

# Socialinè politika

## **Social Policy: From the Death of Welfare State to the State “Nameless”. An historic overview of Social Policies in South and Eastern Countries**

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**Abstract.** *Social policies play an important role in social systems organisation and in the definition of Social Work strategy within the public life. Understanding the diverse rationalities that embody State and Governments rhetoric and real action is the main goal of this article, highly centred in Social Policies and their paradoxical procedures in social and personal well being. We argue that in most South and Eastern Countries coexists a different form of governance and of public responses to the social needs which led to a difficulty in understanding actual ideology that defines social policies measures and intends. This analysis can't be done disentailed of an analysis how the different political forms of State have influenced the features and the goals of social policies understood as a sector of public policy.*

**Key words:** *Social Policies; Public Policies; Welfare State, Liberal State, Social Protection.*

### **Introduction**

The ordinary structure of introduction consists of a short description a) why the topic is interesting; b) why it is relevant nowadays; c) which authors are the most important analysing the development of social policy.

The field of public policies has a e conceptual complexity because they are in close confrontation with the social changes, needs and struggles within a self-corrective (or not) movement. In this movement, all the dimensions which characterise these policies mutually intertwine and influence, in a permanent oscillation between conflict and consensus highly related to social order. Mauriel (2010) argues that public policies carry the contradictions inherent to a historical process (visible in the countries of South America, South and Eastern Europe) of social struggles and ongoing pacts between State and Society. In fact, it was precisely in this conflict climate and in search of a consensus that the Welfare State has been established in most of these countries

where social rights are still young as their democratic State. One of its most visible results is observed in constitutional rights, including the right to health, education, housing, employment and political participation, among others, which embodies the spirit of social policies. This means that all social policies must be based on inalienable social rights which cannot be reduced to an economic pact but are the foundations of a State of Democratic Principles and Values in “respect and protection of the human dignity”. Social policies are all political and ideological principles that derive from the collective reality constitutionally established in the post-dictatorial periods where social policies are configured as all the actions pursued by the State in order to achieve social well-being. In this, there are multiple policies aimed at various social fields of action.

The aim of this article is to perform an evolutionary analysis of public policies in Europe in comparison with the various forms of State organisation. This analysis allows us to understand how the different rationalities that underlie the constructivist logic of social policies is not impartial given the intentions and political agendas and how they have evolved from a more paternalistic pattern for a high level of individual responsible in their well-being.

### **A brief Introduction to Social Policies Concept**

To define what “Social Policies” are is not a linear task. The concept of “policies” has a broad meaning and is generally related to what concerns the public space. According to Frey (1997) the axiological analysis of the “Policy concept” can be developed by using three categories of analysis: (i) the policy institutions, (ii) the policy processes and finally (iii) the policy contents. The institutional dimension refers to the organisation of the political system, outlined by the legal order and the institutional structure of the political-administrative structure. The procedural dimension includes the political process with regards to the definition of objectives, the decisions contents (usually of macro social nature) and its material dimension. Finally, the policy contents include the political programs, the technical problems and solutions that they carry and the structural and substantial content of the various political decisions.

Public Policies are policies, in their procedural and content aspects, aimed at ensuring rights and their universal character (Bonfim 2010, Vasilios, Santos & Herrero 2014). That is to say, they are all procedural, material and content actions, carried out by the State that aims to meet the various sectors of the civil society. As for its types, public policies can be distributive, redistributive and regulatory. The distributive form implies all actions of public impact, carried out by the State which aim the distribution by the different sectors of civil society, in a close relation with the dimensions considered essential for a social welfare society (such as housing, education, health, social action and protection) of the government policy decisions, as well as the dividends resulting from the funds inherent to the social capital with a clear allusion to Rousseau’s social contract.

