence of residential care is probable. By contrast, if the emancipatory forces are sufficiently powerful to vest their interests, they become empowered to point to the incompatibility of their interests with those of others (lines 4 and 5 in Table 1). Given that vested interests of social protection (e.g. disability interest organisations, trade unions of care workers, caring institutions interest groups, and interest groups of parents and relatives) and vested interests of emancipation consider their interests incompatible but the other groups as necessary, a compromise to reciprocal symmetry and syncretism to reciprocal recognition is probable (line 4 in Table 1). Accordingly, some degree of double morphogenesis is probable. Double morphogenesis means a situation in which agency undergoes transformation and acquires new emergent powers (Archer, 1995: 190-191). Ideally, the morphogenesis to PA does not strain solidarity because the emancipatory agents get themselves agents in the protection of the emergent property of redistribution. However, if the vested interests of emancipation are considering the vested interest of social protection not just as incompatible but also as contingent to their interest, and if they are sufficiently powerful to spark change, a path change towards marketisation and individualised choice is the more likely outcome (line 5 in Table 1).

3 The method, data, and case selections

3.1 About the method

Following these theoretical insights and to compare disability care policies, a fuzzy set ideal type analysis was conducted. Fuzzy set ideal type analysis was developed by Kvist (2007). Its origin is in set theory and qualitative comparative analysis (QCA), as developed by Charles Ragin (e.g. 2008). QCA has increasingly become a commonly used method in social sciences (Rihoux, Marx & Álamos-Concha, 2014). Set theory borders between qualitative and quantitative case study approaches insofar as it is a case-oriented rather than a variable-oriented approach (Ragin 2008). Fuzzy set ideal type analysis is a common method that has been used in comparative social policy and can be used either with an emphasis on the conformity to ideal types (e.g. Ciccia & Bleijenbergh, 2014; Kowalewska, 2017; Precious, 2021; Saltkjel, Ingelsrud, Dahl & Halvorsen, 2017) or welfare state change (e.g. An & Peng, 2016; Hudson & Kühner, 2012; Lee, 2014).

A major contribution of fuzzy set ideal type analysis is the possibility to operationalise theoretical concepts (Kvist, 2007). Set theory follows the ontological and epistemological assumptions that because most of social science theory is verbal, it is implicitly formulated in terms of sets and set relations, meaning that to expatiate on these formulations is a good start to for research (Ragin, 2008). Overall, set theory in general and fuzzy set ideal type analysis in particular aim to use theory to understand and interpret cases (applying theory to cases) rather than to test hypotheses with data from cases (applying case data to theory testing). In this endeavour, fuzzy set ideal type analysis relies on theory and case knowledge in two respects: First, an application of theory leads to the formulation of ideal typical configurations (see the link between section 2 and section 3.2), and second, the calibration decisions are based on specific case knowledge (see section 4.1).

3.2 Ideal typical configurations

In accordance with the theory described in section 2, we had two possible sets: *redistributive social protection (R)* provided by the welfare state and *emancipatory change to PA (C)*. In a formally logical world, four (2^2) possible configurations can be imagined. Given the sets of redistribution (R) and change (C), the first possible configuration would be that the case does not belong to either set (~R*~C) [2]. Two other possible configurations are that the case belongs to one but not both sets; for example, it could be a part of the set of redistribution (R*~C) or a part of the set of change (~R*C). A fourth possibility is that the case can be assigned to both sets at their overlap (R*C).

Table 2: Ideal typical configurations

Ideal-types	**Redistributive social protection (R)**	**Emancipatory change to PA (C)**
Domestic-traditional	~R (low)	~C (low)
Benevolent–paternalist	R (high)	~C (low)
Encompassing-progressive	R (high)	C (high)
Precarious-progressive	~R (low)	C (high)

Based on theoretical considerations, four ideal typical configurations can be denominated (Table 2). The first ideal type can be called the *domestic-traditional* type. Here, the concept of dedomestication (Kröger, 2011) is negated since it exhibits a low level of dedomestication. Within a *domestic-traditional* disability care policy, the role of the welfare state in disability care is minimal, and care responsibilities are undertaken by informal, unpaid care-providers within a disabled person's domestic network. The second ideal typical configuration can be called the *benevolent–paternalist* type*,* a term inspired by Richardson and Powell (2011: 184). The term paternalist refers to the fact that change toward PA is fragmentary, and morphostatic protection of centricity and paternalism is high and linked with a benevolent level of welfare redistribution. The third idea ideal typical configuration can be called the *encompassing-progressive* type. Here, double morphogenesis occurs after the second morphogenetic cycle and sustains a high level of redistribution. The fourth ideal typical configuration can be called the *precarious-progressive* type. Here, the claims of the emancipatory disability movement for PA spark a progressive change towards PA while policymakers use borrowed 'emancipatory charisma' (Fraser, 2016: 282) to cover up distributive injustices or strain the morphostasis of the emergent property of redistribution.

3.3 Data sources and calculations

The lack of comparable data is the Achille's heel of comparative social care research (Kröger, 2011: 430). Therefore, data were collected from diverse data sources (Table 3). Overall, the inclusion of a country in the analysis necessitated having data for the country within all three main data sources. The three main data sources were the Social Expenditure Database of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2017/2020b), the PA tables of the European Network of Independent Living (ENIL, 2017), and the report *Deinstitutionalisation and community living – outcomes and costs* by Mansell, Knapp, Beadle-Brown & Beecham

---

[2] Note: ~ as a sign means "negation" in set theory; * indicates "combination".

(2007). The absence of data in one or more of these sources resulted in a country's exclusion from the analysis. As an exception, it was possible to analyse the cases of Germany, Greece, and Switzerland despite the missing data because the data was derived from an alternative source or foreseen (Table 3 and Appendix).

Table 3: Data sources and calculations

	Redistributive social protection (R)	**Emancipatory change to PA (C)**	
		Personal assistance	Residential care
Data sources			
Main data sources	1. OECD database of national accounts (OECD 2017/2020a): ***gdp*** 2. OECD Social Expenditure Database's incapacity-related benefits category "residential-care/home-help services" (OECD, 2017/2020b): ***rchhs***	1. PA tables by ENIL (2017): ***pa*** ENIL country experts: Belgium: Cornelis van Damme; Greece: Aglaia Katsigianni; Latvia: Gatis Caunītis; Slovak Republic: Mária Duračinská; Slovenia: Natalija Jeseničnik; Spain: Javier Arroyo Méndez; Sweden: Maria Dahl and Jamie Bolling; Switzerland: Peter Wehrli; United Kingdom: Sue Bott and Debbie Jolly 2. Population (Eurostat, 2017) ***pop***; necessary to calculate ***pa rate***	People living in residential care per 100'000 habitants, as estimated by Mansell et al. (2007: 32): ***resi rate*** Data on Greece is lacking (Mansell et al. 2007: 32); however, since the number of people receiving personal assistance in Greece was zero (ENIL 2017), the ratio of change was foreseeable to be zero
Alternative data source	-	Germany: Wemßen (2014: 8)	Switzerland: Swiss Federal Statistical Office (OFS, 2011: 11)
Time span	Intra-country mean of the years 2004-2015. Intra-country mean of Greece refers only to 2004-2012	The ENIL-surveys (2017) were conducted in 2013 or 2015. Germany (Wemßen 2014): 2012 Eurostat data refers to 2013, 2015, or 2012	Data refer to the following years (Mansell et al., 2007: 12-14): Belgium: 2005; Germany: 2003-2007; Latvia: 2004-2006; Slovak Republic: 2005; Slovenia: 1999-2000; Spain: 2006-2007; Sweden: 2005-2006; United Kingdom: 2002-2005. Switzerland (OFS, 2011): 2009
Calculations		Value pa rate: $\mathrm{pa} \times \frac{100'000}{\mathrm{pop}}$	
	Value redistribution (vR) in %: $\frac{rchhs_{2004}+ rchhs_{2005}...+ rchhs_{2015}}{gdp_{2004}+gdp_{2005}...+ gdp_{2015}} \times 100$	Value change (vC) in %: $\frac{\text{pa rate}}{\text{resi rate}} \times 100$	

4 Fuzzy set ideal type analysis

4.1 Calibration procedure

Set theory distinguishes crisp and fuzzy sets. Within crisp sets, a case can be a non-member (value = 0) or a member (value = 1). Within fuzzy sets, a case can have partial membership ranging between 0.00 and 1.00. Values below 0.05 are considered non-membership values, and values above 0.95 are considered full membership values. All values between these two anchor points are considered values of partial (non-)membership. However, 0.50 is the third anchor point because values below 0.50 have a partial membership degree, indicating being more out of than in the set, and values above 0.50 have a partial membership degree but are more in than out of the set.

The calibration procedure aimed to calibrate fuzzy (non-)membership values (fvR and fvC) between 0.00 and 1.00 for the value redistribution (vR) and the value change (vC) (see Table 4). The analysis underlying this paper applied the direct method of calibration. The direct method of calibration is a standardised version of calibration (Ragin, 2008: 89–94) and was performed by QCA computer software (Ragin & Davey, 2016). To calibrate fuzzy membership scores, the researcher had to set anchors ideally derived from theoretical knowledge or case knowledge to avoid the use of simple arithmetic means with no qualitative meaning for the cases (Ragin 2008: 77). The direct method required three anchors (Ragin 2008: 90): the threshold for full membership (value = 0.95), the threshold for full non-membership (value = 0.05), and the crossover point (value = 0.50). The threshold settings had to be explicit and transparent (Ragin, 2008: 82).

Following Kvist (2007), who set the anchors based on the case knowledge of one country (Denmark), this analysis set the anchors according to in-depth case knowledge of Switzerland. Similar to many other disability policies, the Swiss case has been characterised by a typical triple movement tension: a simultaneous tension between emancipatory claims on the one side and cost pressures and pressures for marketisation on the other side (Johner-Kobi, 2015: 173-174). However, while in the benefit system major reforms and a shift towards activation took place in the last two decades (e.g. Rosenstein & Bonvin, 2020), and after a reform of the federal fiscal equalisation, the role of the funding actors majorly changed (e.g. Fritschi et al., 2019), the level of redistribution for disability care remained remarkably stable (Appendix). Switzerland is an example of a benevolent–paternalist disability care type and exhibits an encompassing residential care system but is limited in terms of changing to PA (Egloff, 2017; Tschanz, 2018). In Switzerland, the eligibility criteria for PA are tight (Egloff, 2017: 62-74), and residential care remains the norm (Tschanz, 2018: 26-30). Because Switzerland has had a stable pattern of redistribution but no coherent empowerment regarding independent living, the thresholds were set accordingly.

Because the level of redistribution is benevolent but does not allow for an encompassing implementation of Article 19 of the UN-CRPD (Tschanz, 2019), the upper threshold was set to 150% of Switzerland's average spending between 2004 and 2015, which was 0.476% of its GDP (Appendix). Moreover, a spending average of 0.238 (50% of Switzerland‘s spending) was set as the crossover point, and a spending average of 0.119 (25% of Switzerland‘s spending) was set as the lower threshold. After we set these thresholds, it was possible to calibrate the fuzzy values for redistribution (column 3 in Table 4).

A survey conducted in Switzerland (Gehrig, Guggisberg & Graf 2013: 20–21) showed that because there were no active policy strategies to increase independent living, only a number below 20% of the disability care residents could imagine leaving their residential settings. Therefore, the lower threshold was set at a replacement ratio of 20% of those receiving PA to those within residential care. Moreover, a replacement ratio of 100%, indicating a full change toward PA, was set as the upper threshold, and a replacement ratio of 50% was set as the crossover point. After we set these thresholds, it was possible to calibrate the fuzzy values for change (column 5 in Table 4).

Table 4: Calibration of fuzzy values

	Value redistribution (vR) in %	Fuzzy value redistribution (fvR)	Value change (vC) in %	Fuzzy value change (fvC)
Belgium	0.42	0.76	13.02	0.02
Germany	0.48	0.82	8.62	0.02
Greece	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Latvia	0.17	0.15	56.36	0.59
Slovak Republic	0.19	0.22	58.99	0.63
Slovenia	0.18	0.19	19.67	0.05
Spain	0.09	0.02	1.25	0.01
Sweden	1.44	1.00	67.15	0.74
Switzerland	0.48	0.82	3.23	0.01
United Kingdom	0.19	0.23	179.24	1.00
Calibration thresholds	Upper threshold: 0.714 Crossover point: 0.238 Lower threshold: 0.119		Upper threshold: 100 Crossover point: 50 Lower threshold: 20	
Please note: • Values and fuzzy values rounded to two decimal places • See the Appendix for the raw data and calculation of vR and vC				

4.2 Results

The fuzzy set ideal type analysis worked with the fuzzy values (columns 3 and 5 in Table 4). Fuzzy set ideal type analysis follows two basic principles (Kowalewska, 2017: 7): the *negation principle*, which means that a case that is a member of the fuzzy set X has a membership value of 1 minus X in the fuzzy set ~X. Second, it follows the *minimal principle* after which the membership score in the overlap of different sets (e.g. X*Y) is determined by the minimal value of its single sets (Kowalewska, 2017: 7). In combination, these two principles implied that the membership score of X*~Y, for example, was the minimal value of X and 1 minus Y.

The fuzzy set ideal type analysis mapped the case configurations within the two sets of redistributive social protection (R) and emancipatory change to PA (C) by following these principles. Every country case received a fuzzy membership score within the ideal typical configuration (Table 5).

Table 5 reveals that all four possible ideal typical configurations were assigned to a partial membership degree by at least one of the 10 countries analysed. Specifically, the analysis assigned Greece, Slovenia, and Spain to the domestic-traditional type with a low degree of redistribution (~R) and a low degree of change (~C). Furthermore, the analysis assigned Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland to the benevolent–paternalist type with by a high degree of redistribution (R) and a low degree of change (~C). In addition, the analysis assigned Sweden to the encompassing-progressive type with a high degree of redistribution (R) and a high degree of change (C). Finally, the findings assigned Latvia, the Slovak Republic, and the United Kingdom to the precarious-progressive type with a low degree of redistribution (~R) and a high degree of change (C).

Table 5: Fuzzy set ideal type membership scores

	Domestic-traditional	Benevolent–paternalist	Encompassing-progressive	Precarious-progressive
Belgium	0.24	**0.76**	0.02	0.02
Germany	0.18	**0.82**	0.02	0.02
Greece	**0.99**	0.00	0.00	0.01
Latvia	0.41	0.15	0.15	**0.59**
Slovak Republic	0.37	0.22	0.22	**0.63**
Slovenia	**0.81**	0.19	0.05	0.05
Spain	**0.98**	0.02	0.01	0.01
Sweden	0.00	0.26	**0.74**	0.00
Switzerland	0.18	**0.82**	0.01	0.01
United Kingdom	0.00	0.00	0.23	**0.77**

Please note:

- Membership values above 0.50 (more in than out) indicated in bold

4.3 Back to the cases

To interpret the formal results and improve the quality of configural comparative analyses, an elaborated strategy was to go back to the cases (e.g. Emmenegger, Kvist and Skaaning, 2013). Therefore, this analysis discussed the four cases that had the highest fuzzy set ideal type membership values within the four possibilities; therefore, we could assume that they resemble the four ideal typical configurations (GR, CH, SE & UK).

A case that resembled a domestic-traditional ideal type was Greece. Its configuration intertwined with being a model of familistic welfare capitalism (see, Papadopoulos & Roumpakis, 2013). This means that the state locked the responsibility of the provision of social care into the family unit (Papadopoulos & Roumpakis, 2013: 206). Without having strong emergent properties of welfare redistribution within the social care sector, stable institutions and vested interests are lacking and an implicit reproduction of domestic-traditional care is the norm. Furthermore, austerity measures and funding cuts after the financial and sovereign debt crises led to the breakdown of the local authority's home help services or restrained planned extensions of policies supporting independent living (Hauben, Coucheir, Spooren, McAnaney & Delfosse, 2012: 34; 40). Overall, the resolution of the redistributive conflict between the Greek society on the one hand and the international financial markets and the troika (the European Central Bank, the European Union, and the International Monetary Fund) on the other hand has been resolved in favour of marketisation, fiscal stability, and the stabilisation of free market processes; thus, in a Polanyian sense, it is in favour of marketisation (Markantonatou, 2014). This will strain any extensions of redistributive policies.

A case that resembled a benevolent–paternalist ideal type was Switzerland. Its configuration intertwined with its conservative institutional disability care set-up and its corporatist mode of conflict moderation (see, Tschanz, 2018). The vested interest of private organisations and charities pre-dated the establishment of a universal disability policy. Those interests were incorporated into the welfare state's disability policy and were able to strengthen their agency within the establishment of the disability insurance within the first morphogenetic cycle (e.g. Kaba, 2010: 84-85; Wicki, 2018: 120-138). These private disability interest organisations—financially assisted by the Confederation (Baumgartner & Uebelhart, 2009)—haven hindered the emancipatory disability movement, of which the latter claimed that the former block the self-representation of disabled people (e.g. Hauser & Witschi, 1981). These 'old' organisations played an important role by providing a situational logic which marginalised emancipatory activists and hindered them to point widely to the incompatibilities of independent living ideas to existing residential care settings. However, these organisations have been powerful agential subjects in the fight for public spending and built alliances—under a situational logic of necessary compatibilities—with centre-left parties, trade unions, and caring institutions' interest groups (INSOS and Curaviva) to protect redistribution for disability care; having the protection codified in 2006 by law, namely, IFEG/LIPPI (Tschanz, 2019).

A case that resembled an encompassing-progressive ideal type was Sweden. Its configuration intertwined with its social democratic heritage, comprising a high level of redistributive taxation and public spending (see, Esping-Andersen, 1990). The 'old' Swedish disability organisations—established in the first morphogenetic cycle—had traditionally strong ties with the social democratic party, and both were challenged by emancipatory activists (Ratzka, 1993). The establishment of 'new' disability organisations, the increase in the desires for self-representation, and questions regarding the balance between redistribution versus recognition surfaced as conflictual incompatibilities but were mitigated by a recognition of mutual necessity (e.g. Hugemark & Roman, 2007). The strong existence of leftist parties opposing the idea of precarious working conditions for personal assistants (Ratzka, 1993) led to a situation in which most PA is provided within sustainable working conditions, although from a social protection perspective a stronger focus on trade unionist co-determination would be desirable (Guldvik, Christensen & Larsson, 2014). Overall, the pre-conditioning by a generous welfare state and the situational logic of necessary incompatibilities led to encompassing progress because of double morphogenesis. Today, Sweden's disability social services are internationally distinctive, and PA is portrayed as the 'crown jewel' of the system because it is comparatively well funded while being in synthesis with increasing the agency of disabled people (Rauch, Olin & Dunér, 2018).

A case that resembled a precarious-progressive ideal type was the United Kingdom. Its configuration intertwined with its Anglo-Saxon welfare model. The United Kingdom had similarities regarding its inclusive universalism with

Scandinavian counterparts but on a much lower level of redistribution (see, Ferrera, 1996: 6). Contrary to Sweden, the increased demand for self-representation and emancipation within disability organisations was less characterised by a recognition of mutual necessity. For instance, since the 1990s and especially after the inauguration of New Labour in 1997, the conflictual context in disability care provided a situational logic in which the conflict became highly polarised and forced people to take the position of being either completely in favour of or completely against direct payments, and it was not possible to balance the interest of recipients with the interests of personal assistants as workers (Spandler, 2004: 190-191). This situational logic of contingent incompatibilities was turbocharged by New Labour because one of its core ideological features was the introduction of contingency into the welfare state. By proposing an ideology of a smart, humanist version of neoliberalism, New Labour was constantly searching for possibilities to point to the obsoleteness of 'old' fights against capitalism and 'dated' vested interests of social protection. Therefore, New Labour succeeded in conducting major progressive reforms within disability care and was able to huckaback some major proponents of emancipatory desires (Ferguson, 2012). However, the underlying welfare and redistribution conflicts were constantly underestimated by these reforms (Ferguson, 2012). The precarious morphostasis of redistribution surfaced when the Coalition Government, inaugurated in 2010, in a Polanyian sense choose to retain its international competitive position for international capital and corporations on the expense of society and social justice by implementing austerity, resulting in, for instance, in the closure of the Independent Living Fund (see, Hauben et al., 2012: 37, 67).

5 Conclusion

This comparative case study linked theoretical ideas with empirical evidence to construct ideal typical configurations and map them in a fuzzy set ideal type analysis. Furthermore, four cases were discussed in an in-depth manner to explain their delineation within fuzzy set ideal type analysis and link their configurations to theoretical considerations. We observed that both questions must be approved: It is fruitful to apply the triple movement framework to a larger amount of cases, and while regarding the levels of redistribution, we also found patterns familiar in the welfare regime approach. The most striking result to emerge from the data was the detection of diverse redistribution levels and changes to PA levels, which seemed to be intertwined with and pre-conditioned by welfare regime patterns.

Nonetheless, this study has limitations. First, the absence of comparable data is a challenge for comparative social care research. Further research would benefit from attempts to improve coordinated standards for the collection and harmonisation of data regarding disability care. Second, the scope of nation states is not beyond all doubt. It implicitly assumes intra-country homogeneity, which is not always the case when local authorities, regions, or constituent states play a major role in the provision of social care. Third, the theoretical concepts may have been insensitive to post-socialist cases and their history (e.g. Mladenov & Petri, 2020). Here, the conceptualisation of the two temporally different morphogenetic cycles , as outlined in this paper, requires adaptions or redrafting because the collapse of state socialism is a major morphogenesis itself.

Observed from a theoretical angle, the morphogenetic tool for disability care conflicts has been able to apply the triple movement framework by avoiding a slightly under-socialised concept of agency present in the triple movement framework but was simultaneously able to avoid an over-socialised concept of agency and a static assumption of institutional persistence present in the welfare regime approach. By contrast, this paper examined conflictual incompatibilities sparked by the emancipatory agential subject of disabled people and the movement of disabled people; however, it also provided some explanations for the pre-conditioning of agency and its resulting in different outcomes.

For the disability movement, we can conclude that history to come remains contingent because no 'straitjacket' imposed by existing welfare state structures could be found. This being said, we should also mention that not every force providing a situational logic of contingency may be a good opportunity of history. Having an underlying conflict of redistribution that is ever-present in capitalist societies, some attenuated strategy, guided by the recognition of mutual necessity with forces of social protection, may be a more sustainable path. Similarly, the forces of social protection should not act fiercely against emancipatory forces pointing to incompatibilities but should strive for compromise and syncretism.

Acknowledgement/funding

I acknowledge the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) for his Doc.CH grant (No. 172008) and for the funding of this research.

6 References

An, M. Y., & Peng, I. (2016). Diverging Paths? A Comparative Look at Childcare Policies in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. *Social Policy & Administration, 50*(5), 540-558.

