

European University Institute DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

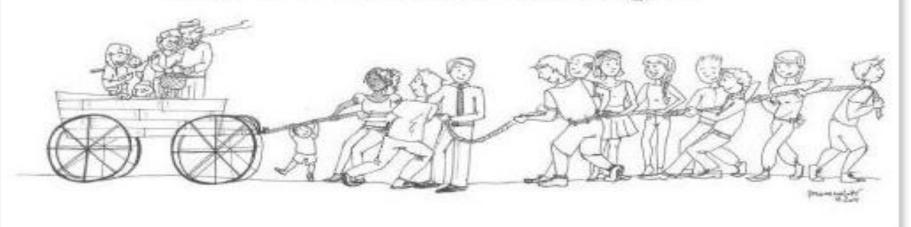


# Social disadvantages, values, and public demand for different government welfare programs. A comparison of six types of welfare regimes

Olga Griaznova

**European University Institute Department of Political and Social Studies** 

#### **How the Welfare State Begins**



#### **How the Welfare State Ends**

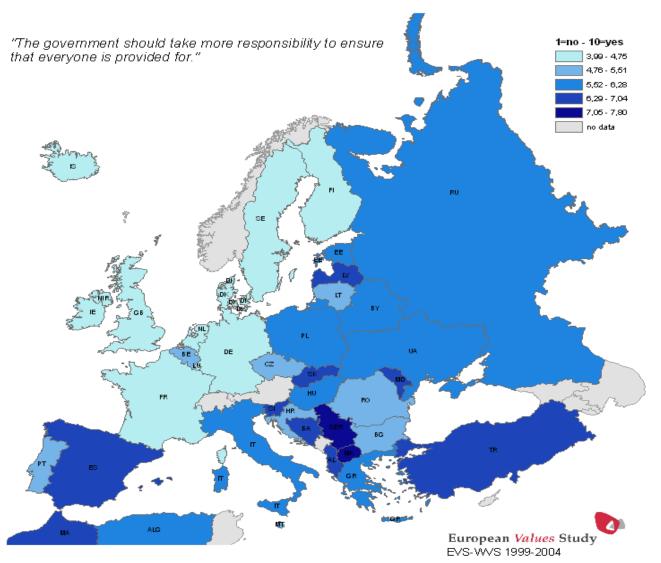


#### WHAT IS WS?

Welfare states are institutional arrangements providing "policies to affect outcomes of, and conditions for, distributive processes in the sphere of markets so as to decrease inequality and/or poverty" (Korpi and Palme 2003:428)

As far as social policy deals with allocation of resources within societies (Mau 2004) high level of demand for government welfare responsibility may be considered as a call for help and social justice addressed to a government both in democracies and transition countries.

# GOVERNMENT WELFARE RESPONSIBILITY



High demand for a state social responsibility can be seen in all the European countries and especially in Mediterranean and excommunist ones.

So there is a question why it is so.

What are the determinants of this demand?

#### **PUZZLING**

Welfare state produces new social risks and has to compensate it. It is the reason why WS became overloaded in several countries.

Extensive welfare state maid cost of labour higher and correspondently increased coast of production maid it less competitive in the global market.

Besides the (a bit radical) idea of Hayek about a threat to democracy posed by the "big government" became an argument against high taxes and welfare state expansion (Korpi and Palme 2003:430).

This situation has led to implementation of politics of austerity.

#### **PUZZLING**

#### BUT

Austerity politics aims on the one hand to reduce budget deficit by cutting spending and mobilize market mechanisms, but on the hand it may have unintended consequence described by "essential paradox of capitalism" (Elster 1978:97).

Reduction of social spending may lead to disempowerment of consumers, decrease of demand and consumption, and consequently to economic downturn and unemployment.

#### IMPORTANT QUESTION

How to reduce welfare state spending and at the same time support purchase power of population. In other words what makes people to ask less government welfare intervention and be more self-directed concerning own welfare.

Lack of self-interest?