The social policies redistribution criterion is related to the political institutions and their contents according to the different programs and strategic decisions within each sector, within a current perspective of positive differentiation of the social action mechanisms, often consisting in the establishing of political measures of social protection with a remedial nature and of monetary distribution through the payment of allowances and specific programs for specific populations,

considered as more vulnerable. As far as the institutional level is concerned, the regulatory dimension of public policies focuses mainly on the order of the political system and has a broader character than the distributive and redistributive policies, because these define more broadly how, when, by whom and at whom the distributive and redistributive policies (Frey, 1997; Mauriel, 2010) will be addressed. Social policies are, in our view, distributive and redistributive policies. That is to say, they are sectoral policies within the wide range of public policies and aim the reduction of the social issues and the problems and/or weaknesses that affect the family, within an initial perspective of social rights protection but abruptly heading for poverty reduction. In this context, we are currently witnessing a paradigm shift on social policies. What initially coincided with the implementation of social security system in Portugal aimed the social protection in order to maintain social order and the improvement of social welfare, has currently turned into specific actions of remedial character towards the direct combat of poverty, according to the structural and substantive demands by the State (Bonfim 2010, Aila-Leena et al. 2011, Vasilios, Santos & Herrero 2014). In fact,

The strategic role that the set of anti-poverty actions has today to maintain the current pattern of accumulation via financialization is characterized by the regulation of labor costs on the world market, through the regulation of the economic, political and civil behavior of the poor, ensuring low risk of social upheaval and a ideologically palatable way of precarious insertion of these groups in the contemporary economic and financial order (Mauriel 2009, p. 45 cit in Bonfim 2010, p. 272).

This movement is directly related to the discussions focused on the neoliberal statute of the state and its impact on all the political programs and measures directed to families and needs a position that cannot be ahistorical or uncritical regarding the current understanding of what social policies are.

Until the end of the 1980s, these state actions aim to strengthen the commitment between two dimensions. The first, with an endogenous nature was focused on the maintenance of the constitutional commitment established a the decade before, the other, with an exogenous nature intended to combine the national objectives with the European models of social welfare, i.e., maintaining the European social model. But in XXI century with the new countries' accession to the European Union (EU), we easily realized that our economic, cultural and social situation placed us in a peripheral place in relation to the Western Europe with a dramatic underdevelopment in terms of education, structural support, industry, services and a visible absolute poverty rate higher in rural areas and in the countryside.

For instance, in Portugal, the Social State died almost before it was born. Indeed in the late 80s and early 90s, the political, scientific, economic and social discourse was based on the welfare state crisis in Portugal, initially recognised not only as a crisis of purely economic characteristics (unregulated increase in social expenditure, reduced GDP and emptiness of the available social capital), but also as a crisis of the paradigm of the state social solidarity that is defined as “tight, blind and without the participation of the beneficiaries”<sup>1</sup> in the plans of economic and social support carried out by the social security. Soon, in all Europe, begun an attack on the Beveridge Plan (foundation of the universality of social rights and the basis of Laws

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<sup>1</sup> On this subject we recommend the (re)“visiting” of the classic Work of Pierre Rosanvallon (1987) Providence State Crisis.

on Social Security), firstly, through social cost containment measures (starting from health) but quickly affecting all dimensions of social policies. Besides this process, already in late 1990s we witness an increasing segmentation of the labour market strongly allied to a globalized economy with demanding competitive criteria, the increase in precarious forms of employment that quickly turned into absolute unemployment and the collapse of social benefits characterise the entry of most South and Eastern countries in the new millennium in a condition of economic vulnerability increasingly more visible, and what began to seem, in 2008, as a bank peripheral crisis turned into six years of deep economic recession throughout Europe with structural changes in terms of public policies and social protection measures.

Crisis, economic and political weakness are now keywords in the analysis of the public policies and of the effects of its measures in society. In this context, the cut in the social expenses and the increased containment measures have characteristics that cannot be neglected.

