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**Master's Thesis**

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**Attitudes Towards Free Movement of Workers from the  
Perspective of Welfare Regimes**

Master's thesis

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Year of the defence: 2022

## **Declaration**

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on May 3, 2022

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## References

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## **Abstract**

This Master's Thesis studies the connection between welfare regime clusters, their institutions and public attitudes towards the free movement of workers in the European Union. It aims to analyse, whether welfare regime clusters can serve as a useful tool for understanding the cross-national differences in public opinion on intra-EU labour migrants. To do so the Thesis uses the institutional theory and looks at three dimensions of welfare state institutions – the universality of the welfare state, economic inequalities and job opportunities. The study is conducted on the case of eight (former and current) EU member states, which are divided into four pairs, each representing one of the welfare regimes – conservative, liberal, social democratic and Southern European. The Thesis concluded that neither clustering into welfare regimes, nor institutional dimensions represent a sufficient tool to explain the variations in attitudes between the chosen countries. Insufficiency of clustering was shown in the case of some countries, that are part of the same welfare clusters but show different levels of support for free movements of workers. Additionally, countries with the positions in the studied institutional dimensions which should lead to the most positive attitudes do not reach the predicted degree of support. On the other hand, some countries that should show more negative attitudes according to the degree of the universality, inequalities and job opportunities, express a more positive opinion than others with a more favourable situation for support.

## **Abstrakt**

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá vztahem mezi režimy sociálního státu, jejich institucemi a postojem veřejnosti vůči volnému pohybu pracovníků v rámci Evropské unie. Cílem této práce je analyzovat, zda rozdělení do jednotlivých režimů může sloužit jako užitečný nástroj pro pochopení rozdílů mezi členskými státy EU ve veřejném mínění ohledně vnitro-evropských pracovních migrantů. K dosažení tohoto cíle používá tato práce institucionální teorii a studuje tři dimenze institucí sociálního státu – univerzalitu sociálního státu, ekonomické nerovnosti a pracovní příležitosti. Analýza je prováděna na případě osmi (současných i minulých) členských států EU, které jsou rozděleny do dvojic, z nichž každá reprezentuje jeden režim sociálního státu – konzervativní, liberální, sociálně demokratický a Jihoevropský. Závěrem této práce je, že ani rozdělení do režimů ani institucionální dimenze nepředstavují dostatečný nástroj pro vysvětlení rozdílů v postojích vybraných

států. Nedostatečnost použití režimů dokazují případy zemí, které jsou sice členy stejného režimu sociálního státu, ale ukazují jiné úrovně podpory vůči volnému pohybu pracovníků. Zároveň země, které by podle institucionálních dimenzí měly vykazovat nejpozitivnější přístup nedosahují předvídané míry podpory. Na druhou stranu země, které by měly ukazovat negativnější postoje s ohledem na jejich míru universality, nerovnosti a pracovních příležitostí, dávají najevo souhlasnější přístup, než je tomu v případě některých států s příznivějšími podmínkami pro podporu.

## **Keywords**

Free movement of people, labour migration, European Union, welfare state, welfare regimes, institutional theory, public opinion

## **Klíčová slova**

Volný pohyb osob, pracovní migrace, Evropská unie, sociální stát, režimy sociálního státu, institucionální teorie, veřejné mínění

## **Název práce**

Postoj veřejnosti vůči volnému pohybu pracovníků z perspektivy režimů sociálního státu

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## **Introduction**

Freedom of movement of persons is widely considered one of the greatest achievements of European integration. Together with the free movement of capital, goods and services it constitutes the cornerstone of the European single market. It enables the citizens of the European Union to freely move across the EU and to work, study or live in another member state. In addition to this, when the EU citizens are legally employed in an EU member state which is not their country of origin, they have also the right to access the states' welfare system in the same way as nationals (Ruhs 2017, p.24). In contrast, those who reside in another EU member state but are not economically active fall under the welfare system of their home country (Schmidt et al. 2018, p.1391). According to the Lisbon Treaty labour migrants of EU origin are also under the protection of the non-discrimination principle. This means they cannot be discriminated against regarding their working conditions, wages or employment because of their nationality (Felbo-Kolding et al. 2019, p.1).

The access of the workers to the host countries' welfare benefits might be considered a sensitive and somehow controversial issue in the public debate, especially in the countries receiving a large number of workers from other member states. The freedom started to be increasingly contested after the EU enlargements in 2004 and 2007, as this step led to increased immigration to the old member states from the poorer countries in Eastern Europe. The salience of the issue of free movement in the particular member states' public debate was expressed in 2013 through a joint letter of Austria, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom to the EU Council Presidency. In this letter, the countries' interior ministers called for a reform of the workers' access to the social benefits, as they claimed that it was creating a burden on the countries' welfare systems (Geddes and Hadj-Abdou 2016, p.222). While these countries expressed worries, other EU member states such as Sweden regarded their fears as unfounded. Additionally, the migrant workers' access to the social security system played also an important role in the public and political debate prior to the UK's referendum on the withdrawal from the EU. Ruhs (2017, p.22) even regards the UK's inability to initiate a reform of the principle of freedom of movement at the European level as a significant factor for the UK citizens to vote for leaving the EU.

This Master's Thesis aims to analyse the public opinion towards labour migration of EU citizens from the perspective of welfare state regimes. The main research question is, therefore, whether welfare regime clusters and institutional dimensions of welfare states can be used to understand the cross-national differences in the attitudes toward freedom of movement of workers. The study will be conducted on the cases of eight selected (current and former) EU member states – Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Sweden, Spain and the United Kingdom. These countries are divided into pairs. Each couple represents a welfare regime type based on the typology introduced by Esping-Andersen extended by a fourth regime consisting of Southern European countries.

The study will focus on the period between the years 2014 and 2015. Firstly, it wants to study the opinions in the United Kingdom before the referendum on withdrawal. And secondly, for this period, two different surveys provide data on attitudes towards the free movement of workers – the Eurobarometer and European Social Survey (ESS). While similar questions to the ones used in this study can be found also in the later Eurobarometer surveys, the 2014 ESS is the latest edition including an immigration section, with the previous one being from 2002.

Using the data from these surveys supplemented by data on economic indicators in three different institutional dimensions – the universality of the welfare state, economic inequalities and job opportunities – the Thesis will analyse whether the public attitudes towards the free movement of workers differ inside and between various welfare regimes and whether the clustering of welfare regimes and the chosen economic characteristics can help us to understand these attitudes. Through this analysis, the Thesis will contribute to the academic debate focusing on the connection between welfare regimes and public opinion, as well as the debate on public opinion towards the free movement of workers.

The Thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter, the State of the Art, will introduce typologies of the welfare regimes and place the Thesis' topic in the relevant debates on immigrants' access to welfare benefits in the EU and on the connection between free movement and welfare systems. The second one presents the theoretical background and methodology of this Thesis. The basic characteristics of the institutional theory will be introduced, as well as Larsen's (2008) approach to studying the connection between welfare regimes and the perception of deservingness. The third chapter is looking at the welfare regimes, their basic characteristics and the main aspects of the welfare states in the eight chosen countries. This part also analyses and compares the economic indicators

coming from the institutional dimensions. The fourth and final chapter then presents data on the attitudes towards the free movement of workers and studies them from the perspective of welfare regime clusters and institutional dimensions.

# 1 State of the Art

## 1.1 Welfare State Regimes

Regarding the welfare regimes in Europe, Follesdal et al. (2007, p.77) identify two different theoretical approaches. Firstly, it is to define Europe as one united welfare system, which can be then compared to the regime in the United States. The authors of such an approach do not regard the European welfare regimes as so heterogeneous in comparison with other types of regimes all around the world. However, such an approach is not suitable for this Thesis as it does not provide any tool for analysing the impact of different welfare systems in Europe on public opinion.

The second approach is the one following the ideas of Gøsta Esping-Andersen presented in his work *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1990). The publication of Esping-Andersen's book constitutes an important milestone in the field of comparative welfare state research and still remains widely used and cited. Focusing on the impact of this work on the welfare state research, Emmenegger et al. (2015, p.3) argue that "it has become a classic" which will continue to play an important role also in the future decades. In his book, Esping-Andersen (1990) focuses on the historical development of different welfare systems. He argues that the reason why a certain type of welfare regime was established is the weakness or strength of a particular type of political party.

Based on this background he defined a new typology, which is "today's best-known and most frequently used typology of welfare states" (Arts and Gelissen 2002, p.138). Esping-Andersen identifies three ideal types – liberal, conservative (also called corporatist) and social democratic welfare regimes. In the first type, the liberal regime, access to the welfare system is provided only to people who are in need (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.26). In this case, the state does not intervene to a great extent. For the second type, the conservative regime, it is significant that the access is conditioned by the previous contribution to the system through social insurance. An interventionist role of the state and universal access to welfare benefits are typical for the last type (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.27).

As for actual examples of these defined types, the United Kingdom is typically considered a liberal regime, France or Germany a conservative one and Nordic countries such as Sweden are regarded as the social democratic welfare regime (Isakjee 2017, pp.5-

6). However, the possibility to define a state's welfare regime as only one of the types is widely contested and in reality, the states tend to have hybrid regimes combining characteristics of the different types. In contrast with Esping-Andersen's corporatist approach, Follesdal et al. (2007, p.78) identify Austria as a combination of the conservative and social-democratic regimes. Accordingly, Bruzelius et al. (2016, p.406) argue that the British universal healthcare system does not fit into the ideal liberal regime type.

Moreover, in the years following the publishing of Esping-Andersen's seminal work, several authors reacted and critically evaluated his analysis and resulting typology. Consequently, some of them proposed revisions or extensions of his typology. In their article, Arts and Gelissen (2002, p.137) characterized three commonly occurring criticisms of the typology. Firstly, the absence of a welfare regime type comprised of Southern European countries. Secondly, the inclusion of New Zealand and Australia in the liberal regime type. And lastly, the marginalized role of a gender perspective in the typology.

In the context of studying welfare regimes in the European Union, the criticism over the need for the inclusion of a specific welfare regime for Southern European states is highly relevant. In the original Esping-Andersen study, the only Southern European state included was Italy, whose welfare regime he characterised as conservative/corporatist (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.27). However, several authors regarded this as a misclassification of the regime and suggested a different approach. Ferrera (2010, p.627) argues, that the welfare state in Southern European countries was established differently than in other European countries. As common characteristics of Southern Europe, he sets countries' primal dependency on agriculture and a long period of underdevelopment followed by rushed modernization which caused fragmentation in the social security system. Typical is also a strong supportive role of extended family, which acts as "an effective social shock absorber" (Ferrera 2010, p.622) and additionally also state's limited capability to adopt an innovative approach.

Another author who points out the missing Southern European regime is Guiliano Bonoli. Reacting to the limitations of Esping-Andersen's work, Bonoli (1997) suggests a different approach to classifying welfare states' regimes through two different dimensions. The 'how much' dimension looks at the levels of social expenditures and the 'how' dimension looks at the ways in which citizens are entitled to social provisions (Bonoli 1997, p.352). Apart from social expenditure as a percentage of GDP he also uses

Bismarckian and Beveridgean models as indicators for welfare states classification. These two types differ in the main goals of their social policies. In the case of the Bismarckian model, it is the income maintenance, whereas the Beveridgean model focuses on the prevention of poverty (Bonoli 1997, p.357). For the Bismarckian model, it is also characteristic that the welfare provisions are financed through contributions, when on the other hand, in the Beveridgean model by taxation (Bonoli 1997, p.360).

Based on these indicators he characterises four ideal types of welfare regimes – high and low spending Beveridgean and high and low spending Bismarckian. Looking at Bonoli’s model Southern European states can be characterised by the Bismarckian social model, such as Germany or France. However, in comparison with these two countries, usually classified as corporatist using Esping-Andersen’s typology, the Southern European countries differ in the amount of social expenditure, which is lower. By using two dimensions, Bonoli stresses the difference among Bismarckian welfare states and supports the specific case of the Southern European welfare regime.

## **1.2 Immigration and Welfare State**

A couple of studies were conducted looking at the possible impact of the welfare regime type on the public attitude towards immigrants’ access to the national welfare system. An example is Crepaz and Damron (2008) who looked at the relationship between the welfare state and welfare chauvinism. The latter is defined as “general support for social programs, but a desire to reform them in such a way to exclude outsiders” (Koning 2011, p.1). They conclude that universal and high-spending welfare states lower the level of welfare chauvinism.

While building upon Esping-Andersen’s typology of welfare regime, Van Der Waal et al. (2013), also analyse in their article the relationship between welfare regimes and welfare chauvinism. They argue that the welfare chauvinism’s levels differ based on the regime’s type. Their main finding is that there exist “two worlds of welfare chauvinism”, as people living in social democratic regimes are more willing to provide access to welfare benefits to immigrants, in comparison to liberal and corporative welfare states’ populations (Van Der Waal et al. 2013, p.177).

Looking specifically at people’s individual preferences, Reeskens and van Oorschot (2012) study in their article *Disentangling the ‘New Liberal Dilemma’: On the relation between general welfare redistribution preferences and welfare chauvinism*, whether the

opinion on immigrants' welfare access is connected with a personal attitude towards social benefits redistribution. They conclude, that those people who approve of receiving benefits based on need tend to have a negative attitude towards migrants' access.

