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Can education solve the dilemmas of the welfare state?

Abstract: Even though most established typologies do not consider education to be a part of the welfare state, education is placed in the forefront of the current debates on welfare. The changes of the basic social policy paradigm which represents a move from providing security to guaranteeing participation lead to an active social policy, within which education and training play a key role. The contribution derives from the thesis that the European Union member states – as regards the chosen indicators – are divided into four main welfare state regimes (liberal, conservative-corporate, social-democratic and Mediterranean) out of which every one can be linked with a certain educational policy profile. The basic ascertainment in this paper is linked to the appearance of the new fifth type of the welfare state regime in the connection with educational policy, i.e. the neo-liberal type, which is typical of the Baltic group of countries. The hybrid type of welfare state is typical of the Central European group of countries.

Key words: education, welfare state, comparative analysis, the European Union.

Introduction

According to the European Union (EU) Council education and training systems play two roles, social and economic. Education and training are supposedly the decisive factors in the ability of a country to develop its excellence, innovativeness and competitiveness while at the same time being a constitual part of the social dimension of Europe, for they carry the values of solidarity, equal opportunities and social participation, as well as have a positive effect on health, crime, the environment, democratisation and the general quality of life (European Commission, 2005).

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These emphasises should be important not only for education but also for any thoughts on the current and future changes in the European social model. According to the EU Council Europe is currently facing serious social-economic and demographic challenges related to the increasingly aging population, high numbers of low qualified adults, high levels of unemployed youth, etc. In relation to this the EU Council is trying to draw attention to the necessity of improving the long-term durability of European social systems and at this it is emphasising that education and training are a part of the solution to these problems.

On the basis of these starting points the discussions on the welfare state have so far searched for the connection with the field of education and ascertained that education is not included in a number of welfare state definitions. Most probably the reason for this lies in the fact that education is a constituent part of the welfare strategy in most countries. Educational policy represents an instrument that enables other policies to be realised, such as for instance the employment policy, economy policy, etc. Public support for the growth of educational possibilities thus represents a guard for the individual's insecurity in life. Encouraging education can become an alternative to other state social security programmes, especially in a period during which the welfare state is being reformed in the sense of reducing the role of the state from ensuring „unconditional” welfare to its citizens to ensuring „conditional” welfare (Kopač, 2005, p. 29). The goal of the latter is to ensure the capability of the individual to actively confront the social risks.

In this paper we wish to verify the thesis that EU member states can be divided into four dominating regimes of welfare state as regards the selected indicators of social and educational policy and that any type of a welfare state (liberal, conservative-corporate, social-democratic or Mediterranean) can be linked to a certain educational policy profile. The intention of the paper is to study whether the individual welfare state groups can be linked to the results of a certain educational policy and whether the differences in the welfare state system are linked to specific educational policies.

Types of welfare state regimes

In the past analysts defined welfare state regimes by the characteristics of their social programmes. On this basis they identified the various „worlds of welfare capitalism” (Esping-Andersen, 1990), special public policy „national styles” (Freeman, 1985) or certain „families of nations” (Castles, 1993). Contemporary analyses are based on the dominating four welfare state regimes that are men-

tioned as a part of the general social science knowledge. According to the definition by Esping-Andersen the welfare regime represents the manner in which a country, market and family participate in the production of welfare and how this is divided amongst them (Esping-Andersen, 1999, p. 170).

The most established typology of categorising welfare states was developed by Esping-Andersen (1990, 1999). In his analysis he attempted to prove that historic and political developments in developed industrial societies created three types of welfare state regimes: liberal, conservative-corporate and social-democratic. An individual group includes states that have a similar social policy with qualitatively different divisions between the state, market and family as sources for controlling social risks.

The liberal group consists of Anglo-Saxon countries, in which the state encourages market and private insurance schemes as an alternative to public social security. Social security is ensured through social aid systems and is intended for those with the lowest income, i.e. the poorest part of the population. At this social help is limited as regards its duration and is often stigmatised. The liberal welfare regime originates from the supposition that individuals are capable of ensuring their social security and welfare in the market. In this regime state interventions are an addition to the free market but should in no event limit it.

The conservative-corporate welfare regime, typical representatives of which are continental European states, support the preservation of the status quo and with this inequality. Social rights are linked to class, status and to what somebody can earn with his work. The state ensures social security with the aid of obligatory social insurance, financed through the social contributions of employees and all employed. Because the formation of the social security scheme is linked to employment this leads to the preservation of status stratification. Through social aid systems the state takes care only of those individuals who do not appear on the market.

The social-democratic group consists of Scandinavian countries which treat social rights as universal. This means that all citizens are treated equally and are introduced them to much higher standards than merely the basic needs. The goal of the social-democratic welfare system is to ensure the individual (and families) a socially acceptable standard, independent from their participation on the market. This regime limits the market and creates the feeling of solidarity between the working and middle classes, takes care of universal services based on equal possibilities and full employment, which in turn has an important influence on the educational policy. The level of decommodification (the level to which the welfare state limits the power of the labour market) and defamiliarisa-

tion (reducing the individual's dependence on his family and maximising his economic independence) are the highest in this regime.

