



EUROPEAN TYPES OF POLITICAL AND TERRITORIAL ORGANISATION OF SOCIAL SERVICES OF GENERAL INTEREST¹

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Abstract

It is commonly understood across Europe that the provision of Social Services of General Interest (SSGI) is important. Several official documents guarantee every EU citizen access to, and the availability of, SSGI. Nevertheless, when it comes to producing, financing, administrating and territorially organising SSGI, the approaches and practices used across the various European states differ significantly while often mirroring the functioning of the social welfare and national administrative planning systems that prevail on the ground.

The purpose of this paper is to present a systematic analysis of how European states (the EU 27 plus Croatia and the EFTA countries of Iceland, Norway and Switzerland) cope with the organisation of SSGI in the fields of education, care, labour market, social housing and insurance schemes. Outlining the similarities and differences of the various national approaches leads to the creation of a European typology of SSGI organisation. This typology will then be compared to existing typologies and classifications of social welfare and spatial planning systems.

Keywords: services, welfare, planning, Europe, cluster analysis

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Introduction: SSGI within social and territorial aspects

The European Union perceives the provision of Services of General Interest (SGI) as an important cornerstone of its policy agenda under the heading of social and territorial cohesion. According to the EU White Paper on SGI “Citizens [...] rightly expect to have access to affordable high-quality services of general interest throughout the European Union. For the citizens of the European Union this access is an essential component of European citizenship and necessary in order to allow them to fully enjoy their fundamental rights” (CEC 2004, article 2.1). While the attributes of affordability and quality of services point to the social dimension, the adjunct attribute “throughout the European Union” brings a territorial dimension into play. This White Paper statement is confirmed in the Interim Territorial Cohesion Report. “The [EU] Treaty explicitly recognises the important role played by the services of general interest in the promotion of social and territorial cohesion. The political importance of these services is obvious, as they represent an essential element of the

European model of society” (DG REGIO 2004: 51). The main aim of territorial cohesion policy is to contribute to a balanced distribution of economic and social resources across Europe’s regions with the priority here on the territorial dimension. This entails ensuring that there is a fair distribution of resources and opportunities across the regions and their populations. In order to attain this territorial cohesion goal an integrative approach to other EU policies is required (European Commission 2011). The territorial and political organisation of SSGI across the European states discussed here moreover play, in one way or another, an important role in the implementation of the territorial cohesion policy.

Services of General Interest are not commonly defined on the European level. The interpretation of what constitutes such services is generally left to the national level. “The term ‘services of general interest’ [...] is derived in Community practice [...] and covers both market and non-market services which the public authorities class as being of general interest and subject to specific public service obligations” (CEC 2004, annex 1). Summarising the various regulations and communications from the EU level (see e.g. EC (2000), CEC 2003, CEC 2004, CEC 2007), there two main domains can be distinguished; Services of General Economic Interest (SGEI) and Social Services of General Interest (SSGI). The latter is deliberately exempt from the competition and single market rules of the Union and instead embedded in national policy frameworks relating to various social and territorial aspects. Consequently, the provision of SSGI is shaped by the constitution of social welfare systems – providing the socio-political organisational framework – and of spatial planning systems – providing the framework for the territorial organisation and delivery of SSGI.

Accordingly, the aim of this study is to validate the typologies of social welfare systems and spatial planning systems on the basis of a comparative analysis of the *political and territorial organisation* of various SSGI. The analysis covers the EU 27, Croatia and the three EFTA countries of Iceland, Norway and Switzerland. The SSGI to be researched relates to the five pillars of social welfare – education, (health) care, labour market, social housing and insurance schemes – as derived by Abrahamson (2005) from the five social threats, originally defined by Beveridge (1942). The various ways in which SSGI can be supplied, financed and organised are interpreted as expressions of the type of welfare and planning system. It will be shown in what follows that certain comparable and therefore also distinguishable national approaches exist in respect of how to organise SSGI and, on this basis, a welfare typology based on the real politics of European states is subsequently forwarded.

1. Theoretical Considerations: Consumption Goods and Public Choice

Taking the normative idea of Social Services of General Interest as a starting point, *Consumption Goods Theory* helps us to grasp the abovementioned open definition of “services which the public authorities class as being of general interest” (CEC 2004, annex 1). Among the goods and services that society needs in order to make a living and for fulfilling basic social requirements we can differentiate between *public* and *market based* services in a classic sense. Samuelson (1954) made an important contribution when he distinguished between *private consumption goods* and *collective consumption goods*. For the first group, he expounds a rival character. Private consumption goods cannot be limitlessly consumed by each individual because if one person consumes such a good there will be less of it left for others – e.g. 1 litre of milk. On the contrary, collective consumption goods are quantitatively unlimited and are not reduced if consumed by one person – e.g. knowledge. On the basis of this argumentation a general distinction can be drawn between market based and publicly supplied goods. This theory provided the starting point for a more detailed debate on the characterisation of different modes of goods and services. For example, Marmolo (1999) or Kaul and Mendoza (2003) among others reflected on and subsequently modified Samuelson’s theory.

“*The conventional justification for public provision of goods is market failure*”, notes Marmolo (1999: 28) summarising a common viewpoint when it comes to public goods. Accordingly, limited goods of rival character have to be publicly organised only in cases where market forces are either unwilling or unable to supply them. She continues by claiming that collective “*choices determin[e] the publicness of goods*” and that “*the preference for public provision is manifested as a constitutional choice and, as such, not subject to efficiency considerations*” (Marmolo 1999: 28). The ability for society and/or the political system to choose to design a certain service or good as being either market or public-based is highlighted. “*The choice as to the ‘publicness’ of a good is, in fact, one of the broader set of choices that define the role of the government in a democratic society, namely, the choice that specifies the domain of the productive state. This choice logically precedes market interaction, and, therefore, is not motivated by market failures*” (Marmolo 1999: 31).

