

A Caritas Europa Publication, edited by Robert Urbé

THE FUTURE of the WELFARE STATE

A comparative study in EU-countries





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Preface What a Welfare World...

"The object of government in peace and in war is not the glory of rulers or of races, but the happiness of common man" once said Sir William Beveridge. Replace "happiness" with welfare, prosperity and the common good and I totally agree with the founder of the British welfare state and his memorable report on "Social Insurance and Allied Services" from 1942. For I do not believe that government can create or even command happiness – even though welfare might be one material foundation or precondition of good life. But government – both in its individualistic and collectivistic forms – surely can destroy the always very personal and intimate pursuit of happiness. Personal happiness and freedom are at least encouraged by a public framework – actually a network! - of welfare and social security, prosperity and justice. For there is no personal freedom without public security! Freedom and security together, that is what I call subsidiarity. For there is no such thing as an invisible hand in politics, economy or society! It is nothing but a "belief". The same is true for the at least questionable mainstream belief in the perfection of markets. However, markets are always "incomplete" (Joseph Stiglitz). That is why we need a very visible welfare state! Actually, a modern welfare state is the concrete political form of the more abstract ideas both of freedom and of justice. For freedom is social justice and social justice is freedom!

Government can and therefore must assure welfare, social justice and contribute to the common good. Both for ethical and for economic reasons! Not to forget the political, the social and the pragmatic dimension of our welfare task. Actually, what is more of a noble task for a state than protecting the welfare of its people – of its entire people! But what is welfare in the beginning? Is it enough? Is it too much? Welfare is in any case more than the German "Wohlfahrt". It is more than antipoverty programs! It is more than charity! For me, it is actually more "Wohlstand" than "Wohlfahrt". Renewing the welfare state means therefore a political and economic evolution

from a "Wohlfahrt für alle" towards a "Wohlstand für alle" state to quote Ludwig Erhards famous motto of the Social Market Economy. Without that permanent evolution, political and social revolutions are inevitable! Nobody knew this better than Otto von Bismarck. Yet, 115 years after the death of the visionary founder of the German welfare state, his power stabilizing findings and pragmatic political insights represent still no general consensus among political and economic leaders in the 21st century. One concrete element of such a welfare state in the evolution towards social justice could be what the Belgian political economist Philippe Van Parijs calls a "basic income" in order to "avoid a social tragedy".

In any case, we have to work on this welfare consensus – and this inspiring publication by Caritas Europa is one important step in doing so – by transcending the traditional conflicts and cleavages between states and markets, labour and capital, collectivism and individualism, workers and entrepreneurs in order to transform our economy into a more personalist one. For our most important guidance is no longer the state or the economy: it is the human being! And all the human communities: couples, families with children, friends, local communities, regions, nations and even humanity as the ultimate community of communities. Therefore, the German globalization expert Ulrich Beck is absolutely right when he says that true social justice can today only be thought on a global scale. The same is even truer as far as the welfare state is concerned.

Our world, our states, our economy are changing. Still, social cohesion is not an "established fact" in Europe. We stand, in the words of Gøsta Esping Andersen, "at a crossroads which is similar to that of the post-World War II era and the invention of the modern welfare state. (...) We are moving toward a new type of economy and society, both of which call for a new model of social policy." Therefore, we have to transform the welfare state of the 19th and 20th centuries into a strong, "antifragile" (Taleb) and "positive" (Giddens) political network of social subsidiarity and political priorities: full employment, inclusive growth, investments in families and young people, strong social security, decent retirement, and active health policy. We have to move from the self-interest to the common good. We have to move from protection to "social investment". We have to move from the welfare state to a state of evolving social justice. For justice and the common good are the true self interests of our nations. The euro is by the way a strong and tear-resistant yarn in our welfare and social justice network.

But we have to move even further. We have to cast our network on a global, on a European, on a national, on a regional and also on a very personal scale.

For the times of absolute national sovereignty are over. We live in a globalized multi-level and interdependent world. Therefore our welfare network has to be globalized too. A good first step would be to finally launch a new Social Union within our old European Union. Against this backdrop, I would like to relaunch the idea of minimal social and welfare standards in every EU member state.