A number of authors expanded the Esping-Andersen typology by adding the fourth type, the Mediterranean or South European group of welfare states (e.g. Abrahamson, 1999, Guillen and Alvartez, 2001), in which the welfare of the individual is primarily provided by the family and informal social networks. The market with its private collective insurance schemes only takes second place in this hierarchy. Only in the event that the first two institutions fail, the state steps in with the social security schemes or with minimal national insurance schemes.

The expanded Esping-Andersen model represents an effective means for important differentiation and classification of welfare regimes as regards the details provided by these social welfare programmes. As a model it is to a great extent flexible and useful for other comparative analysis. Esping-Andersen did not intend to define the reciprocally eliminating and extensive categories of welfare states. His model only shows that there is not a single pure example within a group of welfare states. He classified states as regards their main way of handling things. This treatment of an individual type of a welfare state could also include certain „elements” from other types of welfare states. In reality there is not a single welfare state that would have a totally liberal, conservative-corporate, social-democratic or Mediterranean regime.

Education and welfare state

Heidenheimer (1981) studied the development of public policies in Europe and the USA up to the rise of the welfare state. He paid special attention to analysing the public support shown towards spreading new possibilities of education and social security. On the basis of his analysis he ascertained that in the development of the welfare state (in the Western world) there was a trade-off between the public financing of the expansion of educational possibilities following the completion of primary education and financing social security programmes. This means that a public investment into education on secondary and higher levels of education represents a means for achieving the goals of equality and safety of citizens. From this Heidenheimer concluded that giving priority to education or to a social security programme can represent alternative strategies of a welfare state. Similar to Heidenheimer, Hecló (1985) also mentioned the trade-off or the search for the balance between public investment into education and expanding other social programmes as a well thought-out choice in the development of a welfare state.

The welfare policies in developed industrial societies usually include a certain level of offer in the field of health care, pension funds and insurance in the event of unemployment. The educational field is not included in numerous definitions of the welfare state, a point brought to attention especially by Castles (2004) and Room (2002). Even though Esping-Andersen did not include education in the description of the welfare state's social policy Hegga and Hokenmaier (2002) are of the opinion that his typology of welfare state regimes is interesting and useful for an analysis in the field of educational policies. Because Esping-Andersen's model was built on the assumptions as to the goals, priorities and tendencies of every type of welfare regime as regards its social programmes, this dominating treatment can be merged with other public programmes that receive state support. Hegga and Hokenmaier assumed that the analysis of the educational policies in industrial democracies will show a tendency of forming into three groups that would correspond to the Esping-Andersen typology of welfare states.

The intention of the research carried out by Hegga and Hokenmaier was to study whether individual groups of welfare states can be linked to the results of a certain educational policy and whether the political differences in the welfare state systems are linked to individual educational policies. On the basis of indicators (similar to Esping-Andersen) they have divided the countries as follows: the group of conservative-corporate welfare states consists of: Germany, Austria, Belgium, France and Italy; the liberal group of welfare states includes Australia, Canada, Ireland, Japan, New Zealand, Switzerland, USA and United Kingdom; the social-democratic group of welfare states consists of Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. Their research confirmed the starting thesis that the discussed states are divided into three different groups, within which similar social and educational policies can be identified.

In the current discussions as regards the changing of the welfare state education is becoming an increasingly important discussion topic, linked to key words such as lifelong learning, employability and accepting individual responsibilities. In relation to this Randhahn (2007) asks himself whether the educational policy is taking over the compensational function within the frame of the goals of the reformed social policy that is trying to adjust the welfare system to the current demographic and globalisation challenges. The social policy includes the principle of activation which changes the basic paradigm of this policy, for it represents a move from ensuring security (i.e. income) to ensuring participation (i.e. work), or the move from a „passive” to an „active” social policy within the frame of which human capital is the most important mechanism at the disposal of individuals when they confront the risks and insecurities found in the new era.

The discussions on the relation between the educational policy and the welfare state commence from the assumptions that the welfare state is no longer able to wholly compensate for the deficits in the labour market (due to the factors such as demographic changes and increased costs during the globalisation period). This trend results in great changes, especially in the move away from the so-called „guaranty state” towards the state as a social investor that invests into individual citizens and expects the individual to accept responsibility (Giddens, 2006).