### **1.3 Freedom of Movement and the Welfare Benefits**

The literature on the freedom of movement of people and welfare benefits focuses on various aspects of their relationship. The main part of the literature consists of studies focusing on the existence of so-called welfare or social tourism. This means that the type of welfare system in the host country and the prospect of getting access to the social benefits plays an important role in workers' decision to move abroad and as such can be considered a pull factor. De Giorgi and Pellizzari (2009, p.354) claim to be the first ones to carry out a study on the impact of welfare systems on intra-EU migration. The results of their analysis showed that the access to welfare benefits can be a pull factor for the workers, however, not as important as other aspects such as income or unemployment levels. Similarly, Giulietti and Wahba (2012, p.15), conclude after a revision of a large amount of literature, that the idea of EU migrant workers abusing the welfare systems in receiving countries is unfounded and the pull factor of the welfare system remains modest.

Another significant part of the academic debate focusing on the free movement and welfare benefits looks at the political consequences of this issue. Authors such as Geddes and Hadj-Abdou (2016) focus on the politicization of the freedom of movement in EU member states, especially in connection with rising Eurosceptic parties. Geddes and Hadj-Abdou (2016, p.236) argue that integration in the field of free movement of people might contribute to people's rising disagreement with established political parties and the growth of the Eurosceptic ones. However, they conclude, that the principle of free movement is unchangeable.

Blauberger and Schmidt (2014) look at the issue of the EU migrant workers' access to the host countries' welfare system from a different perspective. Looking at the fundamental principle of non-discrimination of EU citizens, they analyse how the European Court of Justice (ECJ) reacts to a possible restriction of the access to the welfare system for non-national workers and the impacts ECJ decisions have on the selected member states. They conclude, that the ECJ's aim to shape social rights through insisting on the non-discrimination principle might lead to increased nationalism and division among the members of the EU (Blauberger and Schmidt 2014, p.6).

The contradiction between freedom of movement being an important achievement of the European integration and it being a subject provoking controversies and Eurosceptic tendencies represents an interesting research problem. However, the literature focusing on the public opinion towards freedom of movement of the people in the EU and intra-EU migrant workers' access to the host countries' social security systems is rather limited. An example is the work of Sofia Vasilopoulou and Liisa Talving, *Opportunity or threat? Public attitudes towards EU freedom of movement* (2019). In this article, the authors analysed attitudes expressed in four Eurobarometer surveys from the year 2015 to 2017. Overall the support for the free movement of people is high in the European Union. However, they argue that it varies across EU member states. They conclude that the attitudes of citizens from richer member states are more influenced by individual characteristics, such as national identity, while in the poorer countries the consequences for individuals do not play such a role as the support for free movement is equally high across various citizens' groups (Vasilopoulou and Talving 2019, p.819).

Adding to the studies of the attitude towards free movement of people Lutz (2020, pp.15-16) concluded that people's opinion on this issue is influenced on two levels. Firstly, individuals can use it as an opportunity for their personal development, in which case people highly support this freedom. On the other hand, the support declines with the possible threat of people coming to individuals' countries. In other words, people tend to support their own opportunity to be mobile, however, are rather cautious about granting it to people from other EU member states.

As in the case of research on public opinion towards the freedom of movement, the amount of literature focusing specifically on the relationship between welfare state institutions and the attitude towards EU migrant workers and their access to social benefits is rather scarce. As an example of such research can be mentioned the one conducted by Cappelen and Peters (2018), in which they look at the impact of the migration within the EU on welfare chauvinism. According to the results of their research, welfare chauvinism is lower in countries with a larger number of immigrants, however, the level of welfare chauvinistic attitudes increases with a larger proportion of immigrants coming from Eastern Europe (Cappelen and Peter 2018, p.411). Apart from that they also look at the impact of Beveridgean and Bismarckian welfare models on welfare chauvinism. They conclude, that even though the relationship is stronger in countries where the welfare



provisions are financed through contributions, the difference between the models is not particularly significant.

Similarly, Mårtensson et al. (2019) look at the relationship between the level of reciprocity of welfare institutions, meaning how much people have to contribute to have in return access to social benefits, and public opinion on the free movement of people. Their hypothesis was that higher levels of reciprocity would contribute to decreasing the negative attitudes towards the freedom of movement, as immigrants would need to contribute to the system before gaining full access. However, their results show that there is no significant relationship between the level of reciprocity and negative attitudes towards freedom of movement.

This Master's Thesis aims to contribute to the academic debate on the connection between welfare regimes and public opinion as well as attitudes towards the free movement of workers in the EU in general. More specifically, its goal is to enrich the literature by focusing on the connection between the welfare state's institutions and attitudes towards intra-EU labour migration. On the example of chosen EU member states, it will analyse whether the public attitudes towards the free movement of people differ inside and between various welfare regimes and whether the clustering of welfare regimes and the chosen economic characteristics can help us to understand these attitudes.

## **2 Theoretical Framework and Methodology**

### **2.1 Institutional Theory**

The institutional theory focuses on the importance of institutions and their impact on people's lives and behaviour. According to B. Guy Peters, "the roots of political science are in the study of institutions" (Peters 2005, p.1). For a research approach to be truly institutional Peters sets four main conditions. Firstly, at the centre of this approach are the institutions. These can be defined as "a structural feature of the society and/or polity" (Peter 2005, p.18). The structures can be either formal or informal and their members constitute groups with common characteristics and behaviour patterns. Secondly, these structures need to be stable over an extended period of time. Thirdly, the behaviour of individuals is shaped and constrained through their memberships in these various institutional structures. And lastly, the groups of individuals under the institution should have "some sense of shared values and meaning" (Peters 2005, p.19).

There are several types of institutional theory, such as normative institutionalism, rational choice institutional theory, historical or empirical institutionalism. For the purposes of this Thesis, the normative institutional theory was chosen. This specific approach assigns the main importance to the norms and values within institutions, which are shaping the behaviour of their members (Peters 2005, p.26). Additionally, March and Olsen (1989) consider institutions not only as a set of norms and values but also routines, according to which people can define their behaviour as appropriate. Individuals are parts of different institutional structures and are therefore influenced by a complex set of different values and norms. This means that they might sometimes need to choose from competing institutions. However, in contrast to rational choice institutionalism, normative institutionalists do not believe that individuals can act fully rationally and autonomously to maximize their gains (Peters 2005, p.28).

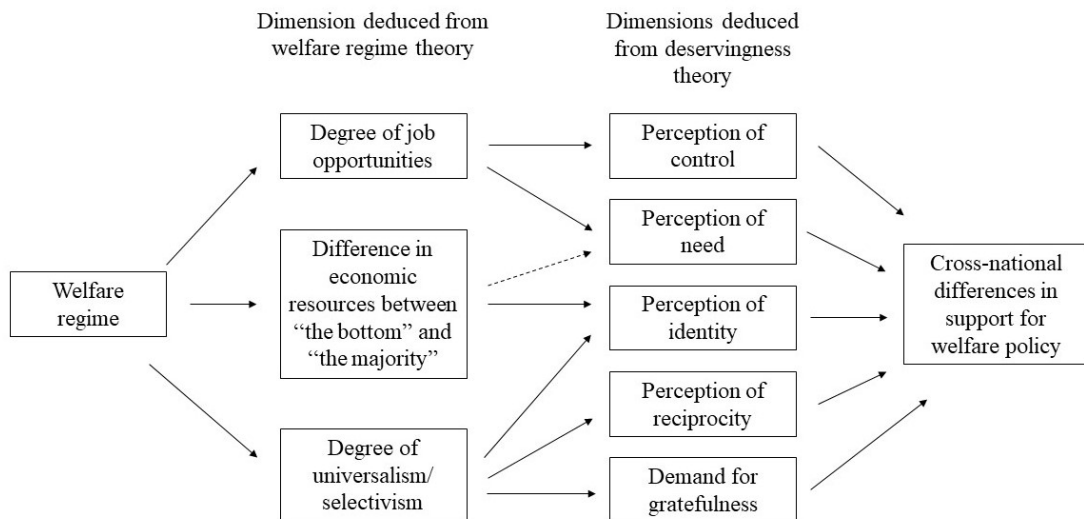
### **2.1.1 Larsen's Institutional Logic of Welfare States**

In his study, *The Institutional Logic of Welfare Attitudes: How Welfare Regimes Influence Public Support* Christian Albrekt Larsen (2008) builds upon the normative institutional theory and focuses specifically on different welfare regimes' institutions and their impact on public attitudes. Larsen aims to explain why the attitudes towards welfare policies vary in different countries. In line with institutional theory, he assumes that public attitudes are shaped by institutional structures, in this case by those of welfare regimes. He argues, that different welfare regimes lead to different public opinions of their members (Larsen 2008, p.151). To explain varying opinions towards welfare policies, especially those towards the poor and unemployed, he combines institutional characteristics of welfare regimes and deservingness criteria. He connects three basic dimensions of welfare systems – the universality of the welfare state, economic inequalities between the rich and poor, and job opportunities (Larsen 2008, p.145) – and five criteria of deservingness – control, need, identity, reciprocity and demand for gratefulness (Larsen 2008, p.151).

According to Larsen's theory, it is the most difficult to meet the deservingness criteria in the liberal welfare regime, followed by the conservative one and the social-democratic regime, where it is the easiest (Larsen 2008, p.158). While in social democratic welfare regime the social benefits are distributed universally, the selectivity of other regime types can lead to division in society between those who enjoy welfare benefits and those who do not. Consequently, in the universal welfare regimes, the deservingness

dimension does not play such an important role as in more selective ones, where the criteria are more difficult to fulfil (Larsen 2008, p.154).

**Figure 1 – Larsen’s theoretical link between welfare regime and cross-national differences in welfare attitudes**



**Source:** Larsen (2008, p.151)

Larsen (2008) ranks the welfare regimes, as defined by Esping-Andersen (1990), in terms of the three institutional dimensions. In the first dimension looking at the degree of universality, the social democratic regime ranks as the most universal, while the liberal regime as the least. In the case of the economic inequalities between the rich and poor social democratic regime shows the lowest levels, whereas the liberal one has the highest ones (Larsen 2008, p.156).

The last dimension is the labour market structure, which can have an impact on the way the population perceives the poor and unemployed people’s control over their situation. This can be influenced by the level of unemployment but also by the presence of labour unions and job protection measures. In countries where people can lower their salary demands, such as in liberal regimes, they are perceived as more in control of their situation as poor or unemployed (Larsen 2008, p.157). However, in other regimes such as social democratic and conservative, unions have a significant say in the salary amount and

people, therefore, cannot increase the control over their unemployment by offering to work for lower wages. This means that these regimes show lower levels of job opportunities.

Based on the ranking of the welfare regimes in these dimensions, as can be seen in Table 1, Larsen (2008, p.158) states that a liberal regime, which shows low levels of universality, and high levels of inequality and job opportunities should show the most negative attitudes towards poor and unemployed. The deservingness criteria are hard to fulfil in this regime. Additionally, a social democratic regime should be the most positive, ranking highest in universality, lowest in inequalities and medium in job opportunities. Attitudes in the conservative regime should lie somewhere in the middle.

**Table 1 – Welfare regimes ranked on Larsen’s dimensions from the lowest to the highest degree**

<b>Degree of universalism/ selectivism</b>	<b>Difference in economic resources between “the bottom” and “the majority”</b>	<b>Degree of job opportunities</b>
1. Liberal	1. Social-democratic	1. Conservative
2. Conservative	2. Conservative	2. Social-democratic
3. Social-democratic	3. Liberal	3. Liberal

**Data source:** Larsen (2008)

Overall, Larsen’s theoretical approach brought a new perspective to the study of the connection between welfare regimes and public attitudes towards the poor and unemployed. Van Der Waal et al. (2013) move even further with Larsen’s institutional approach and use it to study welfare chauvinism towards immigrants in European welfare regimes, concluding that there are “two worlds of welfare chauvinism”. However, both works use in their research only the data on the welfare regimes dimensions as they are aware of the lack of the comparative data to properly study the deservingness criteria (Larsen 2008, p.159; Van Der Waal et al. 2013, p.170).

This thesis will follow these authors by also using only the welfare state dimensions to look at the relationships between chosen institutions of welfare regimes and the public attitudes toward intra-European migration of workers. The main reason for using this

theory connected with deservingness is that EU citizens have together with the right to work in other EU member states also the access to the receiving country's welfare system while working there. This causes many controversies in the European political and public debate. Consequently, the intra-EU migrant workers can also be subjected to welfare chauvinism and perceived on the same scale of deservingness as the poor, unemployed and immigrants.

## **2.2 Methodology**

To study the connection between welfare regimes and people's attitudes towards the free movement of workers within the EU this Thesis will use a qualitative comparative case study. This Thesis looks at four welfare regimes – conservative, liberal, social democratic and Southern European. For each of these regimes, two countries with the corresponding welfare regimes as identified in the academic literature were chosen. The selection was conducted in a way to include countries with similar levels in as many studied economic indicators as possible for each of the welfare regime clusters. As examples of the liberal regime, the United Kingdom and Ireland are included (Esping-Andersen 1990). Sweden and Finland represent the social democratic welfare system and Germany and France the conservative one (Esping-Andersen 1990). Lastly, Spain and Greece are included as examples of Southern European welfare regime (Ferrera 1996; Bonoli 1997).