With that said, the only way to get us out of the current financial and economic crisis is an intelligent combination of a strong welfare state, a strong economy and a strong budget consolidation. Actually, no other combination will work in the long run. For Europe is still the first and sometimes the only and lonely social power in the world with a truly unique social model. And both European and world citizens do need more European welfare and more social leadership. For nobody else will do it! What we need is therefore a Welfare World or at least a Welfare Europe with a new network of welfare governance. This is by the way the "more Europe" our citizens are justifiably waiting for! A world where politics have to become again what Aristotle once called the "master art"! Actually, in a modern social justice network, the true master art is a people's server art! Such a vision is not an illusion! It is, at the end of the day, an absolute necessity and a consequence of "caritas": of social love beyond welfarism and utilitarism! The days of caritas will never end in this world of imperfection. But we can make it less imperfect every day. In fact, we must! That is my definition of politics in general and of welfare politics in particular...

> Jean-Claude Juncker Prime Minister of Luxembourg, President of the Eurogroup

Foreword

Writing about the future of the Welfare State in times of crisis, makes this publication a critical one. Does the Welfare State contributes to the crisis or is it a solution out of the crisis. Some – including the OECD – argue that in some countries (like Luxembourg) the "burden" of the Welfare State puts at risk the future of the economic growth as well as the future of the so-called Welfare State itself. Other's feel that the so-called Welfare State is the safety-net for those suffering of unemployment and poverty. The Welfare State is no longer the condition in which people, economy and politics evolve; it becomes part of a hidden because complex agenda, where public and political opinion discuss individual items and elements, whitout bearing in mind the whole paradigm. But is the Welfare State a closed concept? Or is it just an open concept where you can add and withdraw protection measures, allowances, control mechanisms, etc. This publication shows that the Welfare State according to the authors is an open concept. It should therefore not be used as an ideological tool or argument.

The question how much of today's protection systems and how many percentage of today's welfare in a given society should be distributed can only be answered in concrete terms and in real situations. "The" Welfare State does not exist. It has to be modelled and remodeledremodelled again and again. Whether so-called "acquis" are the right way to start discussions today can clearly be answered with no. Whether the center-european system can simply be exported or transposed into other cultural, political and economical systems can also be answered with no. Whether we need a global idea about a future Welfare State must be answered with yes in a global world and a global society.

The "invention" of the Welfare State was grounded in a model of society. It is based on the concept that all people living under a certain roof are to

be accepted as equals, as brothers and sisters. There must be compensation systems allowing everyone to participate in the wealth of his world, the global world. There must be compensation systems allowing everyone to be protected against disasters and life hazards. The Welfare State can no longer be conceived as a comfort zone without any risk for those who happened to be born in the middle of a wealthy generation.

I hope that this publication contributes to discuss the cultural, anthropological, political and economic hypothesis under which a framework for a global Welfare State can be developed. The idea of an unconditional basic income might be a leverage to re-discuss the Welfare State of tomorrow and worldwide – not in terms of money, but in terms of objectives!

Erny Gillen *President of Caritas Europa*

Introduction

This publication about the Future of the Welfare State is the fruit of cooperation between Caritas Europa and some of its member organizations. Caritas Europa member organizations are cooperating more closely since some years now in the framework of Social Policy. Social Policy Advocacy Work used to be less prominent for Caritas Europa than international cooperation issues, like emergencies, development, justice and peace or also than migration issues, where Caritas Europa and its member organizations were experienced actors. After the fall of the wall, new members from central and eastern European countries joining Caritas Europa were concentrating more on the direct assistance to vulnerable groups than on a bad name bearing "political action". Though it took some years for the whole network to establish advocacy work in the social field on an equally important stage.

Starting in 2002, following then in 2004 and 2006 Caritas Europa published a series of three Poverty Reports, shedding light on poverty in European countries.

Beginning with a new Strategic Plan voted 2004 in Dubrovnik, a new Social Policy Commission was born, besides working bodies in the fields of international cooperation and migration.

Taking profit from a grant of the European Commission a closer cooperation in this field started in 2006, bringing the daily experience on the grass root level up to the European level where it could shape the content of the policy work, and where advocacy activities could be grounded on this experience.

Some of the fruits of this collaboration, especially in following the national reform programmes in the framework as well as the national strategic reports on social protection and social inclusion, came out of the dark in the last years: Interim Assessment reports on National Inclusion Strategies, "Poverty among us" a Poverty Paper issued for the European Year 2010 against poverty

and social exclusion, followed by some related papers on issues like migration, child poverty, employment and training etc. A culminating point was the presentation in Madrid 2010 during the Spanish Presidency of the European Union of "Political Proposals to European Decision Makers".