**Self-oriented values?** 

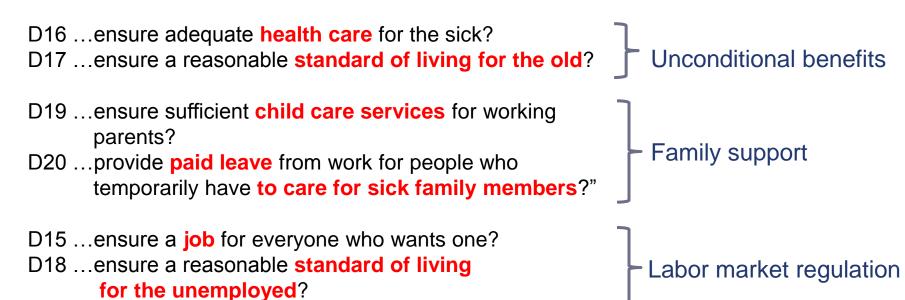
High quality of institutions and individualistic culture?

#### **DATA AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES**

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

Six initial items describing demand for government welfare responsibility

**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...



#### **CORE VARIABLES: PREDICTORS**

#### Individual level

- 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. Welfare regime

#### **CONCEPTS SPECIFICATION**

#### **KEY CONCEPTS**

Individual level: Contextual level:

Self-interest Values Welfare regime

A uniformity of orientation may be said to be "determined by self-interest," if and insofar as the actors' conduct is instrumentally (zweckrational) oriented toward identical expectations (Weber 1978 (1922), p.29)

Here we have instrumentally rational demand for government welfare responsibility

a person wants to compensate own disadvantages through government participation in redistribution

#### **BUT**

a better off person doesn't want government to redistribute resources



#### Government, help!

I want job, health care, pension, unemployment benefits, kindergartens and schools, paid leave to care for seek family members



#### I don't need it.

And I don't want to pay taxes to support lazy slackers.



Self-interest in government welfare responsibility is stronger when individual's social position is weak.

#### Weak social position

Women, elderly, disabled, unemployed, low educated, and low income people. Generally speaking disadvantaged in the labor market consumers of social benefits.

They have a higher level of demand for government responsibility (Svallfors 1991; Svallfors 2003, 507; d' Anjou, Steijn, and Aarsen 1995; Andreß and Heien 2001; Linos and West 2003; Jæger 2006)

#### **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

Basic human values are "desirable transsituational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity" (Schwartz 1994, 21).

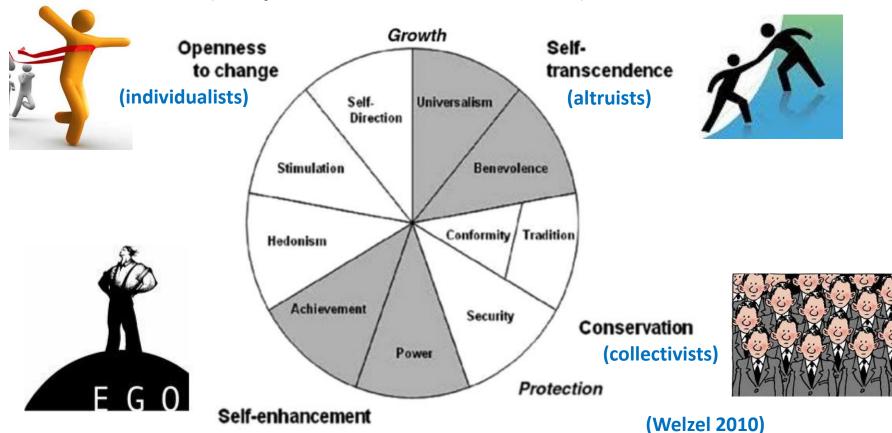
Values are basic principles arranging communication between individuals, institutions, and state (Blekesaune and Quadagno 2003).

Here we have value-rational demand for government welfare responsibility

#### Structural relations among basic values

(Bilsky, Janik, and Schwartz 2011, 762)

(egoists)



#### **PROTECTION**

#### **GROWTH**

#### **FOCUSED ON OTHERS**

values (altruism and collectivism)





High demand for government welfare responsibility

**SELF-ORIENTED** values (individualism and egoism)





Low demand for government welfare responsibility

# ENVIRONMENT

#### **ENVIRONMENT**

Welfare state attitudes are rooted in the value structures formed within the national context (Jakobsen 2011, 327).

C. Staerklé et al. (2013, 88) considers a normative environment as a principal determinant of welfare attitudes, as a product of the institutional arrangement in a country.

S. Mau (2004) suggests institutional environment as the most important factor.

# INSTITUTIONAL AND NORMATIVE ENVIRONMENT

Different typologies of regimes, types combine both institutional and normative characteristics of countries.