Firstly, to illustrate the difference inside and between welfare regimes, the basic characteristics of each country's welfare state will be introduced. Additionally, they will be compared according to the three institutional dimensions of welfare regimes as defined by Larsen (2008) – the universality of the welfare state, economic inequalities and job opportunities. For this purpose, country-level data concerning these dimensions are used from various sources. The universality or selectivity of the welfare regimes will be measured by the percentage of social benefits that are means-tested in the years 2014/15. For the second dimension of economic inequalities between the rich and poor the Gini coefficient and 80/20 ratio in the years 2014/15 are used for each country. For both indicators, a higher number shows a wider income inequality. The third dimension of job opportunities is measured by the unemployment rates in each of the chosen countries in 2014/15 and the levels of employment protection in 2015.

Through comparison of this data, the consistency of the three dimensions between the two representative countries in each regime will be analysed. The similarity of the

levels will be measured by comparison of the levels of means-testing, Gini coefficient, 80/20 ratio, unemployment rate and three aspects of the strictness of employment protection – regulation on temporary contracts and individual and collective dismissals. The consistency will be ranked by three levels – low, moderate and high. The set differences between the ranks for each of the indicators are introduced in more detail in the specific section.

Apart from the analysis of the institutional dimensions' consistency inside of each regime, the economic indicators will be also used to rank the welfare regimes according to the degrees of the welfare state's universality, economic inequalities, unemployment rate and employment protection. While Larsen (2008) provides such a ranking for three welfare regimes (Table 1), he does not include the Southern European cluster, which is part of this Thesis' analysis. This study, therefore, updates Larsen's list by including a fourth regime. The order of the countries is set by calculating an average value of means-tested benefits, Gini coefficient, 80/20 ratio and unemployment rate, together with three categories of employment protection – temporary contracts and individual and collective dismissals – for each regime. As economic inequalities and employment protection are represented by more than one indicator, the final order is based on an average rank in these categories. In other words, for employment protection, this means that the country's ranks in the three aspects were taken and averaged. By ordering the calculated averages the final ranking was set for the degree of employment protection.

This Thesis will then follow Larsen's approach in the way he predicts the levels of support based on ranks in the different categories. The attitudes are not predicted by looking at the individual indicators but by a combination of ranking in all of them. The resulting order in the four categories will be then used to create a hypothesis on the support for the free movement of people. The predicted levels will be based on the main hypotheses coming from Larsen's theory connecting institutional dimensions and deservingness of the access to welfare benefits:

1. The more universal welfare regimes, the more positive attitudes.
2. The higher the economic inequalities in the country, the higher the opposition.
3. The lower the degree of job opportunities, the higher opposition.

The degree of job opportunities is determined by two factors – unemployment rates and employment protection – which both might have an impact on the perception of one’s control of their economic situation. Lower unemployment levels should lead to higher opposition, as people might be seen as responsible for being unemployed and less deserving of claiming benefits. Countries with stronger employment protection should have more positive attitudes because people cannot easily lower their standards or wages to get a job and thus have less control over their situation. This means that the ideal type for the ‘most approving country’ of the intra-EU labour migrants’ access to welfare benefits should show a high degree of universality, low levels of inequality and high unemployment rates and high levels of employment protection

The previously mentioned data are then analysed in connection with the attitudes towards the free movement of workers in the EU. For this purpose, this thesis uses a combination of data from the Eurobarometer and the European Social Survey. From the 2015 autumn edition of Eurobarometer, this Thesis looks at data for general attitudes towards free movement of people, immigration from other EU member states and the right of EU citizens to live in another EU member state. Additionally, to analyse the attitudes specifically towards workers’ mobility, the answers to the questions about attitudes towards the right of EU citizens to work in the selected countries are presented.

**Table 2 – Overview of the analysed questions from Eurobarometer 2015**

<b>Free movement of people</b>	What is your opinion on each of the following statements? Please tell me for each statement, whether you are for it or against it. <i>"The free movement of EU citizens who can live, work, study and do business anywhere in the EU."</i>
<b>Immigration of EU citizens</b>	Please tell me whether each of the following statements evokes a positive or negative feeling for you. <i>"Immigration of people from other EU Member States."</i>
<b>Right of EU citizens to live in a specific country</b>	For each of the following statements, please tell me if you think that it is a good thing, a bad thing or neither a good or a bad thing. <i>"The right for EU citizens to live in (OUR COUNTRY)."</i>
<b>Right of EU citizens to live in a specific country</b>	For each of the following statements, please tell me if you think that it is a good thing, a bad thing or neither a good or a bad thing. <i>"The right for EU citizens to work in (OUR COUNTRY)."</i>

**Source:** European Commission (2015).

These data are supplemented by the results of the immigration module of the 2014 European Social Survey. However, out of all Southern European welfare states, only Spain is included in the ESS dataset, which prevents a proper comparison inside of this cluster. Nevertheless, to complement the Eurobarometer data this study presents the answers on to what extent workers (divided into professionals and unskilled labourers) from a poor European country should be allowed to live in the respondent's home country. Even though the question focuses mainly on the right to live in different EU member states, we can extend its meaning also to their right to work there, as the question focuses specifically on workers. The respondents could choose between four different answers: (1) allow many to come and live here; (2) allow some; (3) allow few and (4) allow none. The answers to this question will be also supplemented with data on attitudes towards immigration from poorer European countries.

**Table 3 – Overview of the analysed questions from ESS 2014**

<b>Immigration from poorer European countries</b>	Now, using this card, to what extent do you think [country] should allow people from the poorer countries in Europe?
<b>Immigration of professionals</b>	Please tell me to what extent you think [country] should allow professionals from [poor European country providing the largest number of migrants] to come to live in [country]?
<b>Immigration of unskilled labourers</b>	Please tell me to what extent you think [country] should allow unskilled labourers from [poor European country providing the largest number of migrants] to come to live in [country]?

**Source:** European Social Survey (2014c).

Through the study of the selected cases, this Thesis will answer the research question: Do welfare regime clusters help to understand attitudes towards the free movement of workers? It will do so firstly by testing whether countries inside the same welfare regime cluster show similar attitudes towards intra-EU labour migration. In connection with Larsen's theory, it will then analyse the similarities and differences between the attitudes and the predicted levels of support toward intra-EU labour migration. This will be done by comparing the values of the average support for free movement of workers in each regime with the predicted ranking.

In order to address the possibility that inconsistencies inside the clusters could bias the results, the countries will then be compared also individually. Each of them will have a



set rank based on the average ranking in all seven indicators from the year 2015 – levels of means-testing, Gini coefficient, 80/20 ratio, unemployment rate and three aspects of employment protection. In this way, the Thesis will test whether ranking based on the chosen economic indicators can be used without looking at the specific welfare clusters. Through this analysis a second research question will be answered: Do specific institutional characteristics of welfare states help to understand the attitudes?

There are several limitations of the chosen methodology. Firstly, the used theory and method analyse the deservingness of access to welfare benefits and services. While it was used to analyse attitudes towards third-country nationals' access to the welfare state, it might prove not to be applicable in the case of intra-EU labour migrants. Mainly due to the lack of survey data focusing on attitudes towards these migrants claiming welfare provisions in the receiving countries. The survey questions used in this Thesis do not specify the connection between work in the EU member states and the access to welfare benefits, and as such, the expressed attitudes might not be connected to the perceptions of deservingness. Secondly, analysis of similarities in attitudes may find consistencies inside the clusters, however, does not explain cases where the attitudes differ among the representative states. Lastly, the methodology does not account for other factors which might be impacting the attitudes in the studied countries. At the country level, these could be general attitudes towards the EU or the ethnical diversity of the country. Moreover, this work does not look at individual data, such as age, gender or occupation status. In case there is no concordance between ranking and expressed attitudes, the methodology lacks tools to explain the cross-national difference outside of the scope of the studied institutional dimensions. This method might also miss some nuanced impacts of the institutional dimensions as this Thesis does not use statistical operations.

### **3 Welfare Regimes in the European Union**

Varieties of capitalisms typology by Hall and Soskice (2001) can be a useful tool when comparing countries based on their economic institutions. In their work, Hall and Soskice (2001) define two types of economies – liberal market economies (LMEs) and coordinated market economies (CMEs) – based on how companies interact with other actors. In CMEs, the companies set their relations through established institutions, while in LMEs the interactions are guided by the market due to the lack of available institutional structures (Hall and Gingerich 2009, p.5). Apart from the arena for interaction, these types of

capitalism vary also in terms of the role of trade unions, levels of employment protection or wage bargaining. In LMEs the trade unions are not as strong as in CMEs (Hall and Gingerich, 2009, p.6). Additionally, CMEs have in comparison to LMEs higher employment protection and wage bargaining done by trade unions, whereas in LMEs it is the individual's responsibility (Hall and Gingerich 2009, p.6).

While this typology does not provide enough comparative characteristics for the purpose of this study, it is especially useful in the way it compares the levels of employment protection and methods of wage bargaining. The levels of employment protection might have an impact on people's attitudes towards labour migrants as they might fear losing their jobs. The method of wage-setting can then establish varying views on the deservingness of unemployed people claiming social benefits. In other words, in LMEs unemployment might be viewed as an individual's fault caused by unwillingness to work for a lower wage. Additionally, this typology can be viewed as the starting point for the study because as Hall and Soskice (2001, p.50) argue, there is a connection between varieties of capitalism and the welfare state. LMEs countries are characteristic of having high levels of means-tested benefits, and as such usually have liberal welfare regimes (Hall and Soskice 2001, p.51). In terms of CMEs, the composition of welfare regimes is more varied.

To better understand the welfare state and varieties of welfare regimes this Thesis uses Esping-Andersen's book *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1990) as its fundamental source. In comparison to his predecessors, Esping-Andersen takes a different approach when studying the welfare state, as he criticizes the definition based on countries' social expenditures levels. The reason behind his critique is that by looking only at these levels, researchers can miss the differences in the composition of the spending (differing areas countries spend on), as well as variety in the share of means-tested benefits (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.19).

As one of the main characteristics to compare various types of welfare states Esping-Andersen (1990) uses the levels of decommodification and stratification, the division between public and private provision of social benefits and services and the labour regime which varies according to the welfare state institutions. Esping-Andersen (1990, p.22) argues that decommodification is established "when a person can maintain a livelihood without reliance on the market". In other words, when access to social services and benefits is tied to work it shows low levels of decommodification. On the other hand,

high levels of decommodification mean that a person does not have to work to keep their basic standards of living as these are protected by the state. However, while there are differences in the levels of decommodification among various welfare states, none of them is fully de-commodifying in the sense that benefits would provide such standards that people would be able to comfortably opt out of work (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.23). Regarding stratification, Esping-Andersen (1990, p.23) argues that the welfare state is “in its own right, a system of stratification”, as different welfare state arrangements can promote division among social groups or support equality and solidarity in the society.

Using these aspects Esping-Andersen (1990) defines three welfare regimes – liberal, conservative/corporatist and social democratic. The following parts will introduce the specificities of each of the welfare regimes, as well as present the critiques reacting to Esping-Andersen’s typology establishing a fourth regime consisting of Southern European states. Additionally, for each of the four regimes, two representative countries will be compared. Firstly, to illustrate the basis of each of the countries’ welfare states four areas will be looked at – pensions, unemployment, family policy (children and long-term care) and health care. These characteristics are presented not only to compare countries inside the same welfare regime but also to illustrate which types of benefits the EU migrant workers gain access to. Moreover, it shows variations in the link between access to welfare services and benefits and employment, which could then have an impact on the varying perceptions of deservingness of access to these benefits. Secondly, following Larsen’s (2008) theory statistical data will be presented to compare the consistency inside the welfare clusters in terms of the universality of the welfare state, economic inequalities and job opportunities.

### **3.1 Conservative Regime**

Conservative (also called corporatist) welfare regime has low levels of decommodification while showing high stratification in the provision of social services and benefits (Esping-Andersen 1990). Access to social provisions is linked to work, as it is based on the previous contribution to various social insurance funds. There are usually different funds for different occupations, which leads to greater fragmentation of the welfare provisions (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.69). Additionally, there is a set model of the male breadwinner, which leads to weaker family policies and lower female labour participation, as more women stay home to take care of children or elderly members of their families. Regarding

the public/private divide of social services in a conservative welfare regime, the role of private providers of welfare services is not that significant (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.85).

### **3.1.1 France**

Esping-Andersen (1990, p.74) defines the French welfare regime as overall conservative, showing strong conservative attributes, together with medium liberalism and low socialism. In their analysis of varieties of capitalism, Hall and Gingerich (2009, p.13) define France as a mixed market economy (MMEs), showing a stronger role of institutions in companies' interactions than in LMEs, however, weaker and more divided trade unions than in CMEs.

Gallouj and Gallouj (2009, p.210) characterize the French welfare state as extremely complex. Traditionally social provisions are financed by contributions to various insurance funds, which is typical for the conservative welfare regime. Additionally, we can observe other conservative characteristics such as fragmentation of funds, the link between welfare provisions and employment, the important role of social partners and the dominance of the male breadwinner model (Hassenteufel and Palier 2020, p.203). However, there is a significant shift in the funding of the French welfare system towards increased financing through taxation (Gallouj and Gallouj 2009, p.220). This shift towards, as Gallouj and Gallouj (2009) call it, a “hybrid system” is also apparent in the stronger role of the state and weakening of the position of trade unions, together with a weaker link between work and provision of welfare benefits.

In France, pension provisions are based on previous employment and contributions to insurance funds. People without contributory history can access support through means-tested benefits. In reaction to demographic changes, France introduced incentives and sanctions to motivate people to delay their retirements (Hassenteufel and Palier 2020, p.210). A similar system of dual schemes works also in the case of unemployment benefits. The unemployed can access benefits either through an unemployment insurance scheme, or a means-tested supplementary scheme for those without previous contributions (Gallouj and Gallouj 2009, p.214).