Boeckh states that today the traditional protective function (which was until now represented by the distribution or rather redistribution of the income) is no longer sufficient, instead an additional preventive function is needed. Apart from the protection of the individual's existence through paid labour prevention has also become extremely important in the outlines of the new social policy (Boeckh 2004 in Randhahn, 2007). In relation to this education should be an important means for the development of the basic conditions for compensating the de-structured welfare state: better educational possibilities should protect the individual from social exclusion and the greater risk of poverty related to it. Education is thus becoming a key factor in the field of employment, social security and economic competitiveness. However, at the same time the responsibility for better education and social security is being transferred from the state to the individual. This development is taking place together with the endeavours for the strategy of „workfare” or „learnfare” in which the individual accepts the responsibility to being capable of cooperating within society (Kopač, 2005). Improved education also strengthens the employment competitiveness of the state policy. The educational policy is becoming a sort of link between the social and economic policy in the activation of the workfare state. The state needs appropriate educational measures if it wishes to control the shrinking of the social welfare with increased participation on the labour market. However, at this it faces the issue whether the educational policy is capable of compensating for the increasing lack of funds for the social policy? Taking into account the fact that education and social policy reforms are based on the same concept of activating people and markets, we assume that the educational reforms that are linked to privatisation and that the increasing marketing of the educational offer will achieve extremely limited welfare effects.

Comparative analysis of the European Union members according to the selected indicators

The relevancy of the comparative method

In social studies there is a general consensus as regards the usefulness and cognitive value of the comparative method. Regardless of this some basic issues that deal with the execution and comparability of the results remain open. The practice of the comparative research is linked to a certain risk that the obtained results might be single-sided and incomparable. Such a possibility derives from the fact that the compared units (in our example states) differ as regards various historic and cultural factors that make their comparison harder. The basic problem of the results comparability remains the issue of equivalency which represents the key criterion for the success of the comparative method. According to certain methodologists the demand for equivalency is more a wish than a realistic fact (Mohler, 1999, p. 15) which is why it is unrealistic to accept that the equivalency problem would ever be solved in its entirety (Volf, 2005, p. 20). The main factor that makes it harder to reach equivalency is represented by the extreme heterogeneity of the social occurrences. This factor is especially present in the comparative research on the international level, especially if we compare states with different cultural and historic environments. The problem of equivalency can be partially solved with an efficient unification of the methodology approaches, especially the procedures used for obtaining empirical data.

In this paper the unit of comparative analysis is a state. As stated by Kohn (1989, p. 20-24), this is an attempt to ascertain the differences between individual countries and an attempt to classify them as regards one or more studied characteristics.

Data collecting methodology

For the comparative analysis we used the data from Eurostat that has appropriately standardised most of the basic concepts and methodologies. Most of the European Union members use internationally comparable data, however some members have so far failed to develop all appropriate national indicators of operation or systems for gathering the necessary data. This is also the reason for the limited use of the chosen indicators. We have included only comparable, harmonised data into our analysis. According to the recommendations of the EU Council a series of comparable indicators should be developed, especially one for measuring efficiency and equity in educational systems.

Due to the time delays in the harmonisation of the gathered data most of the Eurostat data is available for the twenty-five EU members (Statistical portrait of Slovenia in the European Union, 2007). At the beginning of the analysis we divided the states into six relatively geographically homogenous groups that we – on the basis of the selected indicators of the welfare state (public expenditure for education and social security, data on the effects of education) labour market (share of long-term unemployed) and family support (household expenditure for education) – placed into four welfare state regimes: liberal, conservative-corporate, social-democratic and Mediterranean. The analysis included the following groups: Atlantic (Ireland, Great Britain); Scandinavian (Denmark, Finland, Sweden), Continental (Austria, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Germany, the Netherlands), South European (Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, Spain), Baltic (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), Central European (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovak Republic, Slovenia).

Analysing the role of education within the context of the welfare state regimes opens the problem of positioning the new EU states, for the treatment so far was almost entirely limited to the old member states. Therefore we are faced with the question whether the new member states with different social-economic and political histories are similar or significantly different from the already established welfare state regimes.

Comparative data analysis in selected countries

We started by analysing the correlations between public expenditure for education and social security in the area that covers the twenty-five EU countries (this can be seen in Figure 1 and 2). The overview of the entire expenditure for education and social security as a percentage of the GDP shows that the Scandinavian group excels with the highest levels of investment into educational and social security programmes, which is typical for social-democratic welfare state regimes. In the social democratic group the scope of social policy operation is universal and a similar profile can be seen in the educational policy. This is also proven by the constant increase of GDP shares for education and social security during the five year span (2000-2004) in all three Scandinavian countries.

