Social Policy & Society (2020) 19:4, 589–612
© Cambridge University Press 2020. doi:10.1017/S1474746420000330

Review Article
Revisiting Global Welfare Regime Classifications

Antonios Roumpakis

Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of York, United Kingdom
E-mail: antonios.roumpakis@york.ac.uk

This review article revisits the influential work of Gough (2004a, 2004b) on global welfare regimes fifteen years later. The article attempts to explore how far this literature has managed to pave a bridge between comparative social policy and development studies and explores the key contributions it offered in explaining welfare regime classification in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The article then reviews selected publications that have incorporated or applied Gough's approach and in particular reviews how far scholars developed, complemented and questioned Gough's approach. The review focuses on the causal properties for capturing the diversity of welfare regime classifications, empirical data, methodologies applied to classify welfare regimes, cases selected, groupings identified and finally how transitions to different welfare regime memberships are explained. In the conclusion, the article discusses findings and implications for global welfare regime classification debates.

Keywords: Global welfare regime, Gough, Asia, Africa, Latin America.

Introduction

Welfare regime modelling remains a popular endeavour and has yielded voluminous and extensive contributions to comparative welfare and social policy research (Abrahamson, 1999; Powell and Barrientos, 2015). The use of classifications and typologies provided a platform for social policy scholars to comparatively explore historical and contemporary welfare developments (Aspalter, 2011). The purposefulness of the typologies expanded beyond the OECD welfare regimes and systems to Africa, Latin America, East Asia and South East Asia (Gough and Wood, 2004; Rudra, 2007; Haggard and Kaufman, 2008; Seekings, 2012), with scholars either adopting OECD-based statist frameworks (e.g. Esping-Andersen, 1990) to new cases or opting to provide more spatially nuanced and bottom up approaches (e.g. Jones, 1993; Papadopoulos and Roumpakis, 2013).

The increasing interest of comparative and international social policy scholarship in explaining the dynamic development of welfare regimes in the Global South was often accompanied by attempts to apply normative criteria for how welfare regimes (new cases) fare, and consequently how far do they resemble Esping-Andersen's ideal types (Aspalter, 2006, 2011). The shift marked a particular form of conceptual imperialism (Gupta, 2006; Kim, 2015) both in terms of theoretical tools and approaches. As Midgley (2019) argues, comparative social policy remains inherently statist with welfare regimes that lack comprehensive, effective and universal state mechanisms for organising welfare provision often depicted as rudimentary. Recent scholarship in comparative social policy argues

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

non-statutory practices do not indicate a rudimentary form of welfare – instead they represent key sites in the reproduction of welfare capitalism both in the Global South and Global North (see Papadopoulos and Roumpakis, 2017).

On the other hand, social development scholars have been focusing on non-statutory practices including multi-scalar strategies to combat poverty and illiteracy, and often review the effect of conditional or unconditional cash transfers on empowering those on the intersections of horizontal (e.g. race, ethnicity, gender) and vertical (e.g. income) inequalities (Kabeer, 2015). The recent expansion of social assistance programmes, often condoned by global actors such as the World Bank, to contain social tensions (van Gils and Yörük, 2017) has attracted much attention both in developing (Barrientos, 2013) and developed countries (Seekings, 2012; Barrientos, 2013); enough for scholars to suggest that social assistance could be the unifying dimension, a common denominator of sorts, for comparing Global North and South welfare regimes (Böger and Öktem, 2019; Yörük *et al.*, 2019).

One of the first attempts that aimed to extend the analytical and methodological tools of comparative welfare research to Global South regimes and incorporated, among others, the importance of non-statutory provisions, was the work of Gough and collaborators, reviewed next.

Global welfare regime and insecurity

The edited volume of Gough and Wood (2004) signalled a breakthrough in mapping the diversity of welfare arrangements across African, Asian and Latin American countries as they aimed to bridge social policy and development studies. The contributors to the edited volume analysed the interplay between public, private, household and community provision across different levels and spaces of governance and exposed the limitations of the established explanatory theories of Global North (OECD) welfare states at the time. Their work stands out as an attempt to integrate and embed insights that a) human needs are universal and there is great variation across time and place in meeting them, b) informal practices play an extensive role in meeting human needs and protecting against insecurity and c) transnational forms of financial support, including foreign aid and remittances, play a key role in promoting well-being. These three dimensions remained largely neglected at the time within the then mainstream comparative social policy literature, and opened up the playing field to incorporate more insights from development studies such as the importance of strategies to combat poverty (e.g. social assistance), the importance of transnational forms of support such as remittances and foreign aid, and finally the importance of informal and non-statutory provision.

Among the contributions to the edited volume, the work of Gough (2004a) offered a more nuanced attempt to categorise global welfare regimes. His argument aimed to diverge from focusing on welfare states as the latter play a weaker role in offering security to their citizens in Global South. Instead he prioritised the term welfare regimes to indicate that security in Global South is achieved in conjunction with kin, family and community ties. Building from Esping-Andersen's (1990) typology, Gough suggested that a global welfare regime comparison could be developed by focusing on institutional forms of solidarity and welfare outcomes. By taking into account welfare outcomes (e.g. poverty, literacy, Human Development Index- HDI) and the welfare mix (e.g. domestic and international spending), he identified three main categorisations of welfare provisions

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and dynamics: namely, welfare state regimes, which are identified by high public welfare spending and high scores in the HDI; informal security regimes, which are identified by relatively high HDI score but with modest, if not low, public spending; and finally insecurity welfare regimes, which rely heavily on international aid and achieve modest to low HDI scores.

At the same time, Gough's classification of global welfare regimes exposed the limitations of typologies especially for Large-N cross-case comparisons in developing countries as they could not theoretically account for and explain the vast diversity and political history within each country and region (see also Kim, 2015). The identification of "the 5 I's" (industrialisation, interests, institutions, international influences, ideas) attempted to provide an answer to this gap (Gough and Abu Sharkh, 2011), but did not really aim to serve as theory for the causal properties of each regime identified. One could suggest that with the exception of international influences, the concepts on "the 5 I's" resemble established comparative social policy theoretical approaches from the Global North (see Ehmke, 2019). Wood and Gough (2006) did highlight the need to take into account particular histories for groups of countries (e.g. colonialism), but again did not materialise this thread themselves.

Empirically, the utilisation of public social expenditure for welfare regime categorisations is not without analytical problems (see Esping-Andersen, 1990) and the use of the HDI does not really capture the welfare effort or the longevity of structures in place. Methodologically, cluster analysis as a data reduction technique (Gough, 2004a; Abu Sharkh and Gough, 2010; Gough and Abu Sharkh, 2011) is not grounded in theory[1]. Hierarchal Cluster Analysis (HCA) is very sensitive to outliers while k-means (KCA) clustering is also affected by the order of the data and the strength of the initial seeds. The mapping therefore of the clusters has more validity in terms of how far the countries differed in time given the particular set of variables[2]. Abu Sharkh and Gough (2010) revisited the original classification and identified that welfare regimes remain largely path dependent with the exception of the 'informal security' regime. In their attempt to explore how welfare regimes cluster in relation to public revenue composition and social outcomes, Gough's and Abu Sharkh's (2011) findings question even more the rigidity of the informal welfare regime cluster.