Similarly, Kaul and Mendoza begin their argumentation with the traditional differentiation of goods into private (*rival* in consumption and *excludable* in benefit) and public (*non-rival* in consumption and *non-excludable* in benefit) but ultimately arrive at the point where “*‘private’ can no longer simply be equated with markets, and ‘public’ with states. Both contribute, among others, to the public and private domains. Moreover, the properties of goods can change from being public or private and from private to public*” (Kaul and Mendoza 2003: 80). They therefore suggest a

distinction between “*these goods’ basic or original properties [...] and those that society has assigned to them*” (Kaul and Mendoza 2003: 80). The more important element here then is not the theoretical character of a service or good but its social construction. Through legal frameworks, trade regulations, etc., the public or private character of services and goods can be modified by society if so decided, mostly proceeded via politics – as for example the good “knowledge” shows. Depending on the character of educational or communicational services, knowledge is more or less accessible or restricted.

This means that we can assume that the same types of social services of general interest are provided and organised somewhat differently across Europe with these differences representing the societal-political intentions and choices of the individual states involved.

2. Classifications of Social Welfare Systems and Spatial Planning Systems

Many attempts have been made to classify the political organisation of welfare systems while an extensive literature also exists to provide overviews, summaries and criticism of what Abrahamson (1999) dubs, ‘The Welfare Modelling Business’. Nadin and Stead (2008) provide the most up to date overview of welfare classification and typologies (see Table 1). A multitude of empirical works focus on monetary issues and/or socio-political regulations. Arts and Gelissen (2002) document the fact that information and data on taxation, public expenditures and financial redistribution, as well as poverty, employment and the notion of eligibility for certain benefits form the empirical basis of the various typologies. A general criticism of these works is thus the lack of attention given to welfare services themselves – i.e. the products and substantiation of a welfare system.

In any case it is helpful here to briefly outline the evolution of welfare typologies while at the same time addressing their methodologies and outcomes. The following discussion of the existing literature on welfare typologies is orientated along the feature of the increasing number of types. The first, and simplest, categorisation was made in the two-type conceptualisation of Wilensky and Lebeaux (1965). They divided welfare systems into *residual* and *institutional* conceptualisations. Mishra (1984) also advocated a two-type categorisation of welfare models: *differentiated welfare states* and *integrated welfare states*. The latest contribution to this dual welfare categorisation was made by Hicks and Kenworthy (2003); they identify two welfare state regime dimensions – the *progressive liberal* (CH, DK, FI, NL, NO, SE and UK) and the *traditional conservative* (AT, BE, DE, FR, IE and IT). The analysis, covering 18 countries over the 1980s and 1990s, suggests that progressive liberalism is associated with income redistribution and gender equality in the labour market. The principal consequence of traditional conservatism in this context

appears to be reduced employment performance (Hicks and Kenworthy 2003). Note however that the Hick and Kenworthy typology neither contains all of the West European countries or any of the East European ones.

Titmuss (1968, 1974) was the first to use a three-type classification of welfare systems by adding the *achievement-performance* model to the *residual* and *institutional* conceptualisations of Wilensky and Lebeaux (1965). The three-type welfare typology was further elaborated by Furniss and Tilton (1977), which resulted in a categorisation of a *positive state* that aims at economic stability like the USA, a *social security state* that guarantees minimum provision like the UK and a “well-being” promoting *social welfare state* like Sweden. The most famous and referenced three-type classification of welfare systems was made by Esping-Andersen. His categorisation results in the characterisation of *liberal*, *conservative* and *social-democratic* welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen 1989, 1990); The UK and Ireland are not placed in this typology since their welfare systems contains three equal parts of the three welfare regime types (Esping-Andersen 1990). Esping-Andersen (1996) did however subsequently place the UK in the liberal sphere of his typology. The most recent contribution to the three-type classification of welfare systems was made by Vogel. By analysing the welfare mix, defined as the configuration of labour market, welfare state and family characteristics, as well as the timing and sequences of the transition to adulthood, Vogel (2002a, 2002b) finds evidence for three distinct European welfare regimes or welfare clusters, identified as *Nordic* (DK, FI, NO and SE), *Central* (BE, DE, FR, LU and UK) and *Southern* (ES, GR, IT and PT). Depending on the concrete indicator, Ireland and the Netherlands can be switched between these three clusters.

Ferrara (1996) and Bonoli (1997) identify a distinctly Southern European type of welfare. The most recent contribution to the four-type classification of welfare states was made by Sapir (2005, 2006) who identifies four welfare regimes – *Nordic* (DK, FI, NL, SE), *Anglo-Saxon* (IE, UK), *Continental* (AT, BE, DE, FR, LU), and *Mediterranean* (ES, GR, IT, PT)– based on employment and poverty indicators.

While the results of these analyses in large reinforce each other it is nevertheless notable that none of these typologies explicitly addresses all West European countries or the New EU Member States. Indeed, most of what were to become the New EU Member States were subsequently included in a *Socialist welfare regime* by Esping-Andersen, a welfare regime which was officially dissolved during the transition to a market economy after 1989. Or, a kind of residual type is proposed, as for example the group of ‘New EU Member States’ by Alber (2006) or ‘Catching-up states’ by Aiginger and Guger (2006). A comprehensive piece of comparative research on the

welfare systems of Europe, including those of the New EU Member States, has yet however to be produced.