Social- democratic	Conservative- corporatist type	Liberal	Familialistic	Former- USSR	Ex- communist European type
Finland	Switzerland	United Kingdom	Spain	Russia	Bulgaria
Denmark	Belgium	Ireland	Greece	Estonia	Croatia
Norway	France		Portugal	Latvia	Czech Republic
Sweden	Germany		Turkey	Ukraine	Hungary
Netherlands			Israel		Poland
			Cyprus		Romania
					Slovakia
					Slovenia

SO

#### **SO**

Weak social position and egalitarian attitudes enhance the demand for government welfare responsibility.

In countries where the quality of institutions and social expenditures demand for government welfare responsibility is lower.

# BUT

#### BUT

Is this regularity universal for all the types of welfare programs and all countries regardless normative and institutional environment?

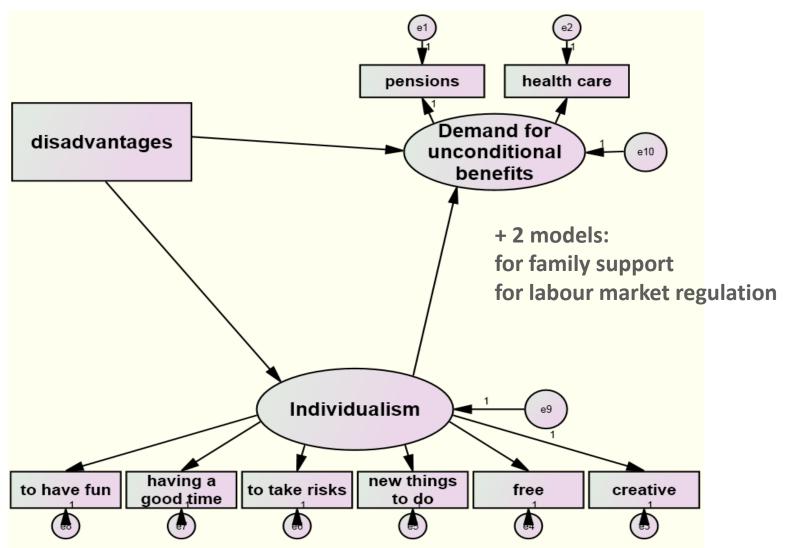
May be values are determined by social position of an individual (Inglehart and Welzel 2005, 97; Schwartz 2006; Meuleman et al. 2012) and the demand is getting stronger not just because of self-interest and values but also because the fact that social location determines protective values of an individual?