French family benefits are universally accessible without means- or income-testing. In some cases, these benefits are linked to the number of children, with the aim to increase fertility rates (Hassenteufel and Palier 2020, p.215). France also introduced several policies to enable parents to balance work and family life, such as parental leave or benefits for

childcare (Hassenteufel and Palier 2020, p.215). Dependent elderly people can claim long-term care benefits through which they can financially support their family member who provides them with care (Hassenteufel and Palier 2020, p.216). Additionally, the access to health care in France is based on health insurance.

### **3.1.2 Germany**

Germany is considered a typical representative of the conservative welfare regime, not only in Esping-Andersen's typology but also in others such as Ferrera and Bonoli (Arts and Gelissen 2002, pp.149-150). In Esping-Andersen's (1990, p.74) analysis of cluster attributes, Germany showed strong conservatism, together with medium liberalism and socialism. Additionally, it is considered a coordinated market economy, showing a high level of employment protection and the strong role of trade unions (Hall and Gingerich 2009, p.6).

One of the main characteristics of the German welfare state is the strong link between work, as access to the social provisions is based on previous contributions (Hegelich and Meyer 2009). The social insurance system is fragmented because there are various funds for different occupations. Overall, the state does not play the most important role in providing social services and benefits. A variety of other actors is involved such as charities, local authorities or for-profit private institutions (Blank 2020, p.113).

The German pension system has multiple pillars. Apart from statutory pension insurance, which is financed by contributions during employment, people can use also private insurance to save extra money (Blank 2020, p.121). In case of unemployment, people can access unemployment benefits through unemployment insurance or as means-tested benefits, in case they did not pay contributions or no longer qualify for the former type of benefits (Blank 2020, p.122). However, these benefits are accessible only for a limited period as an incentive for the unemployed to find a job as soon as possible.

In the last three decades, Germany aimed to introduce more family-friendly policies to encourage female labour participation and help women to balance work and family. Apart from children's right to daycare, policies enabling parents to interrupt work because of having children and encouraging shared child care by both parents were introduced (Blank 2020, p.124). Elderly people can use long-term care insurance to help them finance the cost of the care provided by private actors (for-profit or charities), but also informally by for example family members (Blank 2020, p.125). Access to health care is based on

health insurance which is connected to employment, however, self-employed people and those earning higher wages use private insurance schemes (Hegelich and Meyer 2009, p.126).

### 3.1.3 Institutional Dimensions of Conservative Welfare Regime

As representatives of conservative welfare regimes, French and German welfare states show many similarities. In both countries the contributions are very important for the access to social services and benefits, showing a strong link between employment and the social security system. However, both countries offer means-tested non-contributory options for the benefits. They also adopt programmes to motivate people to return to work as soon as possible. While both countries adopted policies to enable a combination of work and family lives, there is still a dominance of the male breadwinner model in both countries. In the case of long-term care, both countries provide benefits to financially support relatives taking care of their dependent family members.

Over the last decades, there is an apparent shift in French sources of funding, moving from contributions to a higher share of tax-funded benefits. With the growing role of the state in welfare provisions, the role of trade unions together with the link between work and welfare provisions is weakened in the case of France. There is no such trend in Germany, showing the difference between these two conservative welfare states.

To further compare the institutional arrangements of the two countries, this work will follow Larsen’s (2008) theory and look at the data in three areas – the universality of the welfare state, economic inequalities and job opportunities. Looking at the data for the means-tested benefits as the percentage of social protection expenditures, both countries show similar levels, with France having slightly less means-testing. In comparison to countries with liberal and social democratic welfare regimes, they are in the middle regarding the levels of the universality of their welfare state.

**Table 4 – Means-tested benefits as % of social protection expenditures**

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>France</b>	11,03%	10,90%
<b>Germany</b>	12,08%	12,34%

**Source:** Eurostat (2022).

In the case of economic inequalities, France and Germany show almost the same values when looking at their Gini coefficient, an index showing the level of economic inequalities, with 0 being perfect equality and 1 perfect inequality and their 80/20 ratio, showing the ratio of the average income of the 20% richest to the 20% poorest people in the country. In comparison to the other regimes, France and Germany show slightly higher values than social-democratic Sweden and Finland, while slightly lower than the values of the liberal United Kingdom. However, when looking at Ireland, a representative of a liberal welfare regime, the levels of economic inequalities are comparable. The Southern European countries show the highest levels out of the four clusters.

**Table 5 – Gini coefficient (disposable income, post taxes and transfers)**

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>France</b>	0,293	0,295
<b>Germany</b>	0,289	0,293

**Source:** OECD (2022a).

**Table 6 – 80/20 ratio**

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>France</b>	4,4	4,4
<b>Germany</b>	4,4	4,5

**Source:** OECD (2022a).

To study the job opportunities in the chosen countries, this work looks at the data for the unemployment rate and the strictness of employment protection. There is a significant difference between France and Germany in the unemployment rate in the years 2014 and 2015. France shows much higher unemployment levels in the chosen years than Germany. When comparing the strictness of employment protection, Germany has a less strict regulation on temporary contracts, while the degrees of regulations against individual dismissals are similar. In terms of employment protection, this cluster shows on average the highest levels in comparison to the other regimes.

**Table 7 – The unemployment rate**

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>France</b>	10,275	10,35
<b>Germany</b>	4,99	4,63

Source: OECD (2022b).

**Table 8 – Strictness of employment protection in 2015**

	<b>Temporary contracts</b>	<b>Individual dismissals</b>	<b>Collective dismissals</b>
<b>France</b>	3,13	2,5	3,13
<b>Germany</b>	1,13	2,60	3,65

Source: OECD (2015)

### **3.2 Liberal Regime**

Even though the access to benefits in the liberal welfare regime is not usually directly linked to work records, it shows low levels of de commodification. The reason behind this is that a person can access benefits usually in case of need (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.28). This means that welfare provisions are not universal, and people still need to depend on work to maintain their standards of living. The fact that access to benefits is based on need also contributes to higher stratifications, as people claiming benefits might be stigmatized and viewed negatively by the rest of the society (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.127). Additionally, in the liberal regime, the market plays a very important role in welfare services and contributes to the stratification of society. For example, while the market offers voluntary welfare services by private providers, not all individuals have enough resources to use these opportunities. In terms of family relations, the liberal welfare regime does not specifically encourage or discourage women to enter the labour market (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.159).

#### **3.2.1 Ireland**

According to varieties of capitalism typology Ireland can be considered a liberal market economy, meaning that it shows a greater role of the market in the firms' interactions together with weaker employment protection and individual wage bargaining (Hall and Gingerich 2009, p.6). Ireland's place in welfare regimes typology might seem less clear.



While in Esping-Andersen's typology, Ireland is defined as a liberal welfare regime because of low de-commodification levels, the analysis of specific characteristics showed low scores in both liberalism and socialism and medium in conservatism (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.74). However, Bonoli (1997) puts Ireland in the same cluster as the United Kingdom showing the attributes of the Beveridgean model and low spending. Additionally, in comparison to the conservative welfare regime, Ireland's income maintenance scheme is not fragmented according to occupation and is managed directly by the state without the involvement of the social partners (McCashin and O'Shea 2009, p.267). Looking at these aspects the Irish welfare regime is regarded as liberal in this Thesis.

The basic pillar of the pension system has two schemes – one flat-rate, which is based on social insurance and financed mainly through contributions and the second one is based on social assistance, funded by taxation (Daly 2020, p.282). This pillar can be then supplemented by other voluntary schemes. In the field of unemployment, Ireland mainly invests in activation policies. The activities to decrease unemployment intensified especially in reaction to the economic crisis in 2008. Together with active labour market policies, sanctions for economically inactive people were introduced, for example as benefit cuts (Daly 2020, p.284).

Child benefits in Ireland are universally provided to all families with Irish citizenship (McCashin and O'Shea 2009, p.265). This benefit is further supplemented by policies aimed at more accessible childcare, such as financial support for childcare providers. Long-term care in Ireland is traditionally informal, however, some benefits can be used to financially support the carers (Daly 2020, p.288). While health care is publicly provided it is not universal as access to completely free services is subject to means-testing (McCashin and O'Shea 2009, p.267). Those who do not qualify for free access need to pay for the rest or set up private insurance. This leads to a significant share of private care providers in Ireland.

### **3.2.2 United Kingdom**

Hall and Gingerich (2009, p.13) consider the United Kingdom as a "pure care" of a liberal market economy. Additionally, because of the low level of de-commodification of its welfare state, Esping-Andersen defines the British welfare regime as liberal. Looking at the specific attributes, the United Kingdom shows low levels of conservatism, and medium levels in both liberalism and socialism (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.74). The high score in

socialism attributes might be caused by higher public spending, especially on health care (Deeming 2020, p.523).

Overall, the market plays an increasing role in the British welfare regime. Individuals are viewed to be responsible to take care of their welfare, take advantage of the private schemes and save money for the future. Dependency on social benefits can be then viewed as a person's failure. The British welfare state has different aspects, some are universally accessible such as health care, some are based on employment and contributions and others are granted upon residency (Mitton 2009, p.491).

British pensioners with contribution history have access to pensions from insurance. In case they did not contribute enough they can use the means-tested option of the pension benefits (Deeming 2020, p.532). A similar scheme of contributory and non-contributory benefits is available also in case of unemployment. However, the main aim is to motivate people to work, so the benefits are time-limited and also quite low, while employment is accompanied by various in-work benefits (Mitton 2009).

The aim of the British family policy is to fight against childhood poverty (Mitton 2009, p.483). Child benefits are universal and can be supported by other benefits for low-income families. Health care in the UK is another example of universal welfare provision. The National Health System offers the British residents various free services and is financed through taxes (Deeming 2020, p.536).

### **3.2.3 Institutional Dimensions of Liberal Welfare Regime**

Both representative countries of the liberal welfare regime show similarities in the approach towards pensions with having two schemes – contributory and means-tested, as well as a universal approach towards child benefits, which are mainly focused on elevating child poverty. Additionally, both Ireland and the United Kingdom adopted unemployment policies, which should push people back to work. In Ireland with possible sanctions for economic inactivity and the UK with low rates of unemployment benefits and benefits connected to employment. The main difference is in the field of health care, as in contrast to Ireland the United Kingdom provides universal free access.

In comparison to the other three clusters of welfare regimes, both Ireland and the United Kingdom show a higher share of expenditure on means-tested benefits. While welfare states of both countries are the least universal out of the eight studied cases, Ireland

shows the highest share of all being about 12% higher than the UK in both years 2014 and 2015.

**Table 9 – Means-tested benefits as % of social protection expenditures**

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Ireland</b>	30,82%	29,81%
<b>United Kingdom</b>	18,64%	17,72%

**Source:** Eurostat (2022).

**Table 10 – Gini coefficient (disposable income, post taxes and transfers)**

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Ireland</b>	0,298	0,298
<b>United Kingdom</b>	0,356	0,36

**Source:** OECD (2022a).

**Table 11 – 80/20 ratio**

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Ireland</b>	4,6	4,5
<b>United Kingdom</b>	6	6,1

**Source:** OECD (2022a).

The difference between these two countries is also apparent when looking at the data for economic inequalities. When comparing the data for both the Gini coefficient and 80/20 ratio, the United Kingdom shows much higher levels of inequality than Ireland. The values for Ireland are comparable to those of conservative regime countries – France and Germany. Both liberal regime countries show higher levels of inequalities than social democratic countries. However, in comparison to the Southern European ones, the UK’s Gini coefficient is higher than in the case of Greece and Spain. There are also variations in the case of job opportunities. In the years 2014 and 2015 Ireland had almost twice as high an unemployment rate as the United Kingdom. When comparing the strictness of employment protection, this biggest difference occurs in the case of regulation on

collective dismissals, with Ireland being stricter. On average liberal welfare regime countries show the lowest levels of employment protection out of the four clusters.

**Table 12 – The unemployment rate**

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Ireland</b>	11,88	9,93
<b>United Kingdom</b>	6,17	5,35

**Source:** OECD (2022b).

**Table 13 – Strictness of employment protection in 2015**

	<b>Temporary contracts</b>	<b>Individual dismissals</b>	<b>Collective dismissals</b>
<b>Ireland</b>	0,63	1,23	3,50
<b>United Kingdom</b>	0,38	1,35	2,13

**Source:** OECD (2015).

### **3.3 Social Democratic Regime**

In comparison to the conservative and liberal, the social democratic welfare regime is the most decommodifying (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.28). Access to welfare provisions in a social democratic regime is a universal right based on residence in the country, regardless of a person's need or previous work history. Additionally, thanks to its universality, this welfare regime shows low levels of stratification as it primarily promotes solidarity. Another important characteristic is the aim to achieve full employment. This also means, that women are encouraged to enter the labour market and are provided with services to combine work and family life. In terms of the private/public divide in welfare provision, in social democratic regimes, the most important actor is the state and the role of the market is not as significant as in liberal regimes (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.87).

#### **3.3.1 Finland**

Finland is an example of a coordinated market economy, together with Sweden and Germany (Hall and Gingerich 2009, p.7). That means that companies engage in cooperation through institutional structures and that trade unions play an important role in wage-setting. In terms of Esping-Andersen's welfare regime typology, Finland can be

defined as a representative of the social-democratic type, as it shows strong attributes of socialism (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.74).

