

**WELFARE**



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European  
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OF POLITICAL  
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SCIENCES



# **Social disadvantages, values, and support of different government welfare programs. A comparison of six types of welfare cultures**

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# Definitions

## Welfare State is

- a society in which government **actively accepts responsibility for the welfare** (broadly defined) of all its citizens.
- society in which government is expected to **ensure** the provision for all its citizens of **not only social security** but also a **range of other services** – including health, education and housing – at a standard well **above the barest** minimum.
- a state in which organized power is deliberately used in an effort to modify the play of market forces in at least three directions: by guaranteeing individuals and families a **minimum income**; by **narrowing the extent of insecurity**; and by ensuring that all citizens are offered the **best standards** available in relation to a certain agreed range of social services.
- core feature of welfare state is “**government-protected minimum** standards of income, nutrition, health, housing, and education, assured to every citizen as a political right, not as a charity” (Wilensky, 1974, p. 1).

(Cousins 2005, p. 6)

# Definitions

## Welfare State is

- a state system of **institutionalized solidarity** manifested by attitudes of individuals who express **feelings of support** for a social system (Gelissen, 2002)

Feelings of support can refer to **goals, means** and **outputs** of government intervention to achieve social security and social justice (Roller, 1995).

# Predictors of welfare attitudes

## o 1. Individual level

### o **Self-interest - the individual position in the social structure**

[Svallfors, 1991, 2004; D'Anjou et al., 1995; Andrass and Heien, 2001; Linos and West, 2003; van Oorschot, 2010; Staerklé et al., 2012 and others]

### o **Ideational factors** [Kangas, 1997; Hasenfeld and Rafferty, 1989; Groskind, 1994; Blekesaune and Quadagno, 2003; van Oorschot, 2007, 2010, 2011 and others]

## o 2. Institutional level

### o **Culture of the welfare state** [Esping-Andersen, 1990; Bamba, 2007; Ferrera, 1996; Bonoli, 1997, Arts and Gelissen, 2002; Jakobsen, 2011; Reeskens and van Oorschot, 2011 and others]

### o **Macroeconomic environment** [Blekesaune, 2007; Jakobsen, 2011; Монукова, 2012]

# Questions:

- Whether a type of welfare state and different institutional peculiarities modify an effect of individual characteristics?
- And whether the composition of effects is different across welfare cultures?

# Why is it important?

## Micro-to-Macro Model (or Coleman's bathtubs)

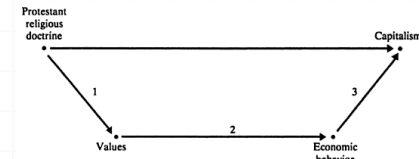


Figure 1.2 Macro- and micro-level propositions: effects of religious doctrine on economic organization.

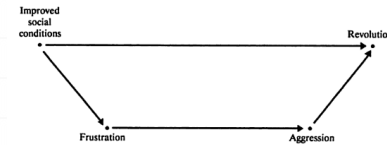
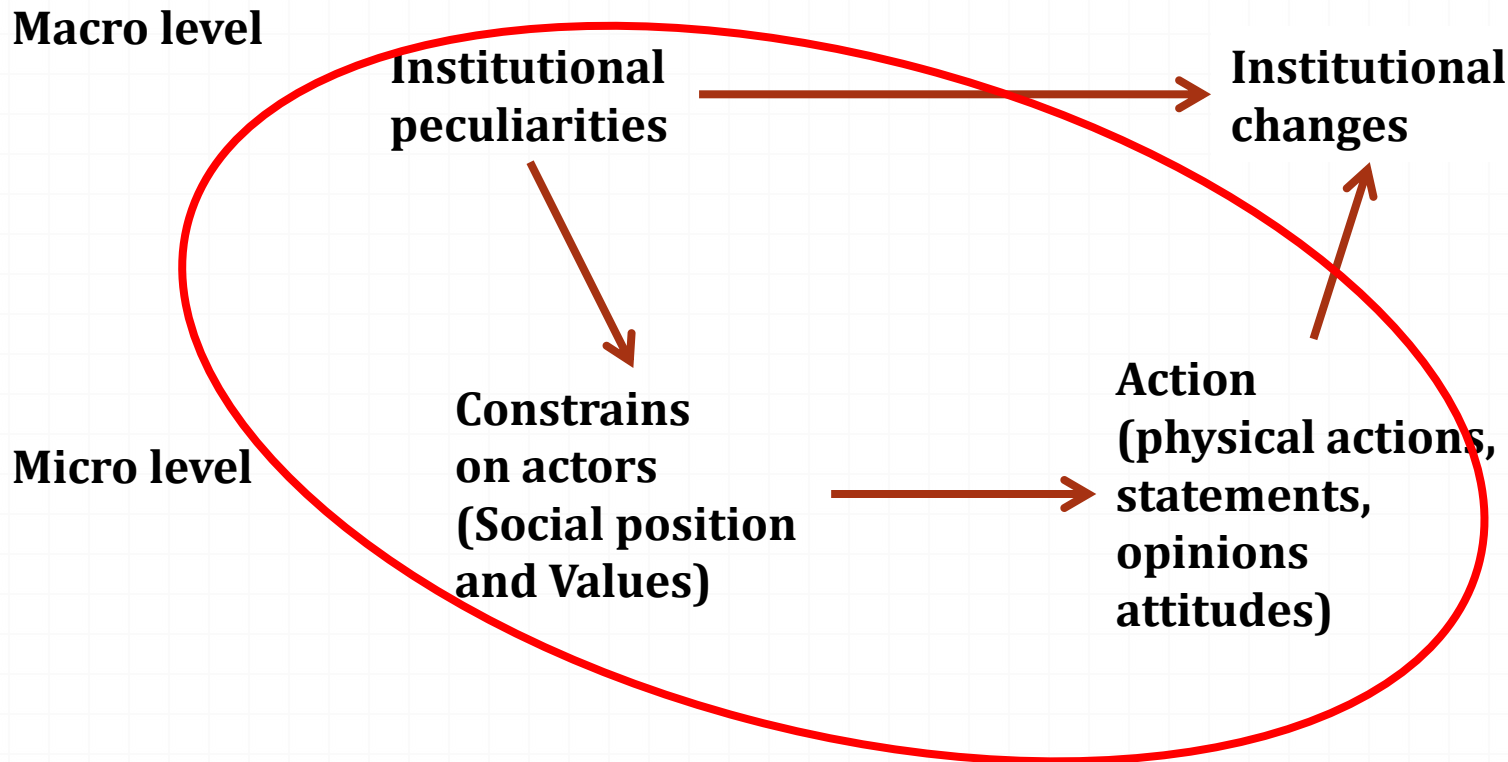


Figure 1.3 Macro- and micro-level propositions: effects of improved social conditions on potential for revolution.



Macro phenomenon have micro foundations

# Theoretical Framework

- 1. Multidimensional approach to analysis of welfare attitudes:
  - single dimension approach to the analysis of welfare state attitudes provides researchers just partial or even contradictory information about real preferences (S. Svallfors, 1991; W. van Oorschot and B. Meuleman; 2012)
  - theories of social justice and deservingness (Deutsch, 1975; Mau, 2004) tell us that it is necessary to take into account a type of social program and supported social groups when we are discussing the problem of welfare state attitudes
- 2. Theory of rationality (Weber, 1905) provides us with explanation what are the reasons why people support different types of social programs.
- 3. Theory of existential conditioning of thought (Mannheim, 1928) helps to explain causal and indirect effects of different factors on demand for various types of social programs.



# Theoretical Framework

## Multidimensional approach

- Theories of social justice and deservingness (Deutsch, 1975; Mau, 2004; Svallfors, 2007; van Oorschot, 2008)
- Population of European countries feel **more support** to **elderly people, ill and disabled**, a little bit **less** to **unemployed** and **migrants** have the **lowest** level of support *is the scope of government intervention multidimensional phenomenon?*
- **Different institutional and cultural arrangements** in different types of welfare states (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Fenger, 2007; Reeskens & van Oorschot, 2011) and and different understanding of social justice *is there any difference in dimensions?*

# Theoretical Framework

Theory of rationality

## What do we mean by rationality?

Basing on rational choice theories we define rationality as

**an intention to maximize own utilities in exchange relations with others**

# Theoretical Framework

Theory of rationality

**What kinds of rationality do we mean?**

4 ideal types of patterns of rationality (M.Weber)

**Formal rationality** (following rules)

**Substantive rationality** (value-rational basis)

**Practical rationality** (self-interest or survival motivation)

**Theoretical rationality** (conceptual point of view, from the position of “ordered system”)

# Theoretical Framework

## Theory of rationality

Person follows **practical rationality** if self-interest in getting social support has the principle effect on the demand.