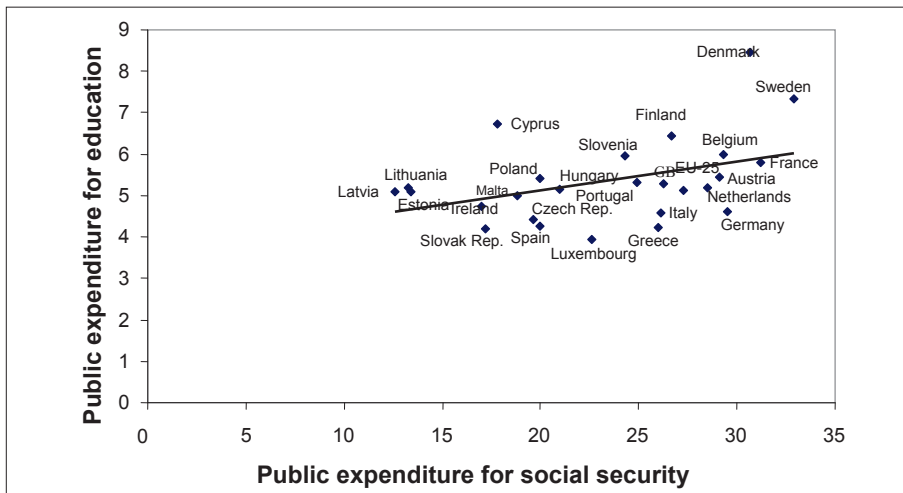
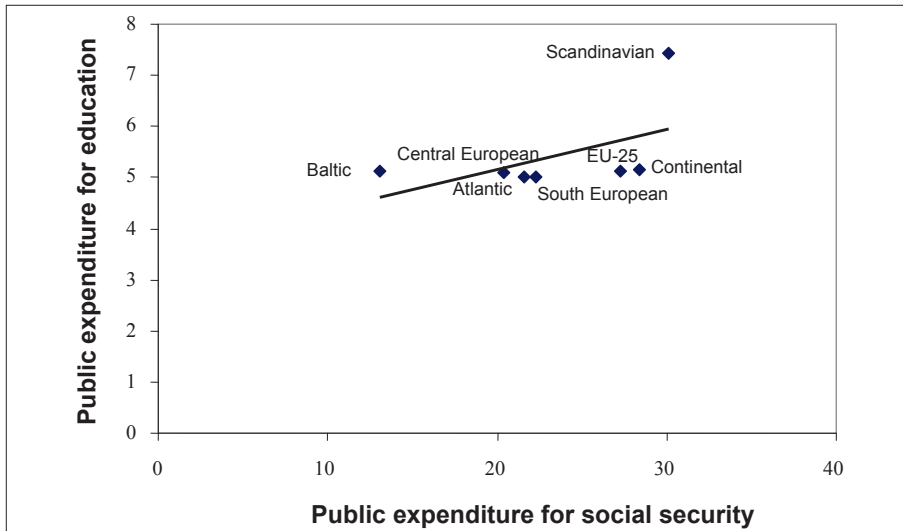


Figure 1. and 2: Links between the shares of public expenditure for education² and social security³, percentage of GDP - 2004

Source: Statistical portrait of Slovenia in the European Union (2007), Statistical Office of RS, Ljubljana.

² According to the Eurostat methodology the total expenditure for education is a sum of the public, private and international expenditures paid directly to educational institutions, as well as the expenditures of households for educational products and services outside of educational institutions.

³ According to ESSPROS (European System of Integrated Social Protection Statistics) the total expenditure for social security consists of all social income, administrative costs, transfers to other programmes as well as other expenses.

The continental group of countries belongs amongst the conservative-corporate type of welfare states. This type of social policy is identified by its vast scope of social security; however, the educational policy is not a part of the welfare state policy. The data on the total expenditure for social security in this group confirms this characteristic, for the trends points towards a constant increase of the GDP share that is similarly high to those in the Scandinavian group. According to the total expenses for education indicator, this group can be divided into two sub-groups. The first one includes Austria, France and Belgium, which dedicate a significantly larger percentage of GDP to education than Luxembourg, Germany and the Netherlands, the percentages of which do not reach the EU-25 average. However, for the first subgroup it is also typical that the shares have been on the decline between the years 2000 and 2004, while the second group has shown a significant increase in the GDP percentage dedicated to education.

The Atlantic group consists of liberal welfare states. This welfare type is typified by low investments into social security and a strong public support for expanding educational possibilities. This offers protection from risks and insecurity while at the same time represents an alternative to other public social security programmes. Eurostat data on public expenditure for social security confirms the previous analysis, for this expenditure is above the EU-25 average, even though they are significantly higher in Great Britain than in Ireland. However, according to the indicator of public expenditure for education these two countries do not reflect the characteristics of a liberal welfare state, for the expenditure in Ireland is much lower than the EU-25 average, while in Great Britain it is only slightly above average. This ascertainment differs from the results reached in the analysis by Hega and Hokenmaier (2002), who reached the conclusion that in liberal welfare states there is great support for educational programmes, which supposedly represents a substitute for the strong support for social security programmes found in conservative and social-democratic welfare states. Their analysis of the liberal system included not only Ireland and Great Britain but also Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, Switzerland and USA, countries with significantly higher total expenditure for education than European countries.