Finally, the global welfare regime classification becomes more perplexing once one adds the distinction the authors make between species within the same category (Wood and Gough, 2004). The implications of this critique are more apparent in the work of Wood and Gough (2006), who, following Barrientos (2004), depicted Latin American welfare regimes in transition from conservative-informal to liberal-informal, with some of these countries (e.g. Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica) along with Central Eastern European depicted later as proto-welfare states (Gough and Abu Sharkh, 2011). In a similar fashion, East Asia was transitioning into productivist welfare regimes, with South Korea and Taiwan displaying a dynamic towards a welfare state while Southeast Asia (e.g. Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia) was well anchored in informal security regimes depicting productivist elements. In turn, Africa depicted informal security welfare regimes with the exemption of Sub-Saharan countries which exemplified insecurity welfare regimes.

In Gough's work the classifications are largely identified empirically. Taking into consideration that informal and insecure welfare regimes are more exposed than welfare state regimes to internal and external shocks, this brings the question of whether empirical analysis should be measured against welfare regime ideal-types (e.g. membership of a

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

particular cluster), or whether empirical analysis should be capturing the internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity of these ideal-types (see also Yu, 2012). Additionally, what criteria should apply to explain the transition of, e.g. Korea and Taiwan, into a welfare state regime? Would this transition have to be monitored empirically and in time? What are the causal properties that allow, e.g. Korea and Taiwan, to transition?

Next, we take advantage of the time lapsed since the original publication and explore how far the premises for global welfare regimes' classification put forward by Gough and Wood (2004) have been applied, developed and challenged. The next section details the search strategy of this review.

Search strategy

The article adopts a purposeful literature review, i.e. a literature review of all texts that meet the criterion of citing Gough and Wood (2004) or Gough (2004a, 2004b). At the time of writing this review article, 590 publications cite the work of Gough and Wood (2004), 218 cite Gough (2004a) and 174 cite Gough (2004b). In total, the search resulted in 9823 outputs (see Figure 1)[3]. The first inclusion criterion was that results should include 'regime' in the title (140 outputs). The next step involved a back and forth examination of each output as single case studies (e.g. Babajanian, 2008; Kim, 2008; Sumarto, 2017, Ehmke, 2019) and theoretically focused outputs that did not engage with classification debates (e.g. Plagerson and Patel, 2019) were omitted. Articles that focused on one country but compared sub-national levels and policy areas were included in the review (e.g. Cruz-Martínez, 2018; Satyro and Cunha, 2019). Additionally, book review articles were omitted[4]. As a result, the number of articles was reduced to thirty-four. However, it was

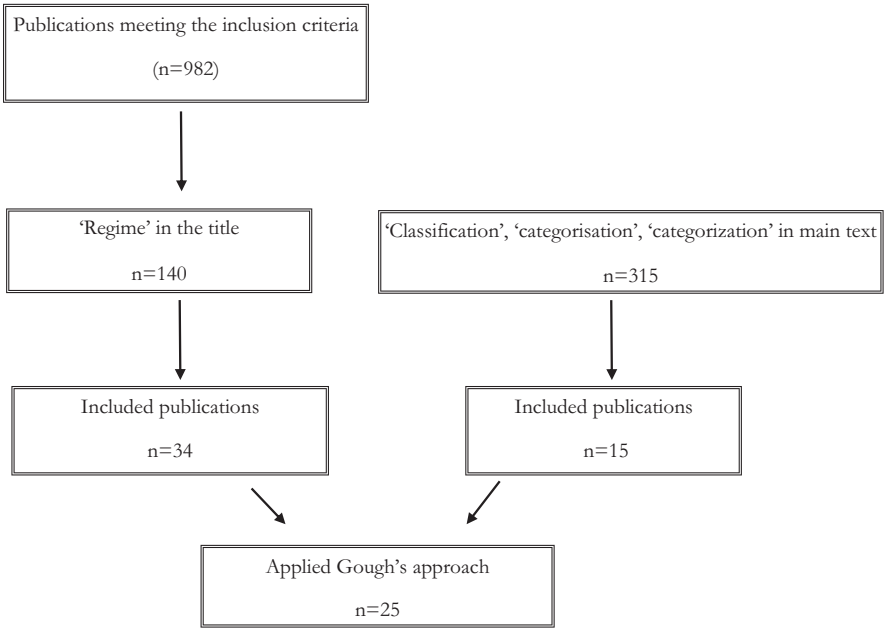


Figure 1. Diagram of search strategy

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

clear that restricting the search to 'regime' in the title, key publications would be omitted from the final list. Therefore, in addition to the thirty-four outputs, another search was made of all outputs citing Gough and Wood (2004) or Gough (2004a, 2004b) with the inclusion criteria applying the search terms 'classification', 'categorisation', 'categorization' in the main text. The total number of citations was 315 and after a cross check which omitted duplicates, reviews, single case studies, fifteen more outputs were identified which brought the total up to forty-nine outputs. In the end, only 25[5] of these publications applied Gough and Wood (2004) and Gough's (2004a, 2004b) arguments and classification in comparative welfare regime research.

The review examines the causal properties for capturing the diversity of welfare regime classifications, empirical data, methodologies applied to classify welfare regimes, cases selected, groupings identified and finally how transitions to different welfare regime memberships are explained. In the conclusion, the article discusses findings and implications for global welfare regime classification debates.

Revisiting the global welfare regime classification

The review of the available literature is presented next and is split into two sections, one that has a global focus and one that has a regional one. The regional focus is then also broken down into Asia, Africa and Latin America. The results that meet the inclusion criteria are listed in Table 1[6].

Global focus

Hinojosa *et al*. (2010) utilised Gough's welfare regime conceptualisation in order to capture the effect of mineral wealth as government revenue for the development of welfare regimes in the Global South. The authors explored how wealth from minerals has transformed key aspects of the welfare mix in relation to health provision. Similar to Gough (2004a), they applied a cluster analysis on state, private (including households) and international organisations' expenditure for health provision. Their clusters resembled to a large extent Gough's (2004a) classification highlighting that state provision is predominant in welfare state regimes, the market in informal security regimes and finally international organisations in insecurity regimes. Their analysis also considered how wealth from mineral sources can allow countries to transition towards more state involvement in welfare provision (e.g. Bolivia, Chile), reinforced their existing informal welfare security practices (e.g. patronage, corruption) and finally, where institutions are weak, undermined environmental standards and natural resources upon which rural livelihoods rely[7].

A substantive volume of health studies also incorporated Gough and Wood (2004) global welfare regime classification. In an attempt to identify the interplay between welfare regimes, disability and mental health, Witvliet *et al*. (2012) analysed World Health Survey (WHS) data to estimate how far employment and educational attainments interact with disability. Through the application of multilevel logistic modelling, they discerned that European welfare states and the East Asian productivist regime provided better protection while insecure regimes offered the least protection especially to those with low education and the unemployed. There were two exceptions though as disability prevalence for the most vulnerable groups is not highest in insecure welfare regimes like

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 1 A comparison of studies using Gough and Wood (2004), Gough (2004a, 2004b), 2004-2020

Publication	Aim to	Focus	Evidence	Methodology	Case studies	Cluster	Transition
Franzoni, 2008	Capture the interactions among labour market, families and public policies in Latin American welfare regimes	Commodification, decommodification, defamiliarisation, performance of welfare regimes	Government and private expenditure, welfare outcomes, labour market indicators, gender and family	Cluster Analysis	18 Latin American countries		
Barrientos, 2009	Explain transition of Latin American welfare regimes	Labour market liberalisation, forms of social assistance	Labour market indicators, government expenditure	Descriptive secondary data analysis	Latin America as a region (Also Argentina, Brazil, Chile)		From Conservative-informal to Liberal-informal welfare regimes in LA
Abu Sharkh and Gough, 2010	Confirm the distinction of three meta-welfare regimes	Welfare mix, welfare outcomes, political economy, transnational	Government expenditure and revenue, immunisation, school enrolment of females, aid and remittances for two points in time (2000, 2010)	Cluster analysis (HCA, KCA)	65 non-OECD countries	*Proto-welfare regime*; *Insecure welfare regimes*; *Informal successful*; *Informal failing welfare regimes*	Proto-welfare and insecure welfare regime display path dependency, informal welfare regimes split
Hinojosa *et al.*, 2010	Capture the effect of mineral wealth (government revenue) on the development of welfare regimes in development countries	Government revenue, mineral wealth and export dependence, social expenditure, new social policy initiatives, quality of government	Government, private and international expenditure on health as part of general government expenditure as well as out-of-pocket payments.	Correlation, regression and cluster analysis	74 countries	Mineral-dependent African countries match insecurity regimes; Latin American and East-European match informal security regimes.	Mineral wealth interacts with (good) governance to facilitate upward or downward transitions.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 1 Continued.