Esping-Andersen 1990, 1996	Liberal IE, UK	Social-democratic DK, FI, NO, SE, NL	Conservative AT, BE, FR, DE			
Ferrara 1996	Anglo-Saxon IE, UK	Scandinavian DK, FI, NO, SE	Bismarckian AT, BE, CH, DE, FR, LU, NL	Southern ES, GR, IT, PT		
Bonoli 1997	British IE, UK	Nordic DK, FI, NO, SE	Continental BE, DE, FR, LU, NL	Southern CH, ES, GR, IT, PT		
Vogel 2002b		Nordic DK, FI, NO, SE	Central BE, DE, FR, LU, UK	Southern ES, GR, IT, PT	Between Nordic & Central NL	Between Central & Southern IE
Sapir 2006	Anglo-Saxon IE, UK	Nordic DK, FI, NL, SE	Continental AT, BE, DE, FR, LU	Mediterranean ES, GR, IT, PT		
Aiginger & Guger 2006	Anglo-Saxon/ Liberal IE, UK	Scandinavian/ Nordic DK, FI, NL, SE	Continental/ Corporatist AT, BE, DE, FR, , IT, LU	Mediterranean ES, GR, PT	Catching-up CZ, HU	
Alber 2006	Anglo-Saxon IE, UK	Nordic DK, FI, SE	Continental AT, BE, DE, FR	Southern ES, GR, IT, PT	New EU Member States	Other LU, NL

Table 1. Typologies of Social Welfare Systems – modified after Arts and Gelissen (2002) and Nadin and Stead (2008)

Besides this geographically limited reach, in basically every one of the above-mentioned typologies, fiscal issues in respect of welfare benefits and insurance schemes are at the heart of the analysis, while welfare services and their territorial organisation and delivery have received far less attention in research terms. In addition to the social dimension and related questions of insurance and entitlements, SSGI organisation has a territorial dimension and raises questions of accessibility in respect of the locations and efficiency of provision. As such, the territorial features of policies also need to be integrated into the analysis. This addresses the political organisation of SSGI as well as their territorial distribution and delivery. First, the nature of political organisation may be expressed by the level of governmental responsibility for SSGI policies and the legal apparatus behind it. Newman and Thornley (1996) distinguish between unitary, regionalised and federalist

legal-administrative structures and define five types across Europe calling them ‘families’: the British (IE, UK), the Napoleonic (BE, ES, FR, GR, IT, LU, NL, PT), the Germanic (AT, CH, DE), the Scandinavian (DK, FI, NO, SE) and – only in a generalised approach – the East European. Concerning SSGI, the five families’ legislative and administrative competences should be organised somewhat differently. Second, the functioning of the spatial planning system and planning practice is decisive in the territorial distribution and delivery of SSGI. A spatial planning system can be analysed in accordance with its legal-administrative structures, scope of planning, principles and objectives of planning and the character of its planning instruments. In its EU Compendium, the European Commission (1997) distinguishes four, to some extent overlapping, types for the EU 15 Member States – the Regional economic approach (FR, PT), comprehensive integrated approach (federalist: AT, DE; centralist: DK, FI, NL, SE), land use management (BE, IE, UK) and urbanism (ES, IT, GR); LU is treated as an exceptional case. Farinós Dasí *et al.* (2007) updated and enlarged this four type classification by finding inter-linkages and mixed types in many countries and by trying to apply this classification to the New EU Member States. They did not detect a unified or specific type of spatial planning for the New EU Member States but rather the adoption of already existing types in the course of the transformation process starting in the 1990s – regional economic approach (HU, LT, LV, SK), comprehensive integrated approach (BG, EE, HU, LT, LV, PL, RO, SI, SK), land use management (CY, MT) and urbanism (CY, CZ, MT).

Newman & Thornley 1996	British IE, UK	Scandinavian DK, FI, NO, SE	Germanic AT, CH, DE	Napoleonic BE, ES, FR, GR, IT, LU, NL, PT	East European
European Commission 1997	Land use management BE, IE, UK; (LU)	Comprehensive integrated federal: AT, DE; central: DK, FI, NL, SE		Regional economic FR, PT	Urbanism ES, GR, IT
Farinos Dasi 2007 (Multi-affinity: countries in brackets)	Land use management (BE), (CY), CZ, (ES), (IE), (LU), (MT), (PT), (UK)	Comprehensive integrated AT, (BE), BG, CH, DK, EE, FI, (LU), NL, PL, RO, SI	Multi-affinity of compr. int. & reg. economic DE, FR, HU, (IE), LT, LV, NO SE, SK, (UK)	Regional economic (PT)	Urbanism (CY), (ES), GR, IT, (MT)

Table 2. Typologies of Spatial Planning Systems – modified after Nadin and Stead (2008)

Overall, the typologies proposed by Newman and Thornley (1996) and in the EU Compendium (European Commission 1997) on territorial policy in Table 2, to a great extent match

the typologies of social welfare systems found in Table 1. More explicitly, in both spheres groups of Nordic countries (DK, FI, NO, SE) and Mediterranean countries (ES, GR, IT, PT) appear in every typology. Furthermore, a British type is often distinguished while Austria and Germany generally cluster with each other. Belgium and France are either in a Southern European group or in the continental group. Ireland, Belgium and the Netherlands however remain rather ambiguous cases when it comes to assigning to them specific types. Besides Farinos Dasi (2007), none of the typologies deals in an in-depth manner with the New EU Member States.

3. Methodology: A cluster analysis with primary data resulting in a typology

Within the social sciences, typologies are often used to classify complex phenomena after certain characteristics to enable comparisons between differing categories. As discussed above, the prevailing welfare and planning systems in different states can also be categorised in accordance with their characteristics and similarities (Bambra 2007). Classifications are required in theoretical science for categorisation and analysis to take place (Danermark *et al.* 1997). The results of such typologies have to be interpreted as ideal types, using aggregated and generalised approaches discussing results. In this paper, a typology of SSGI organisation is developed. The resulting types are checked against their relation to types of welfare and planning systems.

The typology has been produced to include the EU 27 Member States and Croatia plus the EFTA countries of Iceland, Norway and Switzerland on the basis of one standardised expert questionnaire per country, following the logic set out in Tables 3 and 5. The data for Bulgaria was collected after that of the other countries and on basis of a shortened questionnaire. In total then some 30 countries are included in the full analysis with Bulgaria subsequently added on a qualitative interpretation basis. The results presented in this paper build on the work of Humer *et al.* (2012).