Archer, M. S., & Vandenberghe, F. (Eds.). (2019). *Le réalisme critique : Une nouvelle ontologie pour la sociologie*. Lormont : Le Bord de l'eau.

Archer, M. S. (1995). *Realist social theory: the morphogenetic approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baumgartner, E., & Uebelhart, B. (2009). Evaluation des subventions aux organisations de l'aide privée aux invalides. *Sécurité sociale CHSS, 3*(2009), 172-176.

Bhaskar, R., & Danermark, B. (2006). Metatheory, Interdisciplinarity and Disability Research: A Critical Realist Perspective. *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research, 8*(4), 278-297.

Buhr, D., & Stoy, V. (2015). More than just Welfare Transfers? A Review of the Scope of Esping-Andersen's Welfare Regime Typology. *Social Policy and Society, 14*(2), 271-285.

Ciccia, R., & Bleijenbergh, I. (2014). After the Male Breadwinner Model? Childcare Services and the Division of

Labor in European Countries. *Social Politics, 21*(1), 50-79.

Danermark, B., & Coniavitis Gellerstedt, L. (2004). Social justice: redistribution and recognition—a non-reductionist perspective on disability. *Disability & Society, 19*(4), 339-353.

Degener, T., & Begg, A. (2017). From Invisible Citizens to Agents of Change: A Short History of the Struggle for the Recognition of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities at the United Nations. In V. Della Fina, R. Cera, & G. Palmisano (Eds.), *The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. A Commentary* (pp. 1-39). Cham: Springer.

Della Fina, V., Cera, R., & Palmisano, G. (2017). *The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. A Commentary*. Cham: Springer.

Dodd, S. (2016). Orientating disability studies to disablist austerity: applying Fraser's insights. *Disability & Society, 31*(2), 149-165.

Edwards, T. (2019). A Disabling Ideology: Challenging the Neoliberal Co-optation of Independent Living under the NDIS. *Journal of Australian Political Economy, 83*, 32-59.

Egloff, B. (2017). *Selbstbestimmt unterstützt durch Assistenz: Eine empirische Untersuchung zur Einführung und Umsetzung des Assistenzbeitrags in der Schweiz*. Bern: Edition SZH/CSPS.

Emmenegger, P., Kvist, J., & Skaaning, S.-E. (2013). Making the Most of Configurational Comparative Analysis: An Assessment of QCA Applications in Comparative Welfare-State Research. *Political Research Quarterly, 66*(1), 185-190.

ENIL (European Network on Independent Living) (2017). *Personal Assistance Tables from the Comparative Survey on PA in Europe*, Accessed Oct. 10 2017 from http://enil.eu/policy/personal-assistance-tables/

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Eurostat. (2017). *Population on 1 January*., Accessed Oct. 13 2017 from http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tps00001

Ferguson, I. (2012). Personalisation, social justice and social work: a reply to Simon Duffy. *Journal of Social Work Practice, 26*(1), 55-73.

Ferrera, M. (1996). Modèles de solidarité, divergences, convergences : perspectives pour l'Europe. *Swiss Political Science Review, 2*(1), 1-18.

Fraser, N. (2011). Marketization, Social Protection, Emancipation: Toward a Neo-Polanyian Conception of Capitalist Crisis. In C. Calhoun & G. Derluguian (Eds.), *Business as Usual. The Roots of the Global Financial Meltdown* (pp. 137-157). New York: New York University Press.

Fraser, N. (2013). A Triple Movement? Parsing the Politics of Crisis after Polanyi. *New Left Review, 81*, 119-132.

Fraser, N. (2016). Progressive Neoliberalism versus Reactionary Populism: A Choice that Feminists Should Refuse. *NORA – Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research, 24*(4), 281-284.

Fritschi, T., von Bergen, M., Müller, F., Bucher, N., Ostrowski, G., Kraus, S., & Luchsinger, L. (2019). *Bestandesaufnahme des Wohnangebots für Menschen mit Behinderungen*. Bern: Conducted by Berner Fachhochschule (Departement Soziale Arbeit); commissioned by Bundesamt für Sozialversicherungen.

Gehrig, M., Guggisberg, J., & Graf, I. (2013). *Wohn- und Betreuungssituation von Personen mit Hilflosenentschädigung der IV: Eine Bestandsaufnahme im Kontext der Massnahmen der 4. IVG-Revision*. Bern: Conducted by Büro für arbeits- und sozialpolitische Studien BASS; commissioned by Bundesamt für Sozialversicherungen.

Greener, I. (2005). The Potential of Path Dependence in Political Studies. *Politics, 25*(1), 62-72.

Guldvik, I., Christensen, K., & Larsson, M. (2014). Towards solidarity: working relations in personal assistance. *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research, 16*(sup1), 48-61.

Hauben, H., Coucheir, M., Spooren, J., McAnaney, D., & Delfosse, C. (2012). *Assessing the impact of European governments' austerity plans on the rights of people with disabilities*: n.p.: Conducted by Bernard Brunhes International; commissioned by the European Foundation Centre.

Hauser, M., & Witschi, H. (1981). Interview mit Frau Erika Liniger, Zentralsekretärin der Pro Infirmis. *Puls: Monatsheft der Gruppen IMPULS + CeBeeF, 23*, 5-15.

Hudson, J., & Kühner, S. (2012). Analyzing the Productive and Protective Dimensions of Welfare: Looking Beyond the OECD. *Social Policy & Administration, 46*(1), 35-60.

Hugemark, A., & Roman, C. (2007). Diversity and Divisions in the Swedish Disability Movement: Disability, Gender, and Social Justice. *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research, 9*(1), 26-45.

Johner-Kobi, S. (2015). Behinderung – von individueller Beeinträchtigung zu Hindernisfreiheit und Selbstbestimmung. In A. M. Riedi, M. Zwilling, M. Meier Kressig, P. Benz Bartoletta, & D. Aebi Zindel (Eds.), *Handbuch Sozialwesen Schweiz* (2 ed., pp. 169–182). Bern: Haupt.

Kaba, M. (2010). Les discours sur l'«anormalité» comme vecteurs d'inégalités. Histoire des conceptions du handicap depuis le XIXe siècle. In T. David, V. Groebner, J. M. Schaufelbuehl, & B. Studer (Eds.), *Die Produktion von Ungleichheiten – La production des inégalités* (pp. 79-88). Zürich: Chronos.

Kowalewska, H. (2017). Beyond the 'train-first'/'work-first' dichotomy: How welfare states help or hinder maternal employment. *Journal of European Social Policy, 27*(1), 3-24.

Kröger, T. (2011). Defamilisation, dedomestication and care policy: Comparing childcare service provisions of welfare states. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 31*(7/8), 424-440.

Kvist, J. (2007). Fuzzy set ideal type analysis. *Journal of Business Research, 60*(5), 474-481.

Lee, S. E. (2014). *Protective, active and legislative disability policy in 10 OECD countries through the lens of fuzzy set ideal type analysis (FSITA).* (MPhil thesis). York: University of York.

Leitner, S., & Lessenich, S. (2003). Assessing Welfare State Change: The German Social Insurance State between Reciprocity and Solidarity. *Journal of Public Policy, 23*(3), 325-347.

Lindner, U., & Mader, D. (Eds.). (2017). *Critical Realism meets Kritische Sozialtheorie. Ontologie, Erklärung und Kritik in den Sozialwissenschaften*. Bielefeld: Transcript.

Mansell, J., Knapp, M., Beadle-Brown, J., & Beecham, J. (2007). *Deinstitutionalisation and community living – outcomes and costs: report of a European Study. Volume 2: Main Report*. Canterbury: Tizard Centre, University of Kent.

Markantonatou, M. (2014). Social Resistance to Austerity: Polanyi's 'Double Movement' in the Context of the Crisis in Greece. *Journal für Entwicklungspolitik, XXX*(1), 67-87.

Mladenov, T., & Petri, G. (2020). Independent living in Central and Eastern Europe? The challenges of post-socialist deinstitutionalization. In I. Fylling, E.-L. Baciu, & J. Paulsen Breimo (Eds.), *EU Social Inclusion Policies in Post-Socialist Countries. Top-Down and Bottom-Up Perspectives on Implementation* (pp. 16-34). Abingdon: Routledge.

Morris, J. (1997). Care or Empowerment? A Disability Rights Perspective. *Social Policy & Administration, 31*(1), 54-60.

OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) (2017/2020a). *National Accounts.* Accessed Sep. 7 2017 and Apr. 17 2020 from http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DatasetCode=SNA_TABLE1#

OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) (2017/2020b). *OECD Social Expenditure Database*. Accessed Set. 7 2017 and Apr. 17 2020 from http://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx?DatasetCode=SOCX_DET#

OFS (Office fédérale de la statistique) (2011). *Egalité pour les personnes handicapées. Principaux résultats*. Neuchâtel : Office fédérale de la statistique.

Papadopoulos, T., & Roumpakis, A. (2013). Familistic welfare capitalism in crisis: social reproduction and anti-social policy in Greece. *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy, 29*(3), 204-224.

Polanyi, K. (2001 [1944]). *The Great Transformation. The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Polanyi, K. (1957). The Economy as Instituted Process. In K. Polanyi, C. M. Arensberg, & H. W. Pearson (Eds.), *Trade and Market in the Early Empires. Economies in History and Theory* (pp. 243-270). Chicago: Regnery.

Prandini, R., & Orlandini, M. (2018). The morphogenesis of disability policies and the personalisation of social services. A case study from Italy. *International Review of Sociology, 28*(1), 86-109.

Precious, K. (2021). Informed, involved, or empowered? Three ideal types of autism policy design in Western Europe. *European Policy Analysis, 7*(1), 185-206.

Ragin, C. C. (2008). *Redesigning Social Inquiry: Fuzzy Sets and Beyond*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ragin, C. C., & Davey, S. (2016). *Fuzzy-Set/Qualitative Comparative Analysis [Computer Programme], Version 3.0*. Irvine: Department of Sociology, University of California.

Ratzka, A. (1993). *The user cooperative model in personal assistance: The example of STIL, the Stockholm Cooperative for Independent Living.* Stockholm: Independent Living Institute. Accessed May 28 2020 from https://www.independentliving.org/docs5/ratzka199301.html

Rauch, D., Olin, E., & Dunér, A. (2018). A Refamilialized System? An Analysis of Recent Developments of Personal Assistance in Sweden. *Social Inclusion, 6*(2), 56-65.

Richardson, J. G., & Powell, J. J. W. (2011). *Comparing Special Education: Origins to Contemporary Paradoxes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Rihoux, B., Marx, A., & Álamos-Concha, P. (2014). 25 années de QCA (Qualitative Comparative Analysis) : quel chemin parcouru ? *Revue internationale de politique comparée, 21*(2), 61-79.

Rosenstein, E., & Bonvin, J.-M. (2020). Paradoxes of Universalism: The Case of the Swiss Disability Insurance. *Social Inclusion, 8*(1), 168-177.

Saltkjel, T., Ingelsrud, M. H., Dahl, E., & Halvorsen, K. (2017). A fuzzy set approach to economic crisis, austerity and public health. Part I. European countries' conformity to ideal types during the economic downturn. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health, 45*(sup18), 41-47.

Shakespeare, T. (2014). *Disability Rights and Wrongs Revisited*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Spandler, H. (2004). Friend or Foe? Towards a Critical Assessment of Direct Payments. *Critical Social Policy, 24*(2), 187-209.

Stoy, V. (2014). Worlds of Welfare Services: From Discovery to Exploration. *Social Policy & Administration, 48*(3), 343-360.

Thomas, C. (2007). *Sociologies of Disability and Illness. Contested Ideas of Disability Studies and Medical Sociology*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tschanz, C. (2018). Theorising Disability Care (Non-)Personalisation in European Countries: Comparing Personal Assistance Schemes in Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. *Social Inclusion, 6*(2), 22-33.

Tschanz, C. (2019). Suggestions pour la mise en œuvre de l'article 19 de la CDPH en Suisse: enjeux et propositions de solutions. *Revue suisse de pédagogie spécialisée, 2019*(3), 15-21.

van Toorn, G. (2021). *The New Political Economy of Disability. Transnational Networks and Individualised Funding in the Age of Neoliberalism*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Ville, I. (2019). When social protection and emancipation go hand in hand: Towards a collective form of care. *ALTER – European Journal of Disability Research, 13*(2), 101-112.

Ville, I. (2020). Protection sociale et émancipation. Une alliance vertueuse mais instable. *Développement Humain, Handicap et Changement Social, 26*(1), 7-21.

Waldschmidt, A. (2009). Disability policy of the European Union: The supranational level. *ALTER – European Journal of Disability Research, 3*(1), 8-23.

Watson, N., McKie, L., Hughes, B., Hopkins, D., & Gregory, S. (2004). (Inter)Dependence, Needs and Care: The Potential for Disability and Feminist Theorists to Develop an Emancipatory Model. *Sociology, 38*(2), 331-350.

Watson, N., & Vehmas, S. (2020). Disability studies: Into the multidisciplinary future. In N. Watson & S. Vehmas (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Disability Studies* (2 ed., pp. 3-13). Abingdon: Routledge.

Wemßen, F. (2014). Das Persönliche Budget. *Sozial Extra, 38*(3), 6-9.

Wicki, A.-K. (2018). *Zurück ins aktive Leben. Von 'Eingliederung vor Rente' zu 'Eingliederung dank Rente' – Die Politik und die Schweizerische Invalidenversicherung zwischen 1955 und 1992.* Bern: Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Gesundheitspolitik.

Appendix 1: Redistribution data

		2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Ø 2004-2015[3]
Belgium	Exp. (millions, Euro)[1]	1’139.6	1’178.2	1’274.9	1’274.3	1’394.2	1’501.4	1’535.7	1’619.2	1’788.9	1’762.4	1’911.0	1’952.0	
	GDP (millions, Euro)[2]	296’819.7	310’037.6	325’151.5	343’618.9	351’743.1	346’472.8	363’140.1	375’967.8	386’174.7	392’880.0	403’003.3	416’701.4	
	Ratio %	0.383953581	0.380008055	0.392078812	0.370846576	0.396355121	0.433336944	0.422907336	0.430685795	0.463247074	0.448594096	0.474180041	0.468441633	**0.422052922**
Germany	Exp. (millions, Euro)[1]	9’308.4	9’692.8	9’958.4	10’431.2	11’165.5	11’851.5	12’772.0	13’107.8	13’935.1	15’256.1	16’142.5	17’865.3	
	GDP (millions, Euro)[2]	2’262’520.0	2’288’310.0	2’385’080.0	2’499’550.0	2’546’490.0	2’445’730.0	2’564’400.0	2’693’560.0	2’745’310.0	2’811’350.0	2’927’430.0	3’030’070.0	
	Ratio %	0.411417441	0.423577667	0.417527349	0.417323742	0.438466906	0.484580396	0.498050802	0.486635334	0.507597599	0.54266137	0.5514218	0.589598889	**0.480738275**
Greece[3]	Exp. (millions, Euro)[1]	15.0	16.0	18.0	17.3	20.0	21.4	21.0	14.0	13.0				
	GDP (millions, Euro)[2]	193’715.8	199’242.3	217’861.6	232’694.6	241’990.4	237’534.2	226’031.4	207’028.9	191’203.9				
	Ratio %	0.007718412	0.008030423	0.008262127	0.007428039	0.008263794	0.009016184	0.009308439	0.006752681	0.006799024				**0.007953236**
Latvia	Exp. (millions, Euro)[1]	16.4	18.7	24.1	28.9	35.9	31.5	32.1	36.7	39.6	40.2	50.4	58.4	
	GDP (millions, Euro)[2]	11’034.9	13’586.7	17’093.7	22’589.5	24’393.6	18’884.9	17’967.1	20’319.3	21’925.2	22’803.0	23’654.20	24’426.00	
	Ratio %	0.148902673	0.137980812	0.140941547	0.128116517	0.147324856	0.166727778	0.178555261	0.180851735	0.180469016	0.176124194	0.213052584	0.239286219	**0.169861099**
Slovak Republic	Exp. (millions, Euro)[1]	91.5	89.3	93.5	99.1	109.6	126.9	132.0	140.8	143.7	154.3	164.3	168.7	
	GDP (millions, Euro)[2]	46’175.2	50’485.7	56’361.4	63’163.4	68’590.5	64’095.5	68’093.0	71’214.4	73’483.8	74’354.8	76’255.9	79’758.2	
	Ratio %	0.198110653	0.176862089	0.165854572	0.156829866	0.159752365	0.197938954	0.19392312	0.197752176	0.195528752	0.207529718	0.215394605	0.211461648	**0.189744876**
Slovenia	Exp. (millions, Euro)[1]	44.2	46.5	50.5	54.2	57.0	58.9	67.5	69.8	74.4	76.8	86.3	81.4	
	GDP (millions, Euro)[2]	27’628.2	29’113.6	31’470.3	35’073.5	37’925.7	36’254.9	36’363.9	37’058.6	36’253.3	36’454.3	37’634.3	38’852.6	
	Ratio %	0.159949995	0.159815977	0.160550497	0.154518562	0.150383522	0.162369655	0.185623606	0.188323513	0.205195272	0.210784273	0.229338711	0.209509569	**0.181363596**
Spain	Exp. (millions, Euro)[1]	140.7	197.9	221.3	234.4	624.3	1’026.5	1’273.6	1’533.3	1’447.6	1’380.2	1’442.4	1’468.8	
	GDP (millions, Euro)[2]	859’437.0	927’357.0	1’003’823.0	1’075’539.0	1’109’541.0	1’069’323.0	1’072’709.0	1’063’763.0	1’031’099.0	1’020’348.0	1’032’158.0	1’077’590.0	
	Ratio ‰	0.016368855	0.021344531	0.022049704	0.021793724	0.056270115	0.095991576	0.118725582	0.144141129	0.14039583	0.135264757	0.139748064	0.136307472	**0.087366778**
Sweden	Exp. (millions, SEK)[1]	34’348.0	36’540.0	40’059.0	43’580.0	46’808.0	48’440.0	51’768.0	55’599.0	58’484.0	62’023.0	64’378.0	67’741.0	
	GDP (millions, SEK)[2]	2’811’869.0	2’912’659.0	3’100’495.0	3’298’111.0	3’397’143.0	3’330’277.0	3’570’093.0	3’719’138.0	3’732’539.0	3’808’314.0	3’980’966.00	4’248’213.00	
	Ratio %	1.221536281	1.254523787	1.2920195	1.321362441	1.377863693	1.454533662	1.450046259	1.494943183	1.566869094	1.628620959	1.617145185	1.594576355	**1.439503367**
Switzerland	Exp. (millions, CHF)[1]	2’372.1	2’459.3	2’534.8	2’599.0	2’659.0	3’095.9	2’924.9	3’041.7	3’025.7	3’061.3	3’003.3	3’079.9	
	GDP (millions, CHF)[2]	490’142.5	508’900.0	540’289.0	576’087.6	600’431.1	589’213.2	608’830.6	621’256.1	626’414.1	638’177.0	649’718.3	654’257.9	
	Ratio %	0.483969816	0.483253942	0.469153495	0.451146537	0.442846455	0.525437508	0.48041221	0.489600426	0.483017895	0.479687928	0.462247872	0.470747561	**0.47679347**

United Kingdom	Exp. (millions, GBP) [1]	2’472.3	2’543.2	2’558.0	3’158.6	3’397.4	3’607.0	3’823.1	3’912.9	3’965.7	4’072.3	1’620.2	1’661.0	
	GDP (millions, GBP) [2]	1’320’128.0	1’396’274.0	1’474’923.0	1’549’821.0	1’589’931.0	1’547’563.0	1’601’927.0	1’659’784.0	1’712’321.0	1’782’109.0	1’861’964.0	1’916’896.0	
	Ratio %	0.187277219	0.182144785	0.173432598	0.2038016	0.213680342	0.233076133	0.238654446	0.235746478	0.23159714	0.228508808	0.087015811	0.086648463	**0.191798652**

1. Expenditure data obtained from OECD (2017/2020b). Path: →OECD Social Expenditure Database →Public →INCAPACITY-RELATED BENEFITS (Disability, Occupational injury and disease, Sickness) →Benefits in kind →Residential care / Home-help services

2. Gross domestic product data obtained from OECD (2017/2020a)

3. Data for Greece for 2013-2015 was missing. Therefore, the average of Greece refers to 2004-2012

Appendix 2: Change to PA data

	Total number of people with PA (2015/2013)[1]	Population (2015/2013)[2]	Rate of PA per 100’000	DECLOC residential rate per 100’000[3]			Ratio PA to residential rate in %
Belgium	3’250	11’237’274	28.9	222			**13.02775000**
Germany	20’000[4]	80’523’746	24.8	288			**8.62409511**
Greece	0[5]	11’003’615	0.0	missing[5]			**0.00000000**
Latvia	6’000	1’986’096	302.1	536			**56.36197772**
Slovak Republic	8’076	5’410’836	149.3	253			**58.99448554**
Slovenia	1’116	2’062’874	54.1	275			**19.67246578**
Spain	2’413	46’449’565	5.2	415			**1.25177875**
Sweden	19’768	9’747’355	202.8	302			**67.15355462**
Switzerland	1’213	8’237’666	14.7		37'553[6]	455.9[6]	**3.23010146**
United Kingdom	250’000	64’875’165	385.4	215			**179.23510448**

1. PA Tables obtained from ENIL (2017)

2. *Population on 1 January* obtained from Eurostat (2017). Data refer to the year 2015, 2013 or 2012

3. Report *Deinstitutionalisation and community living – outcomes and costs:* Mansell et al. (2007: 32)

4. Data for Germany obtained from Wemßen (2014: 8). Data refer to the year 2012

5. It was possible to include Greece despite the lack of information within data from Mansell et al. (2007). Because the number of people receiving personal assistance in Greece was zero, the ratio of change was foreseeable to be zero

6. Data regarding residential care places in Switzerland obtained from OFS (2011). Data refers to the year 2009, calculated with population to have a residential rate per 100’000

8 Papers V

8.1 Paper V.I: Zwischen Barrierefreiheit, Aktivierung und Marktradikalismus. Der Zugang zum Arbeitsmarkt durch die Invalidenversicherung

Tschanz, Christoph (2017). Zwischen Barrierefreiheit, Aktivierung und Marktradikalismus. Der Zugang zum Arbeitsmarkt durch die Invalidenversicherung. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Heilpädagogik, 23* (3), 27–35.