The neoliberal philosophy advocates the role of the market without restrictions to its growth and the reduction of expenses related to social welfare (Carissa van den Berk-Clark & Loretta Pyles 2012). We witness an unaccountability behaviour by the State when addressing current social issues and a growing call for the participation of new social actors in the political arena of social protection, in particular NGOs, associations and even enterprises and organisations of the economic sector. In this context, Hespanha (s.d) mentions that the concept of “citizen” in the relations between the individuals and the social protection systems is part of a “(...) *philosophy of citizenship that was away from the classic paternalistic relationship between the State and the assisted citizens, generating dependency and for which the latter is likely to become a subordinate individual*” (*idem, s.d, p. 4*). Thus, it means that the “obligation” of social protection does not only belong to the State, but also to the whole civil society, and to citizens themselves, a fact that deviates the ideology of social right into a new ideology of co-responsibility of the beneficiary that sees himself as a protagonist in social change projects.

In theory, this logic has many advantages. However, if we consider the economic conditions in these countries we face the inconsistencies that question the political discourse of the State, the effectiveness of Social Policies and the whole social protection system. In the sections below, there will be a focus on the various issues that arise when considering the implementation of policies.

### **The “Nameless” State or the socio-political framework of the State model in the discussion of social policies**

Currently, we are observing the effort of economic growth, the increased competitiveness of companies and their products on world markets simultaneously with the implementation of reforms in public policies in a movement of flexibility and retraining oriented to the labour market. We are facing a reorientation of the traditional social policies towards policies designed as active policies or activation policies (Hespanha, s.d.) centred on the individual, on their joint responsibility hiding a refraction of the State in an attempt to contain the social investment and social spending.

In this line, we assume a change in the methods of combating social exclusion and in the (reconfiguration) of the Social Security. The active social policies (such as the Minimus) are practiced in the context

of a major structural change in the social security, characterized by moving from the “traditional” model to a “new” model (Rodrigues 2010, p. 193).

What is paradoxical in this new approach is the speed underlying these reforms. After the democratic movements with the attempt to implement a welfare state, it was quickly concluded that its implementation took place in the context of its death in the European space. And since the 80s up to the present time, the number of thinkers, politicians and social actors and agents who have analysed the subject, paraded a set of theories, socio-political and economic discourses by presenting different forms of State organisation, sometimes even incongruent.

According to Rodrigues (2010) the new organisation model of the State introduced within the economic crisis (beginning of 2010), is a new form of organisation of the European social model, which as opposed to the current active model (a model that, according to the author, was based on a welfare practice of social rights) has emphasized a greater correlation between the Market and minimum social rights ensured to each citizen.

Accordingly, the author presents the following table with a comparative analysis of the Traditional Model and the New Model of structural and ideological organisation of the Social Security. If a table is only a simple copy from another article, a better way would be to only comment on the main differences and eliminate the Table from the text. Or, another way, to create a new more summarized table.

*Table 1. Comparison between the Traditional Model and the New Model*

<b>Traditional Model</b>	<b>New Model</b>
Comprehensive and equality in access	“Differentiation” and Positive Discrimination
Uniform benefits	Definition of benefits according to social needs
Different sectors and separated from each other (health, work accidents, old age, family)	Transversal handling of the set of social problems encountered by the same person
Centralized management	Partnership established with all the actors involved
Management Administration	Mission administration
Pyramidal administration and centralization	Decentralization and Territorialization
National background	Local / territorial Context
Pyramidal structure	Cross-linked structure
Institutional rigidity	Inter-institutionally
Benefits	Integration Agreement
Assistance	Learnfare/workfare
Charity	Rights

*Source:* Palier, 2002:289 e 290 in Rodrigues, 2010, p. 194.

The rapid and constant changes of the Social Security Structural Law after 2000 demonstrate the instability and the need for a constant renewal of the social security protection schemes in accordance with the growing social mutations in Europe.