The aspiration for this typology is to create a quantifiable grouping of states which is replicable in a transparent way and offers the possibility for updating in the future. A multivariate hierarchical cluster analysis on the basis of ordinal scale data enables us to achieve this. This type of statistical analysis allows for the grouping, i.e. clustering, of a list of units – in our case 30 European countries – by relative similarity/dissimilarity comparisons of their attributes. The resulting groups therefore show a maximum of homogeneity within and at the same time a maximum of heterogeneity between them (Backhaus *et al.* 2000: 328ff). The refined data matrices consist of three dimensions: countries ($n=30$), key SSGI ($n=9$) and the attributes of each SSGI ($n=4$) per country.

For the comparative analyses, initially, information on 23 SSGI was collected (see Table 3). The researched SSGI are taken from the various fields of SSGI that emerge from the five pillars of welfare: education, care, labour market, social housing and insurance schemes.

Pillars of Welfare	Fields of SSGI	SSGI
Education	Pre-Schooling	Pre-School
	Compulsory Schools	Primary school
		Secondary school
	Higher education/ non compulsory	High School/ Gymnasium
Tertiary education	Tertiary School/College	
	University	
Care	Child care	Baby cot (<1year)
		Nursery (<3years)
		Kindergarten (<5years)
	Health care	Emergency/patient transport
Ambulance/rescue centre		
Hospital		
Elderly care	Physiotherapy centre	
	Retirement housing/ flats	
Labour market	Labour market schemes	Elderly centres/homes
		Vocational training
Housing	Social Housing	Job service/ agency
		Funding objects
Insurance schemes	Pensions	Funding subjects
		Pension schemes
	Poverty	Economic assistance (poor relief)
	Sickness	Sickness schemes
	Unemployment	Unemployment schemes

Table 3. Researched Social Services of General Interest

After an initial data analysis, several SSGI were excluded from further analysis; mainly because the ‘general interest’ was not evident in several countries or they simply did not exist in a comparable form. In order to provide for a fair representation of the five welfare pillars, in the end nine – partly combined – SSGI were identified for the final analysis. The SSGI on child care as well as on insurance schemes have been qualitatively merged from initially four separated variables (see Table 4).

Pillars of Welfare	Fields of SSGI	SSGI
Education	Compulsory Schools	Primary school
	Higher education/ non compulsory	High School/ Gymnasium
	Tertiary education	University
Care	Child care (combined variable)	Baby cot, nursery, kindergarten; pre-school

	Health care	Hospital
	Elderly care	Elderly centres/homes
Labour market	Labour market schemes	Job service/ agency
Housing	Social Housing	Funding objects
Insurance schemes	Transfer schemes (combined variable)	Pensions, poor relief, sickness, unemployment

Table 4. Selected SSGI for the typology building

The four attributes of the SSGI researched here can be derived from the social and territorial aspects of SSGI organisation. The first two attributes, production and finance, of an SSGI relate to social welfare policies, while the others, namely, the level of responsibility and the territorial organisation of delivery relate to administrative planning systems (see Table 5). (1) Production ('P') defines from which provider the supply of an SSGI is organised. Here, the range goes from public sector, via production by family, household or similar voluntary sources to private commercial sector. (2) Financing ('F') tells us about the primary source of funding for an SSGI. Similarly to the differentiations set out under attribute 'P', a distinction is made here between public financing, non-market based/ familial financing to private market financing. Distinguishing between the actual production and the financing of an SSGI allows us to picture arrangements where, for example, the public authority is basically in charge of an SSGI but leaves the actual production to the private sphere; be it the familial or the commercial private sphere. (3) The level of public responsibility ('R') declares a certain SSGI as being mainly under the competence of the national, regional or local level of government or, where there is no public service obligation, the private individual level takes the responsibility. Finally, (4) Territorial organisation of delivery ('T') distinguishes between the territorially sensitivity of certain SSGI policies and whether they are territorially cohesive or not. SSGI delivery can be organised by territorial policy means and spatial plans. This territorial organisation can occur through explicit will and on purpose – e.g. by binding the locations of SSGI to spatial planning documents. Some regulations might indirectly create certain territorial patterns – wanted or unwanted and being aware of it or not – or might simply be historically developed, which is then expressed as an implicit territorial organisation. Further on, SSGI can also lack a territorial organisation due to planning practices and political opinion while some SSGI are simply missing a spatial character and therefore it is rather pointless to seek to tackle them by spatial plans or programmes.

Table 5 shows a summary of, and the ordinal coding for, the four attributes. In order to ease the variations arising from the tabulation of individual expert opinions, the coding remains at a very general level. The typology results are nevertheless of reasonable comparative value particularly in respect of the large number of cases involved.

	Social welfare aspects		Administrative planning aspects	
	Production "P"	Financing "F"	Level of responsibility "R"	Territorial organisation "T"
1	only public	only public	national	explicit
2	predominantly/ mainly public	predominantly/ mainly public	regional	implicit
3	predominantly familial/ voluntary/ other	predominantly familial/ voluntary/ other	local	no/ obsolete
4	mainly/ only private	mainly/ only private	no/ individual	

Table 5. Aggregated attributes of the organisation of SSGI (ordinal scale)

The collected data – 30 countries, 9 key SSGI, 4 attributes – were put into a two-dimensional matrix, ascribing the values of the four attributes per SSGI to each of the countries (see Table 6). It is however important to note herethat in the subsequent interpretation of results the coding of the four attributes of the various SSGI was conducted through the *opinions* of the national experts and – though principally based on – was not necessarily directly derived from certain quantitative indicators or statistics. Together with a proposed coding per cell, the experts also delivered a short narrative description for each cell. This allows *ex post* modifications of the codes and strengthens the interoperability of data.

