

European Forum

Citizenship and Poverty
The Role of Institutions in the
Structuring of Social Exclusion

YURI KAZEPOV

EUR No. 98/1

EUI WORKING PAPERS



WP
309
EUR

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE

European University Institute



3 0001 0036 6985 2

EUI Working Paper EUF No. 98/1

Kazepov: *Citizenship and Poverty*
The Role of Institutions in the Structuring
of Social Exclusion

WP 309
EUR



The European Forum, set up in 1992 by the High Council, is a Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute in Florence. Its aim is to bring together in a given academic year, high-level experts on a particular theme, giving prominence to international, comparative and interdisciplinary aspects of the subject. It furthers the co-ordination and comparison of research in seminars, round-tables and conferences attended by Forum members and invited experts, as well as professors and researchers of the Institute. Its research proceedings are published through articles in specialist journals, a thematic yearbook and EUI Working Papers.

This Working Paper has been written in the context of the 1995-96 European Forum programme on "Citizenship", directed by Professors Klaus Eder, Massimo La Torre and Steven Lukes.

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE

EUROPEAN FORUM

EUI Working Paper EUF No. 98/1

**Citizenship and Poverty
The Role of Institutions in the
Structuring of Social Exclusion**

YURI KAZEPOV

University of Milan and University of Urbino

BADIA FIESOLANA, SAN DOMENICO (FI)

All rights reserved.
No part of this paper may be reproduced in any form
without permission of the author.

© Yuri Kazepov
Printed in Italy in February 1998
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50016 San Domenico (FI)
Italy

1. Theoretical introduction

1.1. *The relationship between citizenship systems and welfare regimes*

The fundamental question of this contribution is: "How do citizenship systems increase the risks of social exclusion?" However *social exclusion* and *citizenship* are not precise analytical concepts as they do not allow direct investigation through clearly identifiable indicators. They cover a wide range of phenomena and meanings, according to different disciplines and also to different interpretations within the same discipline¹. I would like, therefore, to specify that the perspective I am adopting will examine the concept of citizenship from the particular point of view of the rights of persons at the margins (the poor) of wealthy western societies. In doing this, I will try to integrate the civil and political perspectives on citizenship, along with its social aspects. The answer to the above mentioned question presupposes implicitly a first fundamental distinction between *welfare state regimes* and *citizenship systems*. Whereas speaking about welfare state regimes means considering the fact that the relations between state, family and economy are a complex organisational mix systematically interconnected in structuring social stratification (Esping-Andersen, 1990:20), speaking about citizenship systems means considering this same organisational mix from the point of view of how entitlements and related practices set up the boundaries of societal inclusion and exclusion in terms of access to inclusionary rights and practices. Social rights are, in this sense, one of the key factors in explaining the differing levels of social exclusion in modern western democracies. It is for this reason that in this context *social exclusion* and *citizenship* will be analysed from the point of view of social policies and of the role of the state in preventing or not preventing *institutionally* the exclusion of persons in a condition of economic need. According to this perspective citizenship systems frame institutionally the socio-economic relations at the basis of welfare regimes, setting up the rules according to which people in need are included (or excluded) at least from the monetary point of view.

¹ Since the seminal work of Marshall (1950), many contributions have referred to the concept, particularly in recent times. For a philosophical analysis of the concept of citizenship see: Veca (1990), Kymlicka and Norman (1994), Habermas (1994); for a political perspective see: Zincone (1992), Zolo (1994); for a juridical perspective, see partly Ferrajoli (1994), Dean (1996); for a historical reconstruction see: Turner (1986), Brubaker (1992); for different perspectives within the sociological narrative see: Barbalet (1988), Turner (1993), van Steenbergen (1994) and Somers (1993, 1994 and 1996); Bulmer and Rees (1996); Coles (1995).

So the question I posed could be reformulated as follows: "How do social policies, as instruments of societal membership, increase poverty risks and downward mobility patterns that lead to social exclusion, in particular among specific groups of the population?" At first glance this re-formulation seems to introduce a paradox: "do social policies aimed at combat social exclusion and poverty, produce it by themselves?"