The main changes from 1984 until 2007 are reflected in the creation of allowances based on a redistributive and regulatory logic of the social protection system based on an activation of the individual towards work (mandatory conditions for the access to monetary benefits) as well as the differentiation of the benefits that lose their universal character to fit the socio-economic and

social reality of every citizen and family. On the other hand, the territorial demand implies that the local social agents shall organise themselves and also take responsibility in the development process of the individuals with a refractory move by the State. This process is not yet complete. For instance, in Portugal with the publishing, in 2013, of Law no. 83-A, the political discourse is essentially based on the viability and sustainability of the Social Security System:

“Combining demographics with economy, we have fewer assets to finance more and more pensioners. If modifications are not done in good time, the current and the future generations, will have a reduction compared to the contributions done, i.e., the replacement rate will be reduced” (Speech done by the Minister of Solidarity, Employment and Social Security in the presentation of the proposal of the Structural Law on Social Security. National Parliament, 29-11-2013).

The fear that the payment of retirement pensions for today’s active people might end, seems to be more pronounced and we perceive a discourse in favour of the privatisation of social protection that agonizingly haunts the Europe’s middle class.

This discourse is closely related to the State organisation models and consequent policy measures that have been produced since the announced death of the welfare state until the current State model. It is not our goal to deepen this discussion, however we will present a brief socio-historical path, as it allows the reader to do a critical analysis of the available data on the implementation of the social policies.

### **From the decease of the welfare state to the Neoliberal Ghost**

In “The Welfare State Crisis”, Pierre Rosanvallon (1987) argues that the crisis, more than an economic fact, is above all a social context. That is to say, it was not the reduction of the economic capacity of the State that questioned the effectiveness of a welfare state in Europe, but the fact that social legitimization of social solidarity based on Rousseau’s social pact did not work.

Thus, there are three positions that more than to demarcate different explanatory perspectives of welfare state crisis, they complement each other.

The first one, as already mentioned, results from thinkers who followed the guidelines of Rosanvallon. And in this way, the main emphasis is based on the “*Social Pact*” between the State and the Capitalism. According to Rosanvalon (1987) the State is a protective State, a “father” state whose main functions consist of reducing the uncertainty and promoting the safety for all citizens. The Citizen is an individual of inalienable rights, in line with the political theology that characterised the Europe of the French Revolution and that has the vision of the “social man” “*based that the right of each one forms a united whole*” (Rodrigues 2010, p. 192). The death of the Welfare State seems to be related to the death of the concept of solidarity. This concept according to Rosanvallon (1987) had been previously confused with the concept of the State’s consumer. The State produces services and goods that every citizen should have access to. The production of social goods is the result of a capital based on the logic of the existing social demand and offer. All the individuals should contribute to the maintenance of social goods, because of the ethics and defence of collective well-being. However, the crisis arises when the demand for social goods exceeds its production and when the producers for social welfare do not understand the rational solidarity which underlies it. It is opaque, inflexible and fragmented and worse, it starts to jeopardize the social well-being not only of the consumers, but also of the producers who

contribute to the maintenance of the State Social Services. Therefore, the solidarity proclaimed by the Welfare State fails, because it cannot result from a functional automation of the State, but it should reside in a philosophy and in a social and moral ethics of what is solidarity.

In sum, the explanation of the Welfare State crisis results from not only an economic movement but, above all, due to an ideological and cultural decline of the concept of social solidarity and collective well-being.

The second argument is reflected in the work of Santos and Ferreira (2003). For them the pillars of the Welfare State were, paradoxically, the pillars of its failure. Santos and Ferreira (2003) enunciate four structural elements in the foundations of the Welfare State:

- (i) “the social pact between capital and labor under the aegis of the State, whose ultimate goal is to reconcile democracy and capitalism” (...);
- (ii) “A sustained relationship (...) between two potentially contradictory tasks of the State: the promotion of the capitalist accumulation and the economic growth and safeguarding the legitimacy”;
- (iii) (...) “A high level of spending on social consumption” and
- (iv) (...) “a state bureaucracy that has internalized the social rights as citizens’ rights rather than State benevolence” (Santos and Ferreira 2003, p.9).