Publication	Aim to	Focus	Evidence	Methodology	Case studies	Cluster	Transition
Gough and Abu Sharkh, 2011	Explore relation between revenue (esp. tax levels) with welfare regime classification (esp. greater state effectiveness in meeting welfare/ security needs)	Government revenue	Taxation, social security contributions, other revenue, aid	Cluster analysis (HCA, KCA)	65 non-OECD countries	*Proto-welfare regime* (link with high social contributions); regional clusters a. former Soviet Union- b. south cone of South America, unclear clusters for other welfare regimes	
Witvliet *et al.*, 2011	Investigate the empirical usefulness of the Wood and Gough typology by estimating the association between welfare regimes and self-reported individual disability globally	Global welfare regime approach	World Health Survey	Multilevel logistic regression	207 818 people from 49 countries	As Gough and Wood (2004)	
Choi, 2012	Examine the nature of recent transformations in East Asian welfare regimes and how far they are moving away from their productivist legacy	'Real-typical' perspective, global welfare regime approach	Regime level reforms, documents, reports, government statistics, academic publications	Case study	China, Japan, South Korea		Transition to post-productivism?

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 1 Continued.

Publication	Aim to	Focus	Evidence	Methodology	Case studies	Cluster	Transition
Hudson and Kühner, 2012	Explore the balance between 'productive' and 'protective' dimensions of welfare state activity in 55 high and higher-middle income countries	Productive (education, training) and protective (income, employment protection legislation)	Government spending, EPL and REI index, generosity, coverage rates, duration	FSITA	55 high and higher-middle income countries	Varies across 3-dimensional and 4-dimensional property space	
Muntaner and Chung, 2012	How far labour market institutions are important determinants of population health in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs)	Labour market regulations, population health, LMICs	Work Security Index	Hierarchical Cluster Analysis	113 countries	*Residual*; *Emerging*; *Informal*; *Post-communist*; *Less Successful Informal*; *Insecure*	
Witvliet *et al*., 2012	Explore the influence of welfare regimes on disability within low- and high-socioeconomic groups	Global welfare regime approach	World Health Survey	Multilevel logistic regression	199 595 adults from 46 countries	As Gough and Wood (2004)	
Yu, 2012	Demonstrate differences in the welfare systems (health) between the East Asian countries and the 18 OECD countries	Decommodification, welfare regime, health care, internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity of East Asian cluster	Private (household) expenditure, coverage, private beds, life expectancy (males, females), infant mortality	Esping-Andersen classification, Cluster analysis	3 East Asian, 1 Southeast Asian and 18 OECD countries	2 or 3 or 4 clusters	

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 1 Continued.

Publication	Aim to	Focus	Evidence	Methodology	Case studies	Cluster	Transition
Cerami, 2013	Explain the impact of welfare regimes on economic and human development, social conflict, modernisation and democratisation	Welfare regime, democratisation, social conflict, development	Labour market indicators, expenditure, welfare outcomes, coverage, health indicators, gender, remittances	Mechanisms-based explanation method	12 Sub-Saharan African countries	Permanent emergency welfare regimes	
Choi, 2013	Investigate the origin and meaning of the terms 'developmentalism' and 'productivism'	'New Developmentalism', welfare regime approach	Regime level reforms, documents, reports, government statistics, academic publications	Case study	Japan, South Korea, Taiwan		Transition to 'softer productivism' with liberal welfare regime characteristics
Kuypers, 2014	Investigate the degree to which the East Asian countries together constitute one homogenous welfare type, distinct from other welfare regimes in the world	Legislation of social protection, government expenditure, decommodification (pensions, unemployment, sickness)	Investment in education (government spending), work protection (Rigidity of Employment Index), income protection (total decommodification score)	FSITA	5 East and 5 Southeast Asian and 6 Latin American and 12 OECD countries	*Productive*; *Productive+work protection*; *Productive-protective*; *Productive+ income Protection*; *Protective*; *Work protection*; *Weak*; *Income protection*	
Yu, 2014a	Question the distinctiveness of productivist welfare regime in health care	Welfare regime, health care, internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity of East Asian cluster	Private (household) expenditure, coverage, private beds, life expectancy (males, females), infant mortality	Cluster analysis (HCA, KCA)	3 East Asian and 14 OECD countries	3 clusters	

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 1 Continued.

Publication	Aim to	Focus	Evidence	Methodology	Case studies	Cluster	Transition
Yu, 2014b	Question the rigidity of East and Southeast Asian welfare regimes in two time points	Welfare regime, health care, internal and external homogeneity of East and Southeast Asian cluster	Private (household) expenditure, coverage, private beds, life expectancy (males, females), infant mortality (1998,2009)	Cluster analysis (HCA, KCA)	3 East and 3 Southeast Asian and 11 OECD countries	4 clusters	Hong and Singapore aligned with UK in both time points, Thailand and Malaysia categorised differently
Mkandawire, 2016	Explain the development of African welfare regimes	Role of colonisation for developing taxation and corresponding expenditure regimes in Africa	commodification, global environment, economic structure, social stratification, other, welfare outcomes, social provision	Hierarchical Cluster Analysis	35 African countries	*Labour reserves economies*; *Cash crop economies*; *Concession companies*	
Kühner and Nakray, 2017	Explore how far India has moved away from being categorised as a 'failing' informal welfare regime.	Focus on India but contextualised within the global welfare regime approach (see Appendix)	Government expenditure, immunisation rates, life expectancy rates, school enrolment of females, aid per capita and personal remittances.	Cluster Analysis	61 countries	*Good outcomes and high spending*; *Good outcomes and low spending*; *High spending and high remittances*; *Low spending and Mixed outcomes*; *Poor outcomes and high aid*; *High spending and improving outcomes*	

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 1 Continued.

Publication	Aim to	Focus	Evidence	Methodology	Case studies	Cluster	Transition
Yang, 2017	Challenge the homogeneity of productive East Asian welfare regime	Protective (education, health, family) and productive (old-age, housing, unemployment) dimensions	Government spending, generosity, coverage rates, duration	FSITA	6 East Asian countries	*Weak productive*; *Weak protective balanced*; *Residual balanced*; *Productive balanced*; *Weak productive balanced*; *Weak protective balance welfare*	
Martínez Franzoni and Sanchez-Ancochea, 2018	Evaluate the changes in health policy during the 2000s in terms of policy outputs, focusing on the level of segmentation	Coverage (salaried, self-employed), generosity, equity at two points in time (2000,2013)	Coverage (including distribution among sector and earnings), government and private, expenditure, welfare outcomes,	Cluster Analysis	15 Latin American countries	*Top performers*; *bottom performers* resemble informal security regimes, set of countries that *improved* significantly	Chile, Costa Rica, and Uruguay rank consistently high; Bolivia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay rank low; Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Ecuador improved
Cruz-Martínez, 2018	Display variety and diversity of welfare provision available across different policy areas within one country	'Perceived' (bottom-up) vs 'theoretical' (top-down) approaches	23 individuals throughout 7 communities in Puerto Rico	Semi-Structured interviews	Puerto Rico	Intra-national welfare regimes per policy area	

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 1 Continued.