**Substantive rationality** is in the basement of the demand if it is shaped by values.

**Formal rationality** shape the demand if it is shaped by rules or by the general culture of welfare state. (Here I leave aside theoretical rationality)

# Theoretical Framework

Theory of existential conditioning of thought

As long as social position predisposes a definite mode of thought, I consider value-oriented action and as an example of it the **effect of basic human values on the demand for government welfare support as a derivative of individual social position.**

# Hypotheses

Substantive and practical rationality (values and self-interest) has a stronger effect on all three dimensions of welfare attitudes in low performing welfare states.

Formal rationality (general welfare culture of a society) has stronger effect in well performing countries.

# Data and Core Variables

The 4th wave of European Social Survey (ESS, 2008)

Six initial items describing demand for government welfare intervention

**Question:** “People have different views on what the responsibilities of governments should or should not be. For each of the tasks I read out please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much responsibility you think governments should have. 0 means it should not be governments’ responsibility at all and 10 means it should be entirely governments’ responsibility. Firstly to...

D16 ...ensure adequate **health care** for the sick?

D17 ...ensure a reasonable **standard of living for the old**?

} Unconditional benefits

D19 ...ensure sufficient **child care services** for working parents?

D20 ...provide **paid leave** from work for people who temporarily have **to care for sick family members**?”

} Family support

D15 ...ensure a **job** for everyone who wants one?

D18 ...ensure a reasonable **standard of living for the unemployed**?

} Labor market regulation

# Specific Contribution

Present research is aimed to measure:

- direct and indirect effect of number of disadvantages,
- mediation effect of basic human values on three dimensions of welfare attitudes, and
- compare these effects in six types of welfare states.



# Data and Core Variables: predictors

## Individual level

1. **Cumulative disadvantages**: an individual index calculated as a number of disadvantages (low income, low level of education and problems with employment)
2. **Basic human values**: Sh. Schwartz methodology (1992). In my research I utilize 4 higher order values: openness to change, conservation, self-transcendence, and self-enhancement.

## Country level

3. **Type of welfare culture**

# Data and Core Variables: predictors

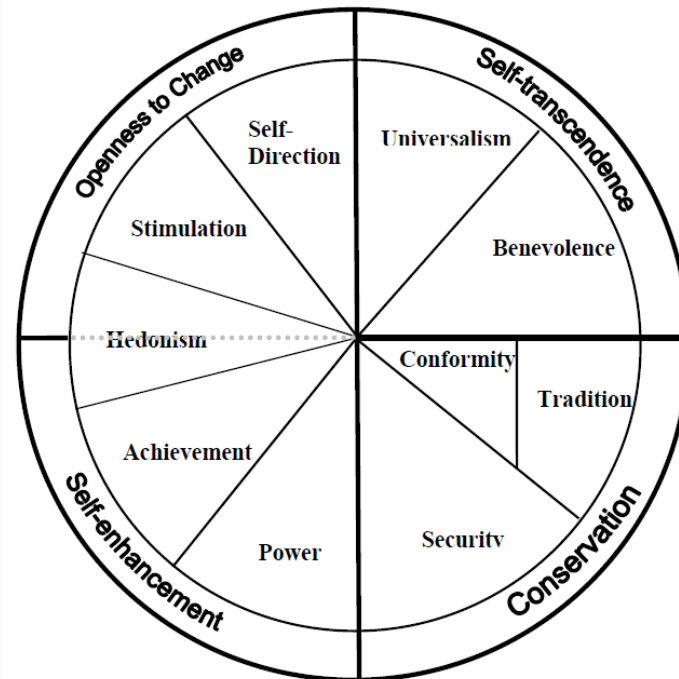
Cumulative disadvantages (Dubrov, 2012)

Indicators	Measured by	Recordings
Low income	Which of the descriptions on this card comes closest to how you feel about your household's income nowadays? 1. Living comfortably on present income, 2. Coping on present income, 3. Finding it difficult on present income, 4. Finding it very difficult on present income.	3-> 1; 4->1
Low level of education	What is the highest level of education you have achieved? Please use this card: 0. not completed primary education, 1. primary or first stage of basic, 2. lower secondary or second stage of basic, 3. upper secondary, 4. post secondary, non tertiary, 5. first stage of tertiary, 6. second stage of tertiary (Recoded into 4 groups)	0->1; 1->1; 2->1; 3->1; 4->1
Problems with employment	1. And which of these descriptions best describes your situation (in the last seven days)? Please select only one. (01 in paid work (or away temporarily) (employee, self-employed, working for your family business); 02 in education, (not paid for by employer) even if on vacation; 03 unemployed and actively looking for a job; 04. unemployed, wanting a job but not actively looking for a job; permanently sick or disabled 06. retired; 07 in community or military service; 08 doing housework, looking after children or other persons; 09 (other)) 2. Have you ever been unemployed and seeking work for a period of more than three months? (yes/no)	03->1; 04->1; 05->1; 06->1  1->1

# Data and Core Variables: predictors

## Basic human values

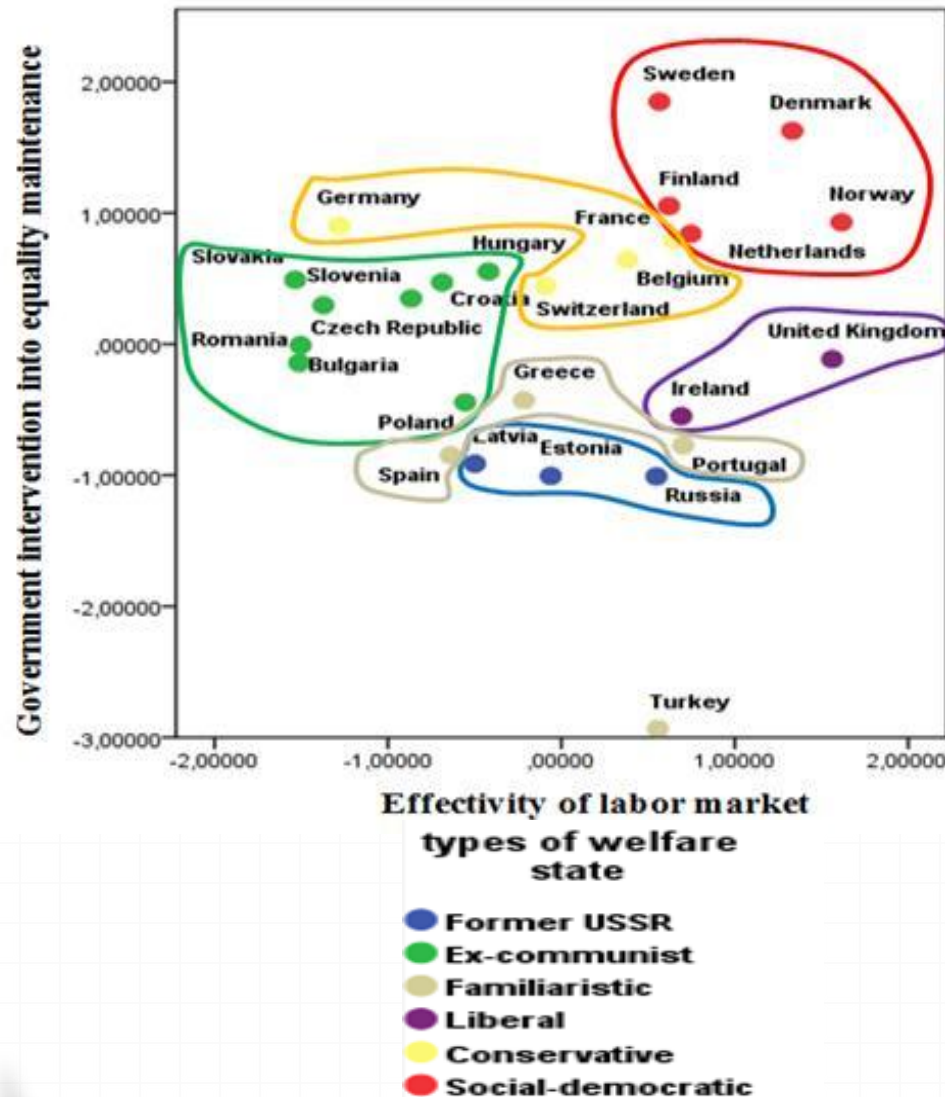
“Desirable transsituational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity”  
[Schwartz 1994: 21]