The arguments of Santos and Ferreira (2003) are not very distant from other thinkers (Rodrigues 2010, Castel 1995, Valla et al. 2005, Santos 1999) in the description of the paradoxical features of the Welfare State in South and Eastern countries, the great analysis dimensions used by the different authors in the explanation of the emergence and demise of the Welfare State seem to be within the following analytical elements:

There are doubts about formal geographical targeting of the article’s content, as it correctly refers to Southern and Eastern countries experience in general, however, the country references in particular are only from Portugal – so the author has to rethink that how to present.

Finally, we would also like to present our position. In our opinion, and taking into account the historical political and documentary analysis, we believe that the Welfare State Crisis is due to the fact that there was an attempt to fulfil a model of State in decline and not choosing to implement a Welfare State according to the European Social Model. Throughout the various documents there is a conceptual correspondence between the Welfare State and Social Well-being State. The truth is that this correspondence does not make sense or correspond to the procedural reality of the two forms of State organisation. The “Social Well-being” State or the Welfare state, as stated by Castel (1995), does not advocate “social benefits” but is based on a Rule of Law State. This means that it is not just a right to survive but also to live in society, the citizens are active citizens and not “assisted” citizens by the State public policy measures. The Social Well-being State introduces the concept of citizenship that was away from the classic paternalistic relationship between State and the “assisted”, which generated dependency and for which the latter is likely to become a subordinate individual (Hespanha, s.d, Castel 1995).

On the other hand, the concept of “social investment” implies a “social return” and this return is visible in all actions that emancipated and support the citizens in terms of skills, training and social inclusion. As Kvist (2013, p. 94–95) refers:

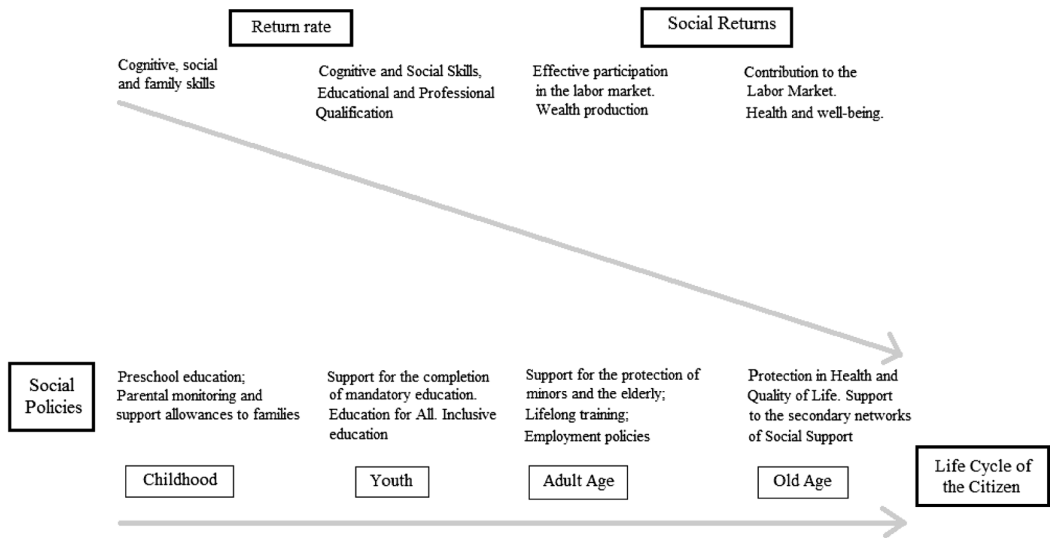
We define “social investments” as policies that primarily bring about more of, or an improvement in, skills formation, maintenance, or use. We define “dismantlement” as policy changes that cut social expenditures in the short to medium term, with no regard for these same three factors.