Publication	Aim to	Focus	Evidence	Methodology	Case studies	Cluster	Transition
Satyro and Cuhna, 2019	Display how heterogeneous countries can display vast differences in welfare arrangements at the sub-national level	The coexistence of different welfare regimes within Brazilian municipalities	Expenditure, coverage, share of private spending, family structure and poverty across 5,565 Brazilian municipalities	Grade membership and factor analysis	Brazil	Five intra-national welfare regimes	
Böger and Öktem, 2019	Apply Esping-Andersen's original framework of social rights and social stratification to compare 45 countries from the Global South and Global North within a single framework	Social rights, social stratification	Generosity of social rights, individualisation of social right, corporatism, universalism, health privatisation	Cluster analysis (HCA, KCA)	17 Global North and28 Global South countries	*Market-based* (Global South); *Market-based* (CEE, Canada); *Occupational*; *Institutional*; *Lithuania*; *Georgia*; *Non*; *Argentina*; *Proto*	
Clement, 2020	Understand the advancement of social protection in Sub-Saharan African which allows more complexity and explanation of positive welfare outcomes in few welfare regimes.	Democracy role on welfare regimes in SSA, importance of civil society (theory testing of Bevan, 2004)	Cross section data, government and private spending, net transfers from abroad, foreign aid, core civil society index (CCSI)	Latent profile analysis and case studies	41 Sub-Saharan African countries	4 Clusters depending on democracy levels, composition of spending and welfare outcomes.	SSA displays more complexity than Gough and Wood (2004) suggested.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 1 Continued.

Publication	Aim to	Focus	Evidence	Methodology	Case studies	Cluster	Transition
Yang and Kühner, 2020	Test Gough's prediction that productivist regimes in East Asia will follow a privatisation and informalisation vs universalist social investment path.	Transition of welfare regime FSITA memberships, 1990-2016 (based on Yang 2017)	Government spending, generosity, coverage rates, duration (1990-2016)	FSITA	6 East Asian countries	*Quantitative*; *Type-specific*; *Radical*	Authors reject both of Gough's predictions due to diversity within and across East Asian welfare regimes.

Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) but instead in informal security Indian sub-continent countries. The latter cluster has been identified as the 'failing informal security regime' (Abu Sharkh and Gough, 2010), and therefore indicates that despite similar welfare mix characteristics within the informal security regime, in terms of welfare outcomes there is a separate grouping which displays worse welfare outcomes (Witvliet *et al.*, 2011).

In their research for non-medical determinants of population health, Muntaner *et al.* (2012) built on the global welfare regime approach to explore how far labour market regulations act as social determinant for population health in the Global South. Their research utilised the Work Security Index (WSI) to group middle- and low-income countries and explore cross-national distributions of population health. The cluster analysis results matched Wood and Gough's (2006) findings with the weakest levels of labour market regulation and poorest health outcomes found in insecure welfare regimes. It is perhaps not surprising to suggest that the focus on health outcomes and educational variables of the aforementioned studies matches the clusters identified by Gough (2004a) given that his original classification included Disability Adjusted Life Expectancy and literacy rates.

On other hand, Hudson and Kühner (2012) questioned both the methodological attributes of cluster analysis employed by Gough and collaborators and the rigidity of the East Asian cluster. Instead, they utilised a fuzzy set ideal type analysis (FSITA) across fifty-five cases including twenty-five non-OECD middle-high income countries. For their analysis they explored productive and protective dimensions including education spending as the percentage of total welfare spending for education, training investment (productive expenditure of active labour market policies), employment protection legislation and finally unemployment support (accounting for coverage, qualifying period, duration and benefit level). From their analysis, they found little evidence of any geographical similarities. Their findings displayed a great diversity across all regional groups including Europe, East Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.

Following Hudson and Kühner, Kuypers (2014) compared OECD, Latin American, East and Southeast Asian countries and applied an FSITA based on income protection (measured as total decommodification score), work protection and investment in education (government spending) to demonstrate that the majority of East and Southeast Asian cases are categorised as productive, with Indonesia and Japan only displaying more protective characteristics. Therefore, Kuypers (2014) argued that discounting the rigidity of East Asian welfare regime might be premature.

In exploring India's emergent social policy paradigm, Kühner and Nakray (2017) review the effectiveness of social policy innovations to conclude, among other points, that the existence of individual (local) state governments in India undermines the effectiveness of implementing and administering social programmes, explaining thus the significant variation of welfare outcomes. Kühner and Nakray (2017) also focus on how far India has moved away from being categorised as a 'failing informal welfare regime'. In their Appendix, they update much of Gough's (2004a) cluster analysis of sixty-one countries with more recent data (2014 or latest available). Their findings suggest that India, along with Bangladesh, Indonesia, the Philippines and Sri Lanka continue to form a separate welfare regime characterised by relatively low public expenditure on education and healthcare services with mixed welfare outcomes.

More recently, Böger and Öktem (2019) incorporated in their analysis social rights and social stratification indicators to compare across Global North and South welfare

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

regimes. Applying a cluster analysis, they identified nine groupings with many matching those identified by Esping-Andersen (1990), while one cluster comprising Costa Rica, Greece, Turkey, Uruguay and United States is categorised as a potential welfare state (Gough, 2004a) or proto-welfare state (Abu Sharkh and Gough, 2010) as these welfare regimes displayed low degree of individualisation of social rights with the state not fully assuming responsibility for the well-being of individuals. Their argument highlights the importance of taking into account the interaction not just among classes (Esping-Andersen, 1990) but also welfare actors who are involved in managing and delivering welfare provision as there can be remarkable differences within welfare regimes. It is not clear however from their data reduction technique and selected variables how the latter could engage in theoretical discussions if a single country (e.g. Argentina, Lithuania) represents its own cluster.

Regional focus – Latin America

Franzoni (2008) offered one of the first attempts to integrate gender into the global welfare regime debate as she incorporated variables that are similar to Gough but also extended her research to include (extensive) indicators of decommodification, stratification and defamilisation. The findings of the cluster analysis demonstrated that Latin American welfare regimes display the generic characteristics of informal welfare regimes; however, there was also significant variation insofar as citizens are able to fully decommodify and have access to public service provision. Franzoni identified three groupings: first, state-targeted, where public programmes target the poor while middle classes rely on the market for welfare provision; state-stratified, where middle and upper classes rely on public provisions (with those in informal jobs however receiving less support); and finally the informal-familialist group, which relies heavily on the family and community. Franzoni explicitly suggested that the latter grouping is similar to Gough and Wood's 'informal security welfare regime' while one could argue that the other two groupings represented hybrids of proto-welfare states, with liberal and corporatist characteristics respectively.