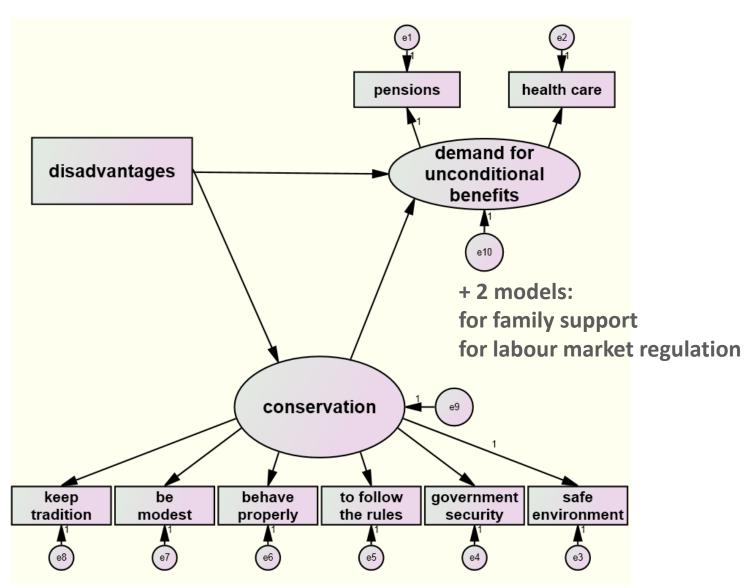
#### **RESEARCH QUESTION:**

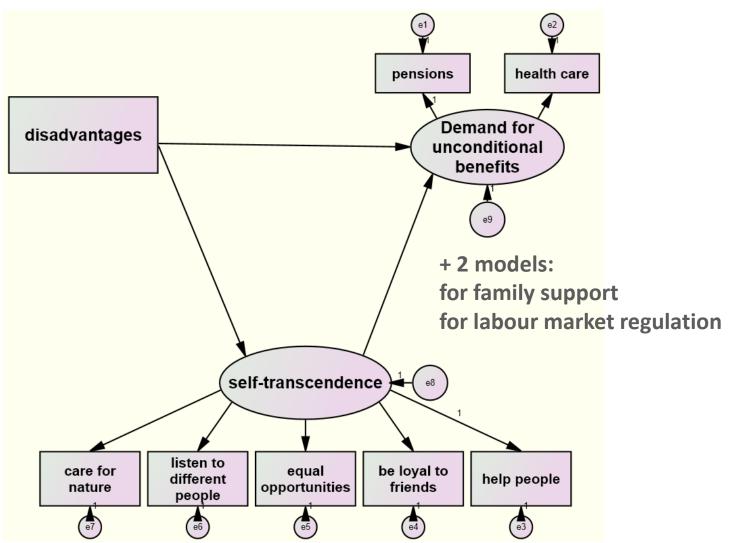
Does direct effect of social position and mediation effect of basic human values on demand for tree types of social programs vary across different types of welfare culture?

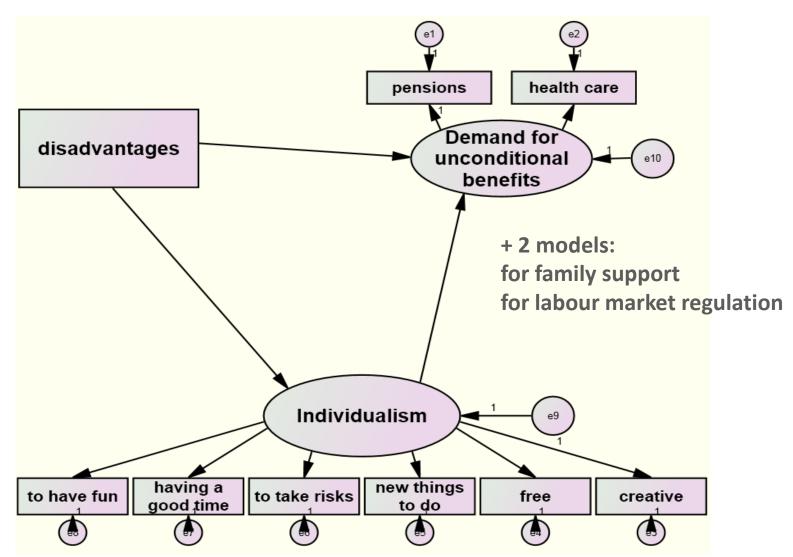
#### **RESEARCH MODEL**

Demand for a definite type of government welfare intervention (unconditional benefits, family support, labor market regulation) Type of welfare culture **Values** Cumulative disadvantages









# Results

#### **RESULTS**

Common regularities for all types of demand for government welfare responsibility

Direct effect of social location on values

Disadvantaged social position:

suppresses individualistic values (openness to change) everywhere except liberal countries

enhances collectivistic values (conservation)

enhances altruistic values (self-enhancement) only in ex-communist and familiaristic countries

suppresses egoistic values (self-enhancement) everywhere

#### **RESULTS**

Direct effect of social location on demand for three types of social programs is sensitive to mediation effect of values

Disadvantaged social position enhances demand for all 3 types of social programs in less generous welfare countries.

In <u>social democratic</u> countries there is no effect of social location on demand for all types of social programs with exception the model where altruistic values are considered as mediators.

In <u>conservative</u> countries we can see four exceptions: positive effect on demand for unconditional benefits when mediators are growth values and positive effect on demand for labour market regulation.

#### **RESULTS**

### Direct effect of <u>values on demand</u> for three types of social programs

Individualists have less demand for all type of welfare programs in former USSR and ex-communist countries. In familiaristic countries it concerns only unconditional benefits.

Collectivists have higher demand for all types of welfare programs in former USSR and ex-communist countries. In conservative and social-democratic countries this regularity describes only demand for labour market regulation.

Altruists have higher demand for all types of welfare programs in social-democratic countries, for unconditional benefits and family programs in the former USSR, ex-communist and familiaristic countries. In liberal countries there is an effect only for unconditional benefits.