According to the expenditure for social security indicator the South European group can be placed in the so-called Latin or Mediterranean welfare type. In this group the family and the voluntary sector take over most of the responsibility for welfare. The expenditure for social security in these countries is below the EU-25 average. According to the total expenditures for education these countries are rather heterogeneous; especially Cyprus and to a certain degree Portugal dedicate high shares of GDP for education (compared to EU-25), while the other four countries are below average.

The Central European group has the characteristics of a hybrid welfare regime, for it is placed somewhere between the liberal and Mediterranean welfare type. According to the shares of public expenditure for social security this group lags behind the European average. Even though Slovenia dedicates the largest share for social security (within this group), these shares have been on the decline in the period between 2000 and 2004. Hungary, Poland and especially Slovenia surpass the European average percentage of GDP for education, while the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic are placed amongst the countries with the lowest shares of GDP dedicated to education.

According to the discussed indicators the Baltic group is placed into the new, neo-liberal welfare state regime. Taking into account the extremely low shares dedicated to social security, the states in this group limit themselves to the minimum standards, and most probably even these are ensured only to a very limited extent. The expenditure for social security in the Baltic states is constantly on the decline (for instance in 2000: 15 % GDP, in 2004: 13% GDP). A similar trend can also be noticed in the education field. Even though these countries surpass the EU-25 average as regards the total expenditure for education, it has been on the decline between 2000 and 2004 in all three countries.

The European Committee is drawing attention to the constant high numbers of youth (almost 16% in the EU), who are leaving school without basic qualifications and capabilities. The committee links this data to the inadequacy of the educational systems which fail to offer the necessary base for life-long learning (European Commission, 2005). However, the reasons for this can also be of an economic nature. The influence household expenditure in individual countries has on the share of the youth who do not continue with their education is shown in Figure 3 and 4.

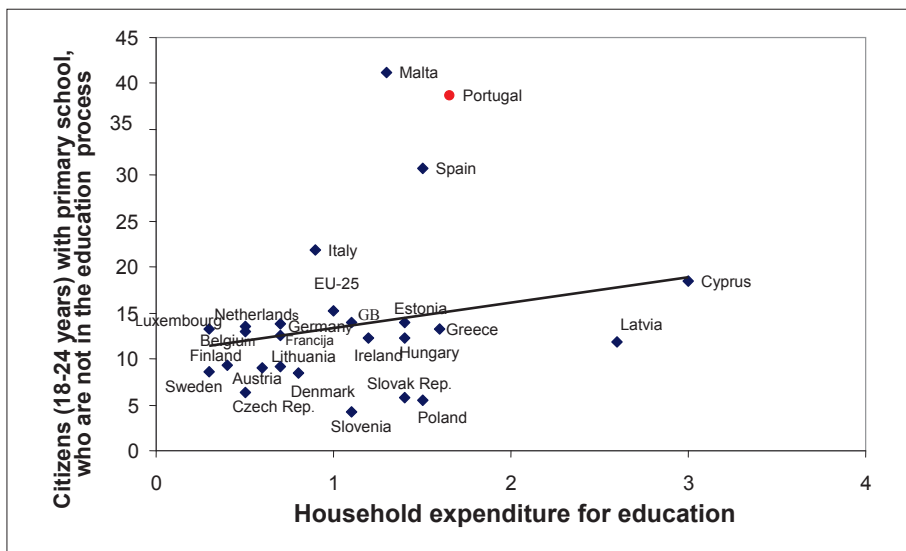
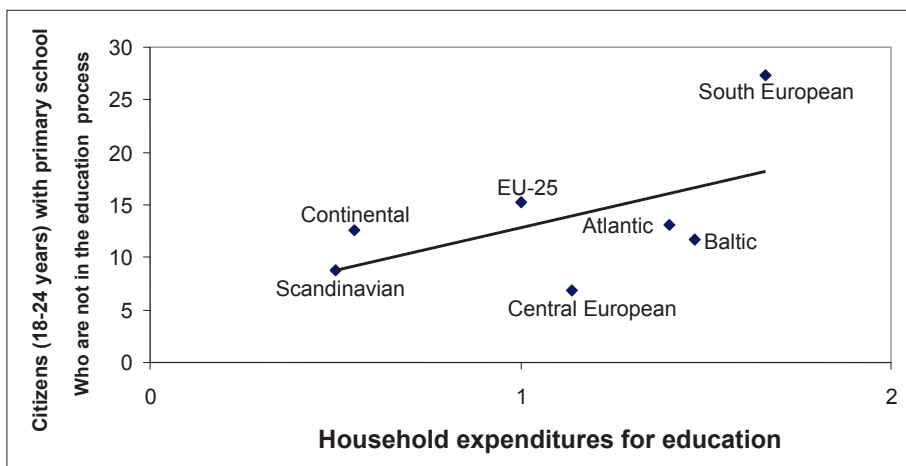


Figure 3. and 4: The correlation between the shares of inhabitants (18-24 years) with completed primary school, who are not enrolled into further education and training⁴ – in 2005

Source: Statistical portrait of Slovenia in the European Union (2007), Statistical Office of RS, Ljubljana.