The present publication about the "Future of the Welfare State" now is another link in this chain of public advocacy action.

Caritas Europa member organizations are coordinating since 2006 their activities regarding their involvement in drafting, establishing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating governmental national action plans in the social field. These were in the beginning the followers of the National Action Plans on social inclusion (NAP's incl), the National Strategic Reports on social protection and social inclusion (NSRspsi) as well as the National Reform Programmes (NRP's) first in the framework of the Lisbon Strategy and then in the framework of the Strategy Europe 2020. This coordination happened in 2006 and 2007 by means of the CONCEPT project (Caritas Organisations Networking to Counter the Exclusion and Poverty Trap) and since 2008 by means of the INCLUSION project (Integrating and Nourishing Caritas Learning and Understanding of Social Inclusion through Optimal Networking), cofinanced in 2006 by the European Commission under the Community action programme to combat social inclusion, and since 2007 under PROGRESS (PROGRamme for Employment and Social Solidarity).

The INCLUSION project contained since 2008 three thematic working groups, of which one concerned "The Future of the Welfare State". The INCLUSION Steering Group identified five different Welfare Systems throughout Europe¹⁾ and installed the thematic working group with representatives from Belgium (for the Bismarck-Systems), Ireland (for the Beveridge-Systems), from Sweden (for the Scandinavia or Nordic Systems), from Italy (for the Mediterranean Systems) and Slovakia (for the Central and Eastern European Systems). And these are the main authors of this publication, in the above order: Dominic Verhoeven, Seán Healy, George Joseph, Chiara Lucchin and Juraj Barat. Due to sickness, the Belgian representative was replaced since 2009 by Ilse Simma from Austria, but as

¹ This is a serious difference to Esping-Andersen's famous divide in three systems: liberal, conservative-corporatist, social-democratic (see ESPING-ANDERSEN, GØSTA (1990): The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism, Cambridge). Whereas the Eastern and Central European Systems were just born when he published his findings, he had added amongst other Italy to the conservative-corporatist systems. We think however that there are more similarities between the Mediterranean Systems than between for instance Italy and the Bismarckian countries.

her national organization needed her in Haïti after the Earthquake in 2010, and as Dominic was going better, he took again over in 2011. I sincerely thank those who worked during months and even years on this piece of work. The working group was during all the years supported by the Caritas Europa Secretariat staff: we due therefore special thanks to Natallya Kaval Kova, Miriam Pikaar and Déirdre De Burca. I also want to address my assistant Lydie Krecké who did the whole editing of the publication: many thanks for that. With the support of Carlo Knöpfel from Caritas Switzerland and chaired by myself, the two remaining authors of this publication, the working plan was established. First the analytical model that had been agreed upon in 2008 by Caritas Europa's Regional Conference in Bled was adapted and an according set of indicators was developed (see chapter 1 and appendix 2).

Chapters 2 to 6 are then presenting country reports for each one of the five models or systems. Based on the analytical model and by using the indicators the authors are commenting the development and actual state of play of their country's respective social welfare system.

Besides description of a system, it is the analysis of what is happening in the different countries and what should happen that attracts our interest. To analyse, to assess social systems Caritas Europa has developed between 2006 and 2008 a tool called "Caritas Europa's Basic Principles for a Sustainable Social System". This tool (see appendix 1) served the authors and the working group of this publication. It was then the aim of the project to analyse the trends and tendencies which can be observed in each country, and to compare these trends and tendencies with those in other countries of the same model in order to establish whether these are trends and tendencies of the specific country or of the model as such. During the life of the project, the well known crisis came up which changed in many countries the developments of their welfare systems. Therefore we had to adapt our plan and to analyze long and medium trends and tendencies separately from short term trends and tendencies. Only for the Central and Eastern European Model it was more difficult to stick to long term trends as these models were only evolving since 1989 and so there we had more a look on the actual and future trends at stake. For this exercise of comparing our 5 example countries with the ones of a similar social model, we received answers from 16 other countries, and so we wish to say our gratitude also to those Caritas workers that, without standing in the brightness of the lights shedding on those called authors, have added an important part as well to our work.