Table 2. *Emergence and death of the Welfare State in South and Eastern Countries: Analytical axes*

Analysis axes	Constituents	Description
<b>1. The root of the Social Pact</b>	Rousseau's Ideological basis with the influence of Marxist theories. Social contract between capitalism and labour through State regulation, giving rise to a capital able to finance the social consumption.	The social pact in South and Eastern Countries arose from a deep economic recession throughout Europe and had its implications in establishing their social and financial guarantees. The recent democracy and a process of society secularization immediately led to an increased effort to create a coherent and sustained social dialogue. The fragilities of these countries was marked with their accession to Europe Union. There is a strong protective society that has sustained the deficit of social intervention by the State in different sectors related to vulnerability and social exclusion processes but with no financial viability.
<b>2. The Socialization of Solidarity</b>	The Welfare State provides all the social services and universal well-being to all citizens. The discursive costumers of the Welfare State are only possible if the processes of accumulation and distribution of the social goods are in a positive balance. The solidarity and social security of all citizens is based in protective practices and in some "welfarism" in which there is no recognition of the individuals' change.	Poverty plays a central role in the debate on social policy. In order to provide a quick response to this social problem, as well as to get these countries closer to the well-being and development thresholds of other European countries there has been a set of social legitimacy measures of the State (wages increase; imports increase, nationalization of various services and companies, among others) which increased the budget deficit and foreign debt. The mechanical solidarity prevented the awareness of the citizenship process, the social rights were not being internalized as rights but as social benefits and the entry of EU funds al resulted more as compensatory prescriptions than a real movement for change and sustainability.
<b>3. Social Policies</b>	Poverty emerges as a category of analysis and of designing public policies. But it is a poverty that does not consider its contexts, weaknesses, or its potential. It appears decontextualized <i>"Appearing in the technocratic discourse (...) as an object itself (...) which isolates the understanding of the pauperism of the structural dynamics of production of wealth, making the fact that work, in its dominant ideological terms, is no longer the ruling centre of social policies, transforming them into individual opportunities to obtain income"</i> (Valla, 2005; p.176),	Distributive social policies gradually give rise to productive social policies. Policies that produce services in health, housing, education, social security with a paternalistic view and that can be perceived as a set of goods and services directly produced by the State, both in the field of social consumption, and in the field of social investment. The state replaces the role of the social capital. Thus, it is up to the State to organize a social protection system under its egis (the social security system) according to the principles proposed by Beveridge, including a unified social security system, decentralized, universal and participated (Santos, 1999). Structurally, security and social provision was organized at the beginning of the eighties, through a network of Social Security for <i>"the prevention of deprivation situations, social dysfunction and exclusion, to the extent that they cannot be overcome through the Social Security schemes"</i> – <i>Principles of "Social Action" in Article 33 of the Social Security Structural Law 1984.</i> This is a definition, with an instrumental character, of the concept of Social Action in which it is the responsibility of the State to promote the necessary actions that can lead to the eradication of poverty. In this scenario we witness a normalizing shift towards the individual action of the social problems that shapes an "atomised and fragmented view of social reality" (Monteiro, Rodrigues, Nunes, 1991:78).

Source: Theoretical systematization prepared by the author.





*Figure 1. Social Investment and Return according to the European Social Model and the Tradition of the Welfare State Social Model*

Source: Kvist (2013, p. 95) “A life-course perspective on social investment policies and their returns”. Adapted and changed by the author.

Still in the wake of Kvist (2013) figure 1 illustrates concisely the Welfare State products in a non-paternalistic logic but related to social development considering what for Gamble (2013) represents “Social Welfare”.

The rationality in this model is in line with the speech of Durão Barroso in 2012 (in Kvist 2013, p. 96) defending European Social Model through a state organisation of Social Well-being able to ensure an effective social protection system where equity and efficiency is possible through a greater involvement of the civil society and the establishment of strong partnerships that promote social cohesion. This model, which goes beyond the compensatory measures of the Welfare State, the investment and social consumption cohabit in risk prevention and in the production of social capital. Therefore, the social investment is reflected in a set of political and social measures accompanying the life cycle of the citizen and their specific needs during this same cycle. What figure 1 shows is that there is a greater social investment (and greater social return) in the first years of life of the citizens (with policies more targeted to the acquisition of socialization skills and family protection), this investment reduces its return with the progressive aging, based on the logic that citizens in working age can reproduce the redistributive effects of the public policies and at the same time producing social well-being in support processes to their elderly and dependents, as well as in encouraging social participation. The investment in children and families is perceived as necessary to a greater contribution in the acquisition of cognitive structures and social and family skills and later in school and professional skills. These are considered as essential for the democratic participation and integration in the labour market.