In comparison to conservative welfare regimes, access to Finnish welfare benefits is not linked to employment but is based on residence, which leads to more universal coverage (Kangas and Saari 2009, p.203). Moreover, the schemes are less fragmented and are similar to all beneficiaries. Another characteristic aspect of the Finnish welfare regime is the division of responsibilities among central government and local authorities.

The amount of pension a person receives is based on the length of their employment and previous income. Additionally, all pensioners are granted a pension based only on their residence, to ensure at least a minimum provisions for maintaining their standards of living (Saari and Tynkkynen 2020, p.192). Minimum security is also provided to those who are unemployed. There are various benefits a person can claim as unemployed – “basic allowance” based on residence, “labour market subsidy” if a person already reached the time limit for the previous benefit or benefits derived from earnings if one is a member of a specific fund (Kangas and Saari 2009, p.196).

The Finnish welfare state provides parents with maternity as well as parental benefits after the birth of a child. Important is also the right to childcare which is financially supported by the municipalities and should enable the parents to more comfortably combine family and work (Saari and Tynkkynen 2020, p.198). Families can also obtain home care allowances if they wish to choose to take care of their children by themselves. The responsibility for long-term care for elderly people lies with municipalities, however, family members can claim benefits if they care for their dependent relative (Kangas and Saari 2009, p.198). While employment might not be that important in other parts of the welfare state, in the case of health care employed people have better access to health services, while unemployed people must depend on public health care (Kangas and Saari 2009, p.197).

### **3.3.2 Sweden**

Together with Finland, Sweden is a member of the coordinated market economies cluster (Hall and Gingerich 2009, p.7). The Swedish welfare regime can be defined as social democratic, showing strong socialist attributes and high levels of decommodification (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.74). Looking at the main characteristics of the Swedish welfare state Thakur et al. (2003) argue that welfare benefits and services are universally

distributed and there are low levels of means-testing. Additionally, importance is put on achieving full employment, wages are set in cooperation with trade unions and the taxation levels are high (Thakur et al. 2003, p.2). Hort et al. (2020, p.466) also stress the existence of the dual breadwinner model, showing high female labour participation and policies to enable a balance between family and work. Similarly to Finland, the responsibility for welfare provisions is divided between the central government and municipalities (Hort et al. 2020, p.470).

In Sweden, pensioners are provided with a basic pension, which can be additionally supplemented by a pension whose amount is derived from previous earnings (Hort 2009, p.433). In the case of unemployment, the provided benefits usually come from unemployment insurance, however, in the case of an uninsured person benefits are provided by the state. To encourage employment various activation programmes were adopted (Thakur et al. 2003, p.9).

Family policy plays a very important role in Sweden. Parents are provided with income-related benefits after the birth of their children, as well as other allowances. The aim is to promote equal division of care among parents by encouraging fathers to also use parental leave (Hort et al. 2020, p.478). Additionally, child care is considered a right that is financially supported by the state (Thakur et al. 2003, p.9). Long-term care of elderly people is a responsibility of the local authorities, which also contributes to higher female labour participation as they are not responsible for the provision of care for their dependent family members (Hort 2009, p.437). Health care in Sweden is universally accessible.

### **3.3.3 Institutional Dimensions of Social Democratic Welfare Regime**

Both representatives of social democratic welfare regimes show the most universal access to welfare benefits and services. The link between welfare and work is much weaker, as benefits provided by these states are accessible through the residence and not employment history. Both countries provide their pensioners with universal basic pensions to ensure minimum standards of living for all, which can then be supplemented by earnings-related pensions. Unemployment benefits in both countries are based on unemployment insurance or fund membership, however, other benefits are available for those who do not fulfil these conditions. Additionally, both countries consider the family policy very important and for example provide high subsidies for child care to enable a balance between family and work.

When looking at the data comparing the universality of Finnish and Swedish welfare states both show low levels of means-tested benefits. While Sweden is the most universal among the eight studied countries, Finland shows comparable values to Greece. Due to variability in the Southern European regime, it is harder to compare the overall universality of these two regimes. However, in contrast to conservative and liberal clusters, the social democratic one is the most universal based on the presented data. The social democratic regime countries show also the lowest values for economic inequalities, both in Gini coefficient and 80/20 ratio data. There are minimal differences between the two countries with Sweden being slightly more unequal.

**Table 14 – Means-tested benefits as % of social protection expenditures**

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Finland</b>	5,63%	6,10%
<b>Sweden</b>	2,65%	2,56%

**Source:** Eurostat (2022).

**Table 15 – Gini coefficient (disposable income, post taxes and transfers)**

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Finland</b>	0,257	0,26
<b>Sweden</b>	0,274	0,278

**Source:** OECD (2022a).

**Table 16 – 80/20 ratio**

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Finland</b>	3,7	3,7
<b>Sweden</b>	4,1	4,1

**Source:** OECD (2022a).

In the case of job opportunities, Sweden and Finland have comparable levels of unemployment rates, especially in the year 2014. The difference in 2015 was higher, with Finnish levels increasing and Swedish ones decreasing in comparison to the previous year. When comparing the welfare regimes on the strictness of employment protection, the

social democratic one shows low levels of regulation on temporary contracts, high on individual dismissals and Finland shows the lowest levels of regulation on collective dismissals out of the eight countries. When looking only at Sweden and Finland, there are variations between the two countries, with the levels of protection against individual dismissals being the most comparable ones.

**Table 17 – The unemployment rate**

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Finland</b>	8,75	9,46
<b>Sweden</b>	8,10	7,59

**Source:** OECD (2022b).

**Table 18 – Strictness of employment protection in 2015**

	<b>Temporary contracts</b>	<b>Individual dismissals</b>	<b>Collective dismissals</b>
<b>Finland</b>	1,56	2,08	1,63
<b>Sweden</b>	0,81	2,45	3,00

**Source:** OECD (2015).

### **3.4 Southern European Welfare Regime**

The only Southern European country included in Esping-Andersen’s (1990) analysis was Italy, which was defined as the representative of the conservative cluster (Arts and Gelissen 2002, p.149). However, following the publishing of Esping-Andersen’s book, several authors critiqued his typology and suggested the existence of a separate welfare regime consisting of Southern European countries. According to Ferrera (1996), this distinctive cluster consists of Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece. The first common characteristic is a fragmented income maintenance system, which shows similarities to a corporatist welfare regime in terms of the existence of different funds for different occupations (Ferrera 1996, p.19). The second common aspect is at least to some degree a universally accessible tax-funded health care system. Lastly, the state in these countries has a weak role in the welfare provision, which is also accompanied by clientelism and particularism (Ferrera 1996, p.17). This might be seen in the promotion of certain welfare policies or arrangements favouring specific groups in exchange for getting votes for a



political party. While it is not among the main characteristics, Ferrera (1996, p.21) also mentions the importance of family in the welfare provision in the Southern European countries.

Bonoli (1997) supports Ferrera's claim and also argues for a specific regime in Southern European countries. In his analysis, he looks at two dimensions of the welfare state – the amount of welfare provisions and how they are spent. To distinguish the way the provisions are spent he uses the Bismarckian and Beveridgean models, which are typical for welfare provisions based on contributions through insurance funds and universal access financed by taxation, respectively. Three of Bonoli's clusters correspond with Esping-Andersen's (1990) typology. However, the fourth one, a combination of the Bismarckian model and low spending consisting of Southern European countries, shows a distinctive regime in this region.

Gal (2010) goes even further in his analysis as he suggests a greater group of countries with similar welfare state characteristics. Apart from Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal, he includes into the Mediterranean welfare regime also Cyprus, Israel, Malta and Turkey. He defines religion, family and clientelism-particularism as the main characteristics of this group (Gal 2010, p.283). According to Gal (2010, p.291), the family in these countries plays an important role in the provision of care for the dependent members (children and elderly), while not being very significantly supported by the state's family policies. Especially for women, that means they have to choose between working and having a family, which could be one of the reasons for low fertility rates and also low female labour participation in the studied countries (Gal 2010, p.292).

### **3.4.1 Greece**

Hall and Gingerich (2009) add a third type of market economy to the varieties of capitalism typology – mixed market economy. It is characterised by a stronger role of institutions in inter-firm interactions than in LMEs, but weaker and more divided trade unions than in CMEs (Hall and Gingerich 2009, p.5). Southern European countries such as Greece and Spain are representants of this specific cluster (Hall and Gingerich 2009). Furthermore, Greece was not included as one of the cases in Esping-Andersen's typology. Following Ferrera's (1996) and Bonoli's (1997) arguments and critiques of Esping-Andersen's work, this Thesis views the Greek welfare state as part of a distinctive Southern European regime. The main characteristics of the Greek welfare state are the

fragmentation of social benefits, the important role of the family in the provision of welfare and weak administration (Papatheodorou 2009). Another important aspect is the universal approach to the provision of health care, which is one of the main characteristics of Ferrera's (1996) understanding of the Southern European regime

The pension system in Greece is fragmented with the existence of various insurance funds with different parameters for contributions and the levels of benefits (Papatheodorou 2009, p.33). This creates inequalities among the benefits provided by different funds, with some being more privileged. Those who are not insured through these funds can claim means-tested pension benefits. Unemployment benefits are connected to the previous employment history and are funded by a combination of contributions and state funds (Papatheodorou 2009, p.234). They have quite low rates and can be claimed only for a limited period to encourage people to find a new job (Papatheodorou 2009, p.230). However, not all groups are covered by this scheme leaving some unemployed people without access to any unemployment benefits (Papanastasiou and Papatheodorou 2020, p.230). Activation policies also play an important role in the Greek unemployment policy.

Greek family policy does not aim to change the role families play in the provision of welfare. It plays only a supplementary role in the welfare system and does not provide many benefits for child-care or even long-term care of elderly people (Papatheodorou 2009, p.235). The existing benefits have low rates, are tax-funded and are mostly aimed at large families (Papatheodorou 2009, p.235). While the universal health care system is one of the characteristics of the Southern European welfare regime, this goal is yet to be achieved in Greece, as the coverage remains only partially universal (Papatheodorou 2009, p.230).

### **3.4.2 Spain**

Together with Greece, Spain is one of the countries defined as a mixed market economy by Hall and Gingerich (2009, p.13). Similarly to Greece, Spain was also not included in Esping-Andersen's original analysis of the welfare regimes. In this Thesis, it is therefore defined as a member of the Southern European welfare cluster according to Ferrera (1996) and Bonoli (1997). As the main characteristics of the Spanish welfare state, De Villota and Vázquez-Cupeiro (2020) include universal access to health care and education and the existence of the male breadwinner model connected with weak family policies. In

comparison to the rest of the Southern European states, the Spanish welfare system is highly decentralized.

Pensions can be obtained through two schemes – contributory based on previous earnings and non-contributory which is means-tested and tax-funded (De Villota and Vázquez-Cupeiro 2020, p.174). This system can then be supplemented by a private scheme. A similar regime works also for unemployed people, who can use the contributory benefits and in case they exhaust this scheme can claim unemployment benefits (Villota Gil-Escoin and Vázquez 2009, p.179).

While after the 1990s the aim was to adopt a family-friendly policy and react to new social risks, this policy area was significantly harmed by the 2008 economic crisis. To reduce the costs of social benefits, care for children and the elderly continues to be mainly provided by family members (De Villota and Vázquez-Cupeiro 2020, p.177). While the family policy is underdeveloped, one of the greatest achievements is the introduction of a universal tax-funded health care system (Villota Gil-Escoin and Vázquez 2009, p.176).

### **3.4.3 Institutional Dimensions of Southern European Welfare Regime**

The pension system in both Greece and Spain is based on contributions to insurance funds connected to employment, with an option to claim means-tested benefits when a person is not insured. Contributions are also linked to the access to unemployment benefits. Another similarity between the two countries is the approach to family policy. Care for family members (children and elderly people) is usually provided by relatives and the state does not provide many benefits for such care. In the Southern European welfare regime, the family continues to be an important actor in the provision of welfare and care. The main difference is the level of universality of the health care system, which was fully achieved in Spain but only partially in Greece.

In terms of the universality of the Spanish and Greek welfare states, the level of means-testing in Spain lies somewhere in the middle between conservative and liberal welfare regimes. However, Greece shows a really low share of means-tested benefits and its levels are comparable to Finland from a social democratic welfare regime. This means there is a variation in the universality of the Southern European welfare regime, as Greece is among the most universal and Spain among the least. However, in terms of economic inequalities, there is only a marginal difference between the two countries, in both the Gini coefficient and 80/20 ratio. When comparing the welfare regimes in this aspect, Southern

European countries show the highest levels of economic inequality together with the United Kingdom.

**Table 19 – Means-tested benefits as % of social protection expenditures**

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Greece</b>	5,96%	5,46%
<b>Spain</b>	14,17%	13,13%

**Source:** Eurostat (2022).

**Table 20 – Gini coefficient (disposable income, post taxes and transfers)**

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Greece</b>	0,339	0,34
<b>Spain</b>	0,343	0,344

**Source:** OECD (2022a).

**Table 21 – 80/20 ratio**

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Greece</b>	6,3	6,4
<b>Spain</b>	6,6	6,5

**Source:** OECD (2022a).

The data for both countries are also comparable in the case of the unemployment rate, with the rate declining from 2014 to 2015 in both cases. In comparison to other studied countries, both Spain and Greece show the highest levels of unemployment. The data are also comparable in terms of employment protection, with similar values in all three areas of regulation. On average, Southern European countries have some of the highest levels of strictness in temporary contracts but also high levels of collective dismissals protection comparable to most of the studied countries. Additionally, Spain has the third-lowest level of protection against individual dismissals.