At this moment it is likely to stress that the authors as well as those who cooperated by delivering answers from their countries are mostly not academics but Caritas workers that are more in touch with the social realities of the people they serve than to be familiar with academic research. In that sense our project and this publication do not have the intention to represent research in an academic sense, but we build our expertise on the experiences with people at the grass root level and on the knowledge of their situations. In that sense our work may rather be considered as complementary to purely academic research.

Chapter 7 with the conclusions we could draw from the developments we analyzed for the future of the welfare state(s) closes this publication, we submit to you, dear readers, to share our insights, and to join us in pushing forward the open issues, be it on the political scene by advocating and debating, be it in political science by taking up some of the points and deepening them by your research.

Now I wish you through the reading of this publication first endurance and then new insights and enrichment for your own work. This publication about the Future of the Welfare State, fruit of cooperation of Caritas member organizations in Europe is the culminating point of a very long process.

Robert Urbé
Coordinator of the project

Chapter I

Welfare in EU Member States

Welfare in Europe

ROBERT URBÉ

Welfare in itself is a concept that is dependent on cultural differences. These cultural differences provide an explanation for the different welfare concepts throughout European countries. Moreover welfare itself is not even possible to translate in several languages: where there is no concept, there are no words! And where it has been translated, it is not quite certain that the meaning is the same.

And, whereas in some countries the name of the concept is "social welfare", in some others this would mean only a narrow understanding such as benefits or payments, and a broader approach, including social and health services is designated by "welfare".

So it is not so astonishing that there is no one European Welfare System (compared to a US welfare system or a Chinese, Japanese or Indian one etc.). Mostly European countries have a historically rooted Welfare System, matured according to their historical circumstances.

For our research we have consciously focused on European Union member countries, taking into account the pan-European panoply obviously leading us in a situation that would have been hardly manageable, but also because it was part of an EU co-funded project. Even the 27 actual member states could not all be covered for various reasons, so the number of countries involved in one way or another in the project is twenty. And these had to be catalogued in order to overcome the exercise.

According to Esping-Andersen¹ we differentiate three different types of Welfare models. First there are the liberal "Beveridge" systems which are dominated by poor social security systems as well as rather small social transfers: sometimes means-tested, sometimes universal. Modest insurances and national health systems together with graduated child benefits are the

¹ See Esping-Andersen (1990).

characteristics of these systems. Typical examples are the United Kingdom, Ireland, the US, Canada or Australia. Some add to these Malta, but our author of chapter 3 comes to the conclusion that "the Maltese welfare system provides a unique fusion of welfare philosophies which are not consistent with Beveridge". So for the purpose of our project, only Ireland and the UK remained as representatives of the Beveridge Model.

On the other hand we have the conservative, corporatist "Bismarck" systems. Here the typical features are: the traditional role of the family, the male breadwinner model, social security is organized as insurance system, where the whole family of the breadwinner is insured, the right to social transfers is based on contributions (mostly dependent on the amount of the salary, mostly paid partly by employers and partly by employees) and the belonging to a certain stratum or even professional group, therefore you can observe a differentiated range of state organized insurances, depending on the status of the insured. Typical representatives of this system are besides Germany: Belgium, Austria, Luxembourg but also France (bearing some specific French features) and according to Esping-Andersen even Italy (but more on this will follow below).

Both these systems wear the name of her "founder" or "developer". On the one hand we have Lord William Henry Beveridge (1879-1963) who stays as the "spiritus rector" for the developing English system after World War II². Presiding an expert group set up by the government and led by social justice he published in 1942 a report called "Social Insurance and Allied Services", known as the Beveridge-report³, in which he led the foundations for the welfare state put in place after the 1945 elections by the Labour government. In 1948 was established the National Health Service that Beveridge had assumed in his report.

On the other hand there is Fürst Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898) who was Prime Minister in Prussia from 1862-1872 and from 1873-1890, and at the same time Chancellor of the German Reich (1871-1890)⁴. He "invented" the German social insurance system in the eighties of the 19th century. Trying to defend the state on the one hand against the catholic church which he considered as being a threat for the security of the state⁵, and on the other

² See Harris (1997).

³ See Beveridge (1942).

⁴ See e.g. Schoeps (1997).