Country	P1	F1	R1	T1	P2	F2	R2	T2	P9	F9	R9	T9
AT																
...																
UK																

Table 6. Two-dimensional matrix of attributes of the organisation of SSGI

The data – arranged in the mode outlined in Table 6 – can then be processed in a cluster analysis. The method of cluster analysis can be applied to all data levels; besides metric also to discrete – i.e. ordinal and nominal – data. Principally, the cluster analysis is based on the similarity and dissimilarity of values. It will therefore merge the most similar cases – according to their attributes – into groups. Once two cases – i.e. countries – have been merged they will transform into one new case and will not be split again. In comparison to a factor analysis, the results of a cluster analysis always show discrete and strictly divided groupings with no overlaps. Hierarchical cluster analysis offers the most suitable procedure among the different variations of this method. It searches, step by step, for the most appropriate clustering of two cases. Different similarity measurements can be applied, depending on purpose and data level. For the dataset at hand, the complete linkage approach – aiming at rather equally sized clusters, based on the furthest neighbour

method and applicable for discrete data levels – appears more appropriate than others like average linkage, centroid or ward which require metric data level.

4. Results: A typology of SSGI organisation in European states

Applying this hierarchical cluster analysis for the 30 European states along nine key SSGI (see table 4) with four attributes each (see Table 5) the generation of a typology consisting of three grand types comprising two to four types appears to be a reasonable result. Figure 1 and Map 1 show the distribution of European states to several clusters: grand type 1 (type 11: HR, LU, PT, SI; type 12: ES, IT; type 13: CY, MT; type 14: BE), grand type 2 (type 21: DK, LV, NO, RO, SE, SK; type 22: (BG), CZ, EE, FI, IS; type 23: AT, CH, DE, FR, LT, PL, UK) and grand type 3 (type 31: GR, HU, IE; type 32: NL).

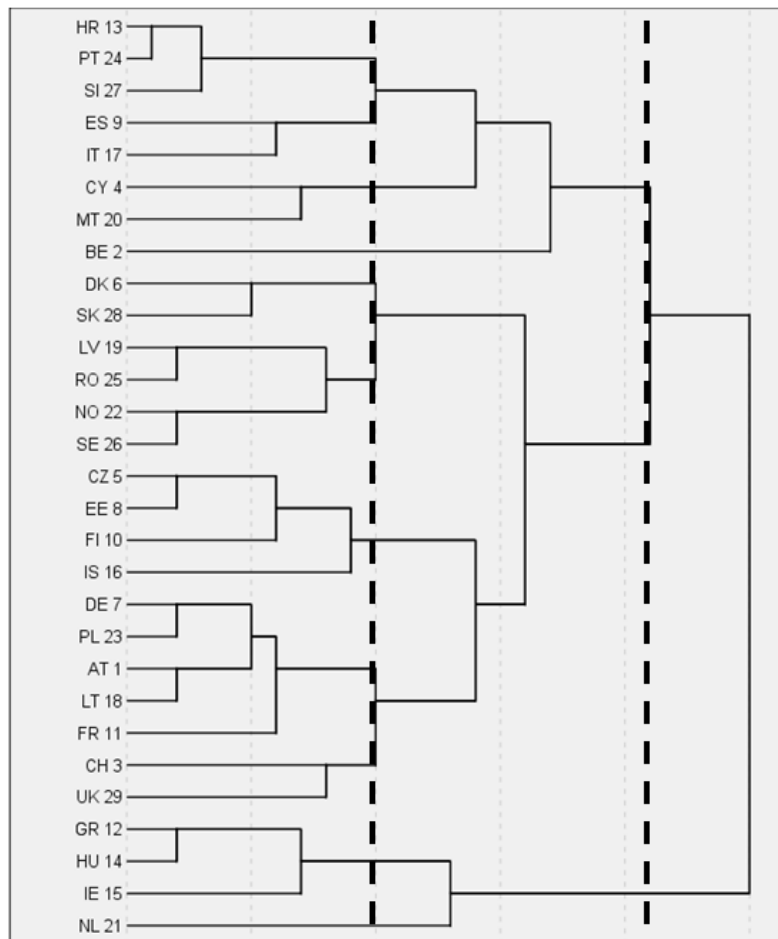


Figure 1: Dendrogram resulting from the cluster analysis (incl. cuts for types and grand types)