Christoph Tschanz

Zwischen Barrierefreiheit, Aktivierung und Marktradikalismus

Der Zugang zum Arbeitsmarkt durch die Invalidenversicherung

Zusammenfassung

Es ist ein erklärtes Ziel der Invalidenversicherung, die Eingliederung in den Arbeitsmarkt anderen Lösungen vorzuziehen. Dementsprechend könnte man einen barrierefreien Zugang zum Arbeitsmarkt für alle erwarten. Verglichen mit anderen westlichen Ländern haben in der Schweiz Menschen mit einer Behinderung nur wenig Rechte bezüglich Arbeitsmarktintegration. Die Verantwortung scheint einseitig auf die Betroffenen abgewälzt worden zu sein. Dies lässt sich mit der Geschichte der Invalidenversicherung sowie mit gegenwärtig dominanten Interpretationen ihrer Funktionsweise erklären. Die Klärung der Frage nach der Verantwortlichkeit für die Zugänglichkeit des Arbeitsmarktes kann auch für die Heil- und Sonderpädagogik hilfreich sein.

Résumé

L'assurance-invalidité a pour objectif déclaré de privilégier l'insertion sur le marché du travail aux autres solutions envisageables. On pourrait donc s'attendre à ce que tous aient accès au marché du travail sans avoir à surmonter des obstacles. Or, par rapport à d'autres pays occidentaux, les personnes en situation en handicap en Suisse n'ont que peu de droits en termes d'intégration sur le marché du travail. La responsabilité semble avoir été uniquement transférée aux personnes concernées. Ce transfert s'explique par l'histoire de l'assurance-invalidité de même que par des interprétations de son fonctionnement qui prédominent actuellement. Clarifier la question de la responsabilité de l'accessibilité au marché du travail peut aussi s'avérer utile pour le domaine de la pédagogie spécialisée.

Ausgangslage

In diesem Beitrag wird der Zugang für Menschen mit Behinderung zum schweizerischen Arbeitsmarkt thematisiert. Es geht jedoch nicht darum, das Thema aus heil- und sonderpädagogischer Sicht zu beleuchten und zu beschreiben, welche Zugänge und Ausschlüsse durch das Bildungssystem geschaffen werden. Vielmehr wird kritisch der Frage nachgegangen, welche Rolle der Sozialstaat und die Beschaffenheit des Arbeitsmarkts bei der Bemühung um eine gelingende Arbeitsmarkt(re)integration spielen.

Im Zentrum des Artikels steht die Invalidenversicherung (IV) in ihrer Wechselwirkung mit dem Arbeitsmarkt. Bei dieser seit 1960 bestehenden Sozialversicherung verlagerte sich der Fokus in jüngster Zeit von der Berentung zur Arbeitsmarktintegration (Probst, Tabin & Courvoisier, 2015). Dieser Wechsel ist inzwischen in den Statistiken vom Bundesamt für Sozialversicherungen (BSV) ersichtlich. So hat sich die Zahl der jährlichen Neurentnerinnen und Neurentner im Jahr 2014 gegenüber 2003 mehr als halbiert (BSV, 2015a, S. 31).

Die historischen Bezüge der IV zum Arbeitsmarkt

Es stellt sich die Frage, weshalb die Invalidenversicherung in den letzten 15 Jahren drei grundlegende Reformen umsetzen musste und der Zugang zur Rente erschwert wurde. Germann (2010) hat die Entstehungsgeschichte der IV eingehend untersucht. Dabei fällt auf, dass von Anfang an eine hohe Wechselwirkung zwischen der Sozialversicherung und dem Arbeitsmarkt bestand. Es ist festzustellen, dass die Devise «Eingliederung vor Rente» nichts Neues ist, sondern sich bereits in der Diskussion zur Einführung der IV in den 1950er Jahren als Leitlinie durchgesetzt hat (ebd., S. 156). Nach Germann (2010) muss man diese Devise aber vor dem Hintergrund des Arbeitsmarktes der 1950er Jahre sehen: Hohes Wachstum, Vollbeschäftigung, Verknappung der Arbeitskräfte. Die Arbeitsmarktintegration wurde von verschiedenen Akteuren aus unterschiedlichen Motiven befürwortet. «Die Sozialpolitiker versprachen sich davon finanzielle Entlastungen, die Arbeitgeber erwarteten die Mobilisierung eines dringend benötigten Arbeitskräftereservoirs, körperlich und geistig beeinträchtige Menschen hofften auf eine aktive Teilnahme an der Wohlstandsgesellschaft der Nachkriegszeit» (Germann, 2010, S. 168). Für den Fall, dass ein Arbeitsmarktzugang für Betroffene nicht funktioniert, hat die IV von Anfang an die subsidiäre Möglichkeit von Rentenzahlungen installiert. Bezüglich Zugängen zum Arbeitsmarkt musste bei der Installierung der IV nicht viel unternommen werden, es herrschte grosse Nachfrage und Verknappung auf dem Arbeitsmarkt.

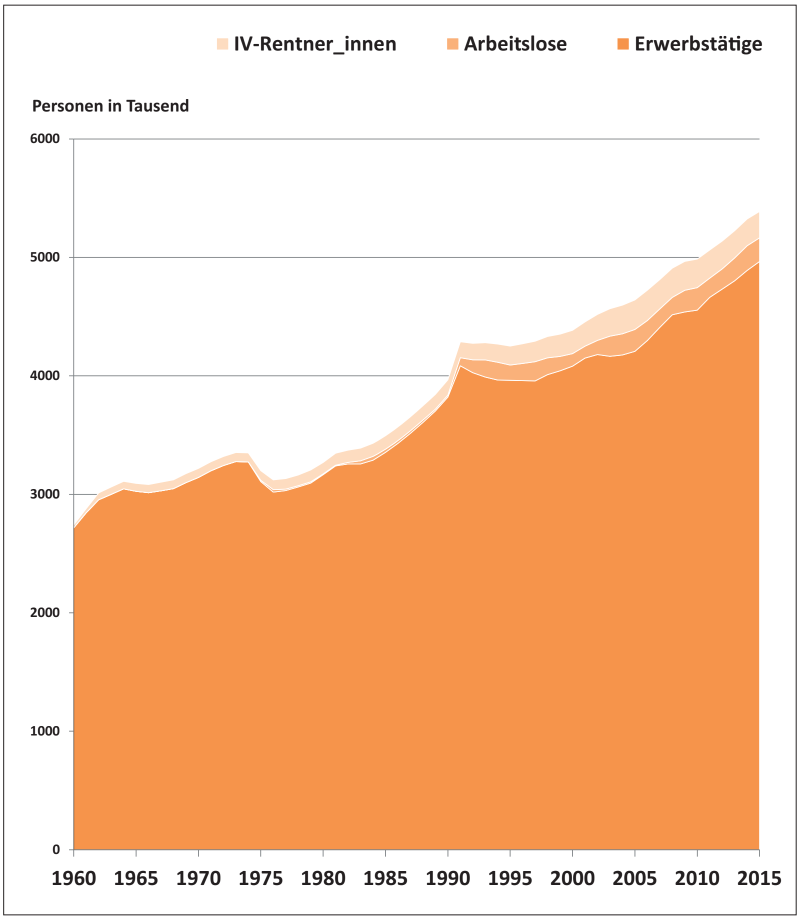


Abbildung 1: IV-Rentnerinnen und -Rentner, Arbeitslose und Erwerbstätige in der Schweiz, in den Jahren 1960–2015[1]

Ab den 1990er Jahren: Die IV in Problemen

Richtig in Schwierigkeiten geriet die IV ab den 1990er Jahren. Zwischen 1960 und 1975 gab es bei der IV zunächst ein «finanzielles Gleichgewicht», zwischen 1976 und 1990 ein «leichtes strukturelles Defizit» und zwischen 1991 und 2005 ein «starkes strukturelles Defizit», welches eine zunehmende Verschuldung zur Folge hatte (BSV, 2015a, S. 4f.). Wie in Abbildung 1 ersichtlich, gab es nach den goldenen Vollbeschäftigungszeiten der 1960er Jahre ab 1990 grundlegende Veränderungen auf dem schweizerischen Arbeitsmarkt. Bereits nach der Ölkrise Anfang der 1970er Jahre wurde der Wind rauer, doch blieb die Beschäftigungslage bis Ende der 1980er Jahre stabil. Ab 1990 kam es zum Ende des Vollbeschäftigungsmodells, da das Arbeitskräfteangebot nicht auf den Beschäftigungsrückgang reagierte.

Anfang der 1990er Jahre stiegen die Arbeitslosenzahlen stark an und erst im Jahr 2001 war die Zahl der Erwerbstätigen wieder auf dem Niveau von 1991. Der Arbeits-

---

[1] **IV:** 1960–1989 (Historische Statistik der Schweiz, 2017b); 1990–1995 AHV-IV-Statistik (BSV, 1996); 1996–2015 IV-Statistik (BBS, 2017; BSV, 2015a; BSV, 2007)
Arbeitslose: 1960–1990 (Historische Statistik der Schweiz, 2017a); 1991–2015 Erwerbslose gemäss Internationaler Arbeitsorganisation (BFS, 2017b)
Erwerbstätige: 1960–2015 Erwerbstätige gemäss Inlandkonzept (BFS, 2017a)
Zu beachten: Als IV-Rentnerinnen und -Rentner werden Beziehende einer IV-Rente im Alter von 18–65 Jahren gezählt; wegen fehlender Werte wurde bei den IV-Rentnerinnen und den IV-Rentnern für die Jahre 1970–1975 der Wert von 1969 beibehalten.

markt und die offenen Stellen waren im Jahr 2001 jedoch anderer Art. Der Strukturwandel hat einen Teil der Arbeitsplätze für gering qualifizierte Personen vernichtet. Die Geschwindigkeit und die Produktivitätsanforderungen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt haben zugenommen. Die Schweiz hat sich im globalen Standortwettbewerb zunehmend mit kapital- und wertschöpfungsintensiven Aktivitäten positioniert (Knöpfel & Bochsler, 2015, S. 16); der Arbeitsmarkt hat sich stark auf die Globalisierung ausgerichtet.

Für die Invalidenversicherung hatte diese Entwicklung zwei Auswirkungen. Erstens haben ab den 1990er Jahren die Schwierigkeiten für Stellensuchende mit geringer Qualifikation zugenommen. Dank der hohen Nachfrage nach Arbeitskräften gelang bis in die 1980er Jahre die Integration eines Teils der Menschen mit einer Behinderung ohne spezielle Unterstützung und ohne spezielle Rechte. Diese stille Integration in den Arbeitsmarkt wurde ab der Wirtschaftskrise der 1990er Jahre zunehmend schwieriger. Zweitens hat ab den 1990er Jahren die Anzahl von älteren Erwerbstätigen, welche im Verlauf des Erwerbslebens ein Gesundheitsproblem entwickeln und eine IV-Rente beantragen, zugenommen. Wie man in Abbildung 1 sehen kann, gab es zeitverzögert zum Anstieg der Arbeitslosenzahlen auch einen Anstieg der IV-Rentnerinnen und IV-Rentner. Hinter diesem Phänomen steht ein Zusammenhang zwischen dem Anstieg der Arbeitslosenquote und dem Anstieg von Neuberentungen in Sozialversicherungssystemen für Menschen mit einer Behinderung (O'Brien, 2013; OECD, 2010, S. 34 ff.; Bütler & Gentinetta, 2007, S. 177). Wegen diesem Zusammenhang steigt nach Wirtschaftskrisen die Anzahl von Rentenbeziehenden in Sozialversicherungen für Menschen mit einer Behinderung an.

Konkurrierende Theorien

O'Brien (2013) arbeitet zwei mögliche idealtypische Erklärungsansätze heraus, um dieses Phänomen zu erklären: Erstens die *Reservationslohn-These.* Diese geht davon aus, dass Arbeitnehmende einerseits einen Lohn vor Augen haben, zu dem sie gerade noch arbeiten würden (Reservationslohn). Andererseits sind sie über die Höhe einer möglichen Sozialversicherungsrente im Falle von Behinderung informiert. Sie wägen das eine gegen das andere rational ab. In ökonomischen Krisen entscheiden sie sich aus rationalen Überlegungen eher für die Rente. Der Sozialstaat stellt demnach einen Anreiz zum Nicht-Arbeiten dar (O'Brien, 2013, S. 323).

Die zweite Theorie ist die *Direkt-Behinderung-These.* Diese geht davon aus, dass der Arbeitsmarkt Personen und deren Gesundheit direkt beeinflusst, ohne Umwege über rationale Vorabwägungen und sozialstaatliche Anreize zu nehmen. Erstens kann durch Arbeitsplatzunsicherheit der psychische Stress so weit gesteigert werden, dass dies negative Konsequenzen für die Gesundheit hat. Zweitens kann eine Verschlechterung des Arbeitsmarktes die Intensität von bereits vorhandenen Gesundheitsproblemen so weit steigern, dass diese beginnen, behindernd zu wirken (O'Brien, 2013, S. 323 ff.). Arbeitenden Menschen mit einem verletzbaren Gesundheitszustand geht es demnach gesundheitlich besser bei einer guten Arbeitsmarktlage.

Die doppelte Frage nach der Verantwortlichkeit

Hinter diesen beiden Erklärungsansätzen stehen ganz unterschiedliche Antworten auf die Frage nach der Verantwortlichkeit für die Verschuldungssituation der IV. Nach O'Brien (2013, S. 322) beinhaltet die *Reser-*

vationslohn-These die Idee des «Wegziehens» und die *Direkt-Behinderung-These* die Idee des «Abstossens». Die erste Theorie geht davon aus, dass der (ausgebaute) Sozialstaat Menschen aus dem Arbeitsmarkt wegzieht. Die zweite Theorie besagt, dass der Arbeitsmarkt Menschen abstösst. Es sind demnach ganz unterschiedliche Akteure dafür verantwortlich. Nach der *Reservationslohn-These* liegt die Schuld beim Sozialstaat, der wegzieht, und bei der Person, die sich dazu entscheidet, wegezogen zu werden. Nach der *Direkt-Behinderung-These* liegt die Schuld hingegen beim Arbeitsmarkt, der abstösst.

In diesem Artikel wird angenommen, dass die *Direkt-Behinderung-These* eine passende Erklärung ist, um die vergangene Verschuldungssituation der IV zu erklären. Aus soziologischen Überlegungen gibt es verschiedene Gründe zu dieser Annahme. Erstens findet O'Brien (2013, S. 330 ff.) mittels einer statistischen Analyse starke Evidenz für einen direkten Einfluss von makroökonomischen Bedingungen auf den Gesundheitszustand. Als zweites finden Studien, in denen sich im IV-Verfahren befindende Personen befragt werden, keine rationalen und nur auf Nutzenmaximierung ausgerichtete Sinngebungen der Personen (Koch, 2016; Caduff & Budowski, 2012). Die Annahme, dass sich Menschen frei und rational für eine IV-Rente entscheiden, ist implizit bei der *Reservationslohn-These* mitgedacht: Es wird davon ausgegangen, dass sich Menschen im IV-Verfahren während der Rentenprüfung ähnlich rational verhalten wie bei einer simplen Kaufentscheidung und deshalb die IV-Rente als Anreiz ähnlich funktioniert wie ein guter Preis für ein Produkt. Damit kommt man zum dritten Grund für die Annahme. Menschen in einer schwierigen Lebenssituation scheinen nicht durch Anreize steuerbar zu sein. Die Erfolge und Misserfolge der neuen IV-Politik sind gut mit der *Direkt-Behinderung-These* erklärbar. Mittels Früherfassung und Frühintervention bei Menschen mit Gesundheitsproblemen können Erfolge verzeichnet werden (Guggisberg, 2016, S. 33). Das heisst, bei der Darbietung von Unterstützung zu einem Zeitpunkt, in dem für Menschen die Kombination aus prekärem Gesundheitszustand und Druck im Arbeitsmarkt zum Problem werden kann. Nach Guggisberg (2016, S. 36) gestaltet sich hingegen die Reintegration von IV-Rentnerinnen und IV-Rentnern in den Arbeitsmarkt viel schwieriger. Bei diesen Personen hat sich der schlechte Gesundheitszustand und die Erfahrung, vom Arbeitsmarkt abgestossen worden zu sein, verfestigt. Obwohl man in solchen Fällen versucht hat, Anreize zur Arbeitsmarktintegration zu schaffen, bleibt der Erfolg dieser Massnahmen bisher aus.

Die *Reservationslohn-These* scheint aber eine weitverbreitete Erklärung zu sein. Ein Durchexerzieren von ökonomischen Denken im Sinne der *Reservationslohn-These* findet sich beispielweise bei einer Publikation im Auftrag von Avenir Suisse (Bütler & Gentinetta, 2007). Kaum in dieser Studie enthalten ist die Analyse von Veränderungen bei der Nachfrageseite des Arbeitsmarktes für gering Qualifizierte ab den 1990er Jahren. Auch nicht thematisiert werden Produktivitätssteigerungen und Beschleunigungseffekte im Arbeitsmarkt. Die Verantwortlichkeit für die Verschuldung wird in dieser Publikation dem Sozialstaat und den Personen zugeteilt. Diese retrospektive Beschreibung und Erklärung hat aber auch Auswirkungen für die Zukunft. Die Frage, wer verantwortlich ist für die Verschuldung der IV, wurde durch die IV-Reformen eng verflochten mit der Frage, wer grundsätzlich verantwortlich sein soll für einen zugänglichen Arbeitsmarkt für Menschen mit einer Behinderung.

Vom versorgenden zum aktivierenden Sozialstaat

Hinter diesen strittigen Angelegenheiten verbirgt sich eine Grundsatzfrage des modernen Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftssystems (Polanyi, 1978): Liegt es in der Verantwortung des Marktes, der Gesellschaft zu dienen oder liegt es in der Verantwortung der Gesellschaft, dem Markt zu dienen? Diese Frage wurde in den letzten Jahren verstärkt dahingehend beantwortet, dass die Gesellschaft dem Markt zu dienen habe (Lessenich, 2008; Blyth, 2002). Diese Logik hat sich auch auf sozialstaatliche Einheiten wie die Invalidenversicherung ausgedehnt (Bonvin & Rosenstein, 2010; Wyss, 2008). Nach Blyth (2002, S. 274 f.) kam es in den letzten 35 Jahren zu einer Neuausrichtung der politischen Ökonomien, teilweise getrieben von (neuen) ökonomischen Ideen. Relativ typisch ist, dass man einerseits jegliche Bereiche der Gesellschaft den ökonomischen Modellen unterordnet, andererseits der nachfrageseitigen Steuerung des Arbeitsmarktes kaum mehr Bedeutung beigemessen wird. Unabhängig von der Plausibilität passt die *Reservationslohn-These* demnach perfekt in den gegenwärtigen marktradikalen Mainstream.

Der Sozialstaat wurde in dieser Zeit vielerorts von einem versorgenden zu einem aktivierenden Sozialstaat umgebaut (Lessenich, 2008, S. 76). Typisch für den aktivierenden Sozialstaat ist, dass er das Verständnis der Verantwortlichkeit für Beschäftigung neu regeln muss. In der Nachkriegszeit galt in den meisten westlichen Staaten der Konsens, dass der Staat und die Gesellschaft für die Herstellung von Vollbeschäftigung verantwortlich sind. Diese Übereinkunft galt zu weiten Teilen auch in der Schweiz, obwohl sie immer sehr liberal war. Der aktivierende Sozialstaat gibt diese Verantwortung aber an die Individuen ab. Nach Nadai (2017, S. 112 f.) stellt die asymmetrische Verteilung der Verantwortung auf Individuen und Wirtschaftsakteure ein Hauptmerkmal der neuen aktivierenden Ausrichtung des Sozialstaates dar.

Die letzten drei Reformen der IV sind ein typisches Beispiel für den Wandel vom versorgenden zum aktivierenden Sozialstaat. Fast lehrbuchartig zeigen sich dabei die nötigen Bedingungen: Die Problematiken von Menschen mit einer Behinderung oder gesundheitlich verletzlichen Menschen werden nicht dadurch gelöst, dass man diese besser schützt oder die Strukturen des Arbeitsmarktes verändert. Stattdessen wird ihnen die Eigenverantwortung übergeben, sich fit für den Arbeitsmarkt zu machen. Die fast elterlich umsorgende Hand des versorgenden Sozialstaates wurde zur fördernden, fordernden und Verantwortung delegierenden Hand des aktivierenden Sozialstaates.

Die letzten drei Reformen der IV sind ein typisches Beispiel für den Wandel vom versorgenden zum aktivierenden Sozialstaat.

Die Legitimation der Aktivierung

«Der aktivierende Sozialstaat kann nur unter zwei alternativen Bedingungen weiter Legitimation erwarten. Entweder er hält daran fest, dass Vollbeschäftigung möglich ist und dass alle Menschen ihrem Wunsch nach Erwerbsarbeit entsprechend beschäftigt werden können. Dies käme einem ‹Recht auf Arbeit› gleich. Oder aber die Unfähigkeit, auf dem Arbeitsmarkt eine Stelle zu finden, wird als individuelles Defizit gedeutet, weil die Betroffenen entweder nicht können oder nicht wollen» (Knöpfel & Bochsler, 2015, S. 16). Weil die Anschuldigung des Selbstverschuldens bei Menschen mit einer offensichtlichen Behinderung relativ schwierig zu machen ist und sehr unethisch wirkt, hat man mit «Scheininvalidität» einen Begriff geschaffen (Hassler, 2016; Caduff & Budowski, 2012; Weisser, 2005), um zumindest einem Teil der Personengruppe eine Eigenschuld zu unterstellen.

Die Idee der Selbstverschuldung ist demnach quasi notwendig zur Legitimation der neusten IV-Reformen. Bemerkenswert ehrlich ist hier die Avenir Suisse Publikation (Bütler & Gentinetta, 2007, S. 7 f.): Gleich zu Beginn wird erwähnt, dass die Verbreitung von «Scheininvalidität» aus wissenschaftlicher Sicht eigentlich als falsch betrachtet werden müsse. Man bedankt sich aber für die Thematisierung, weil mit ihr die «Basis für die Annahme der 5. IV-Revision» gelegt worden sei (Bütler & Gentinetta, 2007, S. 7).

Die Frage nach der Verantwortlichkeit für die Zugänglichkeit zum Arbeitsmarkt

In die andere mögliche Legitimationsrichtung, im Sinne eines «Rechts auf Arbeit», hat sich die schweizerische Behindertenpolitik nicht orientiert. In Tabelle 1 sind die Verpflichtungen von Arbeitgebenden gegenüber Angestellten und sich neu Bewerbenden mit einer Behinderung oder gesundheitlichen Einschränkung im internationalen Vergleich dargestellt. Es fällt auf, dass die Schweiz relativ tiefe Werte hat.