**Table 22 – The unemployment rate**

	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<b>Greece</b>	26,55	24,958
<b>Spain</b>	24,45	22,07

Source: OECD (2022b).

**Table 23 – Strictness of employment protection in 2015**

	<b>Temporary contracts</b>	<b>Individual dismissals</b>	<b>Collective dismissals</b>
<b>Greece</b>	2,25	2,45	2,88
<b>Spain</b>	2,47	1,96	3,00

Source: OECD (2015).

### **3.5 Clusters' Consistency in Institutional Dimensions**

To conclude the analysis of the institutional dimensions – universality, economic inequalities and job opportunities – an overview of the levels of consistency in these indicators inside the welfare regimes is presented. The consistency is judged on a scale with three levels – low, moderate and high. To determine the consistency in the individual regimes only the data for the year 2015 were compared. In terms of universality, both conservative and social democratic welfare regimes show high levels of consistency with the difference being lower than 5%. The differences in the Southern European regime can be considered moderate as the variance is lower than 10%. While both the United Kingdom and Ireland show the highest levels of means-tested benefits, the consistency in universality is presented as low with the difference between these two countries being higher than 10%.

Looking at the data for economic inequalities, all clusters except for the liberal one, show high levels of consistency in both the Gini coefficient and 80/20 ratio. In the Gini coefficient, the differences in the three highly consistent regimes are lower than 0,02, whereas the difference between the UK and Ireland is 0,62. In the case of the 80/20 ratio, the variation in conservative, social democratic and Southern European clusters is lower than 0,5, while in the case of the liberal cluster it is 1,6.

**Table 24 – Consistency in universality and economic inequalities**

Cluster	Universality	Economic inequalities	
	<i>Means-tested benefits</i>	<i>Gini coefficient</i>	<i>80/20 ratio</i>
<b>Conservative</b>	high	high	high
<b>Liberal</b>	low	low	low
<b>Social democratic</b>	high	high	high
<b>Southern European</b>	moderate	high	high

**Source:** Author.

The unemployment rate differences in all the clusters are below 6%. Consistency in social democratic and Southern European regimes is ranked as high with the difference being lower than 3%, whereas for the liberal and conservative regimes consistency was set as moderate. Additionally, the studied welfare clusters show different levels of consistency in the individual aspects of employment protection. Consistency is ranked in all three factors as high with a difference lower than 0,5, as moderate with it being between 0,5 and 1, and as low with the variation being higher than 1. Southern European regime shows high consistency in all three aspects, the liberal regime in two of them – temporary contracts and individual dismissals – and conservative and social democratic in only one – individual dismissals.

**Table 25 – Consistency in job opportunities**

Cluster	Job opportunities			
	<i>Unemployment rate</i>	<i>Temporary contracts</i>	<i>Individual dismissals</i>	<i>Collective dismissals</i>
<b>Conservative</b>	moderate	low	high	moderate
<b>Liberal</b>	moderate	high	high	low
<b>Social democratic</b>	high	moderate	high	low
<b>Southern European</b>	high	high	high	high

**Source:** Author.

Overall, the Southern European regime is the most consistent with the other clusters being rather inconsistent. Its representative countries show the highest levels of similarity, as they only differ in the universality of their welfare states. The representatives of the social democratic regime show a higher degree of disparity with differences in two employment protection aspects – temporary contracts and collective dismissals. In all other indicators, their consistency is ranked as high. On the other hand, the least internally

coherent cluster is the liberal welfare regime which ranked low in most of the factors and high only in the case of the strictness of regulation on temporary contracts and individual dismissals. The conservative cluster showed a greater variation in three of the job opportunities indicators – the unemployment rate and protection against individual and collective dismissals.

### **3.6 Clusters' Ranking in Institutional Dimensions**

While Larsen (2008) ranks the welfare regimes in terms of the institutional dimensions, he includes only three types. As this Thesis involves also a fourth welfare regime – Southern European – the Larsen's scale needed to be updated. Additionally, in comparison to Larsen's original scale, the dimension of job opportunities was divided into two sections – unemployment rate and employment protection. Such a division enables an easier judgement of expected attitudes towards the free movement of workers. The actual ranking was set by ordering each regime's average values in the individual indicators. As the economic inequalities and employment protection consist of more aspects, the order was set through the calculation of an average rank in these aspects. In other words, clusters were firstly ranked based on their average values of Gini coefficient and 80/20 ratio (in the case of the social democratic regime it was twice the first rank). The set positions for a single cluster in these two dimensions were then taken and an average rank was calculated out of these two numbers (for the social democratic regime an average out of two first ranks was 1). The same was done for employment protection with its three aspects.

Based on the regimes' average value in each of the indicators, the Southern European regime ranked as higher middle in universality and as the highest in terms of economic inequalities. In terms of the two indicators for job opportunities, the conservative regime showed the lowest average unemployment rate, while the Southern European one was the highest. In employment protection, the Southern European regime showed the second-highest degree of regulation strictness after the conservative cluster.

To predict the attitudes towards the free movement of people this Thesis followed the hypotheses connecting the economic indicators and perceptions of deservingness from Larsen's article. With higher levels of the universality of the welfare regime, the attitudes should be more positive, as the fulfilment of the deservingness criteria is easier with the broader coverage of the welfare system. Whereas higher degrees of means-testing lead to greater stratification between those who do not claim them and those who do. A similar

division between “us” and “them” could happen with the existence of greater economic inequalities in society. Therefore, people claiming benefits in more equal countries should be seen as more deserving of that support.

**Table 26 – Ranking of welfare regimes from lowest to highest degree**

<b>Universality</b>	<b>Economic inequalities</b>	<b>Unemployment rate</b>	<b>Employment protection</b>
Liberal	Social democratic	Conservative	Liberal
Conservative	Conservative	Liberal	Social democratic
Southern European	Liberal	Social democratic	Southern European
Social democratic	Southern European	Southern European	Conservative

**Source:** Author.

In terms of job opportunities indicators, the unemployment rates can also affect the perception of people’s control over their situation. With high unemployment rates, they are perceived as less in control and therefore their dependency on welfare benefits is viewed more positively by the society. On the other hand, with stronger employment protection the attitudes to the claimants of welfare provisions should be more positive, as the labour market arrangements are less flexible and leave people with a lesser degree of control. Low unemployment rate and high employment protection result in a low degree of job opportunities.

Looking at the hypotheses connecting the indicators and attitudes towards deservingness, this Thesis applied them to the case of attitudes towards intra-EU labour migrants and their access to welfare benefits using ranking from Table 26. The social democratic regime scored as the most universal and the least unequal which is expected to lead to the most positive attitudes, as it might show lesser stratification in the society. Additionally, it places as higher middle in the unemployment rate and lower-middle in employment protection suggesting more moderate attitudes. The conservative regime ranks the lowest in the unemployment rate and the highest in the degree of employment protection, suggesting a very low degree of job opportunities. Such ranking is expected to lead to more negative attitudes. This prediction is even strengthened when we consider the fact that the regime is among the less universal.

The liberal welfare regime is the least universal and provides the lowest levels of employment protection which should lead to the most negative attitudes. The high degree of means-testing could lead to stratification in the society dividing those who claim



benefits and those who do not. Furthermore, the low levels of employment protection suggest more control over one's economic situation and therefore dependency on the welfare support could be viewed as an individual's failure and perceived negatively by society. And lastly, the Southern European regime was placed as a regime with the highest degree of inequality and unemployment, which is in this combination expected to lead to moderate attitudes. Society might experience high stratification, however, an individual might not be judged because of claiming unemployment benefits due to the overall unfavourable conditions in the countries' labour market.

Based on these rankings, the social democratic regime is predicted to be the most supportive of the free movement of workers, as it ranked twice on indicators suggesting the most positive attitudes. Southern European and conservative regimes are expected to express more moderate attitudes. The conservative regime should express a more negative opinion, due to the combination of indicators (unemployment rate and employment protection) leading to a low degree of job opportunities. Additionally, a higher approval in the Southern European cluster might be strengthened by a higher universality of the welfare regime. The liberal cluster is predicted to express the most negative attitudes as it showed low levels of employment protection and universality which should lead to the most negative attitudes, as well as a higher degree of economic inequalities and lower unemployment rates which should be connected to slightly more negative attitudes.

#### **4 Attitudes Towards Free Movement of Workers in the EU**

After presenting the main characteristics of the welfare regimes and the welfare states of the selected countries, this Thesis will look at their attitudes towards labour migration of EU citizens. Thanks to the introduction of EU citizenship, every EU citizen has the right to live, study and work in another EU member state. In terms of work, the incoming EU citizen has to be provided with the same working conditions as the nationals. Additionally, when legally employed these workers gain access to the welfare services and benefits in the same way as the citizens or residents in the country (Ruhs 2017, p.24).

However, in the last decade, this right has been contested in some countries, especially in the United Kingdom as it was one of the main topics of the campaign before the Brexit referendum. From the beginning of its membership in the EU, the United Kingdom remained hesitant to take part in the integration outside of the economic areas. This specific relationship with the EU resulted in two referenda on the withdrawal, with

the one in 2016 being approved by the majority of UK citizens. The fact that the question of free movement of EU citizens and their access to welfare benefits played a key role in the 2016 referendum could affect the data presented in this Thesis. There are not enough survey data to analyse whether the attitudes towards this issue significantly changed between 2004 (Eastern enlargement of the EU) and 2015 (the final year of the studied period). However, looking at the data from 2012, 56% of respondents answered that “free movement is a bad thing because it prevents Britain from controlling immigration from other EU countries” (YouGov 2012). This suggests that the trend of negative attitudes existed even before the studied period and the announcement of the referendum in 2015. A salience of this issue on such a level is not apparent in the other studied countries.

The data on attitudes towards intra-EU labour migration come from two surveys – Eurobarometer from the year 2015 and European Social Survey from 2014, both conducted before the referendum on the UK’s withdrawal from the EU. This Thesis connects the data on attitudes to the welfare states on two levels. Firstly, it looks at the level of similarity inside the four studied welfare clusters. Through this, the Thesis analyses whether people in countries with the same welfare regime tend to express similar levels of support for the free movement of workers inside the EU. On the second level, the Thesis connects the attitudes to the institutional dimensions as presented in Larsen (2008) on both cluster and country levels. In this way, it aims to analyse the possible connection between the chosen indicators and confirm or disprove the hypothesis derived from Larsen’s theory.

#### **4.1 Attitudes from the Perspective of Welfare Clusters**

One of the questions included in the 2015 Eurobarometer survey asked about attitudes towards the free movement of people. Levels of support are similar in the case of social democratic and Southern European welfare regimes. In the case of the other two clusters, France and the United Kingdom show more negative attitudes towards the free movement of people than the EU average. Support among the rest six countries is overall very high. This can, however, be caused by the fact that this is a very broad question. Respondents can judge the question in the way, that the free movement of people is beneficial also for them. However, this question remains a useful source for comparison with answers to questions presenting the freedom of movement as a right of others who might be coming to the respondent’s country.

When looking at more specific questions regarding the migration of EU citizens to the respondents' country, the attitudes are less positive. Data for the attitudes towards immigration from EU member states show similar levels of support in social democratic and conservative clusters, with the difference in total positive attitudes in both being 6%. However, this is not the case for liberal and Southern European welfare regimes. Ireland and the UK have a 20% difference in total positive attitudes, whereas Greece and Spain have 18%.

**Table 27 – Attitudes towards free movement of EU citizens**

<i>Cluster</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>	<i>Don't know</i>
<b>Conservative</b>	<b>France</b>	77%	18%	5%
	<b>Germany</b>	88%	10%	2%
<b>Liberal</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	82%	11%	7%
	<b>United Kingdom</b>	64%	29%	7%
<b>Social democratic</b>	<b>Finland</b>	85%	12%	3%
	<b>Sweden</b>	86%	12%	2%
<b>Southern European</b>	<b>Greece</b>	88%	12%	-
	<b>Spain</b>	88%	6%	6%
<b>EU average</b>		78%	16%	6%

**Source:** European Commission (2015).

**Table 28 – Attitudes towards immigration from EU member states**

<i>Cluster</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Very positive</i>	<i>Fairly positive</i>	<i>Fairly negative</i>	<i>Very Negative</i>	<i>Don't know</i>
<b>Conservative</b>	<b>France</b>	10%	41%	28%	15%	6%
	<b>Germany</b>	11%	46%	29%	8%	6%
<b>Liberal</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	23%	48%	18%	7%	4%
	<b>United Kingdom</b>	9%	42%	30%	14%	5%
<b>Social democratic</b>	<b>Finland</b>	12%	62%	18%	5%	3%
	<b>Sweden</b>	25%	55%	13%	4%	3%
<b>Southern European</b>	<b>Greece</b>	11%	37%	32%	18%	2%
	<b>Spain</b>	21%	45%	19%	7%	8%
<b>EU average</b>		11%	44%	27%	11%	7%

**Source:** European Commission (2015).

Eurobarometer 84 also included a question about the EU citizens' right to live and the right to work in the respondents' country. Especially the second question is important for analysing attitudes towards intra-EU labour migration, as it specifically states the purpose of migration as work. In regards to the right to live, the conservative and social

democratic clusters show internally similar attitudes. When comparing these two clusters the countries with social democratic welfare regimes are more supportive of the right than the ones within the conservative cluster. However, similarly to the previous question, there are differences in the Southern European regime, with Greece having more negative attitudes and the liberal regime, with Ireland being among the most positive.