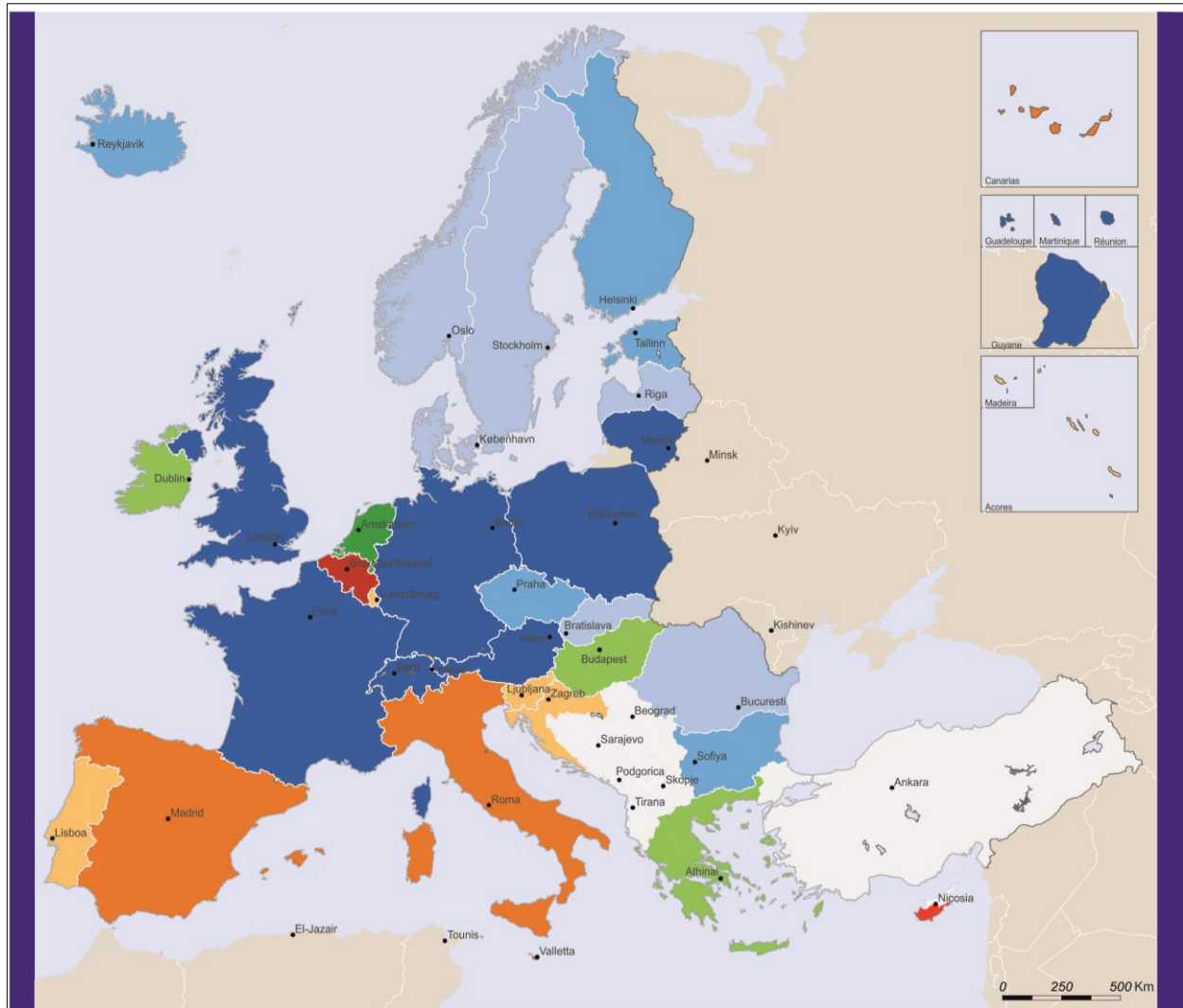
The decision to divide the European states into types and grand types can be statistically supported by what is termed the elbow-criteria. Table 7 shows a stepwise and continuous increase in the heterogeneity of merged cases and clusters. Step 22 and later step 27 each increase the heterogeneity of clusters by far more than other, previous steps have done. So in order to get

relatively homogenous and consistent types, reasonable points for cutting the dendrogram and thus grouping the cases – i.e. countries – into different types are identified shortly before these steps are enacted. Supported by this statistical value, a detailed data interpretation around the steps in focus leads to the above-mentioned nine types and three grand types as the most plausible grouping.

step	merging of cases and clusters		coefficient of heterogeneity	
	cluster a	cluster b	total	increase
1	13	25	1.84	
2	7	24	1.94	0.11
3	5	8	1.97	0.02
4	1	18	1.98	0.01
5	20	26	2.02	0.04
6	12	14	2.03	0.02
7	23	27	2.04	0.00
8	13	28	2.08	0.05
9	1	7	2.29	0.20
10	6	29	2.36	0.07
11	1	11	2.39	0.03
12	5	10	2.39	0.00
13	9	17	2.4	0.01
14	4	21	2.57	0.17
15	12	15	2.57	0.00
16	3	30	2.61	0.04
17	20	23	2.69	0.07
18	5	16	2.77	0.08
19	6	20	2.86	0.10
20	1	3	2.9	0.03
21	9	13	2.9	0.00
22	12	22	3.21	0.32
23	1	5	3.28	0.07
24	4	9	3.29	0.01
25	1	6	3.49	0.19
26	2	4	3.66	0.18
27	1	2	4.05	0.39
28	1	12	4.54	0.48

Table 7. Stepwise increase of heterogeneity of clusters

Grand type 1 ($n=9$) consists of basically Mediterranean countries plus Belgium and Luxembourg. Grand type 2 comprises more than half of the countries ($n=17$) and covers the UK, Northern Europe, countries in central-western and in central-eastern Europe. Grand type 3 is geographically most heterogeneous with the Netherlands, Ireland, Hungary and Greece. Map 1 provides a cartographic illustration of the resulting types.



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Regional level: NUTS 0
Source: EUROSTAT, 2011
Origin of data: ESPON SeGI Activity 5 expert survey, 2012
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No data		Tendency regarding social welfare aspects		Tendency regarding administration and planning		grand types
types		Production "P"	Financing "F"	Level of responsibility "R"	Territorial organisation "T"	
11	HR, LU, PT, SI	private influence		national	implicit	1 hands-off/ passive
12	ES, IT	private influence		regional	implicit	
13	CY, MT	mainly public		national	implicit	
14	BE	non profit		regional	explicit	
21	DK, LV, NO, RO, SE, SK	mainly public		local	explicit	2 hands-on/ active
22	(BG), CZ, EE, FI, IS	mainly public		national & local	implicit	
23	AT, CH, DE, FR, LT, PL, UK	mainly public		regional & local	explicit	
31	GR, HU, IE	mainly public		national	explicit	3 all-or-none/ ambivalent
32	NL	private influence		national or none	explicit	

Map 1. Types and grand types of SSGI organisation of European states (own illustration)

The resulting typology shows firm parallels to the typologies on social welfare and on administrative, spatial planning policies (see Tables 1 and 2) introduced above. Grand type 1 matches the general Southern and Mediterranean types of social welfare. In terms of administration, the Napoleonic family of Newman and Thornley (1996) is most closely related as well as the planning type described as urbanism in the EU Compendium (European Commission 1997). Within grand type 2, the three types each follow a comparable grouping regarding welfare and planning. Type 21 can be ascribed to the Nordic and Scandinavian types and the centrally acting version of the comprehensive integrated planning approach. In type 22, Finland is basically the only country represented in the welfare and planning typologies, which suggests that it may be better to simply discuss type 22 within Nordic and Scandinavian types as well. Type 23 is quite broad in respect of its welfare and planning context. This is especially so because the UK often represents a type of its own but within the SSGI typology it nevertheless matches the continental, conservative types. Farinos Dasi's (2007) update of the planning typology concludes with a dominance and convergence of the comprehensive integrated – e.g. in Germany – and the regional economic planning approaches – e.g. in France, which the UK planning system is increasingly adopting.