Tabelle 1: Verpflichtungen der Arbeitgebenden gegenüber Angestellten und sich neu Bewerbenden mit einer Behinderung oder gesundheitlichen Einschränkung

5 Punkte: Bedeutende Verpflichtungen gegenüber Angestellten sowie sich neu Bewerbenden	Schweden
4 Punkte: Bedeutende Verpflichtungen gegenüber Angestellten, gewisse Verpflichtungen gegenüber sich neu Bewerbenden	Deutschland, Finnland, Italien, Niederlande, Norwegen, Slowakische Republik, Tschechische Republik, Ungarn, Vereinigtes Königreich
3 Punkte: Gewisse Verpflichtungen gegenüber Angestellten sowie sich neu Bewerbenden	Australien, Belgien, Frankreich, Griechenland, Kanada, Luxemburg, Österreich, Spanien, USA
2 Punkte: Gewisse Verpflichtungen gegenüber Angestellten, keine Verpflichtung gegenüber sich neu Bewerbenden	Dänemark, Irland, Neuseeland, Polen, Portugal, **Schweiz**
1 Punkt: Keine Verpflichtungen, allgemeiner minimaler Kündigungsschutz vorhanden	Japan, Korea
0 Punkte: Keine Verpflichtungen irgendeiner Art	Mexiko
OECD-Durchschnitt (28) = 2.9	

OECD (2010, S. 100 ff.)

Die Arbeitgebenden in der Schweiz haben gewisse Verpflichtungen gegenüber Angestellten, jedoch keine gegenüber Bewerbenden. Wenn es ein erklärtes Ziel ist, dass Menschen mit einer Behinderung arbeiten sollen, dann könnte man hier die Verantwortlichkeit zwischen Arbeitgebenden und Arbeitnehmenden besser aufteilen. «So wird zum Beispiel die Frage nach der Behindertenfreundlichkeit des Arbeitsmarktes vollkommen ausgeklammert, obwohl es sich dabei eigentlich um den Kern des Problems handelt» (Alijaj & Siems, 2016, S. 10). Bezüglich sich neu bewerbenden Personen sind einfache Verpflichtungen denkbar. Zum Beispiel die Verpflichtung, dass Menschen mit einer Behinderung zu Vorstellungsgesprächen eingeladen werden müssen. Es sind aber auch effektive Verpflichtungen wie Quoten denkbar. Solche Verpflichtungen sind in vielen anderen Ländern etabliert.

Die Sonderpädagogik und die Weiterentwicklung der IV

Im Moment wird die so gennannte Weiterentwicklung der IV verhandelt, diese sieht zwei Schwerpunkte vor: Erstens Menschen mit einer psychischen Krankheit und zweitens Jugendliche und junge Erwachsene. Bei den 18- bis 24-jährigen Versicherten ist es der IV nicht gelungen, die Neurentenquote zu senken (BSV, 2015b, S. 3). Hier möchte die IV in Zukunft mit aktivierenden Massnahmen ansetzen. Das heisst, dass die Thematik sehr viel näher ans Aufgabenfeld der Heil- und Sonderpädagogik herangetragen wird.

Der aktivierende Sozialstaat aktiviert normalerweise nebst der Personengruppe auch immer die staatlichen Berufsgruppen. Diesen wird dann die Verantwortung zugeteilt. In diesem Fall wird dies die Pädagogik, die Heil- und Sonderpädagogik und die Soziale Arbeit sein. Es stellt sich aber die Frage, ob der gegenwärtige dynamische und auf internationale Wettbewerbsfähigkeit ausgerichtete schweizerische Arbeitsmarkt überhaupt genügend Zugänge bietet. Zudem haben die sich bewerbenden Jugendlichen mit einer Behinderung auf dem schweizerischen Arbeitsmarkt keine speziellen Rechte. Sie sind auf die Freiwilligkeit und den Goodwill der Arbeitgeber angewiesen. Diese strukturellen Barrieren wird man durch Angebote der Sonderpädagogik und der Sozialen Arbeit nicht (alleine) lösen können. Eventuell wird die Heil- und Sonderpädagogik zumindest einen Teil der Verantwortung widerspenstig an den Arbeitsmarkt und die Politik zurückweisen müssen.

Literatur

Alijaj, I. & Siems, D. (2016). *Manifest des Vereins «selbstbestimmung.ch».* Dübendorf. http://selbstbestimmung.ch/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Manifest.pdf [Zugriff am 19.01.2017].

Blyth, M. (2002). *Great Transformations. Economic Ideas and Institutional Change in the Twentieth Century.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bonvin, J.-M. & Rosenstein, E. (2010). Transformation des régimes de protection sociale: le cas de la Suisse. In F. Degavre, D. Desmette, E. Mangez, M. Nyssens & P. Reman (Eds.), *Transformation et innovations économiques et sociales en Europe: quelles sorties de crise? Regards interdisciplinaires* (pp. 19–34). Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses universitaires de Louvain.

BSV (Bundesamt für Sozialversicherungen) (1996). *Gedruckte Sammlung der AHV-IV-Statistiken von 1989 bis 1996.* Bern: BSV.

BSV (Bundesamt für Sozialversicherungen) (2007). *IV-Statistik 2006. Gedruckte Version.* Bern: BSV.

BSV (Bundesamt für Sozialversicherungen) (2015a). *IV-Statistik 2014. Gedruckte Version.* Bern: BSV.

BSV (Bundesamt für Sozialversicherungen) (2015b). *Faktenblatt: Grundlagen für die Weiterentwicklung der IV.* Bern: BSV.

BSV (Bundesamt für Sozialversicherungen) (2017). *IV-Statistik.* Bern. www.bsv.admin.ch/bsv/de/home/sozialversicherungen/iv/statistik.html [Zugriff am 24.1.2017].

BFS (Bundesamt für Statistik) (2017a). *Erwerbstätige Total (Inlandkonzept). Durchschnittliche Jahreswerte.* Neuchâtel. www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/de/home/statistiken/arbeit-erwerb/erwerbstaetigkeit-arbeitszeit/erwerbstaetige/entwicklung-erwerbstaetigenzahlen.assetdetail.1346555.html [Zugriff am 24. 1. 2017].

BFS (Bundesamt für Statistik) (2017b). *Erwerbslose gemäss ILO nach Geschlecht, Nationalität und Sprachregion.* Neuchâtel. www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/de/home/statistiken/arbeit-erwerb/erwerbslosigkeit-unterbeschaeftigung-offene-stellen/erwerbslose-ilo.assetdetail.1300295.html [Zugriff am 24.1.2017].

Bütler, M. & Gentinetta, K. (2007). *Die IV – Eine Krankengeschichte: Wie falsche Anreize, viele Akteure und hohe Ansprüche aus der Invalidenversicherung einen Patienten gemacht haben.* Zürich: Avenir Suisse und Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung.

Caduff, P. & Budowski, M. (2012). «Scheininvalide»? Zum Problem der Grenzziehung zwischen legitimen und «illegitimen» Krankheitsbildern. In M. Budowski, M. Nollert & C. Young (Hrsg.), *Delinquenz und Bestrafung: Diskurse, Institutionen und Strukturen* (S. 62–82). Zürich: Seismo.

Germann, U. (2010). Integration durch Arbeit: Behindertenpolitik und die Entwicklung des schweizerischen Sozialstaats 1900–1960. In E. Bösl, A. Klein & A. Waldschmidt (Hrsg.), *Disability History: Konstruktion von Behinderung in der Geschichte. Eine Einführung* (S. 151–168). Bielefeld: Transcript.

Guggisberg, J. (2016). Evaluation der Eingliederung in der Invalidenversicherung. *Soziale Sicherheit,* 1, 32–36.

Hassler, B. (2016). Arbeitsmarktfähigkeit unter Beobachtung. «Scheininvalidität» in der Schweiz. In W. Aschauer, E. Donat & J. Hofmann (Hrsg.), *Solidaritätsbrüche in Europa: Konzeptuelle Überlegungen und empirische Befunde* (S. 171–189): Wiesbaden: Springer.

Historische Statistik der Schweiz (2017a). *F.18a. Stellensuchende und Arbeitslosenquote nach Geschlecht im Jahresmittel 1913–1995.* Zürich. www.fsw.uzh.ch/hstat/nls_rev/ls_files.php?chapter_var=./f [Zugriff am 24.1.2017].

Historische Statistik der Schweiz (2017b). *P.9. Eidg. Invalidenversicherung (IV): Bezüger und Summen ordentlicher und ausserordentlicher Renten 1960–1989.* Zürich. www.fsw.uzh.ch/hstat/nls_rev/ls_files.php?chapter_var=p [Zugriff am 24.1.2017].

Knöpfel, C. & Bochsler, Y. (2015). Versorgen ist gut, teilhaben besser: Vom Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Individuum und gesellschaftlichen Systemen. *SozialAktuell,* 4, 14–16.

Koch, M. (2016). *Arbeits(un)fähigkeit herstellen: Arbeitsintegration von gesundheitlich eingeschränkten Erwerbslosen aus ethnografischer Perspektive.* Zürich: Seismo.

Lessenich, S. (2008). *Die Neuerfindung des Sozialen: Der Sozialstaat im flexiblen Kapitalismus.* Bielefeld: Transcript.

Nadai, E. (2017). Asymmetrische Responsibilisierung oder wie man Arbeitgeber vom Wert von «Behinderten» überzeugt. In O. Bilgi, M. Frühauf und K. Schulze (Hrsg.), *Widersprüche gesellschaftlicher Integration: Zur Transformation Sozialer Arbeit* (S. 111–128). Wiesbaden: Springer.

O´Brien, R. L. (2013). Economy and Disability: Labor Market Conditions and the Disability of Working-Age Individuals. *Social Problems, 60* (3), 321–333.

OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) (2010). *Sickness, Disability, and Work: Breaking the Barriers.* Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Polanyi, K. (1978). *The Great Transformation: Politische und ökonomische Ursprünge von Gesellschaften und Wirtschaftssystemen.* Baden-Baden: Suhrkamp Verlag.

Probst, I., Tabin J.-P. & Courvoisier, N. (2015). De la réparation à la réversibilité. Un nouveau paradigme dans l'assurance invalidité? *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Soziologie, 41* (1), 101–117.

Weisser, J. (2005). «Scheininvalidität» oder Immanuel Kant als Sittenwächter. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Heilpädagogik, 11* (5), 25–32.

Wyss, K. (2008). «Arbeit, Arbeit, Arbeit». Der sozialpolitische Übergang von Welfare zu Workfare. In E. O. Graf & F. Grob (Hrsg.), *Arbeit und Behinderung. Schwierigkeiten in und an der Arbeitsgesellschaft* (S. 75–98). Bern: Edition Soziothek.

Christoph Tschanz
Klinischer Heilpädagoge und Soziologe, MA.
Universität Freiburg
Bereich Soziologie, Sozialpolitik
und Sozialarbeit
Route des Bonnesfontaines 11
1700 Freiburg
christoph.tschanz@unifr.ch

8.2 Paper V.II: Anregungen zur Umsetzung von Artikel 19 der UN-BRK in der Schweiz: Herausforderungen und Lösungsvorschläge

Tschanz, Christoph (2019). Anregungen zur Umsetzung von Artikel 19 der UN-BRK in der Schweiz: Herausforderungen und Lösungsvorschläge. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Heilpädagogik, 25* (9), 6–12.

Christoph Tschanz

Anregungen zur Umsetzung von Artikel 19 der UN-BRK in der Schweiz

Herausforderungen und Lösungsvorschläge

Zusammenfassung

Der Artikel 19 der UN-Behindertenrechtskonvention definiert Ziele, um Menschen mit einer Behinderung ein selbstbestimmtes Leben im Hinblick auf die Wohnform zu ermöglichen. Die Umsetzung dieses Artikels steckt in der Schweiz momentan noch in den Kinderschuhen. Zunehmend entwickelt sich diesbezüglich aber eine Dynamik. In diesem Text wird eine Leseart des Artikels propagiert, welche auch die Gruppen der Angehörigen und Bekannten sowie der Betreuenden, Pflegenden und Assistierenden mitdenkt und deshalb zusätzliche staatliche Ressourcen fordert. In der Verantwortung stehen hauptsächlich die Kantonsparlamente. Der Bund hat aber auch Einflussmöglichkeiten, weil er den Zugang zum Assistenzbeitrag vereinfachen und eine Anstossfinanzierung lancieren könnte.

Résumé

L'article 19 de la Convention de l'ONU relative aux droits des personnes handicapées encourage l'autodétermination en définissant des objectifs permettant aux personnes en situation de handicap de choisir leur mode d›habitation. La mise en œuvre de cet article en Suisse en est pour l'instant à ses premiers balbutiements, mais une dynamique se met aujourd'hui en place. Cet article défend une lecture de l'article 19 qui tient compte également des familles et des proches ainsi que des accompagnant-e-s, soignant-e-s et assistant-e-s et qui fait par conséquent appel à des ressources publiques supplémentaires. La responsabilité incombe ici principalement aux parlements cantonaux. La Confédération a cependant également la possibilité d'exercer son influence en facilitant l'accès à la contribution d'assistance et en lançant des incitations financières.

Permalink: www.szh-csps.ch/z2019-09-01

Ausgangslage

Die Wahrnehmung von und der Umgang mit Behinderung haben sich in den letzten Jahrzehnten stark verändert (Johner-Kobi, 2015). Die Schweiz ratifizierte allerdings erst im Jahr 2014 die UN-Behindertenrechtskonvention (UN-BRK). Seither dient die UN-BRK als Bezugsrahmen für die Weiterentwicklung der schweizerischen Behindertenpolitik (Rieder, 2017). In Artikel 19 der UN-BRK werden zentrale Forderungen zu neuen Wohnformen und innovativen Lebensformen festgehalten: Personen mit einer Behinderung sollen Rechte zur selbstbestimmten Lebensführung eingeräumt werden. So ist im Artikel beispielsweise definiert, dass sie den Wohnort und die Wohnform frei wählen können. Gefordert wird auch die Gewährleistung des Zugangs zu gemeindenahen Unterstützungsleistungen inklusive der persönlichen Assistenz.

Allerdings wird im Schattenbericht von *Inclusion Handicap* (2017) die Umsetzung von Artikel 19 in der Schweiz in zahlreichen Punkten kritisiert (ebd., S. 84ff.; siehe dazu auch Egbuna-Joss, 2018). Zudem wurde im Jahr 2018 das auf vier Jahre angelegte Programm «Selbstbestimmtes Leben» gestartet, welches eine bessere Koordination zwischen Bund und Kantonen zur Weiterentwicklung von behindertenpolitischen Unterstützungs- und Wohnformen anstrebt (EDI, 2018). Vor diesem Hintergrund sollen im vorliegenden Artikel Herausforderungen für eine Umsetzung von Artikel 19 benannt und Lösungsvorschläge entwickelt werden.

Artikel 19 der UN-BRK und ähnliche Forderungen in der Schweiz

Seit den 1970er Jahren kritisiert die Behindertenbewegung in den westlichen Industriestaaten die vorhandenen sozialstaatlichen Angebote wegen derer paternalistischen Effekte und deren Hang zur Segregation (Ville, 2019, S. 102). Der von der UN-BRK geforderte Paradigmenwechsel ist inspiriert von Forderungen dieser Bewegung (Calabrese & Stalder, 2016, S. 11f.). So ist der Artikel 19 geprägt von der Kritik an traditionellen Wohn- und Pflegeformen und fordert diesbezüglich mehr Autonomie und Selbstbestimmung für Menschen mit Behinderungen ein.

Ähnliche Kritik und Forderungen finden sich innerhalb der Schweiz. Ein Beispiel dafür ist die vom *Club Behinderter und ihrer Freunde* (CeBeeF) herausgegebene Zeitschrift PULS. Ab Ende der 1970er Jahre gab es darin zahlreiche kritische Artikel über die Situation von Heimbewohnerinnen und -bewohnern (McGowan, 2011, S. 35ff.). In einem ähnlichen Sinn fordert gegenwärtig der Verein *selbstbestimmung.ch* ein Umschwenken auf die subjektorientierte Finanzierung, die Schaffung von kantonalen Assistenzmodellen und ein schweizweites unbefristetes Moratorium für den Ausbau «konventioneller» Heimangebote (Alijaj & Siems, 2016, S. 6).

Herausforderungen im schweizerischen Föderalismus

Bedingt durch die föderale Aufteilung von Zuständigkeiten bestehen in der Schweiz Reformhindernisse. Mit dem neuen Finanzausgleich wurde ab dem Jahr 2008 die Zuständigkeit für Wohnheime und Werkstätten für Menschen mit einer Behinderung zu einem grossen Teil an die Kantone übertragen (Bonassi, 2007). Die Kantone haben seitdem die fachliche und finanzielle Verantwortung im stationären Bereich der Behindertenhilfe (Kirchhofer et al., 2015, S. 274). Indirekt ist die eidgenössische Invalidenversicherung aber trotzdem an der Finanzierung beteiligt, nämlich über die Ausrichtung von persönlichen Invalidenrenten, Hilflosenentschädigungen und Ergänzungsleistungen, mit welchen die Wohntarife zu Teilen bezahlt werden (Kirchhofer et al., 2015, S. 274). Ebenfalls eidgenössisch ist der durch die Invalidenversicherung gewährte Assistenzbeitrag, welcher es Menschen mit einer Behinderung seit dem Jahr 2012 ermöglicht, als Arbeitgeber Assistenzpersonen für sich selbst anzustellen (Egloff, 2017; Guggisberg, 2018).

Die Sicherung der stationären Wohnplätze verhindert den Ausbau von neuen, innovativen Wohnformen.

Eine zentrale Herausforderung bei der Umsetzung von Artikel 19 der UN-BRK liegt darin, dass den Kantonen, obwohl sie im stationären Bereich der Behindertenhilfe die Verantwortung tragen, mit dem IFEG die Bereitstellung von stationären Wohnplätzen vorgeschrieben wurde. Dies erzeugt Reformhindernisse: «Aufgrund der einseitigen Ausrichtung des IFEG auf die verpflichtende Finanzierung von Wohnplätzen in Institutionen werden Gelder gebunden, sodass die Finanzierung von alternativen Wohnformen sehr beschränkt ist» (Inclusion Handicap, 2017, S. 84). Im Rahmen des neuen Finanzausgleichs hat man also eine paradoxe Situation geschaffen, da die Sicherung von stationären Wohnplätzen den Ausbau von neuen und innovativen Wohnformen beschränkt.

Die Steigerung der Autonomie von Menschen mit einer Behinderung darf nicht zu einer Einschränkung der Autonomie ihrer Bezugspersonen führen.

Gegenwärtige und mögliche Paradoxien bei Reformen

Paradoxien einer verkürzten liberalen Interpretation des Artikels 19 der UN-BRK

Bei der Überwindung dieser Situation sollte man allerdings bedenken, dass auch Reformen widersprüchliche Ergebnisse verursachen können. Einerseits gibt es seit den 1990er Jahren eine Konvergenz der oben erwähnten Kritik der Behindertenbewegung mit neo-liberaler Kritik, in welcher aus anderen Motiven ebenfalls sozialstaatliche Angebote bemängelt werden (Ville, 2019, S. 102f.). Solch eine Konvergenz ist in der Schweiz mit ihrer politischen Tradition des Liberalismus bereits vor der Ratifizierung der UN-BRK zu beobachten. Ideen von nötigen Reformen im Behindertenbereich befinden sich in gegenwärtigen politischen Diskursen häufig nahe an utopisch anmutenden Vorstellungen von Einsparpotenzialen oder zumindest nahe an der Vorstellung, man könnte positive Reformen ohne Kostensteigerungen und somit kostenneutral für die öffentliche Hand umsetzen. Bei dieser Konvergenz besteht die Gefahr, die Idee der Autonomie auf die Gewährung von Konsum- und Auswahlmöglichkeiten bezüglich Wohn- und Pflegeangeboten zu beschränken. Mit einem problematisch verkürzten Verweis auf «Eigenverantwortung und Selbstzuständigkeit» von Menschen mit einer Behinderung (Wansing, 2017, S. 23) lässt sich eine Assoziation mit Einsparpotenzialen herstellen.

Paradoxien wegen des Verhältnisses von bezahlter und unbezahlter Arbeit

Andererseits ist die Thematik gekennzeichnet durch einen hohen Anteil von unbezahlter Betreuungs-, Pflege- und Assistenzarbeit, die von Familien, Bekannten und der Zivilgesellschaft geleistet wird (vgl. u. a. Budowski, Knobloch & Nollert, 2016). Beim Vorläufer des Assistenzbeitrages, dem Pilotversuch Assistenzbudget, hat sich zum Beispiel gezeigt, dass gerade die Möglichkeit, die unbezahlte Unterstützung durch Angehörige und Bekannte über ein Assistenzbudget zu finanzieren – und somit die Monetarisierung vorhergehender unbezahlter Arbeit –, eine kostenneutrale Umsetzung verunmöglicht hat (Balthasar & Müller, 2008, S. 52). Um ein Gleichnis zu bemühen: Man kann sich die bezahlte und sozialstaatlich organisierte Betreuungs-, Pflege- und Assistenzarbeit als sichtbaren Teil des Eisberges vorstellen. Bei Reformen am oberen Teil des Eisberges ist es demnach wahrscheinlich, dass bislang unsichtbare Teile des unteren Bereichs – die unbezahlte Arbeit – auftauchen.

Komplexer wird es, wenn man die Konzepte «Gerechtigkeit» und «Autonomie» nicht nur auf Menschen mit einer Behinderung bezieht, sondern auch auf ihre (bezahlten oder unbezahlten) Bezugspersonen (Owens, Mladenov & Cribb, 2017). Für Familien mit einem Sohn oder einer Tochter mit einer geistigen Behinderung ist zum Beispiel die (Teil-)Übernahme von Verantwortlichkeit durch den Staat zentral für deren Autonomie (Jeltsch-Schudel & Bächli, 2011). Zudem gilt es zu bedenken, dass ein sehr viel grösserer Teil der unbezahlten Arbeit von Frauen geleistet wird (Schön-Bühlmann, 2016, S. 84ff.) und dementsprechend solche Fragen gerade für weibliche Familienmitglieder von zentraler Bedeutung sind. Als weitere Gruppe sollte man die Betreuenden, Pflegenden und Assistierenden in den sozialstaatlich bezahlten Settings nicht vergessen. Es gilt, ihnen gerechte Arbeitsbedingungen zu bieten.

Zeigen sich auch im Kanton Bern Paradoxien nach bekannten Mustern?

Im Jahre 2011 wurde vom Kanton Bern ein im schweizweiten Vergleich bemerkenswert progressives kantonales Behindertenkonzept verabschiedet, welches sich am Ideal der Selbstbestimmung orientiert (GEF, 2011). Der Kanton Bern plant, dem Interesse der Wohnheime zum Eigenerhalt dadurch zu begegnen, dass auf eine Subjektfinanzierung umgestellt wird (Baur, 2017). Die Grundidee ist, die Menschen mit einer Behinderung als Subjekte direkt statt die Objekte (Wohnheime) zu finanzieren. Das Ziel dabei ist, den Menschen mit einer Behinderung mehr Aushandlungsmacht und Wahlfreiheit zu geben und damit längerfristig die Angebotsstruktur zu verändern. Trotz dieses progressiven Ansatzes sind zunehmend Paradoxien ersichtlich, welche bekannten Mustern folgen.