[Meuleman, Davidov, Schmidt & Billiet, 2012]

# Data and Core Variables: predictors

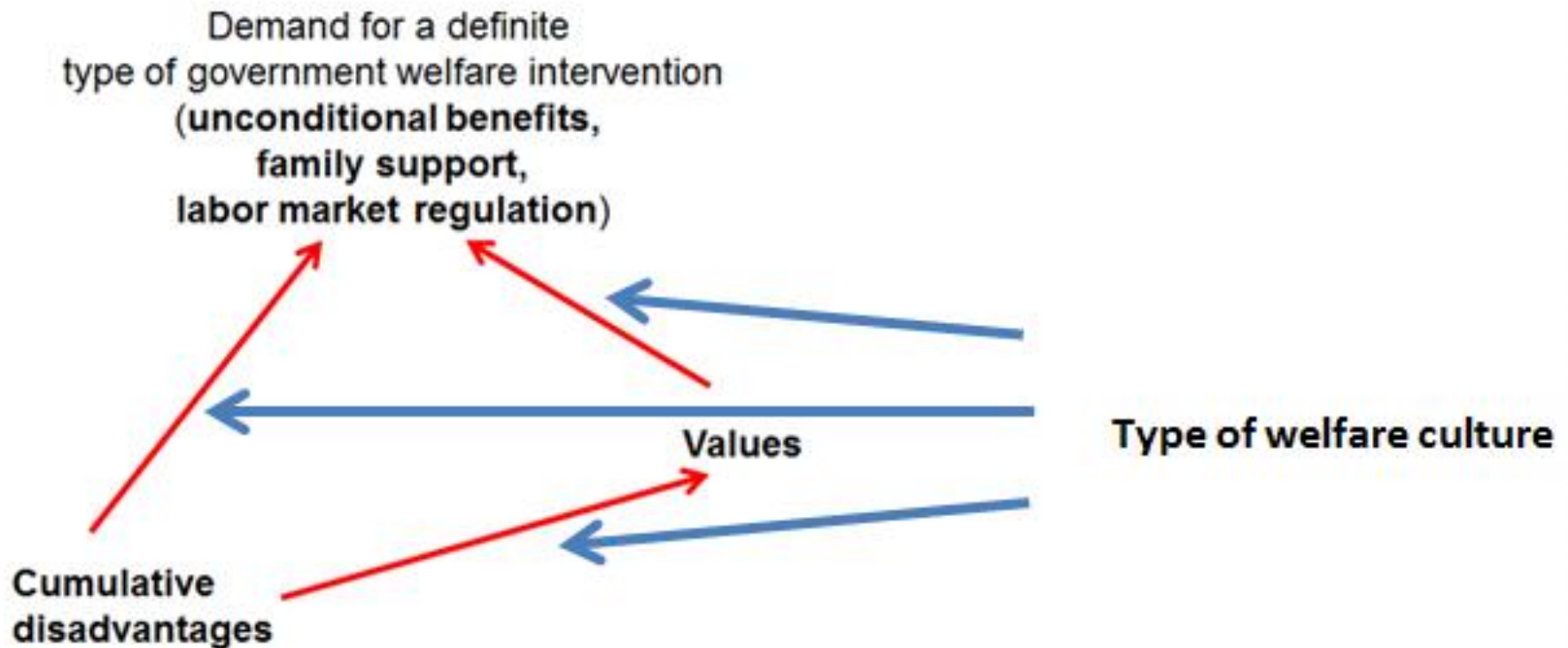
## Types of welfare states



## Results of principle component analysis

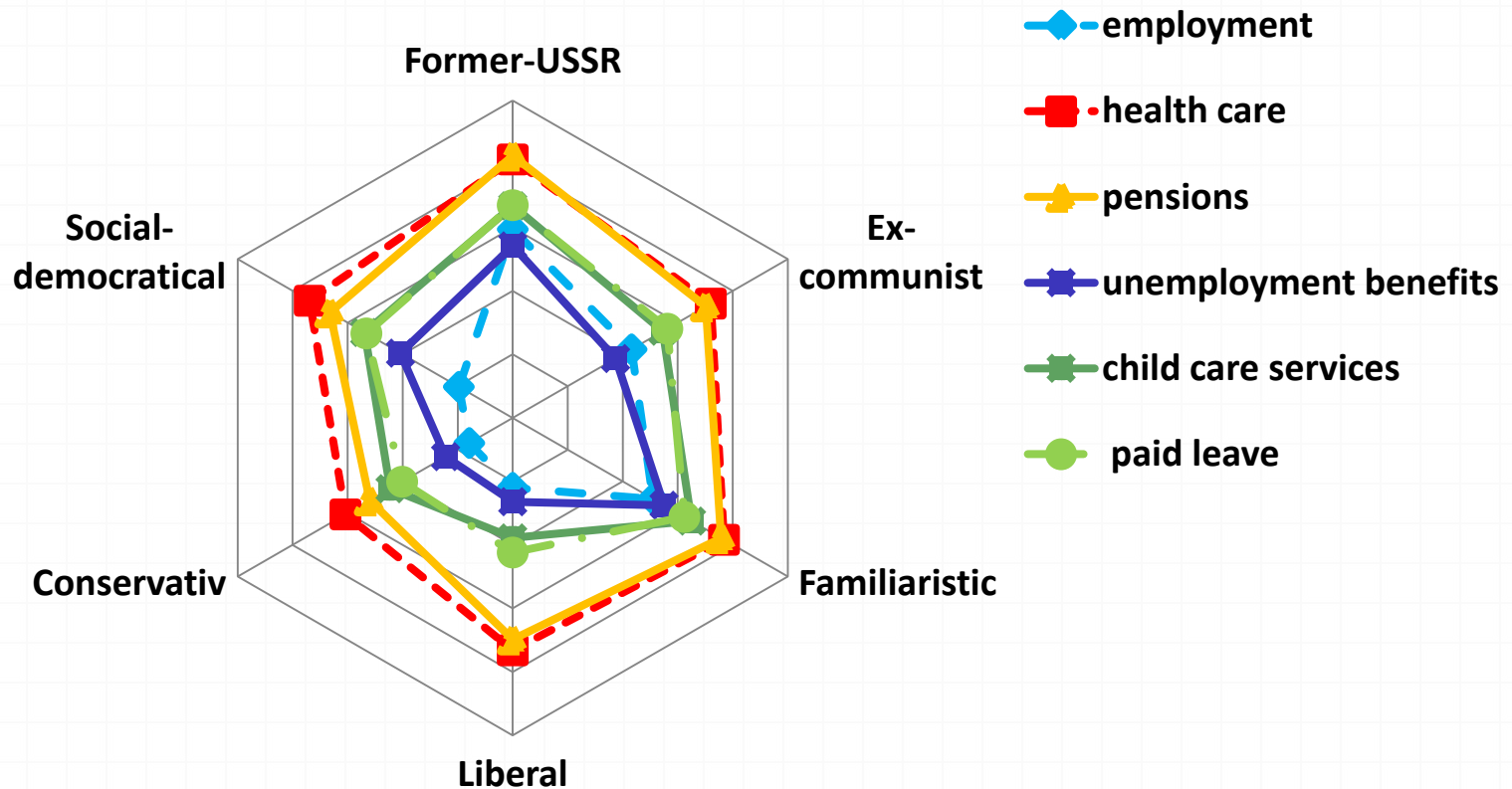
Indicator	N of countries	Component	
		1	2
GII	29	-0.401	-0.109
Expenditure on social protection as % GDP	29	0.74	0.307
Ratio of Female to Male Income	28**	0.701	0.289
Tax Revenue (% of GDP)	29	0.212	0.752
Gini Index	28**	-0.852	0.253
Long-Term Unemployment (% of Unemployed)	27***	-0.046	-0.832