**Table 29 – Attitudes towards the right of EU citizens to live in the country**

<i>Cluster</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>A good thing</i>	<i>A bad thing</i>	<i>Neither a good nor a bad thing</i>	<i>Don't know</i>
<b>Conservative</b>	<b>France</b>	73%	11%	13%	3%
	<b>Germany</b>	72%	8%	18%	2%
<b>Liberal</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	80%	10%	8%	2%
	<b>United Kingdom</b>	51%	24%	23%	2%
<b>Social democratic</b>	<b>Finland</b>	80%	6%	12%	2%
	<b>Sweden</b>	84%	6%	9%	1%
<b>Southern European</b>	<b>Greece</b>	71%	7%	22%	-
	<b>Spain</b>	84%	7%	6%	3%
<b>EU average</b>		68%	11%	18%	3%

**Source:** European Commission (2015).

When asked about EU citizens' right to work in the country, respondents expressed in most cases slightly more positive attitudes than in the case of coming to live in the country, suggesting more approval for migration with the plan to work in the receiving country. The greatest difference can be observed in the case of the UK with a 7% increase and Greece with a 6% decrease. In the same way as the previous questions, both countries in the social democratic cluster show similarly positive attitudes, while conservative ones express less support, however, on a comparable level in the case of both representants. The variation in the Southern European and liberal welfare regimes remains the same also in this case.

Connecting this to the degrees of clusters' internal consistency, the Southern European cluster was the most consistent in terms of levels in chosen economic indicators. This consistency might be expected to lead to similar attitudes. However, that does not prove to be the case in the Southern European countries, as Greece shows more negative attitudes than Spain despite institutional similarities. Moreover, the only indicator showing some degree of inconsistency was the universality of the welfare state, where Greece had a more universal welfare system. Nevertheless, greater universality should lead to more positive attitudes and still, Spain is the one more approving of the free movement of

workers. This suggests that there are other reasons for cross-national differences in attitudes that cannot be explained by looking at just the economic indicators included in this Thesis.

**Table 30 – Attitudes towards the right of EU citizens to work in the country**

<i>Cluster</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>A good thing</i>	<i>A bad thing</i>	<i>Neither a good nor a bad thing</i>	<i>Don't know</i>
<b>Conservative</b>	<b>France</b>	71%	13%	12%	4%
	<b>Germany</b>	74%	9%	16%	1%
<b>Liberal</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	81%	9%	8%	2%
	<b>United Kingdom</b>	57%	20%	21%	2%
<b>Social democratic</b>	<b>Finland</b>	83%	6%	10%	1%
	<b>Sweden</b>	88%	4%	7%	1%
<b>Southern European</b>	<b>Greece</b>	65%	11%	24%	-
	<b>Spain</b>	84%	8%	5%	3%
<b>EU average</b>		69%	12%	16%	3%

**Source:** European Commission (2015).

Data from the Eurobarometer survey are supplemented by the edition of the European Social Survey from the year 2014, which included a section on immigration. Unfortunately, out of all countries with the Southern European welfare regime, only Spain is included in the ESS. While the missing data for Greece might make it harder to compare the welfare regime clusters, it might still be useful to analyse it as it looks specifically at immigration from poorer European countries and enables us to look at differences between attitudes towards labour migration of professionals and unskilled workers from poorer European countries.

In the case of professionals and unskilled workers, respondents were asked about attitudes towards migrants from a specific poor European country providing the largest number of migrants in each of the states. All selected countries are paired with another EU member state. Because of this, the answers can be connected to the free movement of workers in the EU. For Germany, Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom it is Poland, for France Portugal, for Finland Estonia, and for Spain Romania (European Social Survey 2014b). All variables included in the following tables were weighted by post-stratified design weight, which is the most ideal weight for analysing cross-national variations (Kaminska 2020, p.4).

Looking at the attitudes towards immigration from poorer European countries, we can observe differences between the countries in the same clusters that were not apparent

in the data from the Eurobarometer survey. Here we can see similar attitudes in the case of the liberal regime, with the United Kingdom being a bit more negative towards this type of immigration. However, social democratic welfare states – Finland and Sweden – show much higher differences in attitudes with almost 28% more of the Swedish respondents expressing support for allowing many immigrants than in Finland. The difference between conservative regime countries is lower than in the social democratic regime, standing at little above 10%.

When comparing attitudes towards professionals and unskilled workers, more negative attitudes towards unskilled labour migration are apparent in all of the included countries. Interestingly, German respondents hold very positive attitudes towards immigration of professionals and Spain the most negative. However, while Germany shows very positive attitudes towards the immigration of professionals, France does not show similar levels of support, meaning there is an inconsistency in the conservative cluster.

**Table 31 – Attitudes towards immigration of people from poorer European countries**

<i>Cluster</i>	<i>Country</i>	Allow many to come and live here	Allow some	Allow few	Allow none
<b>Conservative</b>	<b>France</b>	12,2%	47,2%	26,4%	14,2%
	<b>Germany</b>	22,9%	47,5%	24,3%	5,4%
<b>Liberal</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	13,5%	39,4%	33,8%	13,3%
	<b>United Kingdom</b>	11,1%	41,2%	31,7%	16,1%
<b>Social democratic</b>	<b>Finland</b>	11,4%	32,1%	47,7%	8,7%
	<b>Sweden</b>	39,1%	48,8%	10,4%	1,6%
<b>Southern European</b>	<b>Greece</b>	-	-	-	-
	<b>Spain</b>	22,3%	33,2%	32,7%	11,8%

**Source:** European Social Survey (2014a).

While social democratic regime representatives Finland and Spain have second and third highest shares of the answer to allow many professionals to come to the country, there is a great variation as the difference is higher than 10%. Moreover, in terms of only allowing a few Finland's share is 15% higher. This shows a more negative attitude in Finland. Liberal regime countries show the highest similarity of the most positive expressed attitudes.

In the case of unskilled workers, Sweden remains very supportive. However, this is not a trend for the whole social democratic cluster, as Finland shows one of the most

negative attitudes together with the United Kingdom and Spain. Overall social-democratic cluster shows the biggest variation in this case, with liberal regime countries showing the main difference in allowing few or no unskilled labourers. Additionally, conservative regimes differ mainly in whether to allow many or only some immigrants.

**Table 32 – Attitudes towards immigration of professionals from poor European countries**

<i>Cluster</i>	<i>Country</i>	<b>Allow many to come and live here</b>	<b>Allow some</b>	<b>Allow few</b>	<b>Allow none</b>
<b>Conservative</b>	<b>France</b>	26,2%	58,2%	12,1%	3,5%
	<b>Germany</b>	47,0%	42,1%	8,8%	2,0%
<b>Liberal</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	25,1%	40,9%	29,1%	4,9%
	<b>United Kingdom</b>	21,7%	52,4%	19,4%	6,4%
<b>Social democratic</b>	<b>Finland</b>	28,8%	42,2%	27,8%	1,2%
	<b>Sweden</b>	39,9%	45,1%	12,8%	2,2%
<b>Southern European</b>	<b>Greece</b>	-	-	-	-
	<b>Spain</b>	22,2%	35,9%	29,0%	13,0%

**Source:** European Social Survey (2014a).

**Table 33 – Attitudes towards immigration of unskilled labourers from poor European countries**

<i>Cluster</i>	<i>Country</i>	<b>Allow many to come and live here</b>	<b>Allow some</b>	<b>Allow few</b>	<b>Allow none</b>
<b>Conservative</b>	<b>France</b>	10,1%	49,8%	27,9%	12,2%
	<b>Germany</b>	18,8%	41,0%	29,8%	10,5%
<b>Liberal</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	10,5%	29,8%	37,1%	22,6%
	<b>United Kingdom</b>	9,5%	27,6%	28,2%	34,7%
<b>Social democratic</b>	<b>Finland</b>	8,6%	17,6%	46,2%	27,5%
	<b>Sweden</b>	24,7%	42,4%	22,5%	10,4%
<b>Southern European</b>	<b>Greece</b>	-	-	-	-
	<b>Spain</b>	9,0%	16,7%	31,8%	42,6%

**Source:** European Social Survey (2014a).

To compare the data from Eurobarometer and European Social Survey, there is an apparent difference in the case of Spain. In the Eurobarometer survey, Spanish respondents expressed the second highest support for the right of EU citizens to work in Spain. However, in terms of unskilled workers and professionals, it is among the most negative countries. This might be caused by the wording of the questions, as the ESS questions suggest exact movement to Spain and also connect it to a specific EU country – in this case, Romania. Eurobarometer, on the other hand, presents only a broad question regarding

the right of the EU workers to come and does not mention the actual process of the migrant coming to the country.

Overall, the presented data showed that not all welfare-state clusters show similar attitudes towards the free movement of workers. The Eurobarometer survey showed the highest levels of similarity in the case of the social democratic and conservative welfare regimes, especially when looking at attitudes towards the right to live and work. However, this was not supported by the ESS data which presented much greater variation in attitudes inside these clusters. On the other hand, Eurobarometer data showed lower levels of consistency in the liberal regime than the ESS data, where Ireland and the UK showed the most similar attitudes. Additionally, the Eurobarometer data showed also inconsistency in the case of the Southern European regime, with Spain being more positive than Greece. While from the perspective of consistency in institutional dimensions, Spain and Greece show the highest degree of similarity, this is not projected to the coherence of their levels of support for the free movement of workers.

To sum up, this analysis showed that attitudes towards the free movement of workers are not consistent in all welfare regime clusters, regardless of the degree of their consistency in economic indicators. Moreover, it presented differences in countries' attitudes between the two surveys. These could be caused for example by the specific connection of the Eurobarometer questions with the European Union, which is not directly mentioned in the ESS questions.

## **4.2 Attitudes from the Perspective of Institutional Dimensions**

Based on Larsen's (2008) theory the welfare regimes were ranked in four categories – universality of the welfare state, economic inequalities, unemployment rate and employment protection (as described in more detail in chapter 3.6). By linking the ranking with the connection between economic indicators and perceptions of deservingness a hypothesis predicting the levels of support for the free movement was set. According to the expectation, the social democratic welfare cluster should express the most positive attitudes, whereas the liberal one should have the most negative ones. The Southern European and conservative regimes should be in the middle, with the Southern European regime being more positive. In Table 33, the average share of the most positive answers is presented for each of the regimes. Looking at the average values from Eurobarometer for



the total positive attitudes towards immigration and the right to live and work, the welfare regime clusters' levels of support are in the order as predicted.

**Table 34 – Cluster ranking and attitudes towards free movement of workers**

Rank	Cluster	Eurobarometer				European Social Survey		
		Free movement	Immigration	Right to live	Right to work	Immigrants	Professionals	Unskilled
		<i>For</i>	<i>Total positive</i>	<i>A good thing</i>	<i>A good thing</i>	<i>Allow many</i>	<i>Allow many</i>	<i>Allow many</i>
1	<b>Social democratic</b>	86%	77%	82%	86%	25,3%	34,4%	16,7%
2	<b>Southern European</b>	88%	57%	78%	75%	22,3%	22,2%	9,0%
3	<b>Conservative</b>	83%	54%	73%	73%	17,6%	36,6%	14,5%
4	<b>Liberal</b>	73%	61%	66%	69%	12,3%	23,4%	10,0%

**Source:** European Commission (2015); European Social Survey (2014a).

In terms of the data from ESS, the prediction aligns with the order in answers to the question on allowing immigrants from poorer European countries. However, this is not the case for data on attitudes towards professionals and unskilled workers. Moreover, judging the ESS data in this way might be problematic as the Southern European regime is represented only by one country, Spain. Additionally, contrary to the prediction the conservative regime shows the highest average support for the immigration of professional workers. This is, however, influenced by Germany having the most positive attitude towards immigration of professionals out of all eight countries. While the liberal regime's respondents show the most negative opinion, this is also strongly influenced by the low values of the United Kingdom, as Ireland itself holds more positive attitudes than the members of the conservative regime.

To address the possibility that inconsistencies inside the clusters could bias the results the countries were also ranked individually on the seven indicators of institutional dimensions from the year 2015 (can be seen in Table 34). The lower the rank the more positive attitudes are expected. In other words, this means that in universality, unemployment rate and employment protection the first rank means the highest degree, while in economic inequalities the lowest levels. As the indicators for economic inequalities and employment protection consist of more than one indicator and average rank needed to be calculated for the two categories. For example, France ranked fourth in the Gini coefficient and third in the 80/20 ratio, meaning that its average rank in economic inequalities was calculated as 3,5. The final country's rank was then set by computing an average number from the ranks in the four main categories – the universality of the welfare state, economic inequalities, unemployment rate and employment protection. Countries

were then ordered from the lowest to the highest average number and ranked accordingly from 1 to 8. States with the lowest overall rank are expected to have more positive attitudes than those in higher ranks, as they show more favourable economic indicators for such a position.

France shows the lowest average rank and as such is expected to be the most positive because of its economic aspects. However, the rank does not correspond to the opinion expressed by its respondents. Sweden, Finland, Ireland as well as Spain show more positive attitudes towards immigration of EU citizens and the right to live and work in the respondents' countries, even though they rank lower on institutional dimensions than France. The ranking does not correspond with the attitudes even when looking at the ESS data.