Barrientos (2009), who was one of the original contributors to the edited volume (Gough and Wood, 2004), relied both on Esping-Andersen and the global welfare regime approach for mapping the changes in Latin American welfare regimes. His research contributed much to the transition from conservative-informal to liberal-informal welfare regimes in Latin America, displaying how the neoliberal attack on social insurance in the 1990s was not even replaced with an extensive in coverage and comprehensive in provision network of support. Barrientos argued that the labour market liberalisation that took place in the 1990s and until the mid 2000s undermined the security that many workers accessed via formal employment and the social stratification effects that formal employment was able to offer in terms of access and generosity of benefits. By expanding on social assistance programmes, the truncated division of insiders and outsiders within Latin American welfare regimes rendered the former as susceptible to similar growing insecurities as the latter. At the same time the expansion of social assistance was not extensive enough to move recipients out of poverty and replicate the effect of means-testing interventions in liberal welfare regimes.

Together with Barrientos (2009), Martínez Franzoni and Sánchez-Ancochea (2018) offered one of the few studies to explore transition in time. In their work they evaluated the changes in health policy during 2000 and 2013 in terms of policy outputs, focusing on the

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

level of segmentation in health care. By applying cluster analysis in coverage among salaried and self-employed, generosity and equity at two points in time, they were able to identify three separate clusters; one that displayed significant improvement over time, top performers and finally bottom performers who align closer with Gough's informal security welfare regimes. The authors then utilised case studies to unpack whether there are any similarities among the 'improvers' cluster with their findings suggesting that there is no single causal pathway. They conclude that there is more diversity in health care provision across Latin American welfare regimes than ideal-type approaches assume.

Recently, Satyro and Cunha (2019) argued against the adoption of stereotyped configurations (e.g. classifications) especially as the latter cannot account for diverse settings and provisions displayed within single welfare regime. The authors argued that, in Brazil, the level of informality is high but does not extensively penetrate welfare provision; while at the same time market penetration is higher in few regions but not extensive enough to substantiate labelling the regime as 'liberal' (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Through a multi-varied statistical analysis, comprising grade of membership technique and factor analysis, they analysed an extensive range of indicators on social expenditure, welfare programmes' coverage (including social assistance), the role of the private sector, family structure and poverty indicators, and identified a great diversity of at least six sub-national regimes within a single welfare regime. The two most important substantive types of latent factors were welfare outcomes and institutional arrangements which echoes Gough and Wood's (2004) analytical focus. However, Satyro and Cunha identify that often global welfare regimes' classifications are keener to verify or categorise nations as units of analysis based on configurations that are not theoretically or empirically nuanced to account for complexity within a welfare regime.

Similarly, Cruz-Martínez (2018), focussing on Puerto Rico alone, attempted to unpack how far different types of welfare-mixes co-exist within one national welfare regime. By conducting semi-structured interviews in marginalised communities, he points to the variety and diversity of welfare provision available within one country alone and how residents experience welfare regimes. In doing so, he highlights the diversity of welfare arrangements by policy area and social class, and how 'perceived' welfare regimes might differ from existing theoretical (top-down) approaches, adding thus strength to the argument for the existence of nuanced intra-national welfare regimes.

Regional focus - Africa

Cerami's (2013) study on sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) explored the importance of structural and institutional mechanisms and their path dependencies for welfare regime change. In contrast to Gough and Wood (2004), Cerami adopted the concept of welfare regime not as an end point but instead as a determinant for social conflict and the consolidation of modernisation and democratisation. He opted for the term 'permanent emergency' instead of insecure welfare regimes to depict the critical instability of institutional mechanisms for the production and reproduction of welfare outcomes. In his research, he utilised descriptive analysis of macro and micro data along with case studies to differentiate between successful (e.g. Botswana) and unsuccessful (e.g. Democratic Republic of Congo) cases based on how far government institutions and path dependencies have constrained or reproduced conflict and social exclusions respectively.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Mkandawire focused on the role of colonisation for developing taxation and corresponding expenditure regimes in Africa: namely, 'labour reserve economies' (which are predominantly found in Southern Africa); 'cash crop economies'; and finally regimes that are closely associated with the concession companies (Mkandawire, 2011). In his research he aimed to identify how far colonisation can also determine social policy regimes. The selection of the variables is much influenced by Gough's (2004a) research on global welfare regimes as they focused on welfare outcomes, welfare mix, institutional variables and global environment. Using cluster analysis, the results identify that 'cash crop economies' and 'labour reserve economies' clustered with 'insecurity welfare regimes' and 'informal security regimes' respectively. The importance of this finding is that colonisation can offer a 'consistent and historically grounded' (Mkandawire, 2016: 20) explanation for the classification of African welfare regimes.

At the same time Clement (2020) has questioned the rigidity of the regional classifications, especially when it comes to SSA. Gough (2004a) identified SSA welfare regimes as members of the 'externally dependent insecurity regime' as they displayed low welfare outcomes and increasing reliance on international aid and remittances. In a more recent publication, where Gough (2013) attempted to replicate the original research, SSA welfare regimes were no longer part of one rigid classification. Clement, similarly to Gough, explored recent data on welfare outcomes, welfare mix variables including domestic and international expenditure and measurements of civil society engagement and democracy. Clement also to put to the test Bevan's (2004) assertion that civil society is not playing an important role for welfare provision in SSA by taking into account how far aid is used corruptly. The application of latent analysis identified that membership of SSA welfare regime displays substantial diversity of welfare mixes and outcomes, with civil society interacting with positive welfare outcomes in one cluster. With her research, Clement was able to test existing theoretical approaches and also account for transition over time by using similar variables to Gough. Still the four clusters of social protection among SSA are only determined empirically with no causal properties for these clusters identified.

Regional focus –Asia

Gough's (2004b) dedicated chapter to East Asia has much influenced welfare regime debates in the region, not least because he expanded from Holliday (2000) a set of criteria for defining productivist welfare regimes: subordination of social to economic policy, focus on social investment (health and education), state involvement in regulation and not provision and finally social policy linkages with nation building and regime legitimation. Drawing on the insights of his chapter, the contributions in this regional welfare regime literature are at least threefold. First, scholars would explore the homogeneity of the welfare regime cluster (insofar as cases meet the criteria). Second, much attention has been devoted to the 'limits' of the productivist logic, including how far and which East and Southeast Asian welfare regimes have transitioned from informal security to welfare state regime (insofar as cases break away from the criteria). Finally, few researchers have also attempted to test Gough's (2004b) prediction that in the aftermath of the Asian Financial Crisis (AFC) their path would become bifurcated between a more market-led or redistributive state-led welfare regime.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Many authors have questioned the rigidity of productivism as the underlying principle of Asian welfare regimes (Kamimura, 2010; Choi, 2012, 2013; Hudson and Kühner, 2012). In his work Choi (2012) adopts Gough's (2004b) classification and identifies South Korea, Japan and China as essentially productivist welfare regimes. Choi followed a case study method and used a historical institutionalist analysis that focused on regime level reforms to assess the developmental path of the respective welfare regimes and how far they are transitioning towards a comprehensive network of public provision able to alleviate post-productivism social risks. He concluded that China and South Korea show a different path from Japan; but at the same time only Japan and South Korea satisfy the criteria of comprising a welfare state regime. It is important to mention here that Choi (2013) identified that the transitioning of the East Asian welfare regimes out of their productivist legacies is accompanied with an increasing role of the market and for-profit provision that resembled the liberal welfare state regime.

Yu (2012, 2014a) placed East and Southeast (Yu, 2014b) Asian economies in comparison with OECD countries and applied a set of different classification approaches to explore how far East Asian cases display similarities between them and whether cases, that belong to different ideal types, do in fact display differences. Yu focused on health as a key testing ground for the productivist argument. He used data on health outcomes, private expenditure, coverage and public-private mix of provision. Yu applied Esping-Andersen's classification methods as well as clusters analysis with his findings questioning that East and Southeast welfare regimes cluster together (internal homogeneity). At the same time, he shows that East Asian welfare regimes are not laggards or rudimentary as in a few instances they outperform OECD countries (e.g. health outcomes, coverage). His research also shows that the application of different data reduction techniques can also often lead to different classifications (see also Barrientos, 2015).