# Research model

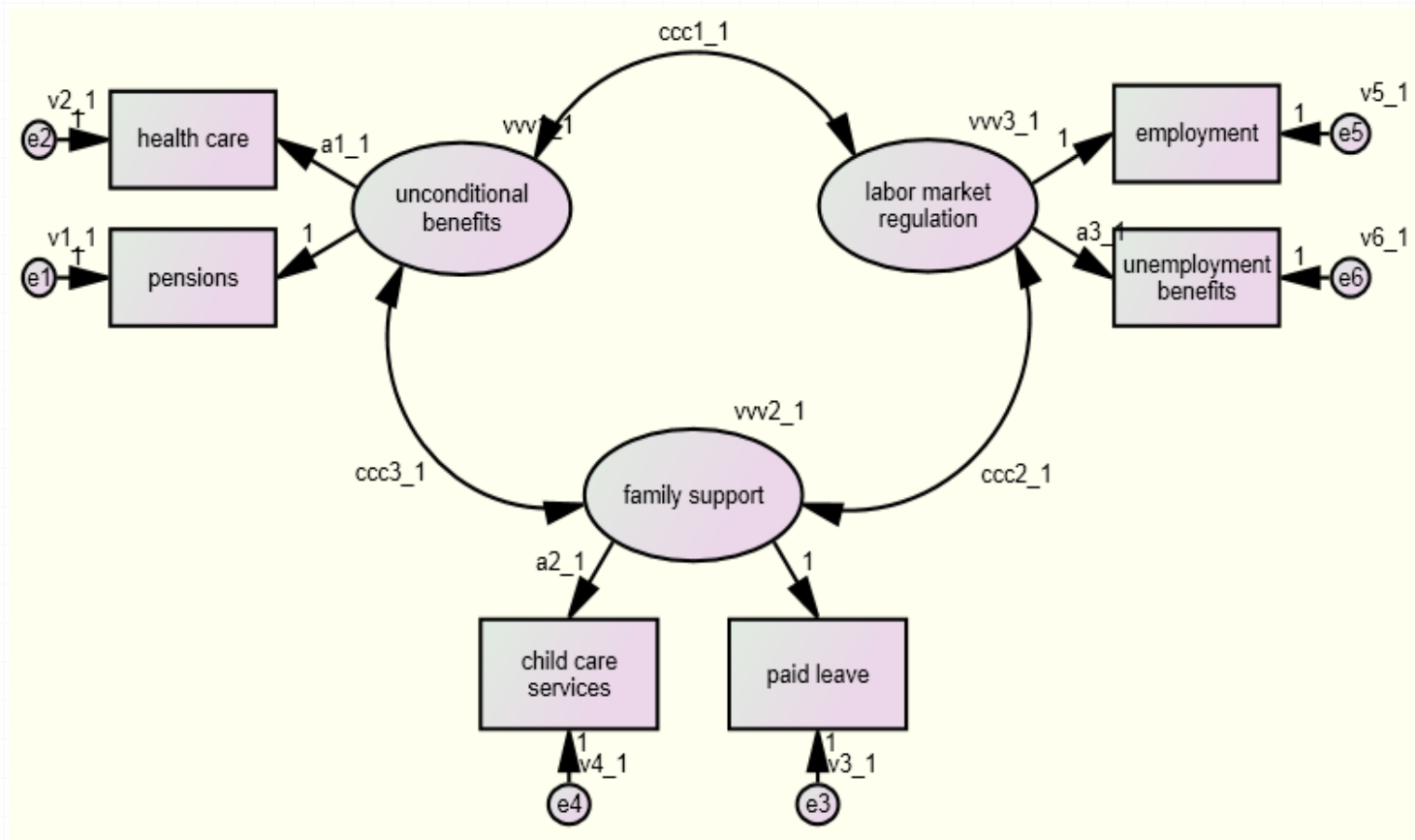


# Results

# Mean scores for demand for government support of six types of social programs in different welfare states



# Three dimensions of demand for government welfare support



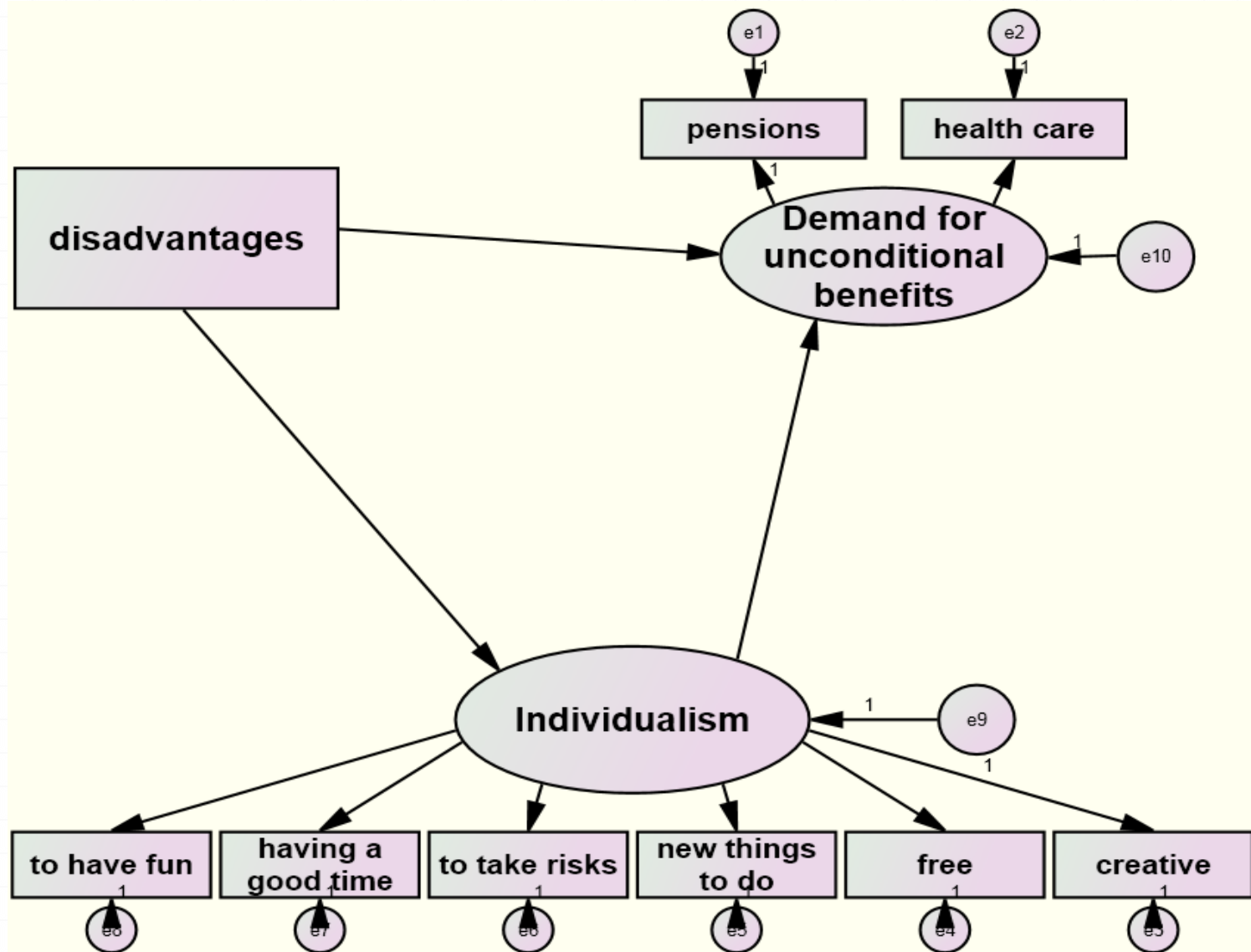


# Test of measurement invariance: model fit information

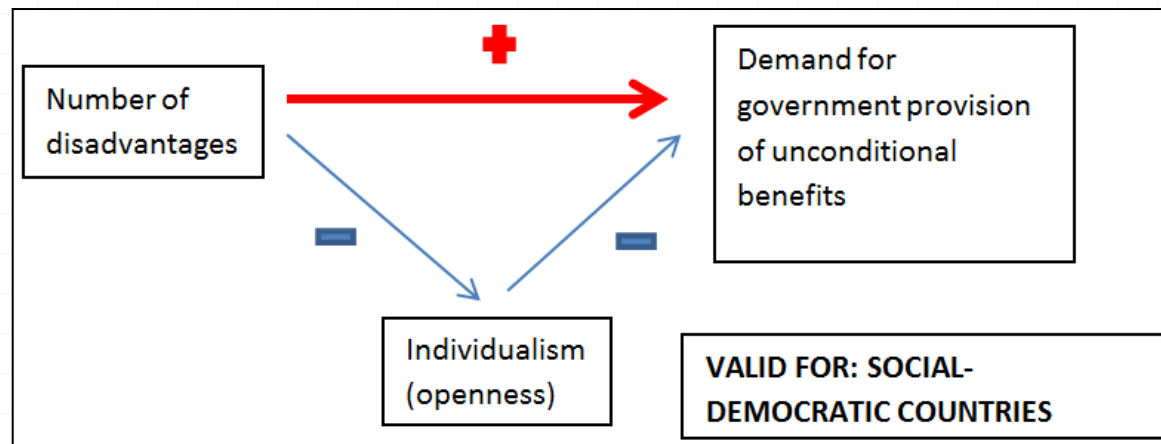
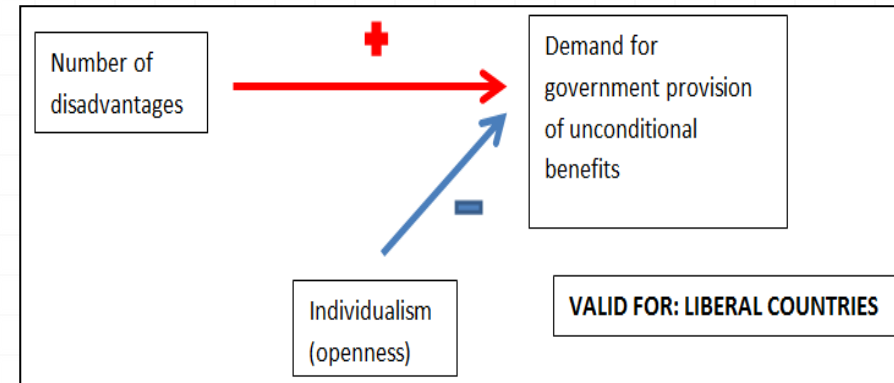