Als möglicherweise problematisch und paradox erweist sich, dass diese progressive Reform unter dem Primat der Kostenneutralität angedacht wurde (GEF, 2011, S. 25). Die Einhaltung der kostenneutralen Umsetzung ist momentan allerdings unmöglich, was zu einer Verschiebung der Umstellung auf das Jahr 2023 führen wird. Es sind Anpassungen im Vergleich zum durchgeführten Pilotversuch angedacht (GEF, 2018). Was dies genau bedeuten wird, ist zurzeit nicht abzuschätzen. Befürchten kann man aber, dass die Anpassungen zu einer rigiden Umsetzung führen und dem Prinzip der Selbstbestimmung zu Teilen widersprechen werden. Ein Beispiel für eine rigide Umsetzung hat man bei der Einführung des Assistenzbeitrages auf eidgenössischer Ebene beobachten können. Das Primat der Kostenneutralität hat paradoxerweise die Einführung einerseits erst möglich gemacht und andererseits aber dazu geführt, dass der Assistenzbeitrag nur die Ausnahme in der bestehenden Angebotsstruktur werden konnte (Tschanz, 2018, S. 26ff.). Die Anspruchsvoraussetzungen wurden hoch angesetzt (Egloff, 2017, S. 62ff.) und die Anstellung von Angehörigen als Assistenzpersonen wurde nach den Erfahrungen im Pilotprojekt kategorisch ausgeschlossen (ebd., S. 66f.).

Lösungsvorschläge

Im Rahmen des neuen Finanzausgleichs hat man mit dem IFEG eine Paradoxie geschaffen. Die Sicherung der Autonomie der Angehörigen und die Sicherung der Arbeitsbedingungen im stationären Bereich schränken die Möglichkeit für die Finanzierung und den Ausbau von innovativen und autonomeren Wohnformen für Menschen mit einer Behinderung ein. Bei einem Paradigmenwechsel im Sinne von Artikel 19 der UN-BRK sollte man allerdings vermeiden, umgekehrte Paradoxien zum IFEG zu schaffen, mit einem hohen Grad an Flexibilisierung und Innovation, aber einem tiefen Grad an Finanzierungs- und Arbeitsplatzsicherheit. Solch eine Situation würde auf Kosten der Gruppe der Angehörigen und

Bekannten oder auf Kosten der Arbeitsbedingungen der Betreuenden, Pflegenden und Assistierenden gehen. Bedingt durch die Selbstverständlichkeit, mit der man die Bereitstellung der unbezahlten Arbeit voraussetzt, sowie durch den eher tiefen Berufsstatus im bezahlten Arbeitsmarkt sind diese beiden Gruppen auch verletzlich.

Eine Vereinfachung des Zugangs zum Assistenzbeitrag wäre eine Massnahme im Sinne von Artikel 19 der UN-BRK.

Für demokratische Debatten ist es deshalb zentral zu begreifen, dass es bei dieser Thematik nicht um die reine Übertragung von Eigenverantwortung geht, welche automatisch zu einer Win-Win-Situation für den Menschen mit Behinderung als zufriedenerem Konsumenten und einem zu Einsparpotenzial kommenden Staat führt. Stattdessen müssen mögliche Reformen zentrale Gerechtigkeitsfragen aufgreifen und klären. Die Autonomiespielräume der Angehörigen und Bekannten sowie gerechte Anstellungsbedingungen für die Betreuenden, Pflegenden und Assistierenden sind unbedingt zu berücksichtigen. Im Hinblick auf die ungleiche Verteilung der unbezahlten Arbeit sollte bei dieser Thematik immer auch die Geschlechtergerechtigkeit berücksichtigt werden. Der relativ simple, aber für den liberalen schweizerischen Diskurs gar nicht so selbstverständliche Hauptlösungsvorschlag lautet deshalb wie folgt: Es braucht zusätzliche und ausreichende staatliche Ressourcen, um bei Verbesserungen für die Gruppe der Menschen mit einer Behinderung nicht Verschlechterungen für eine andere Gruppe in Kauf nehmen zu müssen. Hautsächlich in der Verantwortung sind dabei die Kantonsparlamente, welche ihre Reformvorhaben für eine Umsetzung von Artikel 19 der UN-BRK mit ausreichend Ressourcen ausstatten müssen. Und auch auf Bundesebene gibt es Handlungsspielräume. Die Vereinfachung der Zugangsvoraussetzungen zum Assistenzbeitrag der Invalidenversicherung wäre zum Beispiel eine Massnahme, welche eindeutig im Sinne von Artikel 19 der UN-BRK wäre. Der Bund hat zudem gute Erfahrungen gemacht mit der Anstossfinanzierung (auch bezeichnet als Impulsprogramm) zur nachhaltigen Schaffung von Angeboten für die familienergänzende Kinderbetreuung (vgl. u. a. Walker, de Buman & Walther, 2018). In Anlehnung daran wäre eine eidgenössische Anstossfinanzierung für die Umsetzung von Artikel 19 der UN-BRK wünschenswert. Erstens wäre dies eine föderalismussensible Massnahme, welche die Umsetzung vorwiegend auf Kantons- und Gemeindeebene ermöglichen würde. Zweitens würde damit genau auf Kantons- und Gemeindeebene eine Dynamik in Gang gesetzt, welche dem Ziel der – von der Eigenossenschaft unterzeichneten – UN-BRK entspricht. Drittens würde damit das Reformhindernis der hohen Gebundenheit von finanziellen Ressourcen für stationäre Wohnangebote abgemildert und es würde Raum für die Förderung von neuen und innovativen Wohnformen geschaffen.

Literatur

Alijaj, I. & Siems, D. (2016). *Manifest des Vereins «selbstbestimmung.ch».* Dübendorf. http://selbstbestimmung.ch/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Manifest.pdf [Zugriff am 06.06.2019].

Balthasar, A. & Müller, F. (2008). Evaluation des Pilotversuchs «Assistenzbudget». *Soziale Sicherheit CHSS,* 1, 50–52.

Baur, A. (2017). *«Oder die Organisationen haben ei-, haben natürlich eigentlich ein Interesse Menschen hier zu behalten, rein monetär». Strategien der Wohnheime für Menschen mit Behinderung im Kanton Bern in Aushandlungen zur Veränderung der Wohnsituation.* Unveröffentlichte Masterarbeit, Bereich Soziologie, Sozialpolitik und Sozialarbeit der Universität Fribourg.

Bonassi, S. (2007). Neuer Finanzausgleich und die Änderungen im Sozialbereich. *Soziale Sicherheit CHSS,* 5, 243–247.

Budowski, M., Knobloch, U. & Nollert, M. (Hrsg.) (2016). *Unbezahlt und dennoch Arbeit.* Zürich: Seismo.

Calabrese, S. & Stalder, R. (2016). Stationäre Betreuung: Auslaufmodell oder unverzichtbar? Gegenwärtige und künftige professionelle Unterstützungssysteme – eine kritische Reflexion. *SozialAktuell, 48* (11), 10–13.

Egbuna-Joss, A. (2018). Das Recht auf ein selbstbestimmtes Leben: Zur Umsetzung von Artikel 19 der Behindertenrechtskonvention in der Schweiz. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Heilpädagogik, 24* (3), 14–19.

Egloff, B. (2017). *Selbstbestimmt unterstützt durch Assistenz: Eine empirische Untersuchung zur Einführung und Umsetzung des Assistenzbeitrags in der Schweiz.* Bern: Edition SZH/CSPS.

EDI (Eidgenössisches Departement des Innern) (2018). *Programm «Selbstbestimmtes Leben» (2018–2021).* Konzept. Bern: EDI.

Guggisberg, J. (2018). Evaluation Assistenzbeitrag 2012-2016. *Soziale Sicherheit CHSS,* 2, 40–43.

GEF (Gesundheits- und Fürsorgedirektion des Kantons Bern) (2011). *Förderung der Selbstbestimmung und der gesellschaftlichen Teilhabe von erwachsenen Menschen mit einer Behinderung. Behindertenkonzept des Kantons Bern gemäss Artikel 197 Ziffer 4 BV sowie Artikel 10 IFEG.* Bern: GEF.

GEF (Gesundheits- und Fürsorgedirektion des Kantons Bern) (2018). *Pressemitteilung: Zwischenanalyse des Pilots in der Umsetzung des «Berner Modells»: Grundsätze des Behindertenkonzepts werden beibehalten.* www.be.ch/portal/de/index/mediencenter/medienmitteilungen.meldungNeu.html/portal/de/meldungen/mm/2018/12/20181210_1711_grundsaetze_des_behindertenkonzeptswerdenbeibehalten?utm_source=rss&utm_medium=Medienmitteilungen&utm_campaign=Grunds%C3%A4tze+des+Behindertenkonzepts+werden+beibehalten [Zugriff am 06.06.2019].

IFEG, Bundesgesetz über die Institutionen zur Förderung der Eingliederung von invaliden Personen; SR 831.26.

Inclusion Handicap (2017). *Schattenbericht. Bericht der Zivilgesellschaft anlässlich des ersten Staatenberichtsverfahrens vor dem UN-Ausschuss für die Rechte von Menschen mit Behinderungen.* Bern: Inclusion Handicap.

Jeltsch-Schudel, B. & Bächli, Ö. (2011). Wohnmöglichkeiten für Erwachsene mit geistiger Behinderung – ein drängendes Thema für Familien mit geistig behinderten Söhnen und Töchtern. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Heilpädagogik, 17* (6), 40–46.

Johner-Kobi, S. (2015). Behinderung – von individueller Beeinträchtigung zu Hindernisfreiheit und Selbstbestimmung. In A. M. Riedi, M. Zwilling, M. Meier Kressig, P. Benz Bartoletta & D. Aebi Zindel (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Sozialwesen Schweiz* (2., überarb. u. erg. Aufl.) (S. 169–182). Bern: Haupt.

Kirchhofer, R., Laib, A., Stremlow, J. & Uebelhart, B. (2015). Auswirkungen der Föderalismusreform «Neugestaltung des Finanzausgleichs und der Aufgabenteilung zwischen Bund und Kanton (NFA)» auf den Sozialsektor – Reflexionen am Beispiel der stationären Behindertenhilfe. In B. Wüthrich, J. Amstutz & A. Fritze (Hrsg.), *Soziale Versorgung zukunftsfähig gestalten* (S. 271–278). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

McGowan, B. (2011). Die Zeitschrift PULS – Stimme aus der Behindertenbewegung. In E. O. Graf, C. Renggli & J. Weisser (Hrsg.), *PULS – DruckSache aus der Behindertenbewegung. Materialien für die Wiederaneignung einer Geschichte* (S. 13–73). Zürich: Chronos.

Owens, J., Mladenov, T. & Cribb, A. (2017). What Justice, What Autonomy? The Ethical Constraints upon Personalisation. *Ethics and Social Welfare, 11* (1), 3–18.

Rieder, A. (2017). Die Bedeutung der UNO-Behindertenrechtskonvention für die Schweiz. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Heilpädagogik, 23* (3), 22–26.

Schön-Bühlmann, J. (2016). Satellitenkonto Haushaltsproduktion für die Schweiz. Ein Versuch, die volkswirtschaftliche Bedeutung der unbezahlten Arbeit zu beziffern. In M. Budowski, U. Knobloch & M. Nollert (Hrsg.) (2016), *Unbezahlt und dennoch Arbeit* (S. 79–92). Zürich: Seismo.

Tschanz, C. (2018). Theorising Disability Care (Non-)Personalisation in European Countries: Comparing Personal Assistance Schemes in Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. *Social Inclusion, 6* (2), 22–33.

Übereinkommen über die Rechte von Menschen mit Behinderungen, SR 0.109.

Ville, I. (2019). When social protection and emancipation go hand in hand: Towards a collective form of care. *Alter – European Journal of Disability Research, 13* (2), 101–112.

Walker, P., de Buman, A. & Walther, U. (2018). Anstossfinanzierung: Nachhaltigkeit der Finanzhilfen bestätigt. *Soziale Sicherheit CHSS,* 1, 8–11.

Wansing, G. (2017). Selbstbestimmte Lebensführung und Einbeziehung in das Gemeinwesen – Normative Grundsätze und konzeptionelle Perspektiven. In G. Wansing & M. Windisch (Hrsg.), *Selbstbestimmte Lebensführung und Teilhabe. Behinderung und Unterstützung im Gemeinwesen* (S. 19–48). Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

Dieser Artikel wurde ermöglicht durch den Schweizerischen Nationalfonds via Doc.CH-Stipendium (Nummer 172008).

Christoph Tschanz
Klinischer Heilpädagoge und Soziologe, MA.
Universität Fribourg
Departement für Sozialarbeit,
Sozialpolitik und globale Entwicklung
Route des Bonnesfontaines 11
1700 Fribourg
christoph.tschanz@unifr.ch

Part C: Concluding Section

9 Discussion and Conclusion

In Paper I, an exploratory approach reveals structures found in a comparison of disability policies that indicate an overlap with welfare regimes. Paper II describes and analyzes the emergent effects of welfare regimes on disability policies in greater detail. Paper III elaborates and describes the dilemmas of categorization and redistribution. Finally, Paper IV deals with the relationship between the structures of welfare regimes and the agency of the emancipatory disability movement. The two editor-reviewed position papers written for a broader public explain the sphere of the labor market and disability pensions in retrospect (Paper V.I) and consider prospectively the still necessary changes to come in the care sector (Paper V.II).

A significant result to emerge from Paper I is the detection of four distinct models of disability policy in European capitalist welfare states. This finding is in line with empirical quantitative studies detecting an overlap between welfare typology and disability policy by Böheim and Leoni (2018), the OECD (2010), and Scharle et al. (2015). However, it should be kept in mind that two-thirds of Paper I and the other studies in their entirety work with the same OECD data, whereas Böheim and Leoni (2018) and Scharle et al. (2015) updated the data set and report recent convergence in disability policies. Thus, it is first essential to keep this potential convergence in mind. Second, further explorations of the possible (non-)overlapping relaying on different data sources are needed.

Furthermore, Paper I reveals specific insights regarding the discussion of Maschke (2004). As outlined above, Maschke (2004) doubts the explanatory power of Esping-Andersen's (1990) welfare theory in explaining the expansion of disability policy. A vital claim is that the concept of decommodification does not adequately recognize the ideological orientation of Catholic parties regarding the decommodification of disabled people. In principle, it is conceivable from the perspective of Paper I to partly agree with this doubt because different Catholic countries are clustered with other welfare types. Indeed, it is conceivable that the stances of Catholic and social democratic parties are less far apart on the decommodification of disabled persons than on the decommodification of the working class. More comparative and historical research about Catholic ideological orientations regarding disability decommodification would be a valuable contribution. Further research would also facilitate a better understanding of the specific mechanisms of redistribution in disability policy.

In addition, Paper I provides an extension of the combination undertaken by Waldschmidt (2009). When data on civil rights are included, the central finding is that one cluster stands out as more substantial than the others in all three dimensions. The other three clusters have different foci regarding the three dimensions described by Waldschmidt (2009: 20). However, the cluster that stands out and goes beyond the matrix of Waldschmidt (2009) is the one in which all three dimensions are more pronounced than in the other clusters. This cluster indicates that trade-offs between welfare and labor-market integration or redistributive and rights-based policy approaches are unnecessary. Instead, it shows that a balanced disability policy (Maschke 2004: 414) is possible.

Paper II outlines the idea of a conversely arranged development curve regarding bivalent justice (Fraser 2003) using the example of a genuine welfare theory (Marshall 1950) and a genuine disability studies theory (Drake 1999). The idea here is to explain the fundamental tension that, among other things, causes the emancipatory disability movement to be critical of welfare arrangements. It is relatively apparent that the development described by Marshall (1950) does not add up for many disabled people. The necessity of the UN-CRPD is an especially excellent example that many civil and political rights first had to be fought for by the emancipatory disability movement. Such considerations help us understand the fundamental tension. The emancipatory disability movement has focused much more on recognition and representation than on redistribution. The welfare state, with its benevolent paternalist orientation, was already in place when these struggles began.

Furthermore, Paper II explains why Continental European disability care has remained more entrenched in these benevolent paternalist structures than Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian states. The paper argues that conservative-corporatist disability care cases strongly institutionalize oppressive social protection and benevolent paternalism. The emergent effects of welfare regimes are described in greater detail in the case of Switzerland. Overall, the link to other conservative corporatist countries is helpful in this explanatory endeavor. However, while it is perfectly legitimate to compare cases that belong to the same category on the empirical level, the critical realist urges caution here: a different causal nexus could exist in each individual case (Steinmetz 2021). Therefore, more research about the emergent effects of welfare regimes regarding disability care in other Continental European countries would be welcomed.

Moreover, Paper III discusses the dilemma between the distribution of specific support and its necessary official classification. Within the educational field, this is called the "resource-labeling dilemma" (Füssel and Kretschmann 1993) and finds its welfare state equivalent in the "distributional dilemma" (Stone 1984). The dilemma concept is here deliberately introduced and distinguished from the dialectical relationship between in/educability, ab/normality, and dis/ability. The idea is that dilemmas cannot be simply transformed into a new synthesis or challenged with an antithesis. In capitalism, (re-)distribution is bound to the nature of (fictitious) commodities, say money. In capitalism, decisions to lend support and finance have a relatively straightforward binary character. One can lend support, or one cannot lend support. One can invest, or one cannot invest. Of course, the amount and type of support can vary but not the fundamental binary decision. The mechanisms in the socio-economic layer of reality are sometimes much more simplistic than the mechanisms in the cultural layer of reality. Accordingly, the dialectical relationship between in/educability, ab/normality, and dis/ability can be progressed further with a new cultural synthesis.

Paper III is relevant to two aspects of the dilemma described above. On the one hand, it shows that a simple declaration that support systems for disabled persons are solely well-intentioned helps essentialize real existing capitalism. In this regard, Paper III refers to the institutional logics rationale (e.g., Friedland and Alford 1991), which provides a valuable contribution to social ontology (Mutch 2020). Paper III shows that relationships between in/educability, ab/normality, and dis/ability are produced in intertwined institutions that combine material practices and cultural symbols. These binaries between in/educability, ab/normality, and dis/ability would have to be resolved to achieve full inclusion. On the other hand, from the perspective of Paper III, one can also agree with the concerns that realists have raised about the postmodern demand to dissolve and overcome any binaries everywhere (Vehmas and Watson 2014: 641). We have a Polanyian situation there. Even if capitalism is not a fixed constant, the market mechanisms are very powerful. In a capitalist market society, one has great problems surviving humanely without money. Given real existing capitalism, those who make demands for dissolving and overcoming any binaries everywhere would first have to explain how redistribution would be possible without any binaries and how these respective dilemmas could be overcome. There is still plenty of room for (theoretical) discussion here.

Paper IV draws on the fact that Switzerland offers an interesting if rather gloomy prism. In the care sector, we can still see how structures function with little emancipation. Here, the structures of the benevolent paternalist welfare state are still present in a purer form than in other countries. In the area of work and disability pensions, on the other hand, we can by no means assume stagnation but rather a regressive, strong cadence of change. From a Fraserian perspective, however, Switzerland lacks what is actually intended, namely, an alliance between emancipation and social protection. Rather, the case has a disjointed nature. In the area of work and disability pensions, one can speak of a welfare state retrenchment, while in the disability care sector, there have been hardly any changes in terms of redistribution.

Applying the morphogenetic approach of Archer (1995), Paper IV explores the situational logic of the conflict between social protection and emancipation. A distinction is made between recognizing mutual relationships as interdependent or contingent and considering interests as compatible or incompatible. This explains very well the stability in Switzerland because of a situational logic of necessary compatibilities. What is very interesting, however, is that Sweden and the United Kingdom have quite different levels of redistribution. Paper IV tries to explain this by showing that the two different historical welfare states have led to two different situational logics. A relatively general inference that can be drawn from this is that one should strive for a situational logic of necessary incompatibilities if one wishes to achieve the coalition between social protection and emancipation and, accordingly, the preservation and expansion of redistribution with simultaneous emancipation. Again, a theoretical discussion or examples from other countries would be highly interesting.

Concluding, I recall the main motive of this dissertation, which is to focus on the in-between and stimulate reflection there: for example, in the middle ground between epistemic liberation and a stubborn realist attitude; between social protection and emancipation; and, of course, between the welfare state and the critique of same by the emancipatory disability movement. The welfare state has itself always taken shape in the in-between. It has never been a product of perfect human emancipation or a realization of progressive utopias. Instead, it has been a perpetual compromise with capital—a “better than nothing.” Fortunately, the welfare state need not remain the end point of our dreams.

I hope that we will find the way to a socio-ecological-feminist transformation that simultaneously reembeds the economy into ecological and caring processes and activities, further increases cultural chaos and diversity, and allows for a richer inner life than the constant chasing after an optimally marketable self does. Until then, however, the question arises whether the welfare state itself needs some protection. Admittedly, the Western welfare state is uncharismatic. Given the formation of capital interests on the one side and human needs on the other side, however, it remains what it is: better than nothing.

10 References[12]

Amlinger, Carolin und Oliver Nachtwey (2021). Sozialer Wandel, Sozialcharakter und Verschwörungsdenken in der Spätmoderne. *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 71*(35–36), 13–19.

Archer, Margaret S. (1995). *Realist social theory: the morphogenetic approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Arnardóttir, Oddný Mjöll und Gerard Quinn (Ed.) (2009). *The UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities: European and Scandinavian Perspectives*. Leiden: Brill.

Aselmeier, Laurenz (2008). *Community Care und Menschen mit geistiger Behinderung: Gemeinwesenorientierte Unterstützung in England, Schweden und Deutschland*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Aselmeier, Laurenz und Hanna Weinbach (2004). Drei Welten der Hilfen für Menschen mit Behinderung? – Unterstützung für Menschen mit geistiger Behinderung aus der Perspektive vergleichender Wohlfahrtsforschung. In: Grebe, Katharina und Johannes Schädler (Hg.). *Sorge und Gerechtigkeit – Werkleute im sozialen Feld. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Prof. Dr. Norbert Schwarte* (95–112). Frankfurt am Main: Verlag der Gesellschaft zur Förderung arbeitsorientierter Forschung und Bildung.

Bailey, David J. (2008). Explaining the underdevelopment of `Social Europe': a critical realization. *Journal of European Social Policy, 18*(3), 232–245.

Bambra, Clare (2007). Defamilisation and welfare state regimes: a cluster analysis. *International Journal of Social Welfare, 16*(4), 326–338.

Barnes, Helen (2000). *Working for a living: Employment, benefits and the living standards of disabled people*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Bates, Stephen R. (2015). The Emergent Body: Marxism, Critical Realism and the Corporeal in Contemporary Capitalist Society. *Global Society, 29*(1), 128–147.