Following Hudson and Kühner (2012), Yang (2017) challenged the homogeneity of a productive East Asian welfare regime and highlighted the emergence of divergent patterns of welfare development across both protective and productive dimensions. Yang applied FSITA and examined six policy areas: education, health care services, family, old-age pensions, housing and unemployment across six East Asian cases. Her results identified that Korea (along with Japan) can qualify as welfare state regimes due to their comprehensive interventions while Hong Kong and Taiwan displayed more protective rather than productive characteristics. By paying attention to historical legacies (colonisation) but also economic integration to global markets Yang concluded that, while East Asian welfare regimes do display productivist logic, there is little evidence that it is their defining characteristic.

Yang and Kühner (2020) explored specifically the transition of these six East Asian welfare regimes and whether there is a continuity or change in terms of their paths. Building and expanding from Yang's (2017) empirical data, they apply FSITA to three temporal points (1990s, 2000s, 2016) to map the transition. After calculating the FSITA scores for each temporal point, they then devise three models of welfare transitions capturing change. Their findings, supported with mini case studies, do not provide any confirmation to Gough's (2004b) prediction that East Asian welfare regime will bifurcate between a more market-led or redistributive state-led welfare regime. Their results are consistent with Yang (2017) insofar as Korea displays a clear trajectory towards a balanced and comprehensive welfare model, which combines both productive and protective elements for the period explored (1990-2016).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Reflections on ongoing research agenda

This review article has identified a high and rich volume of contributions from those who incorporated and directly engaged with the global welfare regimes approach by Gough and collaborators. Next, the review reflects on debates relating to the causal properties for capturing the diversity of welfare regime classifications, empirical data, methodologies applied to classify welfare regimes, cases selected, groupings identified, and, finally, how transitions to different welfare regime memberships are explained.

From the review, there is little evidence of a direct attempt to engage or explain the causal properties of global welfare regimes' development. For example, none of the articles has explicitly adopted "the 5 I's" – instead few have picked up on the importance of colonialism for global welfare regime classification (Wood and Gough, 2006). The only exception is the work of Mkandawire who focused on how differential colonial experiences interacted and formulated particular tax regimes in Africa with his findings matching to a large extent Gough's original classification. In this respect, the focus on colonisation as a 'consistent and historically grounded' (Mkandawire, 2016: 20) explanation for the development of welfare regimes regionally and globally can be a fruitful research direction as it allows to comparatively account for historical particularities and allow more informed and in-depth explanations of welfare regime development (see also Yang, 2017).

It is perhaps not a coincidence that a majority of attempts to explain welfare regime transitions adopt a regional focus (Barrientos, 2009; Choi, 2012, 2013; Martínez Franzoni and Sánchez-Ancochea, 2018; Clement, 2020; Yang and Kühner, 2020). While the number of cases varies significantly, reflecting perhaps different methodological choices and data availability, the criteria for establishing transitions are not similar. For example, Barrientos (2009) and Choi (2012, 2013) explore welfare regime-level reforms as well as official government data to determine the nature and direction of the transition. Other scholars map transitions as a temporal shift against either pre-determined ideal types (Yang and Kühner, 2020) or by applying data reduction techniques (Yu, 2014b; Martínez Franzoni and Sánchez-Ancochea, 2018; Clement, 2020).

Suffice to say that there is no clear answer to the 'dependent variable problem' in the literature. This is also reflected on the evidence used and clusters produced. The identified clusters refer to pre-determined, by the theory, groupings (Hudson and Kühner, 2012; Kuypers, 2014; Yang, 2017), empirically driven exercises that do not name and therefore attribute any properties to their groupings (Yu, 2012, 2014a, 2014b; Clement, 2020[8]) and ones that capture change (Martínez Franzoni and Sánchez-Ancochea, 2018; Yang and Kühner, 2020). The evidence utilised ranges from interviews, government reports and official statistics to international cross-sectional data. The review identified a strong preference in favour of variables on expenditure and welfare outcomes with few attempts incorporating political variables, such as the quality of government (Hinojosa *et al.*, 2010) and civil society (Clement, 2020), and with even fewer incorporating out-of-pocket-payments data (Franzoni, 2008; Hinojosa *et al.*, 2010; Yu, 2012, 2014a, 2014b).

Recent global welfare regime scholarship criticised the extensive use of development outcomes as proxies for global welfare regime classification as they do not capture 'welfare variables' per se. Instead, Yörük *et al.* (2019) argue in favour of combining social security and assistance (expenditure) variables for capturing the diversity of welfare arrangements globally and for establishing an analytical and empirical 'level playing field' for capturing the diversity of both Global North and South[9]. Putting aside views on

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

what should represent the 'variable orthodoxy' or a more faithful to Esping-Andersen typology for global welfare regimes, Yörük *et al*'s. (2019: 642) suggestion that 'students of the welfare regime literature must confine themselves to the exclusive use of welfare policy variables in operationalizing welfare state regimes, [. . .] especially for non-OECD countries', ignores the fact that actually many scholars have already incorporated, and often at great detail, expenditure variables (see Table 1). Additionally, the focus on social security and social assistance alone does not sufficiently break with statist approaches and continues to overlook the role of informal and non-statutory provisions, as well as the importance of transnational relationships and historical legacies (e.g. colonialism).

Interestingly, few of the articles included in this review focused on the role of international and global actors and how the latter can drive or distort welfare regime development (Gough and Abu Sharkh, 2011; Mkandawire, 2016). The findings are not conclusive and often relate to questions of how transnational governance interacts with national governments and particular policy areas (Room, 2004; Hinojosa *et al.*, 2010; Kwon and Kim, 2014). Additionally, with the exception of Gough and collaborators, few studies that focus on global welfare regimes incorporate in their analysis the role of remittances (Cerami, 2013; Kühner and Nakray, 2017; Clement, 2020). From a theoretical perspective, both the role of global actors as well as remittances are not adequately picked up to theorise and explain global welfare regime. This is partly explained as the majority of publications reviewed remain engraved in a methodological nationalism with few only disaggregating the level of analysis to local areas (Cruz-Martínez, 2018; Satyro and Cunha, 2019)[10].

Reflecting on these findings, the article concludes with at least two potential research directions emerging for the study of global welfare regimes. First, to better understand the development of global welfare regimes, comparative social policy scholars need to learn from the insights of development studies by incorporating both relations of dependence but also the importance of informal and non-statutory provisions. As the work of Mkandawire (2011) shows, there are relationships of power (colonialism) between nation states and welfare regimes. Similarly, welfare regimes are not isolated crystallisations but are in a continuous politico-economic interaction with each other, including, among others, relationships of competition, partnership and politico-economic dependence (Papadopoulos and Roumpakis, 2018). These relationships cross-cut class, race and gender divisions which are in turn manifested in both statutory provisions but also in cultural (often informal) terms.

At the same time, we need to consider informal and non-statutory provisions not in isolation but in conjunction with statutory ones. Comparative social policy scholars should openly reflect on the fruitfulness of imposing Northern or Western conceptual tools (Gupta, 2006; Kim, 2015). The review has identified that many scholars have identified differences and imbalances that exist both across and within global welfare regime classification questioning thus whether typologising Large-N cases is actually still useful. Instead of increasing the number of typologies, I would argue that we need to create nuanced conceptual and analytical tools, which for example pay attention to how non-statutory provisions, including family and community relationships, interact with and are often conditioned by statutory (or lack of thereof) provisions.