A very short answer to this question can clarify the mechanisms according to which this whole process takes place: "by institutionalising and consolidating social exclusion within specific sets of regulations which address upward and downward mobility patterns". This short answer stresses the fact that different institutional settings (labour market provisions, social assistance benefits, family allowances, etc.) are influencing and shaping directly or indirectly (e.g. through the allocation of resources), in their context, the consequences of new risks of impoverishment that different groups of people have to face during the transitions they are supposed to undergo during their life time (Banks et al. 1992). In particular, what is challenged is the degree of social protection assured during crucial status transitions (e.g. entering the labour market, becoming unemployed, retiring, etc.). As most of them are institutionalised and linked on the one hand to age-specific periods of life in which rights are acquired or lost and, on the other, to contingent life conditions, the influence of the state has to be considered very important² in determining the distribution of risks and of protection against these risks. The state, in fact, facilitates specific life conditions and transitions in specific periods of life through the redistribution of resources implied in its policies³. What I want to show is first, that the overall effectiveness and adequacy of the institutions regulating these transitions in the new context of risks is threatened, and second that, as a consequence of the ongoing transformations, social assistance

² As far as the question of age-specific rights is concerned, good examples of the state's influence are compulsory schooling for the young or pension schemes for the elderly. As far as the institutionalisation of contingent situations are concerned, unemployment and the related unemployment benefits or poverty and social assistance schemes or any other targeted social policy are other good examples of how they are institutionally faced. For an overview of the debate see: Heinz (1991); Berger and Sopp (1995); Behrens and Voges (1995) Falkingham and Hills (1995).

³ Taking for granted the linkage between age-specific and contingent-life-situation status transitions, it is anyway important to keep them analytically separated as social policies address them in a different way. A good example to illustrate this linkage are the poverty risks of mothers which change over time. On the one hand they depend on the age and number of children and of her age. On the other they depend on her working status: low pensions may be in part the long-term effect of having cared for children at earlier life stages. See: Scheiwe (1994).

schemes are becoming more important, although they are not everywhere well equipped to grant a set of minimal resources and to help people escape from their condition of need.

From the theoretical point of view this analysis implies the need to change or to adapt existing frames of reference in order better to compare and classify citizenship systems. In this contribution, Germany and Italy will be used as two examples which will allow us to understand better both how the state structures social exclusion and how the use of specific indicators can contribute to bring about different typologies and reflect only a partial view of the overall citizenship systems existing in one specific country.

1.2. Citizenship systems and poverty

From a conceptual point of view, the consequence of what has been said up to now is that social policies are important and that poverty has to be seen partly as an effect of the state's redistribution of risks of impoverishment, insofar as citizenship systems can be considered as rules for socialising these risks and institutionalising solidarity by creating redistributive collectivities (see for instance Ferrera, 1993). This does not mean that poverty is always structurally determined, but that the consequences of specific risks of becoming poor are strongly influenced by the state's policies, which are channelling both "individual actions" and "risky events", to specific outcomes.⁴

This middle-range theory frame presupposes that poverty has to be seen more generally as the impossibility of exercising some primary functions (eating enough, living in acceptable housing conditions, etc.). This impossibility is caused by the lack of individual capabilities and of contextual resources which lead to an inadequate set of goods or services for satisfying those 'primary functions'. Sen (1992) speaks about *functionings* while new narratives in Germany speak about *Lebenslagen*.⁵

⁴ By saying this, of course, we are not forgetting that actions (for instance of welfare claimants and recipients. See van Berkel et al. *forthcoming*) and new risks can also influence public policies. Institutions, however, have their own inertia, which is part of the problem.

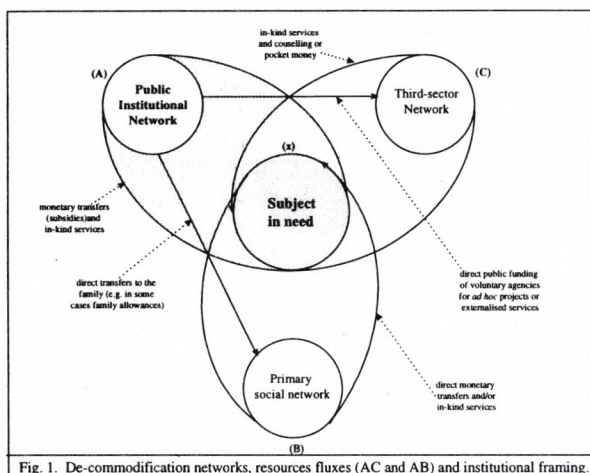
⁵ Within this theoretical perspective, individual or structural causes of poverty are not considered as separate. On the contrary poverty is seen as the result of a causal interplay between individual agents and structural constraints. Most of the scholars working on poverty are recognising more and more the importance of this interplay by showing how individual biographies reveal structural patterns and how poverty dynamics reveal the lack of individual capabilities. See Leibfried et al. (1995). The *Lebenslage* perspective is not new: Otto Neurath in the late twenties coined the term *Lebenslage* which most recently has been re-discovered in