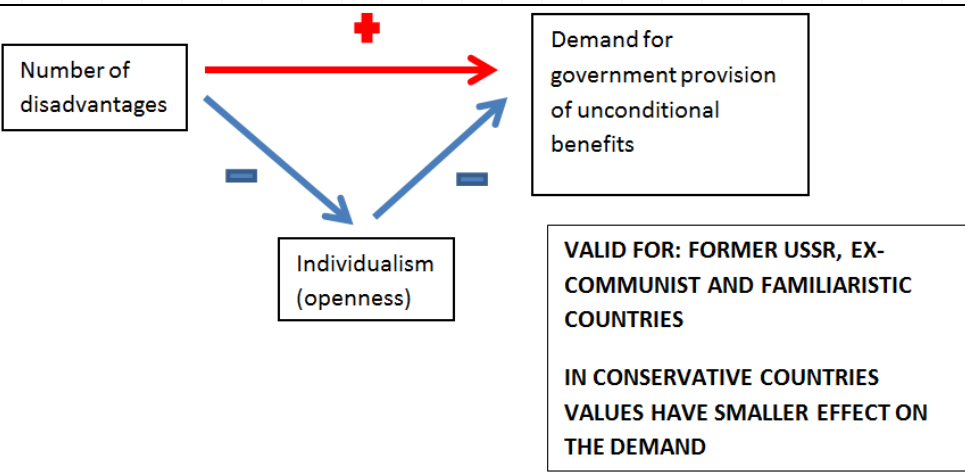
	Chi-squared	Df	P-value	RMSEA	CFI
FUSSR	772,809	24	0.0000	0,057	0,963
EXCOM	1027,62	48	0.0000	0,034	0,972
FAM	1366,813	36	0.0000	0,047	0,964
LIB	66,259	12	0.0000	0,031	0,992
CONS	161,717	24	0.0000	0,026	0,985
SD	224,252	30	0.0000	0,024	0,984
All countries	3619,453	174	0.0000	0,017	0,969

Three dimensions of the demand for government welfare support will be analyzed further.