⁴ The household expenditure for educational products and services outside of educational institutions include household expenditure for products and services directly or indirectly linked to the inclusion in education (textbooks, expert literature, notebooks, computer equipment, private tutorship and similar).

Amongst the EU-25 members the personal expenditure for educational institutions as a share of GDP is very diverse, for it differs from the lowest (0.1%) in Finland and Portugal to the highest (0.9% – 10%) in Germany, Slovenia and Great Britain. The share of household expenditure for educational institutions is on the increase in most EU countries, which is a consequence of the changes in the legislations and the emergence of the private educational sector in the new member states. Usually households dedicate the greatest share to higher education institutions. The reasons for this lie in the new changes in the legislation covering the higher education institutions and the partial introduction of school fees in public institutions for higher education (e.g. enrolment fees for the universities in Italy).

Because the Scandinavian group sees almost free education as one of the main goals of the educational policy (especially in Sweden), this is clearly reflected in the share of the lowest household expenditure for education and training. In the European comparison the effects of such an educational policy are shown in the lowest shares of citizens (18-24 years), who have completed merely primary school and are not enrolled in any form of education or training.

The closest to the Scandinavian is the Continental group, for the states that comprise this group have (similar to the Scandinavian group) the lowest shares of household expenditure for education and training, and at the same time also low shares of youth with primary school education who are not involved in further education, for these shares do not reach the EU-25 average. However, if we take into account the public expenditure for educational institutions indicators, the continental group is divided into two sub-groups. The first consists of Austria, Belgium and France, which have a much higher than average public expenditure for educational institutions. This is also reflected in the high share of youth who have at least secondary school education. The second sub-group which includes Luxembourg, Germany and the Netherlands is typically known for one of the lowest public expenditures for educational institutions in Europe and at the same time the three countries do not reach the EU-25 average as regards the share of youth who have completed at least secondary school.

The South European group differs the most from the Scandinavian and Continental states. With the exception of Italy the South European group reaches the highest shares in the twenty-five states as regards the household expenditure for education. In this group one can also notice the obvious positive correlation between this indicator and the share of youth with primary school education, who are not enrolled in further education, for this group is far above the European average.

The positive correlation between the treated indicators is not noticeable in three groups. According to the share of household expenditure for education The Atlantic, Baltic (with the exception of Lithuania) and Central European (with the exception of the Czech Republic) states surpass the European average. The countries included in these three groups have – when compared to Europe – the lowest shares of youth who do not continue with their education once they have completed primary school and at the same time the highest shares of youth who have completed at least secondary school, at which the states from the Central European group are especially noticeable. If the reason for this lies in the high opinion on education still needs to be researched.

The positive correlation between the participation of adults in education and training and the share of long-term unemployed amongst all unemployed is clearly shown in Figure 5 and 6. In the EU adult participation in life-long learning is still low, for it reaches merely above 10%, and this share has been on the decline during the past years in a number of EU-25 member states. The Eurostat data on the past educational achievements of the participants in informal education show that people on the bottom of the educational ladder are least likely to participate in further learning with the goal of improving their employment possibilities (European Commission, 2006).

The more recent analyses show that employers are more likely to enable further training to individuals with higher education and are less likely to support the lower educated and individuals with lesser basic skills in their further training (European Commission, 2007).

The comparative analysis shows that the Scandinavian group has the lowest share of long-term unemployed amongst all unemployed (from all EU-25 states), which is in accordance to the social-democratic welfare state which tries to ensure full employment. The positive correlation of this indicator with adult participation in life-long learning is clearly visible, for the Scandinavian group also excels according to the highest share of adults (25-64 years) participating in education and training. The low percentage of long-term unemployed is obviously a consequence of the long-term attention paid by these welfare states for the rise in the level of education of all their citizens, including the unemployed who lack qualifications.