Baumgartner, Edgar (2002). *Assistenzdienste für behinderte Personen: Sozialpolitische Folgerungen aus einem Pilotprojekt*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Baumgartner, Edgar und Beat Uebelhart (2009). Evaluation des subventions aux organisations de l'aide privée aux invalides. *Sécurité sociale CHSS, 3*(2009), 172–176.

Beckett, Angharad E. und Tom Campbell (2015). The social model of disability as an oppositional device. *Disability & Society, 30*(2), 270–283.

Berger, Peter L. und Thomas Luckmann (1991 [1966]). *The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. London: Penguin Books.

Bhaskar, Roy (1998 [1979]). *The Possibility of Naturalism. A Philosophical Critique of the Contemporary Human Sciences* (3. ed.). London: Routledge.

Bhaskar, Roy (2008 [1975]). *A Realist Theory of Science*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Bhaskar, Roy und Berth Danermark (2006). Metatheory, Interdisciplinarity and Disability

---

[12] *Referring to the Preface, Part A and Part C. For references cited in the papers (Part B) see reference lists of the papers.*

Research: A Critical Realist Perspective. *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research, 8*(4), 278–297.

Block, Fred (2001). Introduction. In: Beacon Press (Ed.). *The Great Transformation. The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (XVIII–XXXVIII). Boston: Beacon Press.

Boger, Mai-Anh (2019a). "Du musst ihnen sagen, dass das falsch ist." – Eine Geschichte vom existentiellen Wert der Theoriebildung. In: Dederich, Markus, Stephan Ellinger und Désirée Laubenstein (Hg.). *Sonderpädagogik als Erfahrungs- und Praxiswissenschaft. Geistes-, sozial- und kulturwissenschaftliche Perspektiven* (127–153). Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich.

Boger, Mai-Anh (2019b). *Theorien der Inklusion. Die Theorie der trilemmatischen Inklusion zum Mitdenken*. Münster: Edition Assemblage.

Böheim, René und Thomas Leoni (2018). Sickness and disability policies: Reform paths in OECD countries between 1990 and 2014. *International Journal of Social Welfare, 27*(2), 168–185.

Bonoli, Giuliano und Junko Kato (2004). Social policies in Switzerland and Japan: Managing Change in Liberal-Conservative Welfare States. *Swiss Political Science Review, 10*(3), 211–232.

Borchert, Jens und Stephan Lessenich (2012). Einleitung. Der Vergleich in den Sozialwissenschaften. In: Borchert, Jens und Stephan Lessenich (Hg.). *Der Vergleich in den Sozialwissenschaften. Staat – Kapitalismus – Demokratie* (9–17). Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

Brennan, Ciara, Rannveig Traustadóttir, James Rice und Peter Anderberg (2018). “Being Number One is the Biggest Obstacle”: Implementing the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities within Nordic welfare services. *Nordic Welfare Research, 3*(1), 18–32.

Brussig, Martin, Susanne Eva Drescher und Thorsten Kalina (2019). Aktivierende Erwerbsminderungsrente? Zur Rückkehr auf den Arbeitsmarkt nach Erwerbsminderung. *Berliner Journal für Soziologie, 29*(3), 237–271.

Budd, Julia (2016). Using Meta-perspectives to Improve Equity and Inclusion. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 51*(2), 227–244.

Budowski, Monica und Sebastian Schief (2017). Strategies of households in precarious prosperity in Chile, Costa Rica, Spain and Switzerland. In: Mackert, Jürgen und Bryan S. Turner (Ed.). *The transformation of citizenship, volume 1: Political economy* (167–187). Abingdon: Routledge.

Budowski, Monica und William Daniel Vera (2016). Household Wellbeing and Health in Two Types of Welfare Regimes – A Comparison of (Lower-) Middle Income Households in Chile and Costa Rica. *socialpolicy.ch, 1*(2016), 1–24.

Bundesamt für Sozialversicherungen (2021). *IV-Statistik 2020*. Bern: Bundesamt für Sozialversicherungen.

Caduff, Patrick und Monica Budowski (2012). "Scheininvalide"? Zum Problem der Grenzziehung zwischen legitimen und "illegitimen" Krankheitsbildern. In: Budowski, Monica, Micheal Nollert und Christopher Young (Hg.). *Delinquenz und Bestrafung. Diskurse, Institutionen und Strukturen* (62–82). Zürich: Seismo Verlag.

Callinicos, Alex (2006). *The Resources of Critique*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Ciccia, Rossella (2017). A two-step approach for the analysis of hybrids in comparative social policy analysis: a nuanced typology of childcare between policies and regimes. *Quality & Quantity, 51*(6), 2761–2780.

Craig, Diane und Christine Bigby (2015). Critical Realism in Social Work Research: Examining Participation of People with Intellectual Disability. *Australian Social Work, 68*(3), 309–323.

Crow, Liz (1996). Including All of Our Lives: Renewing the social model of disability. In: Morris, Jenny (Ed.). *Encounters with Strangers. Feminism and Disability* (206–229). London: The Women's Press.

Danermark, Berth (2002). Interdisciplinary Research and Critical Realism. The Example of Disability Research. *Journal of Critical Realism, 5*(1), 56–64.

Danermark, Berth und Lotta Coniavitis Gellerstedt (2004). Social justice: redistribution and recognition – a non-reductionist perspective on disability. *Disability & Society, 19*(4), 339–353.

Danermark, Berth, Mats Ekström, Liselotte Jakobsen und Jan C. Karlsson (2002). *Explaining Society. Critical realism in the social sciences*. London: Routledge.

Davis, Lennard J. (2013). The End of Identity Politics: On Disability as an Unstable Category. In: Davis, Lennard J. (Ed.). *The Disability Studies Reader* (4. ed., 263–277). New York: Routledge.

Dederich, Markus (2007). *Körper, Kultur und Behinderung. Eine Einführung in die Disability Studies*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.

Deleuze, Gilles und Félix Guattari (1972). *Capitalisme et schizophrénie. L'anti-Œdipe*. Paris : Les Éditions de Minuit.

Deleuze, Gilles und Félix Guattari (1980). *Mille plateaux*. Paris : Les Éditions de Minuit.

Dengler, Corinna (2020). *Feminist Futures: Was Degrowth von feministischer Wissenschafts-, Wirtschafts- und Wachstumskritik lernt.* Kumulative Dissertation zur Erlangung des Grades einer Doktorin der Wirtschaftswissenschaften, Fakultät Bildungs- und Gesellschaftswissenschaften, Universität Vechta, Vechta.

Dodd, Steven (2016). Orientating disability studies to disablist austerity: applying Fraser's insights. *Disability & Society, 31*(2), 149–165.

Drake, Robert F. (1999). *Understanding Disability Policies*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ebbinghaus, Bernhard (2005). When Less is More: Selection Problems in Large-N and Small-N Cross-National Comparisons. *International Sociology, 20*(2), 133–152.

Egloff, Barbara (2017). *Selbstbestimmt unterstützt durch Assistenz: Eine empirische Untersuchung zur Einführung und Umsetzung des Assistenzbeitrags in der Schweiz*. Bern: Edition SZH/CSPS.

Elder-Vass, Dave (2012). *The Reality of Social Construction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ellis, Katie, Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, Mike Kent und Rachel Robertson (Ed.) (2019). *Manifestos for the Future of Critical Disability Studies*. Abingdon: Routledge.

ENIL [European Network on Independent Living] (2017). *Personal Assistance Tables from the Comparative Survey on PA in Europe*. Zugriff am 10. Oktober 2017 auf http://enil.eu/policy/personal-assistance-tables/

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (1990). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (1999). *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Eurobarometer (2012a). *Flash Eurobarometer 345: Accessibility*. European Commission, Brussels.

Eurobarometer (2012b). *Special Eurobarometer 393: Discrimination in the EU in 2012*. European Commission, Brussels.

Feely, Michael (2016). Disability studies after the ontological turn: a return to the material world and material bodies without a return to essentialism. *Disability & Society, 31*(7), 863–883.

Ferreira, Cristina (2020). Invalidenversicherung (Reformen). In: Bonvin, Jean-Michel, Pascal Maeder, Carlo Knöpfel, Valérie Hugentobler und Ueli Tecklenburg (Hg.). *Wörterbuch der Schweizer Sozialpolitik* (256–258). Zürich: Seismo Verlag.

Flatschart, Elmar (2012). Zum Verhältnis von Kritik und Disziplinarität. Wissenschaftstheoretische Argumente für eine kritische und kritisch-realistisch fundierte Orientierung der Politikwissenschaft. *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft, 41*(3), 241–258.

Flatscher, Matthias und Sergej Seitz (2018). Latour, Foucault und das Postfaktische: Zur Rolle und Funktion von Kritik im Zeitalter der "Wahrheitskrise". *Le foucaldien, 4*(1), 1–30.

Fleetwood, Steve (2001). Conceptualizing Unemployment in a Period of Atypical Employment: A Critical Realist Perspective. *Review of Social Economy, 59*(1), 45–69.

Flynn, Susan (2017). Engaging with materialism and material reality: critical disability studies and economic recession. *Disability & Society, 32*(2), 143–159.

Foubert, Josephine, Katia Levecque, Ronan Van Rossem und Alessia Romagnoli (2014). Do welfare regimes influence the association between disability and self-perceived health? A multilevel analysis of 57 countries. *Social Science & Medicine, 117*(September 2014), 10–17.

Fracchia, Joseph (2004). Die körperliche Tiefe des Marxschen Verelendungsbegriffs. Der kapitalistische Arbeitsprozeß und der körperliche Schmerz. In: Kirchhoff, Christine, Lars Meyer, Hanno Pahl, Judith Heckel und Christoph Engemann (Hg.). *Gesellschaft als Verkehrung. Perspektiven einer neuen Marx-Lektüre* (219-248). Freiburg im Breisgau: ça ira.

Fracheboud, Virginie (2015). *Introduction de l'assurance invalidité en Suisse (1944-1960). Tensions au cœur de l'État social*. Lausanne Éditions Antipodes.

Fraser, Nancy (2003). Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics: Redistribution, Recognition, and Participation. In: Fraser, Nancy und Axel Honneth (Ed.). *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange* (7–109). London: Verso.

Fraser, Nancy (2011). Marketization, Social Protection, Emancipation: Toward a Neo-Polanyian Conception of Capitalist Crisis. In: Calhoun, Craig und Georgi Derluguian (Ed.). *Business as Usual. The Roots of the Global Financial Meltdown* (137–157). New York: New York University Press.

Fraser, Nancy (2013a). *Fortunes of Feminism: From State-Managed Capitalism to Neoliberal Crisis*. London: Verso.

Fraser, Nancy (2013b). A Triple Movement? Parsing the Politics of Crisis after Polanyi. *New Left Review, 81*, 119–132.

Fraser, Nancy (2014). Can society be commodities all the way down? Post-Polanyian reflections on capitalist crisis. *Economy and Society, 43*(4), 541–558.

Fraser, Nancy (2016). Progressive Neoliberalism versus Reactionary Populism: A Choice that Feminists Should Refuse. *NORA – Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research, 24*(4), 281–284.

French, Sally (1993). Disability, impairment of something in between? In: Swain, John, Vic Finkelstein, Sally French und Michael Oliver (Ed.). *Disabling Barriers – Enabling Environments* (17–25). London: SAGE.

Fricker, Miranda (2007). *Epistemic Injustice. Power and the Ethics of Knowing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Friedland, Roger und Robert R. Alford (1991). Bringing Society Back In: Symbols, Practices, and Institutional Contradictions. In: Powell, Walter W. und Paul J. DiMaggio (Ed.). *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis* (232–263). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fritschi, Tobias, Matthias von Bergen, Franziska Müller, Noëlle Bucher, Gaspard Ostrowski, Simonina Kraus und Larissa Luchsinger (2019). *Bestandesaufnahme des Wohnangebots für Menschen mit Behinderungen*. Bern: Berner Fachhochschule.

Fromm, Erich (1980 [1964]). *The Heart of Man. Its Genius for Good & Evil* (2. ed.). New York: Harper Colophon Books.

Funk, Rainer (2020). Flucht ins Autoritäre? Sozial-psychoanalytische Erklärungen gegenwärtiger politischer Entwicklungen nach Erich Fromm. In: Internationale Erich Fromm Gesellschaft (Hg.). *Rechtspopulismus und Demokratie* (99–123). Tübingen: Internationale Erich Fromm Gesellschaft.

Füssel, Hans-Peter und Rudolf Kretschmann (1993). *Gemeinsamer Unterricht für behinderte und nichtbehinderte Kinder*. Witterschlick: Verlag Marg. Wehle.

Gal, John (2004). Decommodification and beyond: A Comparative Analysis of Work-Injury Programmes. *Journal of European Social Policy, 14*(1), 55–69.

Garland-Thomson, Rosemarie (2010). Integrating Disability, Transforming Feminist Theory. In: Davis, Lennard J. (Ed.). *The Disability Studies Reader* (3 ed., 353–373). Abingdon: Routledge.

Germann, Urs (2008). "Eingliederung vor Rente". Behindertenpolitische Weichenstellungen und die Einführung der schweizerischen Invalidenversicherung. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, 58(2), 178–197.

Germann, Urs (2010). Integration durch Arbeit: Behindertenpolitik und die Entwicklung des schweizerischen Sozialstaats 1900-1960. In: Bösl, Elsbeth, Anne Klein und Anne Waldschmidt (Hg.). *Disability History: Konstruktion von Behinderung in der Geschichte. Eine Einführung* (151–168). Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.

Germann, Urs (2020). Die IV: Stief- und Vorzeigekind des Sozialstaats. *Soziale Sicherheit CHSS, 2020*(3), 12–17.

Germann, Urs, Mariama Kaba, Agnes Nienhaus und Carlo Wolfisberg (2006). Behinderung. *Traverse: Zeitschrift für Geschichte, 13*(3), 17–23.

Ghezzi, Simone und Enzo Mingione (2007). Embeddedness, Path Dependency and Social Institutions: An Economic Sociology Approach. *Current Sociology, 55*(1), 11–23.

Goodley, Dan (2011). *Disability Studies. An Interdisciplinary Introduction*. London: SAGE.

Goodley, Dan (2014). *Dis/ability Studies. Theorising disablism and ableism*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Goodley, Dan, Rebecca Lawthom, Kirsty Liddiard und Katherine Runswick-Cole (2019). Provocations for Critical Disability Studies. *Disability & Society, 34*(6), 972–997.

Gough, Ian (2001). Social assistance regimes: a cluster analysis. *Journal of European Social Policy, 11*(2), 165–170.

Graf, Erich O., Cornelia Renggli und Jan Weisser (Hg.) (2011). *PULS – DruckSache aus der Behindertenbewegung. Materialien für die Wiederaneignung einer Geschichte*. Zürich: Chronos Verlag.

Greener, Ian (2005). The Potential of Path Dependence in Political Studies. *Politics, 25*(1), 62–72.

Griebel, Tim (2016). *Liebe und Macht in der deutschamerikanischen Sicherheitsbeziehung 2001-2003. Eine kritisch-realistische Diskursanalyse*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.

Grönvik, Lars (2009). Defining disability: effects of disability concepts on research outcomes. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 12*(1), 1–18.

Halvorsen, Rune, Anne Waldschmidt, Bjørn Hvinden und Kjetil Klette Bøhler (2017). Diversity and dynamics of disability policy in Europe. An analytical framework. In: Halvorsen, Rune, Bjørn Hvinden, Jerome Bickenbach, Delia Ferri und Ana Marta Guillén Rodriguez (Ed.). *The Changing Disability Policy System: Active Citizenship and Disability in Europe. Volume 1* (12–33). Abingdon: Routledge.

Hartwig, Mervyn (2007). *Dictionary of Critical Realism*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Hassler, Benedikt (2021). *Ambivalenz der Wiedereingliederung. Betriebliche und sozialstaatliche Integrationsmassnahmen aus der Sicht gesundheitlich beeinträchtigter Personen*. Zürich: Seismo Verlag.

Hauser, Max und Hans Witschi (1981). Interview mit Frau Erika Liniger, Zentralsekretärin der Pro Infirmis. *Puls: Monatsheft der Gruppen IMPULS + CeBeeF, 1981*(4), 5–15.

Häusermann, Silja (2010). Reform Opportunities in a Bismarckian Latecomer: Restructuring the Swiss Welfare State. In: Palier, Bruno (Ed.). *A Long Goodbye to Bismarck? The Politics of Welfare Reform in Continental Europe* (207–231). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Häusermann, Silja (2020). Wohlfahrtsregime. In: Bonvin, Jean-Michel, Pascal Maeder, Carlo

Knöpfel, Valérie Hugentobler und Ueli Tecklenburg (Hg.). *Wörterbuch der Schweizer Sozialpolitik* (565–568). Zürich: Seismo Verlag.

Hay, Colin (2006). Political Ontology. In: Goodin, Robert E. und Charles Tilly (Ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis* (78–96). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Helmig, Bernd, Markus Gmür, Christoph Bärlocher, Georg von Schnurbein, Bernard Degen, Michael Nollert, Monica Budowski, Wojciech Sokolowski und Lester M. Salamon (2011). *The Swiss Civil Society Sector in a Comparative Perspective*. Institute for Research on Management of Associations, Foundations and Cooperatives (VMI), University of Fribourg, Fribourg.

Hermes, Gisela und Swantje Köbsell (Hg.) (2003). *Disability Studies in Deutschland - Behinderung neu denken! Dokumentation der Sommeruni 2003*. Kassel: bifos.

Hess-Klein, Caroline (2007). Gleichstellungsrecht als Instrument zur Förderung der selbstbestimmten Teilnahme von Menschen mit Behinderungen am gesellschaftlichen Leben. In: Mottier, Véronique und Laura von Mandach (Hg.). *Pflege, Stigmatisierung und Eugenik. Integration und Ausschluss in Medizin, Psychiatrie und Sozialhilfe* (144–156). Zürich: Seismo Verlag.

Hildebrand, Marius (2017). *Rechtspopulismus und Hegemonie: Der Aufstieg der SVP und die diskursive Transformation der politischen Schweiz*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.

Hudson, John und Stefan Kühner (2010). Beyond the Dependent Variable Problem: The Methodological Challenges of Capturing Productive and Protective Dimensions of Social Policy. *Social Policy and Society, 9*(2), 167–179.

Hughes, Bill (2009). Wounded/monstrous/abject: a critique of the disabled body in the sociological imaginary. *Disability & Society, 24*(4), 399–410.

Johner-Kobi, Sylvie (2015). Behinderung – von individueller Beeinträchtigung zu Hindernisfreiheit und Selbstbestimmung. In: Riedi, Anna Maria, Michael Zwilling, Marcel Meier Kressig, Petra Benz Bartoletta und Doris Aebi Zindel (Hg.). *Handbuch Sozialwesen Schweiz* (2. Auflage, 169–182). Bern: Haupt.

Kaba, Mariama (2010). Les discours sur l'«anormalité» comme vecteurs d'inégalités. Histoire des conceptions du handicap depuis le XIXe siècle. In: David, Thomas, Janick Marina Schaufelbuehl, Valentin Groebner und Brigitte Studer (Hg.). *Die Produktion von Ungleichheiten – La production des inégalités* (79–88). Zürich: Chronos.

Knöpfel, Carlo (2015). Sozialstaatliche Rahmenbedingungen in der Schweiz. In: Wüthrich, Bernadette, Jeremias Amstutz und Agnès Fritze (Hg.). *Soziale Versorgung zukunftsfähig gestalten* (23–35). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Köbsell, Swantje (2010). Gendering Disability: Behinderung, Geschlecht und Körper. In: Jacob, Jutta, Swantje Köbsell und Eske Wollrad (Hg.). *Gendering Disability. Intersektionale Aspekte von Behinderung und Geschlecht* (17–33). Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.

Köbsell, Swantje, Gisela Hermes, Petra Kuppers, Volker Schönwiese und Peter Wehrli (2020). Wie war das damals eigentlich? Wie die Disability Studies Deutsch sprechen lernten. In: Brehme, David, Petra Fuchs, Swantje Köbsell und Carla Wesselmann (Hg.). *Disability Studies im deutschsprachigen Raum. Zwischen Emanzipation und Vereinnahmung* (24–40). Weinheim: Beltz Juventa.

Köpfer, Andreas, Justin J. W. Powell und Raphael Zahnd (2021). Entwicklungslinien internationaler und komparativer Inklusionsforschung. In: Köpfer, Andreas, Justin J. W. Powell und Raphael Zahnd (Hg.). *Handbuch Inklusion international / International Handbook of Inclusive Education* (11–41). Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich.

Kröger, Teppo (2011). Defamilisation, dedomestication and care policy: Comparing childcare service provisions of welfare states. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 31*(7/8), 424–440.

Kvist, Jon (2007). Fuzzy set ideal type analysis. *Journal of Business Research, 60*(5), 474–481.

Latour, Bruno (2004). Why Has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern. *Critical Inquiry, 30*(2), 225–248.

Lee, Seung Eun (2014). *Protective, active and legislative disability policy in 10 OECD countries through the lens of fuzzy ideal type analysis (FSITA).* Thesis to obtain a MPhil, Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of York, York.

Lewis, Jane (1997). Gender and Welfare Regimes: Further Thoughts. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society, 4*(2), 160–177.

Lid, Inger Marie (2013). Developing the theoretical content in Universal Design. *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research, 15*(3), 203–215.

Lister, Ruth (1994). 'She has other duties' – Women, citizenship and social security. In: Baldwin, Sally und Jane Falkingham (Ed.). *Social Security and Social Change. New Challenges to the Beverdige Model* (31–44). London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Lyotard, Jean-François (1979). *La condition postmoderne. Rapport sur le savoir*. Paris : Les Éditions de Minuit.

Mader, Dimitri, Urs Lindner und Hans Pühretmayer (2017). Einleitung. Critical Realism als Philosophie der Sozialwissenschaften. In: Lindner, Urs und Dimitri Mader (Hg.). *Critical Realism meets kritische Sozialtheorie. Ontologie, Erklärung und Kritik in den Sozialwissenschaften* (7–73). Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.

Mallett, Rebecca und Katherine Runswick-Cole (2014). *Approaching Disability. Critical issues and perspectives*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Mansell, Jim, Martin Knapp, Julie Beadle-Brown und Jennifer Beecham (2007). *Deinstitutionalisation and community living – outcomes and costs: report of a European Study. Volume 2: Main Report.* Tizard Centre, University of Kent, Kent.

Marshall, Thomas H. (1950). *Citizenship and Social Class; and other Essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maschke, Michael (2004). Behinderung als Feld wohlfahrtsstaatlicher Politik – eine Systematisierung der Behindertenpolitik. *Berliner Journal für Soziologie, 14*(3), 399–420.

Maschke, Michael (2008). *Behindertenpolitik in der Europäischen Union: Lebenssituation Behinderter Menschen und Nationale Behindertenpolitik in 15 Mitgliedstaaten*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Mathieu, Sophie (2016). From the Defamilialization to the “Demotherization” of Care Work. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society, 23*(4), 576–591.