The social pact in which this model is based defends not only the capital and labour under theegis of the State, but also the need of civil society to ensure social security and protection schemes

not as subsidiary mechanisms of mechanical solidarity, but as a form of social protection of most vulnerable populations. This mutual implication between the individual and the society moves away from both the traditional social law or the paternalistic social assistance and therefore, the obligations are reciprocal: an accountability of the recipient considered as actor of his own future and an obligation of means by the society (Ferreira 2008).

In addition to these indicators there is the concept of Social Well-being defended by the CSWE (2008) defining it as an interdependence between the social, economic, political and environmental dimensions experienced by all the citizens and all the communities. Underlying there is a comprehensive and holistic view in accordance with the apology of the United Nations for the Development Citizens and Communities and where human development relates to the need to place the individual in the centre (objects and subjects) of the development, providing them all conditions so that they can achieve their potential, increasing their opportunities for choice and participation, as well as freedom (Gamble 2013).

### **The Spectrum of the Mix State, of the Workfare of the Neo-Liberal State of the State... “nameless”**

Our discourse has been advocating the Welfare State Social model and the identification of historical, cultural and symbolic factors that, in our view, were part of the rapid and reckless transformation of a protective model of social provision for a new model more committed with the economic view of the social policies than on their effectiveness in terms of eradication of social risk situations. This movement is not unrelated to the context of global economic recession in 2008 and all the austerity measures that have been implemented in South and some Eastern Countries.

The main austerity measures began in 2010 and 2012 with the implementation of “containment measures” of Troika program and the Growth Stability Program. The result of these measures was devastating for some European citizens. In the report on Income and Living Conditions on the 2011 census, the poverty risk rate was 18% in 2010, being the European average 16.4%. These figures mean that more than 1.9 million people were on the threshold of absolute poverty. The risk rate of poverty of families with dependent children increased one percent (National Institute of Statistics 2012) with a value of 20.1%. On the other hand, the social protection measures also suffer high cuts as well as a more difficult access by the population.

The reciprocity between right and duty is one of the central ideas of Workfare programs (Marques 2008). Vocational training programs, occupational programs for the unemployed and special training courses for groups with low education and low skill levels proliferated towards a greater employability. In addition, the emergence in the law of a mixed providential system (public and private) and compulsory social insurances that although legislatively expected had a weak impact as a restorative measure of social insecurity and high unemployment. Thus, and almost concurrently comes a new perspective of State organisation, called “welfare mix” which tried to counterbalance a more liberalist perspective (in which there is an obligation to grant a benefit) with a State perspective (in which the rights constitutionally constituted should not rely on any obligation).

The dismantling of the structures of the Welfare Social State coexists with the “renewal of a protection mode that now, under the welfare pluralism title or mixed welfare is revealed as an alternative to the social policies of the “Welfare State” (Pereira 2000, p. 127–128). But in a society with glaring social inequalities, such as rising unemployment, with the decline in consumption and with a minimal intervention logic from the State in order to sustain social spending, the penetration of other forms of social provision associated with the third sector are of growing importance in a logic of new partnerships between the State and the third sector (or the non-governmental sector of social solidarity).

As Marques (2008, p. 113) mentions, in ideal terms, this State model does not imply the “withdrawal of State responsibility in the economic and social well-fare, but only the sharing of these responsibilities, which can thus be met”. That is to say, the third sector cannot be “used” to justify the state withdrawal from social provision schemes, but it plays a complementary role. Despite this state organization model might have been a response to issues, on the one hand, related to the combat of social inequalities and greater social support, closer to the communities in situations of poverty and social risk, and on the other hand, of sustainability of the State of Social Welfare, the truth is that, in our perspective, it failed.