Together with the UK, there are a number of other countries that are not fully in line with the typologies outlined in the literature analysis above. The three Benelux countries each have very specific features when it comes to SSGI organisation. This results in single typologies for Belgium (type 14), where the Church, as a non-profit organisation, in SSGI terms remains strong, for the Netherlands (type 32), where there is a relatively higher involvement from the private commercial side, and for Luxembourg, which is exceptional in the fields of administrative and territorial organisation due to the size of the country. Furthermore, type 31 (GR, IE, HU) does not really match any of the existing typologies. On the other hand, countries like Ireland, Luxembourg and the Netherlands are also rather volatile in terms of the various classifications of welfare typologies as presented in Table 1 (see e.g. Vogel 2002b and Alber 2006).

So, generally, the typology of SSGI organisation reflects the results of the welfare and planning typologies in the literature discussed previously. A new aspect here is the grouping of the New EU Member States which were basically missing from previous typologies. There is no single type that comprises only New EU Member States, indeed the New EU Member States are listed within different types of SSGI organisation together with EU 15 Member States and EFTA countries. This can be explained with reference to their desire, in the period of post-communist transformation, to adopt existing examples of SSGI organisation from the EU Member States – especially grand type 2. In the following section, attention is given to the ways in which SSGI is

organised in the various types and grand types thus enabling us to better understand the approaches adopted by the different types.

5. Discussion: The characteristics of SSGI and organisational types

The way of organising every specific SSGI is not completely different in one type to all others. The character of the SSGI at hand may also partly pre-define the mode of organisation. In what follows a data interpretation on basis of the dimensions (1) fields of SSGI and (2) attributes of organisation is required to finally characterise the resulting types and sub-types.

Education (primary school, upper secondary school, university): While public responsibility for education is lodged on the national level in grand type 3 and mainly also in types 11 and 13, sub-national responsibility for primary and secondary level education prevails in types 12 and 23 (regional) and cluster 21 (local). Territorial organisation decreases with the level of education. The planning of these services is rather explicit in states of types 21, 23 and 31. Across all types, production and finance is mainly public, only individual cases like Belgium – where the church is an important player – disturb the homogeneous picture.

Care Services (child care, elderly care, health care): While health care is a national matter in most of European states, types 21 and 22 see a stronger sub-national influence. Child care and elderly care are produced predominantly on the regional or even the local level with the exceptions of type 11 countries which produce it on the national level. The Netherlands (type 32) does not however have any real public responsibility when it comes to child and elderly care. Territorial organisation is rather strong in health care – especially in grand type 2 – and only implicit or even missing for child and elderly care services. Care services is again a field of SSGI where production and finance is mostly in the hands of the public sector; though, in some cases it is primarily undertaken on a familial voluntary basis – e.g. in type 12: Italy and Spain – and sometimes on a market basis (type 23 and the Netherlands).

Labour Market: Responsibility is clearly located at the national level in types 13, 22 and 3, at the regional level in types 12, 14, and 23 and partly at the local level in types 11 and 21. The grand types 1 and 3 in particular however lack any form of territorial planning in respect of labour market services. In type 23 this is most explicit. Production and finance is generally in public hand with the major exceptions here being Spain and Italy (type 12) where the non-public sectors predominate.

Social Housing: Here, public responsibility is, in a few cases at least, located at the national level (esp. types 13, 22 and 3) but is primarily focused on the local level (especially types 11 and 21), territorial organisation is however generally rather weak as in practice, social housing has to be

arranged within the context of properties already on the open market. This makes explicit planning in this field a difficult or, at best, a largely reactive, task. Type 23 countries undertake the mass organisation of social housing grounded in private commercial and familial investment basis. Nevertheless, the public sector still has a significant role to play here in the production of the service.

Insurance Schemes (pensions, poor relief, sickness, unemployment): Besides Belgium (type 14), public responsibility is always located on the national level and because of the very nature of these fiscal services discussion of their territorial organisation is irrelevant. Social insurance schemes being recognised as a core objective of state welfare is underlined by the fact that basically in all European states basic production and finance of this SSGI is mainly or totally public. For many countries like Slovakia, the rising importance of private insurances on top of basic public funding should however be highlighted.

Production and Finance: The public purse plays a crucial role here but the production and financing of SSGI also involves the private sector – both commercial profitable and civic non-profitable – which is integral to its functioning. Taking public sector service obligations as the starting point does not automatically however imply that we must view SSGI production and financing as a solely public affair. Rather, this is increasingly pursued in the context of public-private partnership, and is often dependent on the actual SSGI involved and the societal and political choices surrounding it. The nine key services outlined above in relation to the welfare pillars can be placed into two groups. Social insurance schemes, health care and education – and to a lesser extent tertiary education – are dominated by public production and even more by public financing. In a second group, job services, care services and social housing have relatively more private commercial influence in their production and financing. While the share of private financing exceeds production – i.e. the public sector produces the service but receivers or private agents have to pay for it – in the cases of elderly care and social housing, it is the other way round in the cases of child care and job services – i.e. the public side provides funding but production is outsourced to private sector. The financing of elderly care in the grand types and in types 3 and 23 is mainly private sector based; the same goes for production of this SSGI in grand types 1 and 3. When it comes to child care, the single clusters 14 (Belgium) and 32 (the Netherlands) and also the UK show private domination of production and financing. The third SSGI with a significant private influence, social housing, has its production and financing in private/ outsourced hands especially in countries belonging to types 12, 23 and 32. Labour market services are dominated by the private sector in type 12.