**Table 35 – Country ranking**

Rank	Universality	Economic inequalities		Unemployment rate	Employment protection		
		<i>Gini coefficient</i>	<i>80/20 ratio</i>		<i>Temporary contracts</i>	<i>Individual dismissals</i>	<i>Collective dismissals</i>
1	Sweden	Finland	Finland	Greece	France	Germany	Germany
2	Greece	Sweden	Sweden	Spain	Spain	France	Ireland
3	Finland	Germany	France	France	Greece	Greece	France
4	France	France	Germany &	Ireland	Finland	Sweden	Sweden
5	Germany	Ireland	Ireland	Finland	Germany	Finland	Spain
6	Spain	Greece	UK	Sweden	Sweden	Spain	Greece
7	UK	Spain	Greece	UK	Ireland	UK	UK
8	Ireland	UK	Spain	Germany	UK	Ireland	Finland

**Source:** Author, using data from Eurostat (2022); OECD (2015; 2022a; 2022b)

To sum up, while there are cross-national differences in attitudes towards the free movement of workers, clustering into welfare regimes and rankings on the cluster and country levels according to the economic indicators do not provide enough explanation for the variation. The predicted order of support for the free movement of people aligns with the average share of positive attitudes in the welfare regimes. This would suggest the existence of a connection between studied institutional dimensions and attitudes to the free movement of workers. However, as average attitudes were used for each cluster it does not explain the differences inside the regimes. This could have been clarified by the ranking of individual countries but this showed that the countries' standing in the economic indicators does not seem to be the main reason for respondents voting in a specific way. Countries such as Ireland with economic indicators suggesting more negative attitudes turned out more positive than France and Germany. The liberal regime in Ireland does not seem to

lead to a disapproval of the free movement of workers. Nevertheless, this is something this analysis cannot properly explain and it needs to be subjected to further research.

Additionally, the results might be manipulated by the selection of the questions, as none of them specifically asks about the attitude towards the access to welfare benefits and services by intra-EU migrants. It might not be common knowledge among EU citizens that working in another EU country comes with access to the welfare state in the receiving country. Respondents' answers on the right to work might therefore not be connected to their perceptions of the deservingness of these workers for welfare services and benefits. Indicators from Larsen's theory might, therefore, not be suitable for the analysis of these attitudes.

**Table 36 – Country ranking and attitudes towards free movement of workers**

Rank	Country	Eurobarometer				European Social Survey		
		Free movement <i>For</i>	Immigration <i>Total positive</i>	Right to live <i>A good thing</i>	Right to work <i>A good thing</i>	Immigrants <i>Allow many</i>	Professionals <i>Allow many</i>	Unskilled <i>Allow many</i>
1	France	77%	51%	73%	71%	12,2%	26,2%	10,1%
2	Greece	88%	48%	71%	65%	-	-	-
3	Sweden	86%	80%	84%	88%	39,1%	39,9%	24,7%
4	Finland	85%	74%	80%	83%	11,4%	28,8%	8,6%
5	Germany	88%	57%	72%	74%	22,9%	47,0%	18,8%
6	Spain	88%	66%	84%	84%	22,3%	22,2%	9,0%
7	Ireland	82%	71%	80%	81%	13,5%	25,1%	10,5%
8	UK	64%	51%	51%	57%	11,1%	21,7%	9,5%

**Source:** European Commission (2015); European Social Survey (2014a).

## Conclusion

This Thesis aimed to analyse the public opinion towards intra-EU labour migration in selected European countries from the perspective of welfare regimes. It studied attitudes in four pairs of (former and current) EU member states representing four welfare regime clusters – conservative, liberal, social democratic and Southern European. Firstly, it looked at each of the welfare regimes and assessed the selected countries in terms of welfare states' policies on pensions, unemployment, family and health. Then the countries were compared using three institutional dimensions coming from Larsen's (2008) theory – the universality of the welfare state, economic inequalities and job opportunities. The aim of this comparison was to judge the consistency inside of each welfare regime as well as the differences between the individual clusters. Southern European regime showed a high degree of consistency in all indicators apart from the share of means-tested benefits.

After the analysis of welfare states, the data were connected with the attitudes expressed in European Social Survey and Eurobarometer in the years 2014 and 2015, respectively. The attitudes were analysed in terms of differences inside and among the clusters aiming to answer the question of whether the clustering of welfare regimes can help us understand these attitudes. To sum up, even though there are apparent cross-national differences in attitudes towards intra-EU labour migration, clustering into welfare regimes does not provide enough explanation for these variations. The Eurobarometer data showed similar attitudes in social democratic and welfare regimes, however, this was not supported by the ESS data, where these clusters showed greater diversity. Additionally, the European Social Survey showed a higher degree of similarity in the case of the liberal regime than the Eurobarometer. The ESS did not provide data for Greece. The comparison for the Southern European regime could be, therefore, conducted only through Eurobarometer data where the countries did not show a high degree of similarity. The differences in support levels between Spain and Greece suggested that a high degree of consistency in economic indicators might not lead to similar attitudes towards the free movement of workers. The inconsistency of similarity levels between the two surveys could be caused by the different wording of the included questions. However, it presents an area for future research focusing on what aspects are causing different opinions on similar topics in different surveys.

The last part of the analysis focused on the connection between attitudes and institutional dimensions of welfare states. Each regime was ranked in four indicators – universality of welfare regime, economic inequalities, unemployment rate and employment protection. The levels in each of the categories were judged through the perspective of set hypotheses connecting the degree in the dimensions with the attitudes towards deservingness of the access to welfare benefits. Based on the average ranking in those four indicators, it was predicted that the social democratic welfare regime should be the most positive towards the intra-EU labour migration, while the liberal the most negative. The Southern European and the conservative regimes should lie in the middle. This showed to be the case when looking at the average attitudes for each of the welfare regimes as expressed in the Eurobarometer survey. However, it did not explain the variation inside the clusters. To account for the differences in levels of support in the individual countries, a predicted ranking was also set for the states regardless of the regime. However, this did not support the thesis of institutional dimensions predicting the levels of support for the free movement of workers. Some of the countries with indicators favourable for higher support showed more negative attitudes than states with economic attributes encouraging greater opposition.

In conclusion, the results of this Master's Thesis showed that even though intra-EU migrant workers have access to welfare systems in the receiving countries in the same way as nationals and as such could be subjected to deservingness criteria, Larsen's institutional dimensions are not able to explain the cross-national differences. One of the reasons why this was the case could be the absence of a survey question focusing specifically on the attitudes towards access of these workers to welfare services and provisions. The respondents might not realize the connection between the right to claim welfare benefits and the right to work in another EU member state. Therefore, when answering the questions, they do not judge it based on deservingness but on other criteria beyond the scope of this Thesis. Overall, the inability of the applied method to predict levels of support in individual countries suggests that other aspects must be taken into account when explaining the public opinion on this issue. This leaves an open area for further research on what contributes to the cross-national difference in attitudes towards free movement in the EU. In terms of the connection with welfare regimes, the next step could be a quantitative analysis determining the statistical impact of membership in a specific welfare regime on individuals' attitudes.

## Summary

Free movement of people in the European Union is not only one of the greatest achievements of economic integration, but also somehow a contested issue causing controversies in some EU countries because of the migrant's access to welfare benefits. This Thesis looked at the cross-national difference in attitudes towards the free movement of workers and tried to explain them from the perspective of welfare regimes. Using Esping-Andersen's typology supplemented by the works of his critiques four different welfare regimes were defined – conservative, liberal, social democratic and Southern European. Each of the regimes was represented in the analysis by two countries with the most similar levels in the indicators on institutional dimensions – the universality of the welfare state, economic inequalities and job opportunities.

The research was conducted in two ways. Firstly, the levels of support for the free movement of workers were compared inside each of the welfare clusters. This comparison aimed to find out whether countries with the same welfare regime tend to have a similar opinion on the studied issue. The data from Eurobarometer showed similarities in social democratic and conservative clusters and greater variation in liberal and Southern European regimes. These levels of similarity were, however, not supported when looking at the results of the European Social Survey. In this case, social democratic and conservative regimes showed greater differences in the degree of support, while liberal regime countries showed more similar attitudes than through the Eurobarometer survey.

Secondly, the attitudes were viewed from the perspective of institutional dimensions. Each of the welfare regimes was ranked based on its degree in four different indicators. The level of support in each of the countries was then predicted based on the interpretation of these degrees through the set hypotheses connecting the perceptions of deservingness and economic indicators. Based on this ranking, social democratic regimes should show the most positive attitudes and the liberal welfare cluster the most negative, with Southern European and conservative welfare regimes being in the middle. This showed to be the case for the data from the Eurobarometer survey on immigration and the right to live and work. A less clear alignment could be observed in ESS data, partly because it does not include two representative countries for the Southern European regime. This method was also tested in the case of the individual states to account for differences in public opinion between the members of the same clusters. Nevertheless, some countries

ranking at lower positions showed more positive attitudes than countries placing higher, showing the inability of this method to predict levels of approval in individual countries and suggesting, that other aspects must be taken into account when explaining the public opinion on this issue.

To sum up, this Thesis showed that countries with the same welfare regimes do not necessarily hold the same opinion towards the free movement of people. Additionally, the choice of a survey also plays an important role as the two datasets included in this study showed similarities and variations in different clusters. When looking at the connection between attitudes and institutional dimensions, the results of this Thesis suggest that the dimensions might be sufficient to predict the average attitudes in the selected clusters, however, do not explain differences among individual countries regardless of their regime. The degrees countries expressed in the combination of economic indicators do not seem to be projected in the levels of support towards intra-EU labour migration.

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## Master's Thesis Summary

<b>ZÁVĚREČNÉ TEZE MAGISTERSKÉ PRÁCE NMTS</b>
Závěrečné teze student odevzdává ke konci Diplomního semináře III jako součást magisterské práce a tyto teze jsou spolu s odevzdáním magisterské práce do SIS předpokladem udělení zápočtu za tento seminář.
<b>Jméno:</b> Šárka Janáková
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<b>Specializace (uved'te zkratku)*:</b> ES
<b>Semestr a školní rok zahájení práce:</b> LS 2019/2020
<b>Semestr a školní rok ukončení práce:</b> LS 2021/2022
<b>Vedoucí diplomového semináře:</b> prof. JUDr. PhDr. Ivo Šlosarčík, Ph.D., LL.M.
<b>Vedoucí práce:</b> Mitchell Young, M.A., Ph.D.
<b>Název práce:</b> Attitudes Towards Free Movement of Workers from the Perspective of Welfare Regimes
<b>Charakteristika tématu práce (max 10 řádek):</b> This Master's Thesis studies the connection between welfare regime clusters, their institutions and public attitudes towards the free movement of workers in the European Union. It aims to analyse, whether welfare regime clusters can serve as a useful tool for understanding the cross-national differences in public opinion on intra-EU labour migrants. To do so the Thesis uses the institutional theory and looks at three dimensions of welfare state institutions – the universality of the welfare state, economic inequalities and job opportunities. The study is conducted on the case of eight (former and current) EU member states, which are divided into four pairs, each representing one of the welfare regimes – conservative, liberal, social democratic and Southern European.
<b>Vývoj tématu od zadání projektu do odevzdání práce (max. 10 řádek):</b> From the early phases, the Thesis went through many developments. Firstly, it was determined that the connection between welfare regimes and attitudes towards the free movement of people will be viewed from the perspective of institutional theory. The three studied institutional dimensions were set based on Larsen's (2008) theory connecting institutional characteristics with perceptions of deservingness. In comparison to the original plan, the number of studied countries increased from 4 (one for each welfare regime) to 8 (two for a regime). Additionally, clustering, rankings and analysis of consistency were set as the main methods how to study the differences and similarities among welfare regimes and attitudes towards the free movement of people expressed in the individual countries.
<b>Struktura práce (hlavní kapitoly obsahu):</b> Introduction 1. State of the Art 2. Theoretical Framework and Methodology 3. Welfare Regimes in the European Union 4. Attitudes towards Free Movement of Workers in the EU Conclusion

**Hlavní výsledky práce (max. 10 řádek):**

The Thesis concluded that neither clustering into welfare regimes, nor institutional dimensions represent a sufficient tool to explain the variations in attitudes between the chosen countries. Insufficiency of clustering was shown in the case of some countries, that are part of the same welfare clusters but show different levels of support for free movements of workers. Additionally, countries with the positions in the studied institutional dimensions which should lead to the most positive attitudes do not reach the predicted degree of support. On the other hand, some countries that should show more negative attitudes according to the degree of the universality, inequalities and job opportunities, express a more positive opinion than others with a more favourable situation for support.

**Prameny a literatura (výběr nejpodstatnějších):**

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Etika výzkumu:\*\*

Jazyk práce:

angličtina

Podpis studenta a datum

Schváleno	Datum	Podpis
Vedoucí práce		
Vedoucí diplomového semináře		
Vedoucí specializace		
Garant programu		



\* BAS – Balkánská a stredoevropská studia; ES – Evropská studia; NRS – Německá a rakouská studia; RES – Ruská a eurasijská studia; SAS – Severoamerická studia; ZES – Západoevropská studia.

\*\* Pokud je to relevantní, tj. vyžaduje to charakter výzkumu (nebo jeho zadavatel), data, s nimiž pracujete, nebo osobní bezpečnost vaše či dalších účastníků výzkumu, vysvětlíte, jak zajistíte dodržení, resp. splnění těchto etických aspektů výzkumu: 1) informovaný souhlas s účastí na výzkumu, 2) dobrovolná účast na výzkumu, 3) důvěrnost a anonymita zdrojů, 4) bezpečný výzkum (nikomu nevznikne újma).