The emerging literature focusing on the role of transnational families, including migration and domestic care (Douglass, 2010; Abrahamson, 2017), is a really promising research direction as it allows to take into account the role of migration and gender which

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

remain largely underutilised as analytical categories among global welfare regime classifications, but also highlights the transnational relationships that welfare regimes are part of (see also Kim and Kilkey, 2018). Additionally, recent scholarship (Papadopoulos and Roumpakis, 2019) has attempted to extend the conceptualisation of family, beyond its traditional role as welfare provider, and instead analyse it as a collective economic actor who is (re)defined by its interaction with both state and market and who at the same time employs various economic (householding, redistribution, reciprocity, market exchange) practices, to secure the well-being of its members.

If anything, Gough's contributions have opened up the discussion within comparative and international social policy and less so with development studies. The improvements in data availability (World Bank, International Labour Organisation, United Nations) can continue to support these research endeavours. Future research should be tempted to withhold the conceptual imperialism that might apply categorising global welfare regimes not only between Global North and South but also across disciplines.

Notes

1 Interestingly this was a criticism shared by Gough (2001). Öktem (2016) applied fuzzy-set analysis and tested Wood and Gough (2006) and Abu Sharkh and Gough (2010) results. Despite the conceptual and methodological approaches, his results largely verified Abu Sharkh and Gough (2010) classifications.

2 The use of raw variables or z-scores could mitigate the impact of the variable selection and the application of jackknife method (removing one variable at a time) could have also offered more convincing and robust results. In saying this few researchers explicitly refer to this process (e.g. Kuitto, 2016).

3 Based on a Google citation search of Gough and Wood (2004) and Gough (2004a, 2004b) titles (last accessed on 3rd March 2020). Availability to outputs was based on accessing publications via University of York IP. Publications that engage with the main thrust of the argument but do not cite the aforementioned publications or are not picked up by Google citations have not been included.

4 Studies that do explore welfare states on global scale but do not engage with Gough and collaborators' arguments have been excluded from this review (e.g. Rudra, 2007; Haggard and Kaufman; 2008; Seekings, 2012; Chung *et al.*, 2013).

5 All publications were available and included in this review (see Table 1).

6 Gough in collaboration with Abu Sharkh followed up on the global welfare regime classification. These publications are reviewed as part of the original argument. They are however included in Table 1 for reference use.

7 Kwon and Kim (2014), without directly engaging with Gough's classification, explore whether good governance reduces poverty. Their findings suggest that this happens only when 'voice and accountability' increases in middle-income countries.

8 Clement suggests that this is on purpose to reflect that welfare regimes should reflect dynamic development.

9 It is important to highlight here that Yörük and collaborators have recently launched the cross-national panel 'Global Welfare Dataset (GLOW) (glow.ku.edu.tr) comprising 381 variables on sixty-one countries from the years between 1989 and 2015.

10 This could also raise questions over the unit of analysis selection, especially as countries like India and China exhibit significant variation among their provinces and local governments.