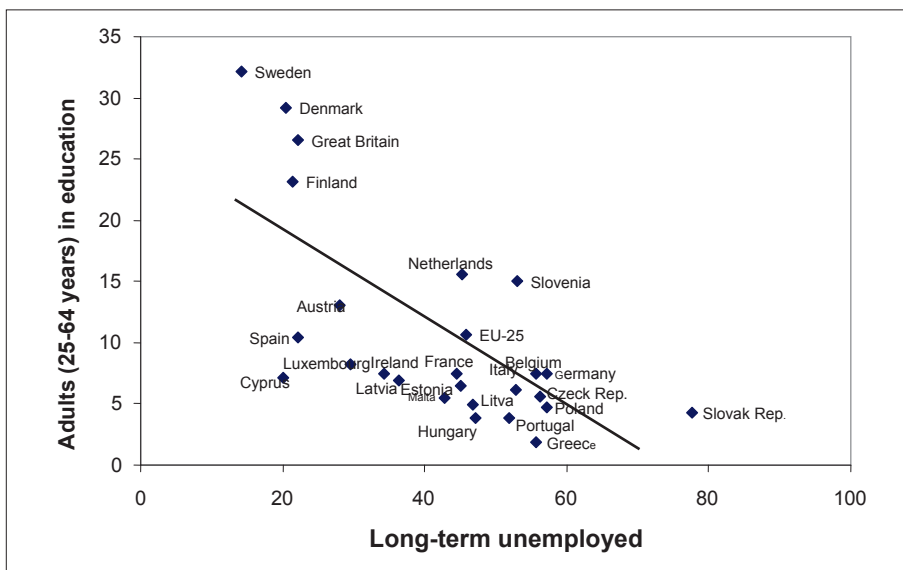
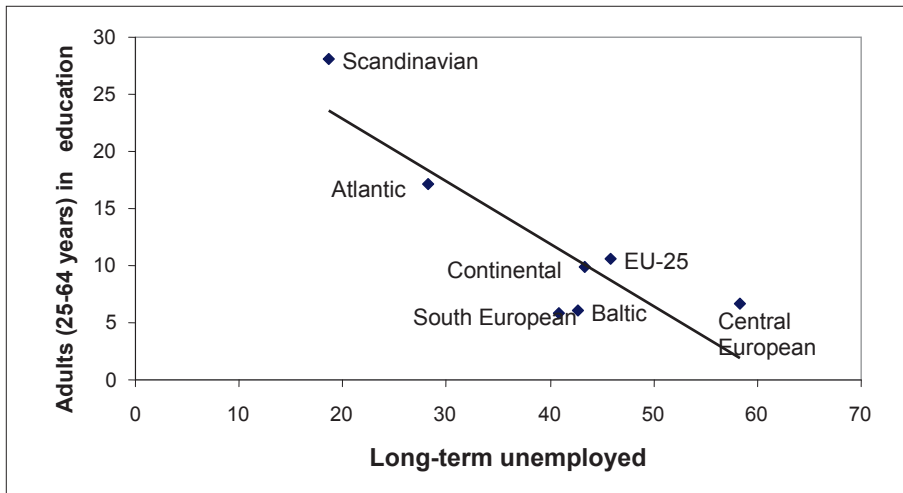


Figure 5. and 6: Correlation of the share of adults (25-64 years), who participate in education and training⁵ with the share of long-term unemployed amongst all unemployed – in 2006

Source: Statistical portrait of Slovenia in the European Union (2007), Statistical Office of RS, Ljubljana.

⁵ The data on the cooperation of inhabitants in education and training, between 25 and 64 years of age were gathered in the EU Labour Force Survey. Their participation reflects the situation for the period four weeks prior to the survey.

The Atlantic group also shows a similar trend, for both countries have a relatively low share of long-term unemployed. Especially in Great Britain this indicator can be linked to the policy of activating the population in the labour market and the share of adult participation in the education and training, which is amongst the highest in the EU-25.

The furthest away from the Scandinavian and Atlantic group is the Central European group, which steps out by its high shares of long-term unemployed, and at the same time it also has the lowest shares of adults participating in the education and training processes (in Europe). The only exception is Slovenia which surpasses the European average as regards the latter indicator.

The remaining three groups are close to the European average, even though certain differences can be noticed between them. While the Baltic group is average as regards the share of long-term unemployed it is below European average as regards the adult participation in education and training. In the Continental group Belgium and Germany have the largest shares of long-term unemployed. A greater share of adults attend education and training in Austria and the Netherlands, and especially in Austria this can be linked to the relatively low share of long-term unemployed.

The data on the share of long-term unemployed shows great differences in the South European group. The share of long-term unemployed is relatively low in Cyprus and Spain, while in the other countries this share surpasses the European average. All countries in the South European group typically have a low share of adults participating in education and training. None of these countries reach the European average in this aspect.

Final conclusions

The comparative analysis of the area covering the twenty-five EU member states allows for the conclusion that the countries that constitute the Scandinavian group (social-democratic welfare state regime) in their attempts to decommodify and defamiliarise dedicate the highest shares of GDP for education and social security. They have introduced universal services to both fields, believe in the same possibilities for all and provide a much higher standard than the minimum needs. Due to their endeavours to achieve order and stability in the socio-economic organisation the states in the Continental group (conservative-corporate welfare state regime) dedicate higher shares to social security and believe that this is more important than social mobility; this in turn leads to maintaining a status quo. The countries in the Continental group dedicate a significantly lower share of GDP

to education when compared to Scandinavian countries, but contrary to expectations the same or higher shares as the countries in the Atlantic group. Contrary to previous analysis the countries in the Atlantic group (most typologies consider them to have a liberal welfare state regime) do not give education an advantage over social security. Even though we have expected higher expenditures for education then in the first two groups, this group is slightly below the European average according to both indicators. According to its expenditure for education and social security the South European group (Mediterranean welfare state regime) is the closest to the Atlantic group, even though the desired effects of the educational policy in this group are much more modest.

