

Reviews

Monika Čambáliková: Welfare State – Citizenship, Rights and Integration

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Author of this publication is a leading Slovak sociologist, whose issues focus mostly on the area of social sphere, labour market, social partnership, social dialogue and civic society. Welfare state: citizenship, rights and integration offers a comprehensive overview of the functioning of welfare state from its origins through the legitimacy of social policy in such a state up to its future within Europe. The publication has originated within the Centre of Excellence for Research and Development of Civic Participation and is primarily meant as study material for courses such as Welfare State, Models of Welfare State in Europe and Welfare State and Globalization.

Publication comprises nine chapters each of them divided further into subchapters thus offering well-arranged information. The complexity of the whole publication is completed by additional notes at the end of each chapter as well as bibliography.

Introductory chapter is focusing on theoretical foundations of the topic and explains the concept, theory and the role of the state. Author defines five main features of the state – state is sovereign, state institutions are public, state has an “a priori” legitimacy, it is a controlling tool and a territorial organisation. Reader is also acquainted with Heywood's theory of the state and its four types explaining the origins of the state, its development, functions etc. The first is the pluralist state (the power in liberal democracies is evenly distributed, the state and the society have the same interests); the second type is capitalistic (Marxist approach as opposed to the pluralist approach, in which the power is distributed unevenly and social classes do not have equal status); the third is a type of a Leviathan state (state in a role of a gigantic selfish monster striving for its existence and expansion) and the fourth one is a patriarchal state (showing the signs and principles from feminist theory). Author further elaborates on A. Heywood's theory and identifies his basic approaches to state according to the role it should be playing. Minimal state should keep an internal order in the state, provide protection against outside attacks or guarantee enforceability of treaties and agreements made between private citizens. Second approach refers to state as a tool for development that should interfere in the economics with the aim to help economic growth. Social democratic state should perform social politics in the spirit of social justice, equality and fairness. Yet another approach is a collectivized state, whose main aim is to subordinate the whole economics to state control. The role of the totalitarian state is to reach subordination of all spheres of life of the society. Lastly, approach of the state in the globalization era was presented with a note that

the difference between the economic and political globalization should be taken into account.

Second chapter is devoted to the concept of welfare state as such and the origins and development of this type of state. Author introduces diverse definitions of the welfare state and in general we could say that this type of “state bears the main responsibility for the welfare of its citizens” (p. 23). Reader is provided with a concise chronology of the beginnings of welfare state summarized into three phases from the foundation of the welfare state (Bismarck's legislation) through social changes in Great Britain before the World War I. (Lloyd George) up to the formation of the welfare state (Roosevelt's programme New Deal). Individual stages are explained in more detail on the example of Germany (beginnings of welfare state) and USA (New Deal). However, author does not focus on the mentioned Heywood's phasing only, but presents in detail also development stages of the welfare state according to a Czech lawyer and political scientist M. Večeřa from the period of experimental beginnings in the 80's of the 19th Century until stagnation and crisis of the welfare state since the 80's of the 20th Century.

In the third chapter author concentrates on the most known typologies of welfare states in Europe. These are for example typology by R. Titmuss (70's of the 20th Century) and by G. Esping-Andersen (late 80's of the 20th Century). Nevertheless, we can also find types of welfare state based on different understanding of solidarity. This is for example social democratic type of welfare state based on values of solidarity, social justice and cohesion, equality of opportunities; a state, which strives for decent living standards of all citizens of the state. The following type is the liberal type of welfare state characterized by the least generous social policy. The last type is the conservative-corporative welfare state that tries to keep status differences and is based on compulsory insurance system. So-called ideal types of welfare state can be found in this chapter, too. These are welfare eclecticism and welfare mix. However, it is necessary to mention that these have never existed in their pure forms. The principle of the welfare eclecticism lies in the fact that by reducing differences boundaries among individual types of welfare states are being reduced at the same time. In the welfare mix, the state is neither an exclusive guarantor and performer of social policy nor a producer of welfare for its citizens. Apart from the state there are also profit oriented private enterprises, private non-profit associations as well as families and households.