References

Abrahamson, P. (1999) 'The welfare modelling business', *Social Policy and Administration*, 33, 4, 394–415.
Abrahamson, P. (2017) 'East Asian welfare regime: obsolete ideal-type or diversified reality', *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, 10, 1, 90–103.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Abu Sharkh, M. and Gough, I. (2010) 'Global welfare regimes: a cluster analysis', *Global Social Policy*, 10, 27–58.
Aspalter, C. (2006) 'The East Asian welfare model', *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 15, 4, 290–301.
Aspalter, C. (2011) 'The development of ideal-typical welfare regime theory', *International Social Work*, 54, 6, 735–50.
Babajanian, B. (2008) 'Social welfare in post-soviet Armenia: from socialist to liberal and informal?', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 24, 4, 383–404
Barrientos, A. (2004) 'Latin America: towards a liberal-informal welfare regime', in I. Gough and G. Wood (eds) with A. Barrientos, P. Bevan, P. Davis, and G. Room, *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 121–68.
Barrientos, A. (2009) 'Labour markets and the (hyphenated) welfare regime in Latin America', *Economy and Society*, 38,1, 87–108.
Barrientos, A. (2013) *Social Assistance in Developing Countries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Barrientos, A. (2015) "A veritable mountain of data and years of endless statistical manipulation': methods in the Three Worlds and after', *Social Policy and Society*, 14, 2, 259–70.
Bevan, P. (2004) 'The dynamics of Africa's in/security regimes', in I. Gough and G. Wood (eds) with A. Barrientos, P. Bevan, P. Davis, and G. Room, *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 202–49.
Böger, T. and Öktem, K. G. (2019) 'Levels or worlds of welfare? Assessing social rights and social stratification in Northern and Southern countries', *Social Policy and Administration*, 53, 63–77.
Cerami, A. (2013) *Permanent Emergency Welfare Regimes in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Exclusive Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Choi, Y. J. (2012) 'End of the era of productivist welfare capitalism?', *Diverging Welfare Regimes in East Asia, Asian Journal of Social Science*, 40, 3, 275–94.
Choi, Y. J. (2013) 'Developmentalism and productivism in East Asian welfare regime', in M. Izuhara (ed.), *The Handbook on East Asian Social Policy*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 207–25.
Chung, H., Ng, E., Ibrahim, S., Karlsson, B., Benach, J., Espelt, A. and Muntaner, C. (2013) 'Welfare state regimes, gender, and depression: a multilevel analysis of middle and high income countries', *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 10, 4, 1324–41.
Clement, J. (2020) 'Social protection clusters in sub-Saharan Africa', *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 29, 20–8.
Cruz-Martínez, G. (2018) 'A bottom-up picture of intra-national welfare regimes: the case of marginalised communities in Puerto Rico', *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy*, doi: 10.1080/21699763.2018.1526696.
Douglass, M. (2010) 'Globalizing the household in East Asia', *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, 11, 63–78.
Ehmke, E. (2019) 'Social security expansion in the South: from welfare regimes to implementation. A study of India and its national rural employment', in C. Scherrer (ed.), *Labor and Globalization*: Volume 18, Rainer Hampp Verlag.
Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
Franzoni, J. M. (2008) 'Welfare regimes in Latin America: capturing constellations of markets, families, and policies', *Latin American Politics and Society*, 50, 67–100.
Gough, I. (2001) 'Social assistance regimes: a cluster analysis', *Journal of European Social Policy*, 11, 165–70.
Gough, I. (2004a) 'Welfare regimes in development contexts: a global and regional analysis' in I. Gough and G. Wood (eds) with A. Barrientos, P. Bevan, P. Davis and G. Room, *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 15–48.
Gough, I. (2004b) 'East Asia: the limits of productivist regimes', in I. Gough and G. Wood (eds) with A. Barrientos, P. Bevan, P. Davis and G. Room, *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 169–201.
Gough, I. (2013) 'Social policy regimes in the developing world', in P. Kennett (ed.), *Handbook of Comparative Social Policy*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 205–24.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Gough, I. and Abu Sharkh, M. (2011) 'Financing welfare regimes: mapping heterogeneous revenue structures', *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 20, 280–91.
Gough, I. and Wood, G. (eds) with Barrientos, A., Bevan, P., Davis, P. and Room, G. (2004) *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa, and Latin America Social Policy in Development Contexts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Gupta, A. (2006) 'Blurred boundaries: the discourse of corruption, the culture of politics, and the imagined state', in A. Sharma and A. Gupta (eds.), *The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 211–43.
Haggard, S. and Kaufman, R. R. (2008) *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*, Oxford: Princeton University Press.
Hinojosa, V. L., Bebbington, A., Barrientos, A. and Addison, A. (2010) 'Social policy and state revenues in mineral-rich contexts', *Social Policy and Development Programme Paper* Number 44, UNRISD.
Holliday, I. (2000) 'Productivist welfare capitalism: social policy in East Asia', *Political Studies*, 48, 706–23.
Hudson, J. and Kühner, S. (2012) 'Analyzing the productive and protective dimensions of welfare: looking beyond the OECD', *Social Policy and Administration*, 46, 35–60.
Jones, C. (1993) 'The Pacific challenge: Confucian welfare states', in C. Jones (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Welfare State in Europe*, London, Routledge, 198–217.
Kabeer, N. (2015) 'Gender, poverty, and inequality: a brief history of feminist contributions in the field of international development', *Gender and Development*, 23, 2, 189–205.
Kamimura, Y. (2010) 'Social foundations of East Asian social policy', *The Sociological Review of Nagoya University*, 30, 87–100.
Kim, G. and Kilkey, M. (2018) 'Marriage migration policy in South Korea: Social Investment beyond the nation state', *International Migration*, 56, 23–38.
Kim, K. (2015) 'From worlds to cases: case selection and 'Other Worlds' in the welfare modelling business', *Social Policy and Society*, 14, 2, 309–321.
Kim, Y. M. (2008) 'Beyond East Asian welfare productivism in South Korea', *Policy and Politics*, 36, 1, 109–25.
Kühner, S. and Nakray, K. (2017) 'India's emerging social policy paradigm: productive, protective or what?, *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, 10, 1, 40–56.
Kuitto, K. (2016) *Post-Communist Welfare States in European Context. Patterns of Welfare Policies in Central and Eastern Europe*, Cheltenham/Northampton: Edward Elgar.
Kuypers, S. (2014) *The East Asian Welfare Regime: Reality or Fiction*, *CSB Working paper*, 14, 4.
Kwon, H. and Kim, E. (2014) 'Poverty reduction and good governance: examining the rationale of the millennium development goals', *Development and Change*, 45, 353–75.
Martínez Franzoni, J. and Sánchez-Ancochea, D. (2018) 'Undoing segmentation? Latin American health care policy during the economic boom', *Social Policy and Administration*, 52, 1181–200.
Midgley, J. (2019) 'Social policy and development: an overview', in J. Midgley, R. Surender and L. Alfers (eds.), *Handbook of Social Policy and Development*, Cheltenham/Northampton: Edward Elgar, 14–34.
Mkandawire, T. (2011) 'Welfare regimes and economic development: bridging the conceptual gap', in V. Fitzgerald, J. Heyer and R. Thorp (eds.), *Overcoming the Persistence of Poverty and Inequality*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
Mkandawire, T. (2016) *Colonial Legacies and Social Welfare Regimes in Africa; An Empirical Exercise*, Working Paper 2016-4, Geneva: UNRISD.
Muntaner, C., Chung, H., Benach, J. and Ng, E. (2012) 'Hierarchical cluster analysis of labour market regulations and population health: a taxonomy of low- and middle-income countries', *BMC Public Health*, 12, 286.
Öktem, K. G. (2016) 'Pathways to universal social security in lower income countries: explaining the emergence of welfare states in the developing world', PhD thesis, Bilkent University, Department of Political Science and Public Administration.
Papadopoulos, T. and 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, 204–24.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Papadopoulos, T. and Roumpakis, A. (2017) 'Family as a socio-economic actor in the political economies of East and South-East Asian welfare capitalisms', *Social Policy and Administration*, 51, 857–75.
Papadopoulos, T. and Roumpakis, A. (2018) 'Rattling Europe's ordoliberal 'iron cage': the contestation of austerity in Southern Europe', *Critical Social Policy*, 38, 505–26.
Papadopoulos, T. and Roumpakis, A. (2019) 'Family as a socio-economic actor in the political economy of welfare', in J. Rees, E. Heins and C. Needham (eds.), *Social Policy Review* 31, Bristol: Policy Press, 243–66.
Plagerson, S. and Patel, L. (2019) 'Welfare regimes in the global South: does the capability approach provide an alternative perspective?', *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice*, 27, 23–40.
Powell, M. and Barrientos, A. (2015) 'Introduction: twenty five years of the welfare modelling business', *Social Policy and Society*, 14, 2, 241–5.
Room, G. (2004) 'Multi-tiered international welfare systems', in I. Gough and G. Wood (eds) with A. Barrientos, P. Bevan, P. Davis, and G. Room, *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 287–311.
Rudra, N. (2007) 'Welfare States in developing countries: unique or universal?', *The Journal of Politics*, 69, 2, 378–96.
Satyro, N. G. D. and Cunha, P. S. (2019) 'The coexistence of different welfare regimes in the same country: a comparative analysis of the Brazilian municipalities heterogeneity', *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 21, 65–89.
Seekings, J. (2012) 'Pathways to redistribution: the emerging politics of social assistance across the global "South"', *Journal für Entwicklungspolitik*, XXVIII, 14–34.
Sumarto, M. (2017) 'Welfare regime change in developing countries: evidence from Indonesia', *Social Policy and Administration*, 51, 940–59.
van Gils, E. and Yörük, E. (2017) 'The World Bank's social assistance recommendations for developing and transition countries: containment of political unrest and mobilization of political support', *Current Sociology*, 65, 1, 113–32.
Witvliet, M., Arah, O., Stronks, K. and Kunst, A. E. (2011) 'Taking welfare state regime research globally: an application of the Wood and Gough typology to individual health', *Social Theory and Health*, 9, 355–66.
Witvliet, M., Kunst, A., Stronks, K. and Arah, O. A. (2012) 'Variations between world regions in individual health: a multilevel analysis of the role of socio-economic factors', *European Journal of Public Health*, 22, 2, 284–9.
Wood, G. and Gough, I. (2004) 'Conclusion: rethinking social policy in development contexts', in I. Gough and G. Wood (eds) with A. Barrientos, P. Bevan, P. Davis and G. Room, *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 312–26.
Wood, G. and Gough, I. (2006) 'A comparative welfare regime approach to global social policy', *World Development*, 34, 10, 1696–712.
Yang, N. (2017) 'East Asia in transition: re-examining the East Asian welfare model using fuzzy sets', *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, 10, 1, 104–20.
Yang, N. and Kühner, S. (2020) 'Beyond the limits of the productivist regime: capturing three decades of East Asian welfare development with fuzzy sets', *Social Policy and Society*, doi: 10.1017/S147474641900054X.
Yörük, E., Öker, İ., Yıldırım, K. and Yakut-Çakar, B. (2019) 'The variable selection problem in the Three Worlds of Welfare literature', *Social Indicators Research*, 144, 625–46.
Yu, W. K. (2012) 'The contributions of the health decommodification typologies to the study of the East Asian welfare regime', *Social Policy and Administration*, 46, 1, 108–28.
Yu, W. K. (2014a) 'The contributions of the studies of health care systems to the examination of the productivist welfare capitalism thesis', *Journal of Policy Practice*, 13, 4, 222–38.
Yu, W. K. (2014b) 'Studying the health care systems in seven East Asian countries by the cluster analysis', *Development and Society*, 43, 1, 81–107.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000330 Published online by Cambridge University Press