⁵ It is one of history's peculiarities that it is precisely the Church that defends the conservative-corporatist way of shaping the social welfare state, as it is "strongly committed to the preservation of traditional family-hood", see Esping-Andersen (1990).

hand against the socialists which he accused to be enemies of the state ("vaterlandslose Gesellen"), he thought to tighten the individual's bonds with and his loyalty to the state; and at the same time it was an attempt to stabilize the existing strata (or classes) of the society.

The third welfare system described by Esping-Andersen is the social democratic or Scandinavian (Nordic) regime, in which the ruling principles are universalism, social rights for all and equality. This system, developed in the mid 1950ies, knows a high standard of social transfers which opened it not only to the lower classes like it was the case for the Beveridge system, but offered also incentives to the middle classes. It came into force by a historic capacity of social democrats to tailor the benefits to "the tastes and expectations of the middle classes" and to capture the farmers too. It is the only system out of the three in the classification of Esping-Andersen that is not named after its founder or developer. Typical examples of the Scandinavian Model are Sweden, Denmark and Norway, but in some way also Finland and Iceland.

In opposition to Esping-Andersen's classification our working group decided to open the catalogue to more categories. As indicated above we saw a too big difference with the continental Bismarckian countries to let Italy in that same cluster. Regarding the nevertheless Bismarck oriented way of organizing the social system, but with less generous benefits and with not all the branches of social insurance being equally developed, putting a larger burden of the social well-being on the family, we opted for an own class of countries belonging to a "Mediterranean" Model. Besides Italy, already named, Spain, Portugal and Greece belong to this group of countries.

And then there was this large group of countries⁷ that changed their whole political and social system so drastically after 1989 and that joined the European Union in 2004 and 2007. Their only common point is that none of them opted for one of the existing three models, but they have all ended up with the construction of a mix using components of the three systems. And this construction was not done in one great bang (as also the three above described models evolved during several years and are still being newly shaped as our trends reports in chapters two to six are demonstrating), but often a government change brought also radical change again in the welfare approach of the country, whereas after the next elections things were again changed as they were previously and so on. Also because the lifetime of these really existing systems is still short enough, we overcame the 6 See Esping-Andersen (1990).

⁷ See Busch (2005).

difficulties in cataloguing them by putting them altogether in one group, the "Central and Eastern European" Systems. We could have clustered together the Visegrád countries⁸ (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia), the Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) as well as the Southeast European countries Romania and Bulgaria, but in addition to their obviously common past for each of these groups we did not find along these clusters similar common developments today. Of course we have to accept that this choice may have jeopardised from the beginning the possible finding of commonalities between these 9 countries altogether.

A certain number of countries like Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, the Netherlands and Poland are not included in these studies, for various reasons: either we did not manage to assign them to one of our five models, or it was not possible to have a competent answer from our contact persons in a reasonable time frame or we did not even find a correspondent etc.

But covering twenty countries we may nevertheless draw some conclusions and thus prepare a future in depth research in this field.

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The Social Protection System: Analytical Questions and Quantitative Indicators

A practical guide to prepare country data for a comparative studie

CARLO KNÖPFEL

This paper is based on the Caritas Europa social security model¹.

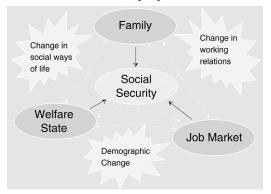
In this model social security has three different sources:

labour market, family and welfare state.

Social security is challenged by the changes in society:

the economic, social and demographic change.

Graph: The Model of Social Security System



Until now we spoke about a "Social Security System". A "Social Protection System" includes not only the social insurances but also transfers and benefits like minimum income, social aid etc.

In this paper important questions to the different elements of this model are formulated. These questions give help and orientation for an analysis of a country-specific situation. After these questions we provide a number of key indicators which give quantitative information on the different elements of the model.

¹ For a description of this model see: Poverty among us, part A, Chapter 1, pages 7-14, Caritas Europa (2010), Bruxelles.

The First level: The three sources of social protection

Social protection has three sources: labour market, family and welfare state. If we describe the situation on the labour market, the role of families and the meaning of the welfare state for social protection, we describe the actual picture of a society. It is a static picture, a momentum of the current situation.

The first source: labour market

Questions

What is the situation on the labour market? Who is employed, who is not? How is employment along various socio-economic markers? How is employment in the various sectors of economy, in various regions of the country and within the various branches? Is there a black or grey labour market? Has it a significant meaning? What is the relation between full time and part time jobs? Does a tendency to precarious situations and non-standard contracts for workers exist? Are the workers organized? What is the strategy of the unions? How is the distribution of wages?