This definition raises a lot of questions, both theoretical and methodological, because it is not an analytical statement at all and we would have to define 'primary functions'. Nevertheless I will bypass the current debate on this topic⁶. Here I am more interested in the fact that within a market society most of the goods and services considered to be necessary, are acquired through the so called *cash nexus*, that is by paying for them, in the market. What it is important to note for us in this definition is that the *family* and the *state* are breaking this *cash nexus* or market dependence by supplying services and/or resources to satisfy those primary functions. They are both to be considered, therefore, as "contextual resources". State provisions are supplied on the basis of sets of entitlements, that is the rights a person has within a specific context and which entitle him/her to benefit from the social security system or other social policy schemes within a market society. In fig. 1 this relation is represented by subsidies, transfers and services in the A_x area. Family provisions, on the contrary, are supplied on the basis of "reciprocity relations" in the Polanyian sense⁷ and are represented in fig. 1 by the relation B_x , which relates to services and resources transferred from the primary social network to the subject in need.

the German debate on poverty. See Neurath (1921), Weisser (1978), Amann (1983) and Döring, Hanesch and Huster (1990). In the Anglo-American debate we have the *Functioning and entitlement* approach which has been developed since the early eighties by Amartya Sen. See Sen (1981, 1988, 1992). Both perspectives are aimed at overcoming the fact that "poverty" is not an analytical concept by itself and needs to be qualified theoretically and empirically. I do not want to enter the conceptual debate in detail here and now, but see: Sen (1993); Leibfried et al. (1995); Mingione (1996); Castel (1995); Room (1995); Gough (1995).

⁶ The fundamental question: "which goods or services should be considered necessary in order to determine the threshold which divides the population into poor and non-poor?" characterises the whole theoretical and methodological debate starting from the absolute poverty line of Rowntree (at the end of the last century) onwards. I will not answer this question because I am not interested in counting the poor, that is in knowing how many people have an income or expenditure level under this line. Of course the criteria of selecting goods or the methodologies in determining the threshold would also tell us something about principles and underlying discourses on *adequacy*, *power relations* between welfare claimants and so on, but they are not the topic of this contribution. For this debate see: Townsend (1979), Room (1995), Kazepov and Mingione (1995), Mingione (1996), Sen (1981, 1992), McFate et al. (1995).

⁷ For Polanyi, reciprocity is a form of socio-economic integration based on exchange relation between symmetric groups, where restitution of gifts prevails. For this very reason this form of integration takes place within primary social relations: kinship, friends, family. See Polanyi (1957). In anthropology the concept of reciprocity is much more differentiated. For another, but complementary, perspective see Sahlins (1972).



It is evident that the resources the family is able to produce are often strongly influenced on the one hand by its rights and, on the other, by the state's supply of services and allowances of different kinds. In fig. 1 A-B entitlements influence A-B transfers and consequently also B_x transfers. Considering this aspect we can say, therefore, that the state protects individuals directly with specific entitlements or indirectly through the family as an institutionalised subject bearing specific rights. This distinction is important, because the role of the family in protecting its members (in particular children, young people and partly the elderly) varies accordingly to the institutional framework and its available resources, i.e. the context within which the survival strategies of the individual in a condition of economic need are to be developed.

Besides the family and the state, in the last twenty years, associations of the third sector (point C in fig. 1), i.e. no-profit and voluntary organisations, also increased their institutional importance in breaking the *cash nexus*. This is due to many reasons, including the crisis of the welfare state and the externalisation of many services targeted to the poor⁸. In this case (the relation

⁸ For an overview of how the welfare mix (state-third sector) structures the contextual resources in different countries see Streeck and Schmitter (1985), Ascoli and Pasquinelli (1993), Gidron et al. (1992), and Salomon (1995). In order to understand the complexity of the phenomenon one should also take dimensions and perspectives into account other than the state or the third sector. For instance one should take into account, through *ad hoc* constructed

A-C) the public sphere pays for services supplied by the third sector (e.g. counselling, etc.). This contribution, however, by focusing on the role of the state, will draw attention only to part of the above presented scheme, and in particular to the effects and the role which existing entitlements have in institutionalising conditions of social inclusion and exclusion, being the basis for both a social construction of the definition of poverty and a definition of social policies as an expression of societal membership and of citizenship systems.