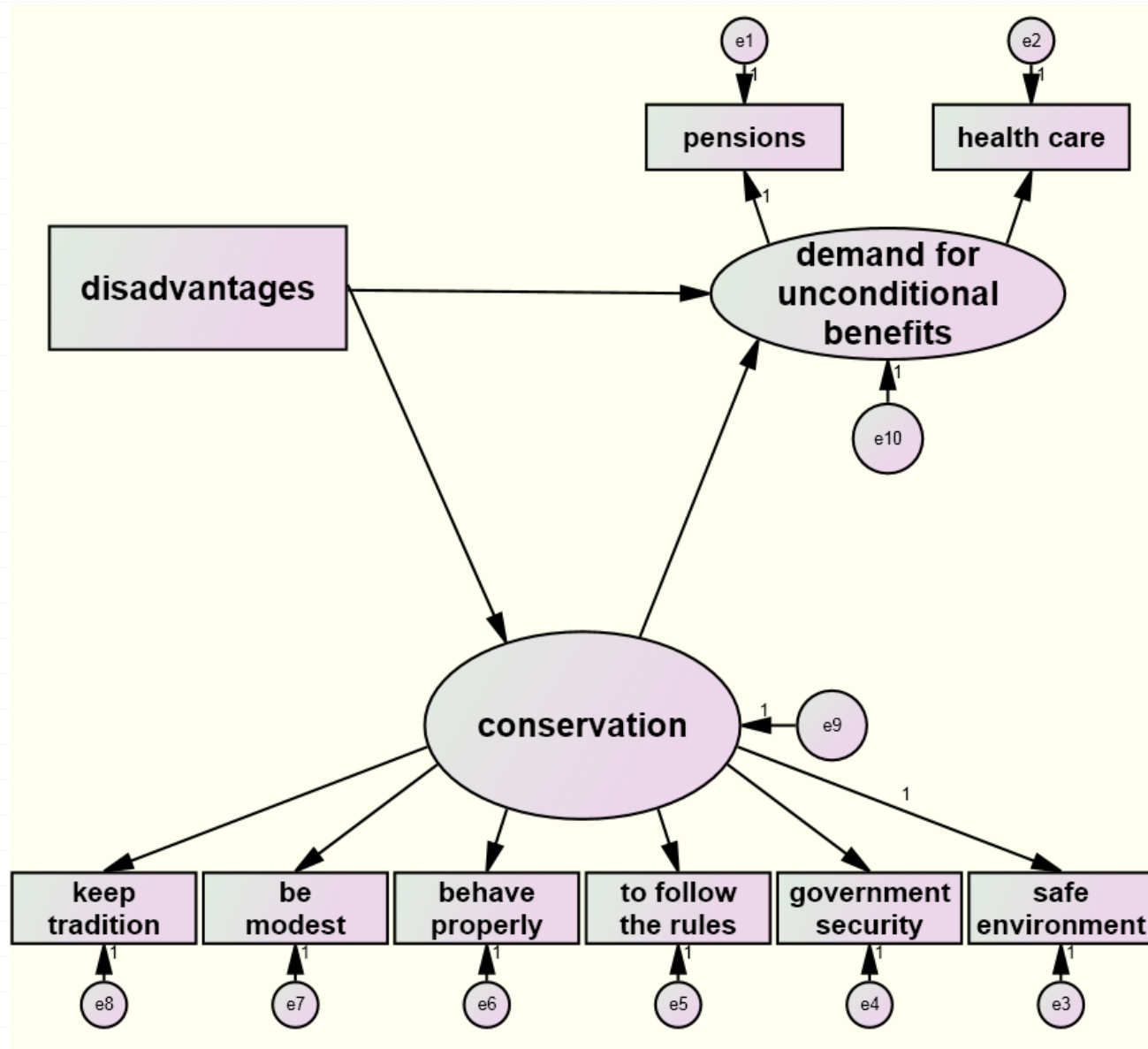
# 1<sup>st</sup> tested model



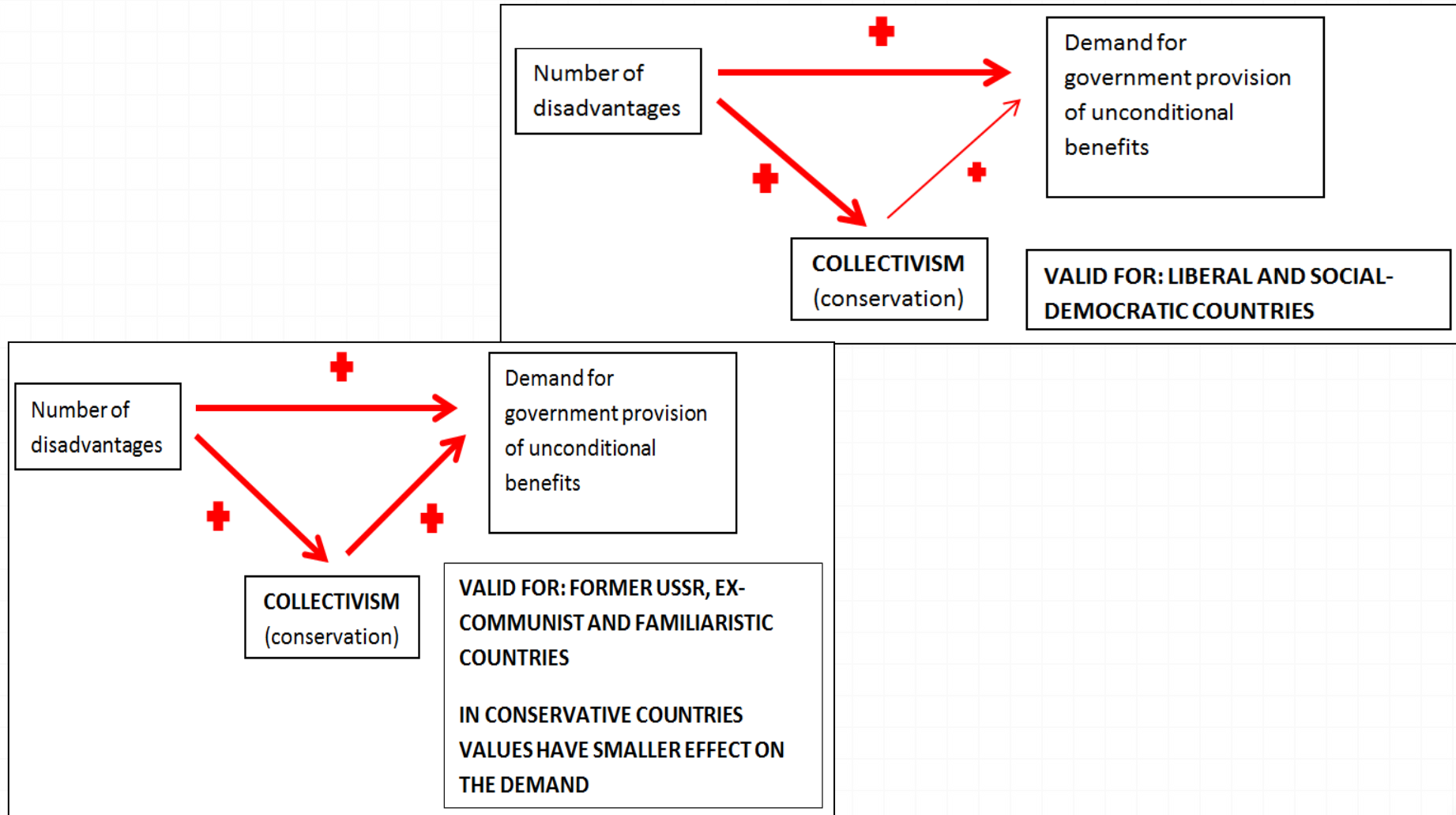
# Estimation of direct effect of **disadvantages** and mediation effect of **individualism** on demand for government provision of **unconditional** benefits