Egoists have lower demand for all types of welfare programs in social-democratic countries, for unconditional benefits in ex-communist countries

	FUSSR	EXCOM	FAM	LIB	CONS	SD	]
DIS -> OC	-0,07***	-0,07***	-0,09***	0,00	-0,06***	-0,03***	1
DIS->UB	0,26***	0,19***	0,17***	0,15***	0,28***	0,19***	1
OC ->UB	-0,73***	-0,97***	-0,93***	-0,65*	-0,24**	-0,17*	
DIS -> CO	0,08***	0,13***	0,10***	0,08***	0,17***	0,14***	l
DIS ->UB	0,26***	0,12***	0,22***	0,13***	0,20***	0,17***	ı
CO -> UB	0,67***	1,06***	0,32***	0,24*	0,54***	0,11*	<u>DI</u>
DIS -> ST	0,01	0,04***	0,10***	-0,04***	-0,01*	-0,01	<u> 00</u>
DIS ->UB	0,31***	0,18***	0,15***	0,12***	0,29***	0,17***	<u>cc</u>
ST -> UB	0,50***	1,34***	0,96***	0,32***	0,08	0,73***	
DIS -> SE	-0,10***	-0,09***	-0,19***	-0,16***	-0,10***	-0,19***	<u>ST</u>
DIS ->UB	0,30***	0,22***	0,21***	0,12***	0,25***	0,14***	<u>SE</u>
SE -> UB	-0,16***	-0,38***	-0,18***	-0,24***	-0,42***	-0,29***	<u>ue</u>
Demand for government responsibility: family support							

CONS

SD

FUSSR EXCOM FAM LIB

DIS -> OC	-0,153***	-0,074***	-0,086***	-0,003	-0,055***	-0,033***
DIS->FS	0,274***	0,217***	0,351***	0,176***	0,175***	0,158***
OC -> FS	-0,304***	-0,749***	-0,578***	0,408	-0,325**	-0,805***
DIS -> CO	0,076***	0,123***	0,096***	0,075***	0,164***	0,138***
DIS->FS	0,337***	0,151***	0,377***	0,181***	0,139***	0,128***
CO -> FS	0,76***	0,99***	0,237**	-0,205	0,315***	0,307***
DIS -> ST	0,007	0,038***	0,103***	-0,039***	-0,01	-0,007
DIS->FS	0,389***	0,231***	0,324***	0,207***	0,199***	0,18***
ST -> FS	0,709***	1,096***	0,586***	0,287**	0,553***	1,106***
DIS-> SE	-0,103***	-0,093***	-0,187***	-0,159***	-0,102***	-0,191***
DIS->FS	0,374***	0,243***	0,385***	0,182***	0,12***	0,115***
SE > FS	-0,205***	-0,313***	-0,059	-0,035	-0,364***	-0,377***

#### Demand for government responsibility regarding labor market regulation

Demand for government responsibility regarding tabor market regulation						
	FUSSR	EXCOM	FAM	LIB	CONS	SD
DIS -> OC	-0,071***	-0,074***	-0,086***	-0,003	-0,056***	-0,033***
DIS->LMR	0,438***	0,386***	0,325***	0,228***	0,118***	0,127***
OC -> LMR	-0,729***	-0,595***	-0,399***	-0,754*	-0,156**	-0,622***
DIS -> CO	0,076***	0,121***	0,095***	0,077***	0,166***	0,144***
DIS->LMR	0,434***	0,338***	0,338***	0,185***	0,066***	0,089***
CO -> LMR	0,75***	0,763***	0,249**	0,314***	0,205***	0,216***
DIS -> ST	0,007	0,038***	0,103***	-0,038***	-0,011*	-0,007
DIS->LMR	0.51***	0,414***	0,346***	0,233***	0,058**	0,129***
$ST \rightarrow LMR$	0,066	0,361***	0,152*	0,104	-0,066*	1,231***
DIS -> SE	-0,104***	-0,092***	-0,187***	-0,159***	-0,101***	-0,19***
DIS->LMR	0,503***	0,411***	0,371***	0,208***	0,113***	0,084***
SE -> LMR	-0,059	-0,178***	0,055	-0,061	-0,024	-0,349***

IS disadvantages
C openness to change
O conservation
F self-transcendence
E self-enhancement
B unconditional
benefits
F family support

LMR labor market regulation

## Thank you)

VA	VC	Values	21 personal 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 are 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.	
	Openness to change	Self- direction	A 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.	
			Stimulatio n	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.	
f.		Achieveme nt	D It is 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.	
ı Se		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.	
cendence	ence	Benevolen ce	L It is very important to him to help the people around him. He wants to care for their well-	