Chapter 4 is focused on social citizenship as basis of welfare state. This chapter deals mainly with concepts such as citizenship and civic rights in welfare state. Again, reader is provided with a deeper introduction into the topic via definitions and basic approaches. Citizenship is defined as “the relationship between an individual and the state, in which both parties (both the citizen and the state) are connected with mutual rights and obligations. (p. 47) Regarding citizenship summary of three sets of rights is presented – civil rights (freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of movement etc.), political rights (right to vote, right

to be elected and hold a public office) and social rights (here the author refers to Marshall – “to live the civilized life according to the standards prevailing in the society”. (p. 48) Civil rights are described as the basis of social policy. We are also presented with an overview of social rights stipulated by the Constitution of the Slovak Republic and some other EU documents.

Fifth chapter is devoted to roles of welfare state, whose primary role should be to provide social security for citizens, enable decent way of life and implement all civil rights guaranteed by the constitution. She further elaborates on social security, which is the main and basic tool of social policy. Social security comprises three basic parts – social insurance, social support and social help. In the second part of this chapter author presents three basic models of welfare state – liberal (Great Britain), conservative (Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Austria) and social-democratic (Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark).

Sixth chapter explores legitimacy of social policy and welfare state. Author points out to the findings of several authors about “the current prevailing neoliberal discourse that makes the so-called streamlining of welfare state legitimate” (p. 77). It is grounded on the statement, that public deficit represents a serious problem for the society and is the result of excessive spending of money by previous governments. Part of the solution is to evoke determination in the public to contribute to the savings for example by reducing expectation for the state. Insistent question is being analysed too: How can you combine a functioning civic society, solidarity and sense of belonging with a growth of individualism? Sociologists point out to a phenomenon of “moral miniaturization” i.e. even though people still keep on participating in the group life the groups they join are nowadays less and less authoritative and create less trust. As the author states at the end of the chapter, due to the above mentioned the character of civic society has changed.

Chapter 7 concentrates on social inclusion versus exclusion within the welfare state. More space is given to social exclusion and reader is given several angles. For one thing, it is social exclusion based on insufficient participation resulting in exclusion of whole groups or of individuals. Exclusion is related to failed civic, political and social rights in the society. Furthermore, she informs us of documents and aims of the European Union in this field as well as of current policies and approaches. She highlights the tendency to the idea and policy of active inclusion.

The subsequent chapter concerns the study of welfare state and globalization. According to the author, globalization can be regarded as a controversial issue manifested also in the birth of anti-globalization movement. Various attitudes to globalization are just a new variation on the dispute over ideology. Presentation of various attitudes is based on A. Heywood, who claims that even though there are various attitudes to globalization, it is still capitalism. Supporters claim that capitalism leads to prosperity and increase in chances, whereas opponents say that capitals means inequality and exploitation. Still, both groups agree that the globalization process cannot be stopped since the development is under way

regardless of experts' criticism or recommendations. Author does not leave out an important discussion connected with globalization that is the influence of globalization on democracy. Here again, two perspectives are given. Supporters of globalization claim that globalization encourages drift towards democratization. Critics however declare that democracy is weakened by globalization namely by the economic power that incites customers to consumerism and materialistic values and also by economic globalization that proceeds much faster than the political globalization.

In the last, ninth chapter with a peculiar title *Quo vadis* (social) citizenship and (social) Europe author opens the issue of future image of citizenship and Euro citizenship. She talks of two contrasting visions of citizenship – a liberal and a social. The liberals stress that social rights can create a “culture of dependence” (p. 124) and therefore talk about the need for individual's initiative and individual responsibility. Defenders of welfare state argue that individual's initiative is hard to cultivate without creating propitious conditions in the society. In this chapter, she also says that the current European employment model is assuming the nature of a dual model comprising the primary labour market (formed by stable working conditions of a full time job with a decent pay) on the one hand and by the secondary labour market (including fixed-term contracts, low pay and social protection) on the other. Thus, labour market and social policy system of all EU member states is more and more adjusting to a liberal model. Social and pension schemes are being reformed; conditions for receiving unemployment and social security benefits are becoming stricter. Author even provides us with a possible scenario of a situation resulting from the Europe's ongoing inclination to the liberalistic model. She says it would lead to weakening and threatening of social cohesion. Therefore, so the author, the aim should be to build welfare and solidaristic Europe, a Europe of solidarity within differences – to respect the differences of national social models and pursue their harmonization.

Publication *Welfare state: citizenship, rights and integration* is a comprehensive picture of the question of welfare state. Its primary aim is to serve as a studying material for university students and teachers. Undoubtedly, it can even be useful to experts on social partnership or on civic society. Since the issues are presented very professionally and are well researched, the reviewed publication can be assessed very highly. It will certainly enrich the readers with new knowledge about the issues of welfare state.

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