The most different to the Scandinavian group is the Baltic group for which we have created a new type of welfare state regime. We have named this type that appears to be the most orthodox of them all, if not even a raw variant of the liberal welfare state regime, the neo-liberal regime. Compared to the rest of Europe the countries in the Baltic group surpass the shares of expenditure for education, and at the same time they appoint by far the lowest share of GDP (in EU-25) for social security. In this group supporting education appears to be the most noticeable alternative to spreading social security. The comparative analysis of data on higher education reveals that the Eastern European group is placed right next to the Baltic states.

The hybrid type of welfare state is typical for the Central European group. According to the analysed data these countries are most often placed between the South European (Mediterranean welfare regime) and the Atlantic (liberal welfare regime) groups. Taking into account the increasing trend of privatisation and marketing educational services, some of these countries are coming closer to the Baltic group i.e. the neo-liberal welfare state regime.

On the basis of the analysis we can ascertain that the twenty-five European countries can be divided into six welfare state regimes as regards the chosen social and educational policy indicators. Countries with similar social security profiles often have a similar educational policy. However, within individual groups there are significant differences between countries which are the consequence of the various directions in the development of the national welfare states so far and the different traditions in educational and social policies related to it. It is hard to capture all of these differences into schematic typologies, especially as they would have to be explained through extensive analysis of history, values and institutions. Because there is an array of various social systems in Europe it is hard to talk about a unified European social model in the same way as it is impossible to talk about a unified European educational space.

A minority of experts that believe in a „knowledge based society” are convinced that globalisation can encourage the increase in public expenditure for education at the expense of other welfare state programmes (Tanzi, 2001). However, such statements are not confirmed by the practice in most EU countries, which is especially true in the new member states. Alongside the ever diminishing public funds for social security no increase in the public expenditure for education can be noticed, for the trends seem to point towards a fall also in this area. The European Commission does also not call for an increase in public funds for education, but warns the members that they should spread the existing public funds efficiently and in a sustainable manner and that the funds by individuals, households and employers should increase.

There are important differences between the state policies of the old and new EU members. While the old member states use progressive tax systems, income redistribution and ensure welfare (especially countries in the Scandinavian and Continental groups), the policies of the new member states follow the American role, where there is a noticeable tendency for the personal provision of welfare (e.g. various forms of charity). Due to the experience with the post-war European social contract and the democratic traditions, the deconstruction of the welfare state in the old EU member states might take a longer time and will most likely be softened by various social security measures. The new members do not have these experiences and traditions. In reality they are facing the demolition of the remains of the bureaucratic state from the previous system. In the formation of the future welfare state models the influence of global organisations (i.e. World Bank, World Trade Organisation or OECD) can be clearly noticed in the new EU member states. The correlation between the new ‘efficient’ state and the reduction in the public sector as well as the definition of the minimal welfare state (Tomlison, 2001) is visible. The policies of these states do not follow European traditions, but are closer to the neo-liberal tendencies visible in the deconstruction of the welfare state, deregulation of all markets (including the labour market), reducing the costs of labour, privatisation and marketing former public goods and services, and tightening the grip on educational and medical programmes.

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Može li obrazovanje da razreši dileme države blagostanja?

Apstrakt: Iako opšteprihvaćene tipologije država blagostanja ne uključuju obrazovanje kao indikator, obrazovanje je u prvom planu aktuelnih rasprava o blagostanju. Promene temeljne paradigme socijalne politike koje se odnose na pomeranje „od obezbeđivanja bezbednosti” ka „obezbeđivanju učešća”, uzrokuju, takođe, pomeranje od „pasivne” ka „aktivnoj” socijalnoj politici u kojoj obrazovanje i osposobljavanje imaju suštinsku ulogu. Rad proizlazi iz pretpostavke da se države, članice Evropske unije, s obzirom na izabrane indikatore, mogu razvrstati u četiri preovlađujuće režime država blagostanja (liberalni, konzervativno-korporacijski, socijaldemokratski i mediteranski) i da je svaki od njih povezan sa određenim profilom obrazovne politike. Temeljna konstatacija ovog rada odnosi se na pojavu novog, petog tipa režima države blagostanja u vezi sa obrazovnom politikom, neoliberalnog tipa, koji je karakterističan za grupu baltičkih država. U srednjoevropskoj grupi država preovladava hibridni tip države blagostanja i sa njim povezana obrazovna politika.

Ključne reči: obrazovanje, država blagostanja, komparativna analiza, Evropska unija.

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