We are living a period of large governing expectations, the feeling of a certain political crisis with the coexistence of higher expectations of economic recovery, recovery of purchasing power and poverty rate reduction with the recovery of new social transfers.

In the state organisation models we now find multiple forms, all of which are concomitant and paradoxical that incapacitate us to obtain a reliable and consensual designation, hence we choose to call the “No-Name-State”.

In fact, the values that underpin the “workfare” are still grounded in the public policy with a greater focus more on active policies than on passive policies<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, the pluralism of welfare policies, with the appeal to the participation of the third sector in the public arena and in combating poverty and social exclusion is increasingly more evident with the already identified paradoxes. The “neoliberal” state is not commonly accepted since it does not exist in its plenitude. Exists, on the other hand, the transferring of State capacity to respond to social emergencies to other privately sectors and to the accountability of citizens who questioned the relationship between State and Society.

## Conclusion

It is difficult to locate the operating model and the thinking of the contemporary State Figure in a concrete model. It seems that there are coexisting forms of action in which we observe services

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<sup>2</sup> The distinction between active and passive social policies is largely related to the position that the individual beneficiary of public policy stands or is positioned in his relationship with the state and social transfers. Thus, active social policies are based on the contracting of social action in which the individual is the object and subject of the measure itself. For there to be the obtaining of social benefits, the citizen has the obligation to demonstrate that he went through a series of diligences (contracted and most often typified) to change their social status. If there is failure in this symmetrical relationship the citizen is not entitled to social benefits. Passive policies do not require a contract system but refer to a contextual condition of the citizen. These are policies that attempt to ensure the survival of the individuals and which form the basis of the constitution of the welfare system such as the right to retirement, sickness allowance, disability allowance and other allowances, of pecuniary nature in which the citizen is the object and not the subject of them.

and capital privatization, a retraction of the State in the social investment and in the public management of social provision processes, along with a shared responsibility for the welfare “among the state and society, notably with the civil society/third sector and the individuals” (Hespanha, Ferreira & Pacheco 2013, p. 213). This is what the authors refer to as “Shumpeterian Workfare Postnational Regime”. Likewise, it seems that through this logic the current State sought a happy bonding between the liberal principles protective of the country’s economy and the welfare state principles.

This perspective falls under what Jessop (1999, p. 1) argues as being the resolution of the paradox of Offe<sup>3</sup> that necessarily involves the discussion of the role of the social welfare States in the social and economic reproduction. This debate can only be done in a unique way taking into account how the different governments organise the social welfare systems and their governance. This means that the capitalism as an economic production model focuses on the development perspective of the markets and wealth creation. Therefore, the State must assume different positions towards the implementation of social policies. According to Jessop (1999) this distinction is fundamental in a “perfect” organisation of social functioning, in which the economic and social policies are politically mediated and the governmental modes should not attempt to match the national economic and social life.

Although this seems to be a more simplistic and somewhat reductionist perspective of the state organisation models, it has its value in trying to find and explain the new forms of current governing and the current economic and social thinking.

The Social Policies have a diffuse character, with advances and retreats by the different programs of the different governments, regarding on the one hand, its autonomy towards other public policies, and on the other hand, in the centrality it holds in the organisation of the social order and in the adjustment and evaluation of the impact of the social policies. Thus, this means that in spite of the government rhetoric, there seems to be yet an action aimed at social development in a holistic way. Measures and social benefits emerge in a detached way aimed at elements characterised according to their deficits (within an orientation of social pathology) and not within an emancipatory perspective. In this context, the principles presented by Frey, 1997 for the validation of the social policy concept are not visible in the current State attitude.

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<sup>3</sup> The Offe paradox argues that the resolution or crisis management should be determined in the political agenda of the observation that capitalism can not coexist with, neither can exist without the welfare state.

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