Level of Responsibility and Territorial Organisation: Generally speaking, national level public responsibility is the norm for the grand types 1 and 3, while grand type 2 comprises the federal and local-dominated state-structures. As noted previously the character of the SSGI is sometimes more important than the general administrative structure. E.g. the SSGI of child care or social housing, which are of low-centrality and ‘close’ to the population are predominantly to be found under local control despite the actual distribution of state competences. This situation is inverted in respect of social insurance schemes which are a central constitutional and therefore a national level matter in nearly every European country surveyed. The importance of territorial organisation also to some extent depends on the SSGI in question but generally, a more explicit planning approach can be stated for the grand types 2 and 3. With the exception of Belgium, territorial organisation in grand type 1 is of an implicit nature with a lack of territorially sensitive organisation in respect of most SSGI. This probably coincides with the generally lower influence of the public sphere in grand type 2 when it comes to SSGI organisation. Countries of the grand type 2 are, on the other hand, often quite explicit in their planning approaches when it comes to education, care and labour market services.

This discussion of the characteristics of SSGI and of the organisational attributes of SSGI leads us to the promotion of a final comprehensive view of the three grand types.

Grand type 1, “passive SSGI organisation”: In this cluster, the Euro-Mediterranean states are represented as are the two rather exceptional cases of Belgium – special because of the influence of non-governmental actors like the church – and Luxemburg – special because of its small territorial size. High levels of public responsibility, complemented by an important role for private, familial involvement and a rather weak territorial organisation in respect of the specific SSGI involved are the principal features here. Type 12 (ES, IT) cluster very closely also due to their regionalised governmental approach and together with type 14 (BE) break up this otherwise predominantly national level based responsibility. Private engagement in production and financing of SSGI primarily occurs in the fields of child care and elderly care. In Belgium, the church moreover remains a decisive player in organising educational SSGI. Seen from an overall European perspective, countries of this grand type can be seen to interpret the public role in terms of the politico-territorial organisation of SSGI in a rather detached and passive manner.

Grand type 2, “active SSGI organisation”: The biggest cluster in terms of the number of cases within this analysis can be subdivided into three types. Types 21 and 22 see public responsibility primarily located on the local level while for type 23 the regional level is more important. Sub-national levels generally assume a significant level of responsibility. When it comes to territorial organisation, types 21 and 23 are stronger than 22 and often rely on explicit means and

instruments in their planning practice. Finally, in terms of production and financing, types 22 and 23 are rather more similar – showing more private involvement – compared to type 21. So, depending on the individual attributes of welfare and territorial policy, two out of the three types always have similarities. Altogether, grand type 2 represents quite well the assumed welfare features of the *European social model* while the planning approach actively steers SSGI organisation.

Grand type 3, “ambivalent SSGI organisation”: This cluster is very heterogeneous in geographic terms. The Netherlands, being a bit further away from the other three members of this cluster, is nevertheless similar to Greece, Hungary and Ireland in terms of the national level dominance in respect of public responsibility; the importance of the national level in SSGI organisation is higher here than in any other type. The intensity of territorial organisation is of a fairly explicit character. The production and financing of SSGI is however actually rather similar to that in cluster 23; basically with a strong public role but with the private sphere not totally excluded. What is different here is the scope of the SSGI involved. In the Netherlands in particular not all of the nine chosen key SSGI are seen as a public responsibility as segments of the care services and social housing remain in the private realm. If the public sector steers a certain SSGI then the mode of organisation in both the political and territorial respects is quite strong and directed from the national level. In a broader European comparison, countries of grand type 3 have, in effect, an all-or-none type of SSGI organisation.

6. Conclusion and outlook: a European model of SSGI organisation?

The analysis has shown that European states can be classified into several types in respect of their basic approaches to the socio-political and administrative-planning aspects of the *organisation* of the key SSGI within the welfare pillars of education, labour market, care, social transfer and social housing. It is important to note that the produced typology of states does not provide a picture of the *quality* or the *financial capacity* of SSGI in the various states. The range of analysis in thematic terms – multitude of services – and in geographic terms – 31 European countries – of course implies the reduction of information when discussing the characteristics of the resulting types. Nevertheless, the final typology shows that the relative importance of private involvement in SSGI organisation is not accidental but rather is typical for certain types of countries. Following public choice theory, societal choices upon the publicness of certain SSGI are answered differently in some types of countries in comparison to others.

Furthermore, the typology of SSGI organisation reflects to a large extent the results of the typologies already undertaken in the social welfare policy and spatial planning policy literatures. The Mediterranean states form one firm type. The grand type 2 of comparably active SSGI

organisation comprises another, the Continental type (AT, CH, DE, FR) and the Nordic model (DK, NO, SE) as well as the UK. What is most striking is the absence of a distinctive cluster of New EU Member States. Instead, the former communist states mainly cluster with the various types of grand type 2. This leads to the interpretation that, in the process of transition, the Central and East-European states took either the Continental or the unitarian structured Nordic systems as examples rather than inventing their own approaches.

Finally, it is clear that there is a tendency towards the convergence of, and clear evidence of learning between, the main models identified here, namely, the UK, Continental and Nordic types which can also be interpreted out of grand type 2. Since this grand type is characterised by a high level of sub-national, shared responsibility in terms of SSGI organisation and by explicit territorial organisation, it may serve as a mainstream model for further political development and integration.

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