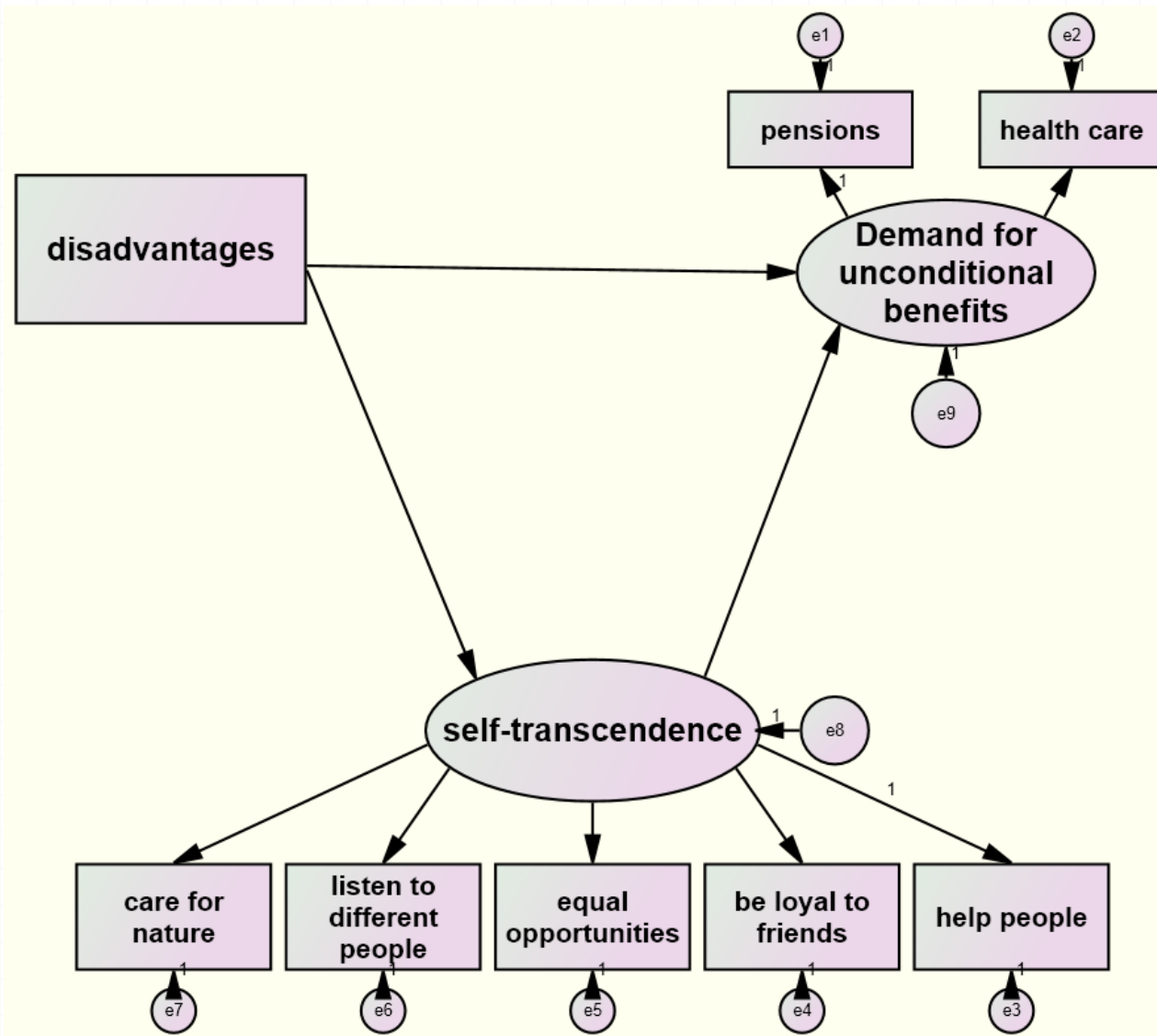
# 2<sup>nd</sup> tested model



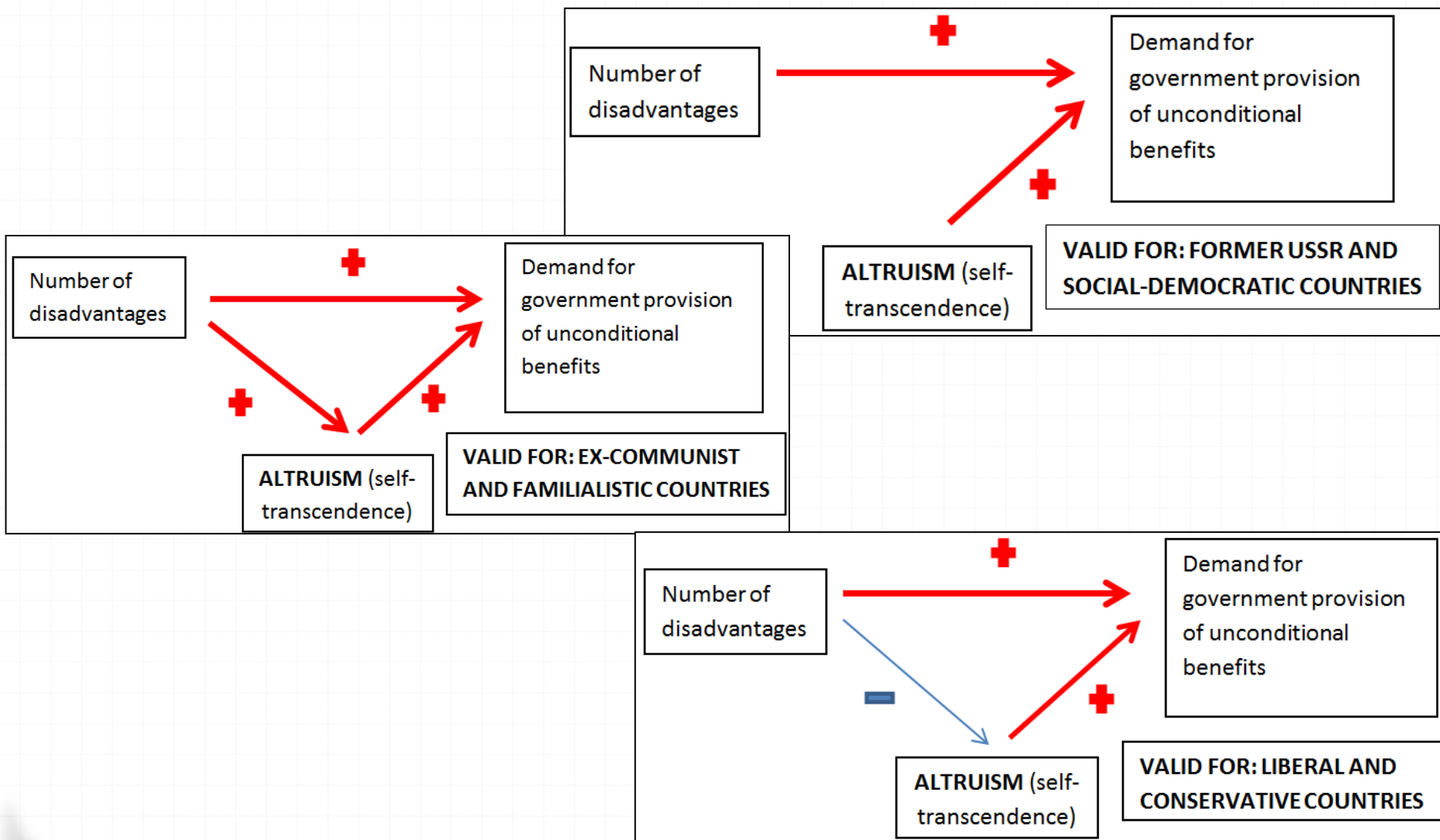
# Estimation of direct effect of disadvantages and mediation effect of **collectivism** (conservation) on demand for government provision of unconditional benefits



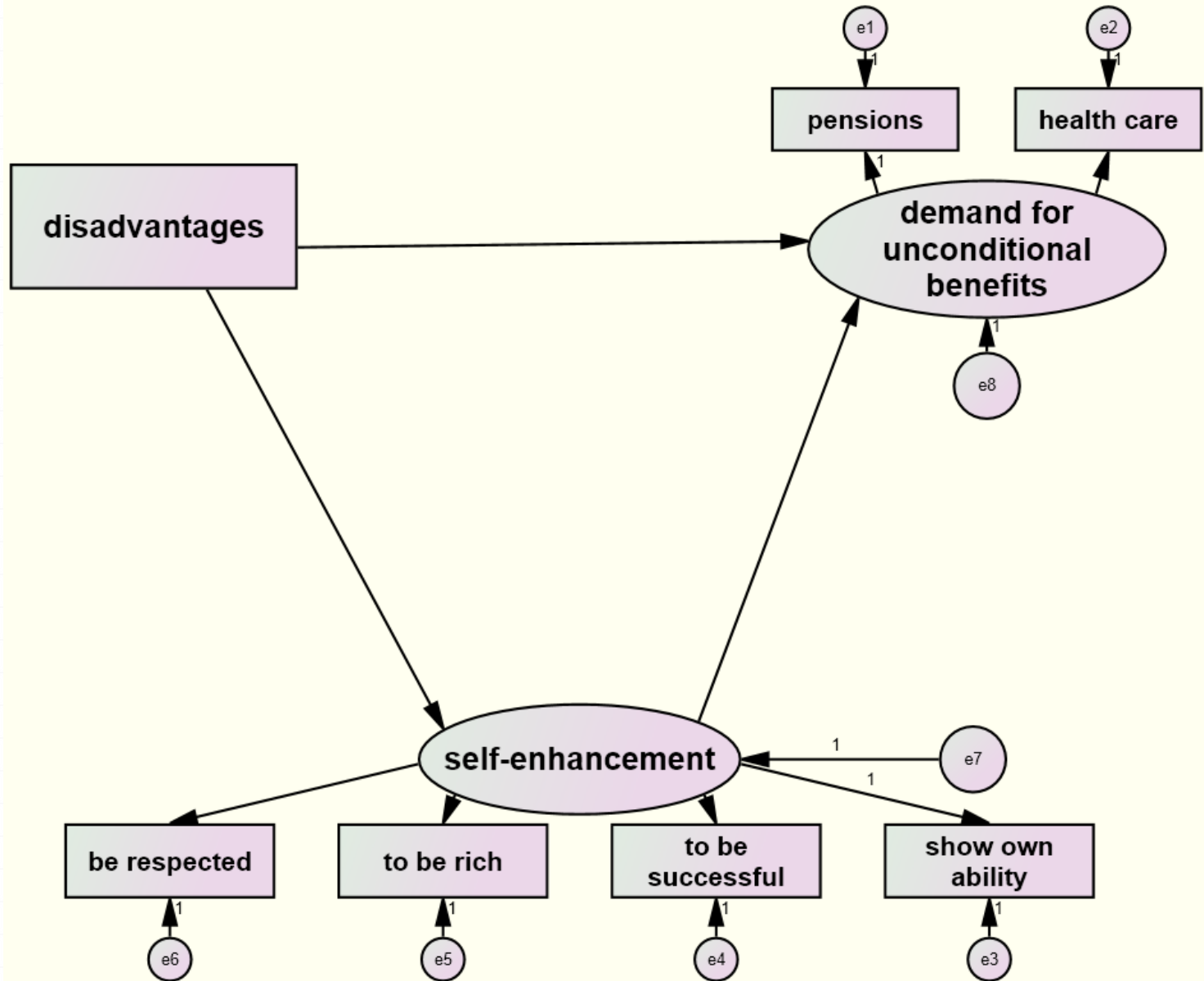
# 3<sup>rd</sup> tested model



# Estimation of direct effect of disadvantages and mediation effect of **altruism** (self-transcendence) on demand for government provision of unconditional benefits

