

Zsuzsa Ferge, Jon Eivind Kolberg (Eds.)

---

# Social Policy in a Changing Europe

European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research

---

Campus / Westview

---

The present book takes two neglected present-day revolutions into account: by expanding the number of countries usually included in cross-national and comparative research and by addressing the supranational level. In addition, the volume moves beyond the past and what is presently existing, and brings the reader to the field of future scenarios and visions.

**Part I** addresses the *dynamics of modern welfare states under advanced capitalism*. The authors underline the divergence of the Western experience. They point out that there are several types of markets, welfare state regimes, and different conceptions of democracy; and that markets and welfare states are linked in different ways, and they discuss new ways to explore such linkages.

The main topic of **Part II** is the *transition in Central and Eastern Europe from dictatorship to democracy*. Included here is also the historical experience of a Western dictatorship (Spain) and its transition to democracy. It discusses such themes as: the almost unanimous belief in the politically liberating virtues of the market; the emerging recognition that the capitalist market incorporates certain problems; the dilemmas of (re)privatization; the very high level of anomie in these countries; the heavy legacy of the political oppression of “real socialism”; the changing role of the state in the nexus of market, civil society and state; and the emergent social stratification of these countries.

**Part III** deals with existing visions of the *future of Europe*. Several scenarios of possible European futures emerge in the discussions of this volume: the Latin-Americanization of the former socialist block; Europe as a fortress against the outside underdeveloped world; a “Blade Runner” Europe; a workers’ Europe; and a citizens’ Europe.

*Zsuzsa Ferge* is Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department for Social Policy at the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. *Jon Eivind Kolberg* is Professor of Sociology at the University of Bergen.

# Contents

List of Tables and Figures	vii
1 Introduction: Social Policy in a Changing Europe <i>Zsuzsa Ferge</i> <i>Jon Eivind Kolberg</i>	1
<b>PART I: THE DYNAMICS OF THE WELFARE STATE IN ADVANCED CAPITALISM</b>	<b>25</b>
2 Markets and Welfare States: What East and West Can Learn from Each Other <i>John Myles</i> <i>Robert J. Brym</i>	27
3 Is the Crisis Behind Us? Issues Facing Social Security Systems in Western Europe <i>Jean-Pierre Jallade</i>	37
4 Welfare State Politics in the United States <i>Frances Fox Piven</i> <i>Richard A. Cloward</i>	57
5 The Interface between the Economy and the Welfare State: A Sociological Account <i>Jon Eivind Kolberg</i> <i>Hannu Uusitalo</i>	77
6 The Impact of Unemployment upon Welfare <i>Adrian Sinfield</i>	95
<b>PART II: THE CHANCES OF SOCIAL POLICY IN POST-TOTALITARIAN EUROPE</b>	<b>117</b>
7 Social Policy in Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy (1939-1982) <i>Ana M. Guillén</i>	119
8 Labour and the Legacy of the Past <i>Vladimir Shubkin</i>	143

---

9	Perestroika in Light of Public Opinion 1991 <i>Tatiana Zaslavskaya</i>	153
10	Economy, Policy and Welfare in Transition <i>Jan Hartl</i> <i>Jiri Vecerník</i>	161
11	The Changing Face of Civil Society in Eastern Europe <i>Lena Kolarska-Bobinska</i>	177
12	Social Policy between Negative and Positive Equality: The Yugoslavian Case <i>Veljko Rus</i>	189
13	Social Policy Regimes and Social Structure Hypotheses about the Prospects of Social Policy in Central and Eastern Europe <i>Zsuzsa Ferge</i>	201
<b>PART III: EUROPEAN FUTURES</b>		223
14	Social Policy, Economic Organization and the Search for a Third Way <i>Anthony B. Atkinson</i>	225
15	From the Welfare State to a Welfare Society <i>Ronald Wiman</i>	237
16	Towards a European Welfare State? On Integrating Poverty Regimes into the European Community <i>Stephan Leibfried</i>	245
17	The Social Dimension: A Quest for a European Welfare State <i>Kåre Hagen</i>	281
18	The Strategy of Social Citizenship <i>Laura Balbo</i>	305
	List of Contributors	317

# *List of Tables and Figures*

## Tables

Table 1.1:	Current Receipts of Government and Social Security Transfers as a Percentage of GDP in EEC Countries	7
Table 5.1:	Labour Force Participation Among Males 55-64 Years of Age in Selected Capitalist Countries; 1970, 1975 and 1985 (Percentages)	87
Table 5.2:	Labour Force Participation Among Women 55-64 Years of Age in Selected Capitalist Countries; 1970, 1975 and 1985 (Percentages)	88
Table 5.3:	Unemployment Rates; 1970, 1975, 1980 and 1985 in Selected Advanced Capitalist Countries (Percentage of Total Labour Force)	89
Table 5.4:	Paid Absence from Work: Annual Hours Absent as Percentage of Hours Worked, 1980	90
Table 5.5:	The Welfare State as Employer. The Public/Private Mix in Health, Education and Welfare Employment. Percentages, 1985	90
Table 6.1:	Unemployment Rates since 1960 Standardized to US Definitions	98
Table 6.2:	Male Unemployment in the Previous 12 Months, 1975-77 and 1983-84, Great Britain	101
Table 6.3:	Long-term Unemployment, UK	102
Table 6.4:	Unemployed Claimants by Benefit Status, May 1990, Great Britain	105
Table 6.5:	Public Spending on Labour Market Programmes in 1987 (in % of GDP)	108
Table 6.6:	Direct Exchequer Costs of Unemployment, 1984-85, United Kingdom	113
Table 12.1:	Classification of Groups According to their Contribution and Reward	194

## Figures

Figure 5.1: Income Inequality by the Size of the Welfare State in Nine Countries around 1980	81
Figure 6.1: Unemployed Claimants by Benefit Types, November 1979-1988	106
Figure 6.2: Percentage Unemployed Claimants by Benefit Types, November 1979-1988	107
Figure 15.1: The New Map of Political Ideologies	239
Figure 16.1: Types of Integration	246
Figure 16.2: Types of Federalism and Lines of Breakage: The USE versus the USA	250
Figure 16.3: Types of European Welfare States	254
Figure 16.4: Status, EC Residence Permit and Poverty Support in Germany	256
Figure 16.5: Steps in Integration of Poverty Policy	258