Indicators

- Employment rates
 Employment rates by sex, age, nationality, education level, branches, regions, degree of employment
- 2. Unemployment rates Unemployment rates by sex, age, nationality, education level, branches, regions
- Percentage of standard worker contracts in relation to all worker contracts
- 4. Size of black and grey labour market
- Height of wages
 Height of wages by sex, age, nationality, education level, branches

The second source: family

Questions

What is the meaning of families in society regarding social protection? What does society expect from families? Which types of families do exist? How is the distribution of paid and not paid work within families? How is child care organized? What is the meaning of subsistence economy for families?

Indicators

- 6. Size of households
- 7. Structure of families
- Median household income by household type (=At-risk-of poverty threshold/60*100 K-EUR, based on the median equivalised disposable income after transfers)
- 9. Distribution of household income
 Distribution of household income by size of household
- Work intensity of the households
 Work intensity of the households by household income
- 11. Degree of household employment
- 12. Percentage of children (over 1 year) in child care facilities
- 13. Size of subsistence economy

The third source: welfare state

Questions

Is there a welfare state? How is the welfare state organized? What is the role of NGOs as social service providers? Which kind of social insurance does exist? Are there other social transfers? Does social aid exist? How is the welfare state financed? Do instruments for integration in labour market exist?

Indicators

- 14. Welfare state quotes (Social protection benefits sickness and health care, disability, family and children, unemployment, old age and survivor benefits, housing and social exclusion as a % of GDP)
- 15. Distribution of social transfers by various functions (for unemployment, illness, invalidity, pension, families)
- 16. Percentage of persons receiving social transfers, by the various functions
- 17. At-risk-of poverty rate "before" (before all social transfers except old age and survivors benefits) and "after" social transfers
- 18. Percentage of households in a material deprivation situation
- 19. Net income (after tax and social insurances) in relation to total income

The second level: The three challenges for social protection – a changing society

Change in society happens. Three aspects are especially important for social protection: the economic, social and demographic change. Describing change of society means to go over to a dynamic picture of social protection: social protection changes if society changes.

The first challenge: economic change

Questions

What is the development of the national economy? How is the national economy influenced by the globalization process and the new technologies? Which kind of economic activities is the national economy confronted with, which ones are phasing out? Is there a national education strategy? Is there a national strategy for research and development? Does a flexicurity approach exist?

How does the economic change influence the labour market, family life and the welfare state?

Indicators

- 20. Growth of GDP
- 21. Growth of GDP per capita (here: GDP per capita in PPS)
- 22. Export rate
- 23. Percentage of persons with low educational attainment (level of education < 2 according to ISCED)
- 24. Percentage of early school leavers
- 25. Hours per capita and year for lifelong learning
- 26. Expenditure for education in percentage of GDP

The second challenge: social change

Questions

How does the individualization process go? Does social background change? Is there a change of values and norms? What is the meaning of social NGOs and church in society? Is there a change of the role of women in families? What is the meaning of migration? Does a migration policy exist?

How does social change influence the labour market, family life and the welfare state?

Indicators

- 27. Internal rural migration
- 28. Population by region (town, countryside, agglomeration)
- 29. Employment rate by sex
- 30. Rate of divorce
- 31. Rate of couples without children
- 32. Single household rate
- 33. Rate of volunteers in relation to the population
- 34. Migration rate
- 35. Crime rate

The third challenge: demographic change

Questions

Which structure does the population have? Are there changes between the different age groups? Is a four-generation-society coming? Does a family policy exist? Does a migration policy exist?

How does demographic change influence the labour market, family life and the welfare state?

Indicators

- 36. Size of population
- 37. Rate of different age groups
- 38. Fertility rate Fertility rate by nationality
- 39. Life expectancy
- 40. Rate of children who know their great grandparents

The third level: Development of social protection

This model should help answer the question, whether the development in society can offer social protection to all or whether it cannot. On the third level follows the reflection: How changes in society influence the three sources of social protection? Social protection has again three facets.

The first facet is the possibility to secure material life of oneself and ones family. The second facet describes whether people are secure in critical life situations (unemployment, illness or invalidity). The third facet has to do with the possibility to provide for pension.