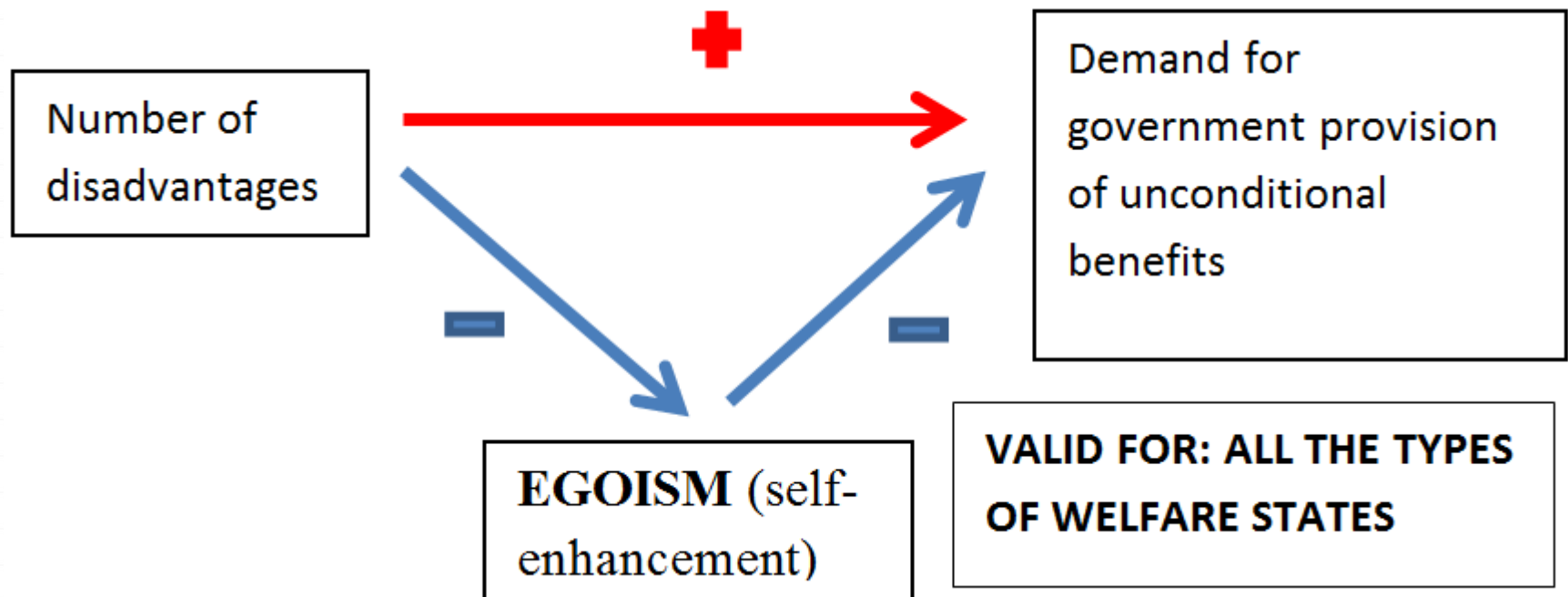


# 4<sup>th</sup> tested model





# Estimation of direct effect of disadvantages and mediation effect of **egoism** (self-enhancement) on demand for government provision of unconditional benefits



# Conclusions

- **ABOUT INDIVIDUALISM.** In **well performing** countries individualism is not a mediator of effect of number of disadvantages on demand for unconditional benefits. In **low performing** countries individualism is a mediator: the more disadvantages the less explicit individualism; and consequently the less explicit individualism the higher is demand.
- **ABOUT COLLECTIVISM.** In **well performing** countries collectivist values has weak effect on demand. And here it could hardly be considered as a mediator. But in **low performing** countries it is a mediator.

# Conclusions

- **ABOUT ALTRUISM.** The type of performance of welfare state doesn't explain well a mediation effect of altruism. **In Former USSR countries and in Social-Democratic** countries both number of disadvantages and altruism have positive effect on the demand. But number of disadvantages doesn't shape altruism. In **Ex-communist and Familistic** countries there is a mediation effect of altruism: the more disadvantages the more pronounced altruism; and the more pronounced altruism the higher is the demand. But in **Liberal and Conservative** countries there is a mediation effect but the regularity is different: altruism increases with the fall of number of disadvantages.

# Conclusions

- **ABOUT EGOISM.** Egoism has the universal mediation effect in all the types of welfare cultures: the more disadvantages has a person the less egoistic the person is, the higher is egoism the less is the support.

Thank you for all!

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# Estimation of direct effect of disadvantages and mediation effect of **individualism** (openness to change) on demand for government provision of unconditional benefits

	FUSSR	EXCOM	FAM	LIB	CONS	SD
Disadvantages -> openness	-0,07***	-0,07***	-0,09***	0,00	-0,06***	-0,03***
Disadvantages->unconditional benefits	0,26***	0,19***	0,17***	0,15***	0,28***	0,19***
Openness ->unconditional benefits	-0,73***	-0,97***	-0,93***	-0,65*	-0,24**	-0,17*
CFI	0,935	0,915	0,933	0,855	0,862	0,821
RMSEA	0,069	0,078	0,68	0,078	0,071	0,086

# Estimation of direct effect of disadvantages and mediation effect of **collectivism** (conservation) on demand for government provision of unconditional benefits

	FUSSR	EXCOM	FAM	LIB	CONS	SD
Disadvantages -> conservation	0,08***	0,13***	0,10***	0,08***	0,17***	0,14***
Disadvantages->unconditional benefits	0,26***	0,12***	0,22***	0,13***	0,20***	0,17***
Conservation ->unconditional benefits	0,67***	1,06***	0,32***	0,24*	0,54***	0,11*
CFI	0,933	0,938	0,931	0,932	0,937	0,902
RMSEA	0,063	0,062	0,065	0,051	0,044	0,059



# Estimation of direct effect of disadvantages and mediation effect of **altruism** (self-transcendence) on demand for government provision of unconditional benefits

	FUSSR	EXCOM	FAM	LIB	CONS	SD
<b>Disadvantages -&gt; self-transcendence</b>	0,01	0,04***	0,10***	-0,04***	-0,01*	-0,01
<b>Disadvantages-&gt;unconditional benefits</b>	0,31***	0,18***	0,15***	0,12***	0,29***	0,17***
<b>Self-transcendence -&gt;unconditional benefits</b>	0,50***	1,34***	0,96***	0,32***	0,08	0,73***
<b>CFI</b>	0,956	0,981	0,982	0,941	0,951	0,938
<b>RMSEA</b>	0,055	0,036	0,040	0,054	0,044	0,052

# Estimation of direct effect of disadvantages and mediation effect of **egoism** (self-enhancement) on demand for government provision of unconditional benefits

	FUSSR	EXCOM	FAM	LIB	CONS	SD
<b>Disadvantages -&gt; self- enhancement</b>	-0,10***	-0,09***	-0,19***	-0,16***	-0,10***	-0,19***
<b>Disadvantages-&gt;unconditional benefits</b>	0,30***	0,22***	0,21***	0,12***	0,25***	0,14***
<b>Self- enhancement -&gt;unconditional benefits</b>	-0,16***	-0,38***	-0,18***	-0,24***	-0,42***	-0,29***
<b>CFI</b>	0,981	0,946	0,981	0,991	0,982	0,982
<b>RMSEA</b>	0,046	0,074	0,048	0,026	0,031	0,036

axis	Typological value indices	21 person descriptions (values of the “first level”)
Openness to change – Conservation	Security	E It is important to him to live in secure surroundings. He avoids anything that might endanger his safety.
		N It is important to him that the government ensures his safety against all threats. He wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.
	Conformity	G He believes that people should do what they're told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.
		P It is important to him always to behave properly. He wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.
	Tradition	I It is important to him to be humble and modest. He tries not to draw attention to himself.
		T Tradition is important to him. He tries to follow the customs handed down by his religion or his family.
	Self-direction	Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way.
		K It is important to him to make his own decisions about what he does. He likes to be free and not depend on others.
	Stimulation	F He likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life
		O He looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He wants to have an exciting life.
	Hedonism	J Having a good time is important to him. He likes to “spoil” himself.
		U He seeks every chance he can to have fun. It is important to him to do things that give him pleasure.
Self-Transcendence – Self-Enhancement	Achievement	D It's important to him to show his abilities. He wants people to admire what he does.
		M Being very successful is important to him. He hopes people will recognize his achievements.
	Power	B It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.
		Q It is important to him to get respect from others. He wants people to do what he says.
	Benevolence	L It's very important to him to help the people around him. He wants to care for their well-being.
		R It is important to him to be loyal to his friends. He wants to devote himself to people close to him.
	Universalism	C He thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.
		H It is important to him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them.
		S He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him.