McGowan, Brian (2011). Die Zeitschrift PULS – Stimme aus der Behindertenbewegung. In:

Graf, Erich Otto, Cornelia Renggli und Jan Weisser (Hg.). *PULS – DruckSache aus der Behindertenbewegung. Materialien für die Wiederaneignung einer Geschichte* (13–73). Zürich: Chronos.

McLaughlin, Eithne und Caroline Glendinning (1994). Paying for care in Europe: is there a feminist approach? In: Hantrais, Linda und Steen Mangen (Ed.). *Familiy Policy and the Welfare of Women* (52–69). Loughborough: The Cross-National Research Group, Loughborough University of Technology.

Meekosha, Helen (1998). Body Battles: Bodies, Gender and Disability. In: Shakespeare, Tom (Ed.). *The Disability Reader: Social Science Perspectives* (163–180). London: Continuum.

Mladenov, Teodor (2015). *Critical Theory and Disability. A phenomenological approach*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Mladenov, Teodor (2016). Disability and social justice. *Disability & Society, 31*(9), 1226–1241.

Morris, Jenny (1991). *Pride Against Prejudice. Transforming Attitudes to Disability*. Philadelphia: New Society Publishers.

Morris, Jenny (2011). *Rethinking disability policy*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York.

Morris, Zachary A. (2021). Making ends meet on disability benefits: How well do programs decommodify? *ALTER – European Journal of Disability Research, 15*(1), 15–28.

Morris, Zachary A. und Asghar Zaidi (2020). Estimating the extra costs of disability in European countries: Implications for poverty measurement and disability-related decommodification. *Journal of European Social Policy, 30*(3), 339–354.

Müller, Johanna M. (2017). Kritik im Critical Realism. Zwischen Diskursethik und formaler Anthropologie. In: Ellmers, Sven und Philip Hogh (Hg.). *Warum Kritik? Begründungsformen kritischer Theorien* (364–387). Weilerswist: Velbrück Wissenschaft.

Münder, Johannes (1998). Von der Subsidiarität über den Korporatismus zum Markt? *Neue Praxis. Zeitschrift für Sozialarbeit, Sozialpädagogik und Sozialpolitik, 18*(1), 3–12.

Mutch, Alistair (2020). Institutional logics as a contribution to social ontology. *Journal of Critical Realism, 19*(5), 466–480.

Neukirchinger, Barbara (2020). Kritische Theorie als Perspektive für das britische soziale Modell von Behinderung. In: Brehme, David, Petra Fuchs, Swantje Köbsell und Carla Wesselmann (Hg.). *Disability Studies im deutschsprachigen Raum. Zwischen Emanzipation und Vereinnahmung* (74–81). Weinheim: Beltz Juventa.

Nollert, Michael und Sebastian Schief (2011). Preventing the Retrenchment of the Welfare State: Switzerland’s Competitiveness in the World Market for Protection. *Competition & Change, 15*(4), 315–335.

O'Brien, Rourke L. (2013). Economy and Disability: Labor Market Conditions and the Disability of Working-Age Individuals. *Social Problems, 60*(3), 321–333.

O'Brien, Rourke L. (2015). Disability and the Worlds of Welfare Capitalism. *Sociological Science, 2*(1), 1–19.

OECD (2003). *Transforming Disability into Ability: Policies to Promote Work and Income Security for Disabled People*. OECD, Paris.

OECD (2010). *Sickness, Disability, and Work: Breaking the Barriers. A Synthesis of Findings across OECD Countries*. OECD, Paris.

OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] (2017/2020). *OECD Social Expenditure Database*. Online Database. Erster Zugriff am 07.09.2017; zweiter Zugriff 17.04.2020 auf http://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx?DatasetCode=SOCX_DET#

Oelkers, Jürgen (2020). Populismus, Schulkritik und gesellschaftliche Bildung. In: Binder, Ulrich und Jürgen Oelkers (Hg.). *„Das Ende der politischen Ordnungsvorstellungen des 20. Jahrhunderts." Erziehungswissenschaftliche Beobachtungen* (29–52). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Oliver, Michael (1983). *Social Work with Disabled People*. London: Macmillan Education.

Oliver, Michael (1989). Disability and Dependency: A Creation of Industrial Societies. In: Barton, Len (Ed.). *Disability and Dependency* (7-22). Barcombe: The Falmer Press.

Oliver, Michael (1990). *The Politics of Disablement*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Oliver, Michael (2013). The social model of disability: thirty years on. *Disability & Society, 28*(7), 1024–1026.

Oliver, Michael und Colin Barnes (1998). *Disabled People and Social Policy: From Exclusion to Inclusion*. London: Longman.

Oliver, Michael und Colin Barnes (2012). *The New Politics of Disablement*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Orloff, Ann Shola (1993). Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States. *American Sociological Review, 58*(June 1993), 303–328.

Penner, Anna (2012). The disability gap in happiness across welfare regimes. *International Journal on Disability and Human Development, 12*(3), 325–331.

Pfahl, Lisa und Justin J. W. Powell (2014). Subversive Status: Disability Studies in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. *Disability Studies Quarterly, 34*(2).

Piecek, Monika, Jean-Pierre Tabin, Céline Perrin und Isabelle Probst (2019). The 'compliant', the 'pacified' and the 'rebel': experiences with Swiss disability insurance. *Disability & Society, 34*(4), 583–606.

Plangger, Sascha und Volker Schönwiese (2015). Behinderung und Gerechtigkeit. *juridikum – zeitschrift für kritik/recht/gesellschaft, 2015*(1), 73–82.

Polanyi, Karl (1957). The Economy as Instituted Process. In: Polanyi, Karl, Conrad M. Arensberg und Harry W. Pearson (Ed.). *Trade and Market in the Early Empires. Economies in History and Theory* (243–270). Chicago: Regnery.

Polanyi, Karl (2001 [1944]). *The Great Transformation. The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Porter, Tom, Tom Shakespeare und Andrea Stöckl (2021). Trouble in Direct Payment Personal Assistance Relationships. *Work, Employment and Society*, Online First.

Powell, Justin J. W. (2020). Comparative education in an age of competition and collaboration. *Comparative Education, 56*(1), 57–78.

Powell, Justin J. W., Benjamin Edelstein und Jonna M. Blanck (2016). Awareness-raising, legitimation or backlash? Effects of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities on education systems in Germany. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 14*(2), 227–250.

Precious, Kate (2021). Informed, involved, or empowered? Three ideal types of autism policy design in Western Europe. *European Policy Analysis, 7*(1), 185–206.

Prerost, Ruedi (2000). Vom Objekt zum Subjekt. Behindertenemanzipation in der Schweiz. In: Caritas (Hg.). *Sozialalmanach 2000: Sozialrechte und Chancengleichheit in der Schweiz* (147–163). Luzern: Caritas-Verlag.

Priestley, Mark und Stefanos Grammenos (2021). How useful are equality indicators? The expressive function of ‘stat imperfecta’ in disability rights advocacy. *Evidence & Policy: A Journal of Research, Debate and Practice, 17*(2), 209–226.

Pring, John (2017). University apologises after asking social model critic to deliver first ‘Finkelstein lecture’. *Disability News Service*. Zugriff am 10.06.2020 auf https://www.disabilitynewsservice.com/university-apologises-after-asking-social-model-critic-to-deliver-first-finkelstein-lecture/

Probst, Isabelle, Jean-Pierre Tabin und Nelly Courvoisier (2015). De la réparation à la réversibilité. Un nouveau paradigme dans l’assurance invalidité ? *Swiss Journal of Sociology, 41*(1), 101–117.

Pühretmayer, Hans (2010). Zur Kombinierbarkeit von Critical Realism und Poststrukturalismus: Eine Reformulierung der Struktur-Handlungs-Frage. *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft, 39*(1), 9–26.

Ragin, Charles C. (1992). "Casing" and the process of social inquiry. In: Ragin, Charles C. und Howard S. Becker (Ed.). *What is a case? Exploring the foundations of social inquiry* (217–226). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rauch, Dietmar, Elisabeth Olin und Anna Dunér (2018). A Refamilialized System? An Analysis of Recent Developments of Personal Assistance in Sweden. *Social Inclusion, 6*(2), 56–65.

Renggli, Cornelia (2004). Disability Studies – ein historischer Überblick. In: Weisser, Jan und Cornelia Renggli (Hg.). *Disability Studies. Ein Lesebuch* (15–26). Luzern: Edition SZH/CSPS.

Richardson, John G. und Justin J. W. Powell (2011). *Comparing Special Education: Origins to Contemporary Paradoxes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Room, Graham (2000). Commodification and decommodification: a developmental critique. *Policy & Politics, 28*(3), 331–351.

Rosenstein, Emilie (2013). L'activation et ses abus de langage : le cas de l'assurance-invalidité. *Revue suisse de travail social, 12*, 38–50.

Rutzou, Timothy (2015). *In Pursuit of the Real. Postmodernism and Critical Realism.* Thesis to obtain a Doctor in Philosophy, Institute of Education, University College London, London.

Rutzou, Timothy (2017). Finding Bhaskar in all the wrong places? Causation, process, and structure in Bhaskar and Deleuze. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 47*(4), 402–417.

Ryser, Daniel (2018). *In Badehosen nach Stalingrad. Der Weg von Roger Köppel*. Basel: Echtzeit.

Sainsbury, Diane (Ed.) (1994). *Gendering Welfare States*. London: SAGE Publications.

Saxonberg, Steven (2013). From Defamilialization to Degenderization: Toward a New Welfare Typology. *Social Policy & Administration, 47*(1), 26–49.

Sayer, Andrew (2000). *Realism and Social Science*. London: SAGE.

Scharle, Ágota, Balázs Váradi und Flóra Samu (2015). *Policy convergence across welfare regimes: the case of disability policies*. WWWforEurope, Vienna.

Schief, Sebastian (2020). Decent Work und die Universität. *socialpolicy.ch, 2*(2020), 1–24.

Schwarzmann, Ueli (1987). Behinderung. In: Schweizerische Landeskonferenz für Sozialwesen (Hg.). *Handbuch Sozialwesen Schweiz* (120–133). Zürich: Verlag Pro Juventute.

Sépulchre, Marie (2020). Ensuring equal citizenship for disabled people: A matter of rights or a matter of costs? *ALTER – European Journal of Disability Research, 14*(2), 114–127.

Shakespeare, Tom (2006). *Disability Rights and Wrongs*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Shakespeare, Tom (2013). The Social Model of Disability. In: Davis, Lennard J. (Ed.). *The Disability Studies Reader* (4. ed., 214–221). Abingdon: Routledge.

Shakespeare, Tom und Nicholas Watson (2001). The social model of disability: An outdated ideology? In: Watson, Nicholas, Sharon N. Barnartt und Barbara M. Altman (Ed.). *Exploring Theories and Expanding Methodologies: Where we are and where we need to go* (9–28). Bingley: Emerald.

Shildrick, Margrit (2020). Critical Disability Studies. Rethinking the conventions for the age of postmodernity. In: Watson, Nicholas und Simo Vehmas (Ed.). *Routledge Handbook of Disability Studies* (2. ed., 32–44). Abingdon: Routledge.

Shildrick, Margrit und Janet Price (1996). Breaking the Boundaries of the Broken Body. *Body & Society, 2*(4), 93–113.

Siebers, Tobin (2008). *Disability Theory*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Siebers, Tobin (2019). Returning the Social to the Social Model. In: Mitchell, David T., Susan Antebi und Sharon L. Snyder (Ed.). *The Matter of Disability. Materiality, Biopolitics, Crip Affect* (39–47). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Snyder, Sharon L. und David T. Mitchell (2006). *Cultural Locations of Disability*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty (1988). Subaltern Studies. Deconstructing Historiography. In: Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty (Ed.). *In Other Worlds. Essays in Cultural Politics* (197–221). New York: Routledge.

Steffen, Markus (2017). *„Damit dem Zögling die Möglichkeit genommen wird, in die dumpfe Welt seiner Triebe abzuirren.“ Zur Geschichte der Anstaltsversorgung von „Schwachsinnigen“ in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz (1925–1945)*. Bern: Edition Soziothek.

Steinmetz, George (2021). Vergleichende Soziologie, kritischer Realismus und Reflexivität. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, , 73*(Suppl. 1), 49–74.

Stone, Deborah A. (1984). *The Disabled State*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Stylianou, Areti und Michalinos Zembylas (2020). Teachers' Disempowerment and Inclusive Education. A critical realist view. In: de Barros, Solange Maria und Dánie M. de Jesus (Ed.). *What is Critical in Language Studies? Disclosing Social Inequalities and Injustice* (34–51). Abingdon: Routledge.

Thomas, Carol (2004). Rescuing a social relational understanding of disability. *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research, 6*(1), 22-36.

Thomas, Carol (2007). *Sociologies of Disability and Illness. Contested Ideas of Disability Studies and Medical Sociology*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tremain, Shelley L. (Ed.) (2005). *Foucault and the Government of Disability*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Tremain, Shelley L. (2017). *Foucault and Feminist Philosophy of Disability*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Trüper, Christoph P. (2019). *Behinderung bis über die Grenzen des Sozialen hinaus denken. Von soziokulturell überakzentuierten Behinderungsmodellen zu einer umfassenden Repräsentation menschlicher und ökologischer Aspekte in Behinderungsdebatten*. Selbstveröffentlichung des Verfassers. Zugriff am 01.04.2020 auf: https://philarchive.org/archive/TRUBBB

Tschanz, Christoph (2015). Die Welten des Aufbaus und Brechens von Barrieren – Europäische Behindertenpolitiken im Vergleich. *Newsletter Studienbereich Soziologie, Sozialpolitik und Sozialarbeit, 16*, 41–54.

UPIAS (1976). *Fundamental Principles of Disability*. Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation, London.

Vehmas, Simo und Pekka Mäkelä (2009). The ontology of disability and impairment. A discussion of the natural and social features. In: Kristiansen, Kristjana, Simo Vehmas und Tom Shakespeare (Ed.). *Arguing about Disability. Philosophical perspectives* (42–56). Abingdon: Routledge.

Vehmas, Simo und Nicholas Watson (2014). Moral wrongs, disadvantages, and disability: a critique of critical disability studies. *Disability & Society, 29*(4), 638–650.

Ville, Isabelle (2019). When social protection and emancipation go hand in hand: Towards a collective form of care. *ALTER – European Journal of Disability Research, 13*(2), 101-112.

von Foerster, Heinz und Ernst von Glasersfeld (2014). *Wie wir uns erfinden. Eine Autobiographie des radikalen Konstruktivismus* (5. Auflage). Heidelberg: Carl-Auer-Systeme Verlag.

VPOD/SSP (2009). *Vernehmlassungsvorlage 6. IV-Revision Stellungnahme des vpod zum Teil „Assistenzbeitrag"*. Zugriff am 19.12.2017 auf http://www.zslschweiz.ch/z_alteseite/Archiv/PDF/Vernehmlassung%206.%20IVG%20Revision_vpod.pdf

Waldschmidt, Anne (2005). Disability Studies: individuelles, soziales und/oder kulturelles Modell von Behinderung? *Psychologie und Gesellschaftskritik, 29*(1), 9–31.

Waldschmidt, Anne (2009). Disability policy of the European Union: The supranational level.

ALTER – European Journal of Disability Research, 3(1), 8–23.

Waldschmidt, Anne (2011). Existenzsicherung – ein soziales Recht? Überlegungen zur Theorie der Behindertenpolitik unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Menschen mit schwerer Behinderung. In: Dederich, Markus und Katrin Grüber (Hg.). *Herausforderungen: mit schwerer Behinderung leben* (2. Auflage, 61–74). Frankfurt am Main: Mabuse-Verlag.

Waldschmidt, Anne (2012). *Selbstbestimmung als Konstruktion. Alltagstheorien behinderter Frauen und Männer* (2., korrigierte Auflage). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Waldschmidt, Anne (2020). Jenseits der Modelle. Theoretische Ansätze in den Disability Studies. In: Brehme, David, Petra Fuchs, Swantje Köbsell und Carla Wesselmann (Hg.). *Disability Studies im deutschsprachigen Raum. Zwischen Emanzipation und Vereinnahmung* (56–73). Weinheim: Beltz Juventa.

Waldschmidt, Anne, Hanjo Berressem und Moritz Ingwersen (Hg.) (2017). *Culture – Theory – Disability*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.

Waldschmidt, Anne und Werner Schneider (2007). Disability Studies und Soziologie der Behinderung. Kultursoziologische Grenzgänge – eine Einführung. In: Waldschmidt, Anne und Werner Schneider (Hg.). *Disability Studies, Kultursoziologie und Soziologie der Behinderung: Erkundungen in einem neuen Forschungsfeld* (9–30). Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.

Watson, Nicholas (2020). Agency, structure and emancipatory research. Researching disablement and impairment. In: Watson, Nicholas und Simo Vehmas (Ed.). *Routledge Handbook of Disability Studies* (2. ed., 127–141). Abingdon: Routledge.

Wehrli, Peter (2012). *Geschichte der Persönlichen Assistenz in der Schweiz*. Zugriff am 10.11.2017 auf http://www.assistenzforum.ch/viewtopic.php?f=3&t=71

Weisser, Jan (2005). "Scheininvalidität" oder Immanuel Kant als Sittenwächter. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Heilpädagogik, 11*(5), 25–32.

Wicki, Ann-Karin (2018). *Zurück ins aktive Leben. Von "Eingliederung vor Rente" zu "Eingliederung dank Rente" – Die Politik und die Schweizerische Invalidenversicherung zwischen 1955 und 1992*. Bern: Schriftenreihe SGGP.

Williams, Simon J. (1999). Is anybody there? Critical realism, chronic illness and the disability debate. *Sociology of Health & Illness, 21*(6), 797–819.

Witvliet, Margot, Anton E. Kunst, Karien Stronks und Onyebuchi A. Arah (2012). Assessing where vulnerable groups fare worst: a global multilevel analysis on the impact of welfare regimes on disability across different socioeconomic groups. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health, 66*(9), 775–781.

Zahnd, Raphael (2017). Behinderung und sozialer Wandel. Ein Vorschlag zur Strukturierung des historischen Wandels des Behinderungsverständnisses in der westlichen Gesellschaft. *Behindertenpädagogik, 56*(3), 241–266.

Zemp, Aiha (1993). Von der Notwendigkeit einer feministischen Theoriebildung in der 'Sonder'pädagogik. In: Mürner, Christian und Susanne Schriber (Hg.). *Selbstkritik der Sonderpädagogik? Stellvertretung und Selbstbestimmung* (189–201). Luzern: Edition SZH/SPC.

Zemp, Aiha (1997). *Tabuisierte Not. Sexuelle Ausbeutung von Mädchen und Frauen mit*

Behinderung. Dissertation zur Erlangung des Grades einer Doktorin der Philosophie, Philosophische Fakultät, Universität Zürich, Zürich.

Zemp, Aiha (2000). Wer als Ausgegrenzte nicht an die Grenzen glaubt, ist ein Provokation. In: Meier Rey, Christine und Rita Vökt-Iseli (Hg.). *Karrieren mit Barrieren. Lebensberichte von Menschen mit Behinderungen* (25–44). Wädenswil: Verlag mit dem Pfeil im Auge.

Zemp, Aiha (2008). Mein Leben ist eine Karawanserei. In: Nigg, Heinz (Hg.). *Wir sind wenige, aber wir sind alle. Biografien aus der 68er-Generation in der Schweiz* (316–325). Zürich: Limmat Verlag.

The reference list was created with EndNote. Output style: SASP_D-Version3-2008b.

Part D: Appendix

Paper V.II in French: Suggestions pour la mise en oeuvre de l’article 19 de la CDPH en Suisse: enjeux et propositions de solutions (Translated by Bettina Gisler)

Tschanz, Christoph (2019). Suggestions pour la mise en oeuvre de l’article 19 de la CDPH en Suisse : enjeux et propositions de solutions. *Revue suisse de pédagogie* spécialisée, 2019 (3), 15–21.

I would like to thank Bettina Gisler for the translation of this article.

Christoph Tschanz

Suggestions pour la mise en œuvre de l'article 19 de la CDPH en Suisse : enjeux et propositions de solutions

Résumé

L'article 19 de la Convention de l'ONU relative aux droits des personnes handicapées définit des objectifs afin de permettre aux personnes en situation de handicap de choisir de manière autonome leur mode d'habitation. La mise en œuvre de cet article en Suisse en est pour l'instant à ses premiers balbutiements, mais une dynamique se met aujourd'hui en place. Cet article défend une lecture de l'article 19 qui tient compte également des groupes composés des familles et des proches ainsi que des accompagnants, soignants et assistants et qui fait par conséquent appel à des ressources publiques supplémentaires. La responsabilité incombe ici principalement aux parlements cantonaux. La Confédération a cependant également la possibilité d'exercer son influence en simplifiant l'accès à la contribution d'assistance et en lançant une incitation financière.

Zusammenfassung

Artikel 19 der UN-Behindertenrechtskonvention definiert Ziele, um Menschen mit einer Behinderung ein selbstbestimmtes Leben im Hinblick auf die Wohnform zu ermöglichen. Die Umsetzung dieses Artikels steckt in der Schweiz momentan noch in den Kinderschuhen. Zunehmend entwickelt sich diesbezüglich aber eine Dynamik. In diesem Text wird eine Leseart des Artikels propagiert, welche auch die Gruppen der Angehörigen und Bekannten sowie der Betreuenden, Pflegenden und Assistierenden mitdenkt und deshalb zusätzliche staatliche Ressourcen fordert. In der Verantwortung stehen hauptsächlich die Kantonsparlamente. Der Bund hat aber auch Einflussmöglichkeiten, weil er den Zugang zum Assistenzbeitrag vereinfachen und eine Anstossfinanzierung lancieren könnte.

Permalink : www.szh-csps.ch/r2019-09-02

Situation de départ

La perception du handicap et la façon dont on le gère ont considérablement changé au cours des dernières décennies (Johner-Kobi, 2015). La Suisse n'a cependant ratifié qu'en 2014 la Convention de l'ONU relative aux droits des personnes handicapées (CDPH). Depuis lors, celle-ci sert de cadre de référence pour toute orientation future de la politique suisse en faveur des personnes handicapées (Rieder, 2017). L'article 19 de la CDPH énumère des revendications majeures concernant de nouveaux modes d'habitation et des modes de vie novateurs : il faut accorder aux personnes en situation de handicap des droits leur permettant de gérer leur vie de manière autodéterminée. L'article définit par exemple qu'elles peuvent choisir librement le lieu de vie et le mode d'habitation qu'elles désirent. Il réclame aussi que l'accès aux offres d'assistance de proximité, y compris l'assistance personnelle, leur soit garanti.

Le rapport alternatif d'*Inclusion Handicap* (2017) critique cependant la mise en œuvre de l'article 19 en Suisse en de nombreux points (*ibid.*, p. 87 et suiv. ; voir également à ce sujet Egbuna-Joss, 2018). Le programme sur quatre ans « Autonomie » a par ailleurs été lancé en 2018, un programme qui vise à une meilleure coordination entre Confédération et cantons pour le développement des formes d'assistance et de modalités de logement dans le cadre de la politique en faveur des personnes handicapées (DFI, 2018). C'est dans ce contexte que le présent article se propose de pointer les enjeux liés à la mise en œuvre de l'article 19 et d'élaborer de possibles solutions.

L'article 19 de la CDPH et les revendications similaires en Suisse

Le mouvement du handicap dans les pays industrialisés occidentaux critique depuis les années 1970 les offres sociales publiques existantes en raison de leurs effets paternalistes et de leur propension à la ségrégation (Ville, 2019, p. 102). Le changement de paradigme réclamé par la CDPH s'inspire des revendications de ce mouvement (Calabrese & Stalder, 2016, p. 11). L'article 19 est ainsi marqué par la critique des formes traditionnelles de modes d'habitation et de soins et revendique dans ce contexte plus d'autonomie et d'autodétermination pour les personnes en situation de handicap.

> **On a donc créé, dans le cadre de la nouvelle péréquation financière, une situation paradoxale : la sécurisation des places de logement stationnaire limite le développement de nouveaux milieux de vie innovants.**

On retrouve en Suisse des critiques et revendications similaires. On peut citer en exemple la revue PULS éditée par le *Club Behinderter und ihrer Freunde* (CeBeeF). On y trouve depuis la fin des années 1970 de nombreux articles critiques sur la situation des résidents en institutions (McGowan, 2011, p. 35 et suiv.). Aujourd'hui, l'association *selbstbestimmung.ch* réclame, dans le même esprit, un changement de cap vers un financement par sujet, la création de modèles d'assistance cantonaux et un moratoire illimité à l'échelle de la Suisse entière sur le développement d'offres de foyers « conventionnelles » (Alijaj & Siems, 2016, p. 6).

Enjeux dans le cadre du fédéralisme suisse

En raison de la répartition fédérale des responsabilités, des obstacles à la réforme existent en Suisse. Depuis 2008, la nouvelle péréquation financière a transféré la responsabilité des foyers et ateliers pour personnes en situation de handicap en grande partie aux cantons (Bonassi, 2007). Les cantons ont depuis lors la responsabilité matérielle et financière du domaine stationnaire de l'aide au handicap (Kirchhofer, Laib, Stremlow, & Uebelhart, 2015, p. 274). Indirectement cependant, l'assurance invalidité suisse continue de participer au financement, notamment en versant les pensions d'invalidité, les allocations pour impotent et les prestations compensatoires individuelles qui paient en partie les frais de logement (*Ibid.*, p. 274). Toujours à l'échelle fédérale, la contribution d'assistance allouée par l'assurance invalidité permet depuis 2012 aux personnes en situation de handicap d'embaucher pour elles-mêmes, en tant qu'employeurs, des assistants (Egloff, 2017 ; Guggisberg, 2018).

L'un des défis majeurs dans la mise en œuvre de l'article 19 de la CDPH réside dans le fait que l'on demande aux cantons – même s'ils ont la responsabilité du domaine stationnaire de l'aide au handicap – de mettre à disposition avec la LIPPI des places en logement stationnaire. Cela fait obstacle à la réforme: « En raison de l'approche unilatérale de la LIPPI, qui s'oriente uniquement vers le financement obligatoire de lieux de vie institutionnels, les moyens pouvant être affectés à des modes d'habitation alternatifs sont très limités » (Inclusion Handicap, 2017, p. 87). On a donc créé, dans le cadre de la nouvelle péréquation financière, une situation paradoxale : la sécurisation des places de logement stationnaire limite le développement de nouveaux milieux de vie innovants.

Paradoxes actuels et possibles paradoxes dans le cadre des réformes

Paradoxes liés à une interprétation libérale tronquée de l'article 19 de la CDPH

En cherchant des solutions à cette situation, il faudra cependant avoir à l'esprit que même des réformes peuvent aboutir à des résultats contradictoires. Il existe d'une part depuis les années 1990 une convergence de la critique venant du mouvement pour le handicap mentionnée ci-dessus avec la critique néo-libérale, qui dénonce elle aussi, pour d'autres motifs, l'offre sociale publique (Ville, 2019, p. 102). Une telle convergence s'observait en Suisse, avec sa tradition politique de libéralisme, avant même que ne soit ratifiée la CDPH. Dans le discours politique actuel, les idées de réformes nécessaires dans le domaine du handicap sont souvent proches d'idées d'économies potentielles à la limite de l'utopie, ou en tout cas, proches de l'idée que l'on pourrait mettre en œuvre des réformes sans augmentation des coûts et donc sans incidences sur les dépenses du secteur public. Cette convergence amène avec elle le risque que l'idée d'autonomie ne soit limitée à l'octroi de possibilités de consommation et de choix en matière d'offres de modes d'habitation et de soins. En mentionnant – de manière tronquée et problématique – « la responsabilité individuelle et l'autonomie individuelle » des personnes en situation de handicap (Wansing, 2017, p. 23), on risque l'association avec l'idée d'économies potentielles.

Paradoxes liés au rapport entre travail rémunéré et non rémunéré

La thématique se caractérise, d'autre part, par la large part de travail d'accompagnement, de soins et d'assistance fourni par les familles, les proches et la société civile (cf. par ex. Budowski, Knobloch, & Nollert, 2016). On a vu à l'exemple du précurseur de la contribution d'assistance, l'essai pilote de budget d'assistance, que c'est précisément la possibilité de financer l'aide non rémunérée apportée par les familles et les proches au moyen d'un budget d'assistance - et ainsi la monétarisation d'un travail non rémunéré auparavant – qui a rendu impossible une mise en œuvre sans incidence de coûts (Balthasar & Müller, 2008, p. 52). Pour illustrer cet exemple, on peut se représenter le travail rémunéré d'accompagnement, de soins et d'assistance organisé par l'État social comme la partie visible de l'iceberg. En cas de réformes sur la partie haute de l'iceberg, il est alors vraisemblable que des parties jusqu'alors invisibles de sa partie immergée – le travail non rémunéré – remontent à la surface.

Les choses deviennent plus complexes si l'on applique les concepts d' « équité » et d' « autonomie » non seulement aux personnes handicapées, mais aussi aux personnes de référence (rémunérées ou non) qui les entourent (Owens, Mladenov, & Cribb, 2017). Pour les familles avec un fils ou une fille ayant une déficience intellectuelle, la responsabilité (partielle) de l'État est par exemple essentielle à son autonomie (Jeltsch-Schudel & Bächli, 2011). Il faut avoir conscience également qu'une part très importante du travail non rémunéré est assuré par des femmes (Schön-Bühlmann, 2016, p. 84 et suiv.) et que ce type de questions est par conséquent d'une importance capitale en particulier pour les membres féminins dans la famille. Parmi les autres groupes, il ne faut pas oublier les accompagnants, soignants et assistants dans des lieux financés par l'État social. Ceux-là doivent bénéficier de conditions de travail satisfaisantes.

Une progression en autonomie des personnes en situation de handicap ne doit pas conduire à une restriction de l'autonomie des personnes de référence.

Y a-t-il également dans le canton de Berne des paradoxes selon les schémas connus ?

En 2011, un plan stratégique cantonal relatif au handicap, particulièrement progressiste pour la Suisse et qui s'oriente sur l'idéal de l'autodétermination, était lancé dans le canton de Berne (SAP, 2011). Le canton de Berne projette de contrer l'intérêt des foyers pour handicapés à pouvoir subsister par eux-mêmes en introduisant un financement par sujet (Baur, 2017). L'idée de base est de financer directement les personnes avec handicap en tant que sujets, plutôt que les objets (foyers). L'objectif est de donner aux personnes en situation de handicap plus de pouvoir de négociation et plus de liberté de choix, et de modifier ainsi à long terme la structure de l'offre. En dépit de cette approche progressiste, on constate de plus en plus de paradoxes qui suivent les schémas connus.

Le fait que cette réforme progressiste ait été pensée sous le primat de la neutralité de coûts s'avère être possiblement problématique et paradoxal (SAP, 2011, p. 25). Parvenir à une mise en œuvre en respectant la neutralité de coûts est en effet impossible pour l'instant, ce qui va repousser cette réalisation à l'année 2023. Des aménagements par rapport au projet pilote réalisé sont alors envisagés (SAP, 2018). On ne peut pas encore estimer ce que cela voudra dire concrètement, mais on peut craindre que ces aménagements ne conduisent à une mise en œuvre rigide et ne contredisent partiellement le principe d'autodétermination. On a pu observer un exemple de mise en œuvre rigide lors de l'introduction de la contribution d'assistance à l'échelle de la Suisse. Le primat de neutralité de coûts a paradoxalement tout d'abord permis sa réalisation, mais a ensuite conduit à ce que la contribution d'assistance ne devienne qu'une exception dans la structure d'offres existante (Tschanz, 2018, p. 26 et suiv.). Les conditions d'éligibilité ont été placées très haut (Egloff, 2017, p. 62 et suiv.) et l'emploi de proches en tant qu'assistants a été refusé catégoriquement suite aux expériences réalisées lors du projet pilote (*ibid.*, p. 66).

Propositions de solutions

Dans le cadre de la nouvelle péréquation financière, on a créé avec la LIPPI un paradoxe. La sécurisation de l'autonomie des proches et la sécurisation des conditions de travail en milieu stationnaire limitent les possibilités de financement et de développement de modes d'habitation novateurs qui apporteraient plus d'autonomie aux personnes en situation de handicap. Cela étant, il faudrait également éviter qu'avec un changement de paradigme dans le sens de l'article 19 de la CDPH soient créés des paradoxes contraires à la LIPPI, avec un haut degré de flexibilité et d'innovation, mais un bas niveau de sécurité sur le plan du financement et de l'emploi. Une telle situation se ferait au détriment du groupe des familles et des proches, ou encore au détriment des conditions de travail des accompagnants, soignants et assistants. Au vu de l'évidence avec laquelle on considère la mise à disposition du travail non rémunéré, et au vu du statut professionnel plutôt bas sur le marché du travail rémunéré, ces deux groupes sont eux aussi vulnérables.

Pour mener les débats démocratiques, il est donc essentiel de comprendre que cette thématique n'est pas qu'une question de transfert de responsabilités qui conduirait automatiquement à un résultat gagnant-gagnant pour les personnes avec handicap, qui seraient des consommateurs satisfaits, et pour l'État, qui obtiendrait des économies potentielles. Les possibles réformes devraient au contraire s'attaquer à des questions centrales d'équité et apporter une clarification. Il faudra impérativement tenir compte de la marge d'autonomie des proches et des amis, ainsi que des conditions d'emploi des accompagnants, soignants et assistants, qui doivent être satisfaisantes. Au regard de la distribution inégale du travail non rémunéré, cette thématique devrait également toujours être abordée en veillant à l'égalité hommes-femmes. La principale proposition de solution, relativement simple, mais pas si évidente dans le contexte du discours libéral suisse, serait donc la suivante : des ressources publiques supplémentaires et suffisantes sont nécessaires si l'on veut éviter que des améliorations pour le groupe des personnes en situation de handicap n'entrainent avec elles une détérioration de la situation pour un autre groupe.

La responsabilité principale en incombe aux parlements cantonaux, qui doivent assortir leurs projets de réforme pour la mise en œuvre de l'article 19 de la CDPH de ressources suffisantes. Il existe également une marge de manœuvre au niveau fédéral. La simplification des conditions d'accès à la contribution d'assistance de l'assurance invalidité serait par exemple une mesure qui irait parfaitement dans le sens de l'article 19 de la CDPH. La Confédération a de plus fait de bonnes expériences avec le programme d'incitation (ou programme d'impulsion) pour la création pérenne d'offres pour l'accueil extra-familial pour enfants (cf. notamment Walker, de Buman, & Walther, 2018).

La simplification des conditions d'accès à la contribution d'assistance serait par exemple une mesure qui irait parfaitement dans le sens de l'article 19 de la CDPH.

Sur ce modèle, une incitation financière à l'échelle de la Suisse pour la mise en œuvre de l'article 19 de la CDPH serait la bienvenue. Ce serait premièrement une mesure allant dans le sens du fédéralisme, qui permettrait une mise en œuvre essentiellement au niveau des cantons et des communes. Deuxièmement, cela créerait, précisément à l'échelle des cantons et des communes, une dynamique correspondant à l'objectif de la CDPH, signée par la Confédération. En troisième lieu, l'obstacle à la réforme que constituent des ressources financières fortement liées aux offres de logement stationnaires en serait atténué, ce qui laisserait davantage de place aux revendications en faveur de modes d'habitation innovants.

Références

Alijaj, I. & Siems, D. (2016). *Manifest des Vereins «selbstbestimmung.ch».* Dübendorf. http://selbstbestimmung.ch/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Manifest.pdf

Balthasar, A., & Müller, F. (2008). Évaluation du projet pilote Budget « d'assistance ». *Sécurité sociale CHSS,* 1, 50-52.

Baur, A. (2017). *«Oder die Organisationen haben ei-, haben natürlich eigentlich ein Interesse Menschen hier zu behalten, rein monetär». Strategien der Wohnheime für Menschen mit Behinderung im Kanton Bern in Aushandlungen zur Veränderung der Wohnsituation.* Unveröffentlichte Masterarbeit, Bereich Soziologie, Sozialpolitik und Sozialarbeit der Universität Fribourg.

Bonassi, S. (2007). Nouvelle péréquation financière : les changements dans le domaine social. *Sécurité sociale CHSS,* 5, 243-247.

Budowski, M., Knobloch, U., & Nollert, M. (Hrsg.) (2016). *Unbezahlt und dennoch Arbeit.* Zürich: Seismo.

Calabrese, S. & Stalder, R. (2016). Stationäre Betreuung: Auslaufmodell oder unverzichtbar? Gegenwärtige und künftige professionelle Unterstützungssysteme – eine kritische Reflexion. *SozialAktuell, 48* (11), 10–13.

CDPH, Convention de l'ONU relative aux droits des personnes handicapées, RS 0.109.

Département fédéral de l'intérieur. (2018). *Programme « Autonomie » (2018-2021) :* Grandes lignes. Berne : DFI.

Direction de la santé publique et de la prévoyance sociale du canton de Berne (SAP). (2011). *Encourager l'autonomie et la participation sociale des adultes handicapés. Plan stratégique du canton de Berne selon l'article 197, chiffre 4 Cst. et l'article 10 LIPPI.* Berne : SAP.

Direction de la santé publique et de la prévoyance sociale du canton de Berne (SAP). (2018, 13 décembre). *Projet pilote de plan en faveur des adultes handicapés : Maintien des principes stratégiques.* Récupéré de https://www.gef.be.ch/gef/fr/index/direktion/ueber-die-direktion/aktuell.meldungNeu.html/portal/fr/meldungen/mm/2018/12/20181210_1711_grundsaetze_des_behindertenkonzeptswerdenbeibehalten.

Egbuna-Joss, A. (2018). Das Recht auf ein selbstbestimmtes Leben: Zur Umsetzung von Artikel 19 der Behindertenrechtskonvention in der Schweiz. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Heilpädagogik, 24* (3), 14–19.

Egloff, B. (2017). *Selbstbestimmt unterstützt durch Assistenz: Eine empirische Untersuchung zur Einführung und Umsetzung des Assistenzbeitrags in der Schweiz.* Bern: Edition SZH/CSPS.

Guggisberg, J. (2018). Évaluation de la contribution d'assistance 2012-2016. *Sécurité sociale CHSS,* 2, 40-43.

Inclusion Handicap. (2017). *Rapport alternatif : Rapport de la société civile présenté à l'occasion de la première procédure de rapport des États devant le Comité de l'ONU relatif aux droits des personnes handicapées.* Berne : Inclusion Handicap.

Jeltsch-Schudel, B. & Bächli, Ö. (2011). Wohnmöglichkeiten für Erwachsene mit geistiger Behinderung – ein drängendes Thema für Familien mit geistig behinderten Söhnen und Töchtern. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Heilpädagogik, 17* (6), 40–46.

Johner-Kobi, S. (2015). Behinderung – von individueller Beeinträchtigung zu Hindernisfreiheit und Selbstbestimmung. In A. M. Riedi, M. Zwilling, M. Meier Kressig, P. Benz Bartoletta & D. Aebi Zindel (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Sozialwesen Schweiz* (2., überarb. u. erg. Aufl.) (S. 169–182). Bern: Haupt.

Kirchhofer, R., Laib, A., Stremlow, J., & Uebelhart, B. (2015). Auswirkungen der Föderalismusreform «Neugestaltung des Finanzausgleichs und der Aufgabenteilung zwischen Bund und Kanton (NFA)» auf den Sozialsektor – Reflexionen am Beispiel der stationären Behindertenhilfe. In B. Wüthrich, J. Amstutz & A. Fritze (Hrsg.), *Soziale Versorgung zukunftsfähig gestalten* (S. 271–278). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

LIPPI, Loi fédérale sur les institutions destinées à promouvoir l'intégration des personnes invalides ; RS 831.26.

McGowan, B. (2011). Die Zeitschrift PULS – Stimme aus der Behindertenbewegung. In E.O. Graf, C. Renggli & J. Weisser (Hrsg.), *PULS – DruckSache aus der Behindertenbewegung. Materialien für die Wiederaneignung einer Geschichte* (S. 13–73). Zürich: Chronos.

Owens, J., Mladenov, T., & Cribb, A. (2017). What Justice, What Autonomy? The Ethical Constraints upon Personalisation. *Ethics and Social Welfare, 11* (1), 3–18.

Rieder, A. (2017). L'importance pour la Suisse de la Convention des Nations Unies relative aux droits des personnes handicapées. *Revue suisse de pédagogie spécialisée,* 1, 7-11.

Schön-Bühlmann, J. (2016). Satellitenkonto Haushaltsproduktion für die Schweiz. Ein Versuch, die volkswirtschaftliche Bedeutung der unbezahlten Arbeit zu beziffern. In M. Budowski, U. Knobloch & M. Nollert (Hrsg.) (2016), *Unbezahlt und dennoch Arbeit* (S. 79–92). Zürich: Seismo.

Tschanz, C. (2018). Theorising Disability Care (Non-)Personalisation in European Countries: Comparing Personal Assistance Schemes in Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. *Social Inclusion, 6* (2), 22–33.

Ville, I. (2019). When social protection and emancipation go hand in hand: Towards a collective form of care. Alter – *European Journal of Disability Research, 13* (2), 101–112.

Walker, P., de Buman, A., & Walther, U. (2018). Programme d'incitation : les aides financières s'inscrivent bien dans la durée. *Sécurité sociale CHSS,* 1, 8-11.

Wansing, G. (2017). Selbstbestimmte Lebensführung und Einbeziehung in das Gemeinwesen – Normative Grundsätze und konzeptionelle Perspektiven. In G. Wansing & M. Windisch (Hrsg.), *Selbstbestimmte Lebensführung und Teilhabe. Behinderung und Unterstützung im Gemeinwesen* (S. 19–48). Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

Christoph Tschanz
Klinischer Heilpädagoge und Soziologe, MA.
Université de Fribourg
Departement für Sozialarbeit, Sozialpolitik und globale Entwicklung
Route des Bonnesfontaines 11
1700 Fribourg
christoph.tschanz@unifr.ch

La rédaction de cet article a été rendue possible par le Fonds national suisse par la bourse Doc.CH (No 172008).

Curriculum Vitae

Ausbildung

09/2016 – 02/2022	Doktorat in Sozialwissenschaften: Sozialarbeit und Sozialpolitik Universität Freiburg (Schweiz)
09/2011 – 10/2014	Master of Arts in Sozialwissenschaften: Soziologie Universität Freiburg (Schweiz)
09/2007 – 07/2010	Bachelor of Arts in Heilpädagogik: Klinische Heilpädagogik und Sozialpädagogik Universität Freiburg (Schweiz)

Akademische Arbeitsstellen

09/2020 – heute	Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter am Departement Soziale Arbeit an der Berner Fachhochschule, seit 01/2022 im Institut für Soziale Sicherheit und Sozialpolitik
03/2017 – 10/2020	Doc.CH Schweizerischer Nationalfonds Stipendiat (SNF-Nr. 172008) am Department für Sozialarbeit, Sozialpolitik und Globale Entwicklung, Universität Freiburg (Schweiz)
10/2015 – 02/2017	Diplomassistent am Studienbereich Soziologie, Sozialpolitik und Sozialarbeit, Universität Freiburg (Schweiz)
08/2011 – 07/2012	Unterassistent im Projekt «Die Entwicklung von dissozialem Verhalten in Abhängigkeit der Schulklassenzusammensetzung (SNF-Nr. 132210/1)», Heilpädagogisches Institut, Universität Freiburg (Schweiz)

Europäische Erfahrung

09/2017 – 02/2018	Gastdoktorand im Institute for Education and Society, Universität Luxemburg, eingeladen von Prof. Dr. Justin J. W. Powell
09/2012 – 01/2013	Erasmus-Student, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgien

Sozialpädagogische Berufserfahrung

02/2013 – 08/2015	Coach/Sozialpädagoge im Supported-Employment-Programm «Service für unterstützte Berufsbildung» für Menschen im Autismus-Spektrum, geführt als Kooperationsprogramm zwischen der PHBern und dem Verein Sozialprojekte Bern im Auftrag der Schweizerischen Invalidenversicherung, Anstellungsgrad: 50-70%
08/2011 – 07/2012	IF-Unterstützung in der Primarschule Frauenkappelen, Anstellungsgrad: 15%
08/2010 – 07/2011	Befristete Anstellung als Sozialpädagoge in der Jugendwohngruppe Villa Fantasia, Blindenschule Zollikofen, Anstellungsgrad: 80%
08/2009 – 07/2010	Berufspraktikant in der Schüler*innengruppe Mega, Kompetenzzentrum Jugend und Familie Schlossmatt Bern, Anstellungsgrad: 100%
11/2007 – 06/2009	Gelegentliche Einsätze in einer Familie zur Entlastung des alleinerziehenden Elternteils im Rahmen des Entlastungsdiensts Kanton Bern
08/2006 – 07/2007	Vorpraktikant in der Heilpädagogische Schule Bern, Anstellungsgrad: 100%

Ehrenwörtliche Erklärung

Hiermit bestätige ich mit meiner Unterschrift, dass ich die hier vorgelegte Dissertation persönlich und ohne unzulässige fremde Hilfe verfasst und dabei nur die angeführten Quellen und Hilfsmittel verwendet habe; wörtliche Zitate und Paraphrasen sind als solche gekennzeichnet. Die Dissertation wurde noch keiner anderen Fakultät vorgelegt.

Kirchlindach, 13. September 2021

Christoph Tschanz