2. Labour market and family: the ongoing transformation process

To make the above illustrated middle-range theory concrete and illustrate its implications, I will try to show that the ongoing transformation of (1) the labour market and of (2) the socio-demographic features of family configurations are increasing the importance of social assistance schemes. This creates some problems in countries at the *periphery* of Europe, namely the south European countries, Italy included, that are less ready to protect the victims of the changes. In fact, in these countries there is no national law on social assistance and this increases the institutional intra-national inequalities both in terms of existing entitlements and benefits⁹.

- 1) The overall changes on the labour market are well known. Current discourses are on flexibility and lean production or lean administration. Globalization (Ferrera, 1993; Strange, 1993; Sassen, 1996), international competitiveness and social dumping (Leibfried and Pierson, 1993) are new catchwords. The life cycle of products and the trade-off between growth and redistribution have been broken (Sabel et al. 1987). A consequence of these changes were industrial restructuring, sub-contracting and regionalization of economic activities, focusing on the core business, deregulation of industrial relations, mobilisation of capital-intensive investments (Jessop, 1993; Esping-Andersen, 1996; Mingione, 1997). This brought about a sharp drop of the employment base in the manufacturing sector, more or less counterbalanced by the increase in highly heterogeneous and unstable forms of employment in

case studies, how individual strategies in general are developed in coping with poverty, considering all the available resources. For this perspective in poverty research in Italy see: Kazepov (1995) and Kazepov, Mingione, Zajczyk (1995) and Micheli and Laffi (1995). For Germany see Andreß et al. (1996) and Ludwig (1996).

⁹ In recent years something is changing. In Portugal a new scheme, close to the French RMI, is under test in some areas of the country. In Spain similar projects are developed by the regions in view of the development of a more coherent system of intervention.

services, often badly paid. In other words the transformation led to more precarious work conditions (see Standing, 1995), the instability of work careers, and the disappearance of a *full-time, life-time* job perspective. Flexibility, part-time and atypical forms of work are of course not synonymous with vulnerability and social exclusion. It depends on the social and economic context within which the work activity is carried out. A young student living in an economically dynamic area and working part-time to finance his or her studies and fostering upwards mobility has different needs from a lone mother working part-time in order to take care of her daughter. So does a drop-out from compulsory school in the Italian Mezzogiorno, whose possibilities of finding a regular full-time job are very low. Moreover, the increased vulnerability takes place in a situation of unemployment rates persisting at a high level, affecting since the early 1990's the Scandinavian countries as well. The conjunction of these circumstances is expected to have far reaching consequences.

2) The overall changes in the family are also well known. They include the ageing of the population, the drop in birth- and marriage-rates and increasing divorce, separation and cohabitation, as well as lower fertility rates. These changes characterise to a variable degree ongoing demographic transformations in most of the industrialised countries (Bahle, 1995; Guerrero and Naldini, 1996). One of their main consequences is the weakening of the family's protective capacity along two main lines:

- a) an increasing number of individuals may become socially isolated and hence more vulnerable for longer periods during their life-course (e.g. elderly, lone mothers, single long-term unemployed);
- b) an increasing number of subjects living in households with insufficient resources, for instance families with dependent members (e.g. the elderly, children leaving home at a later age).

Given these general trends, there are important differences among countries and within countries among regions. These differences are due not only to timing differences, but also to deeply rooted socio-cultural differences, which characterised the paths to modernisation and which are now characterising the extent to which the transformations are affecting local life conditions (Mingione, 1996, 1997). The Role of the *family* and of the primary social networks, of gender relations, of the *market* and of the *state* vary considerably in ensuring the socio-economic integration of individuals and groups of individuals.

Germany and Italy, have in this respect some important common features which produced a complex organisational welfare mix strongly connected to their respective citizenship systems¹⁰. I will mention two of them.

First, in the two countries, this mix is characterised by the great importance of the family in terms of welfare provisions and support for weak subjects. According to the subsidiarity principle, the state will intervene only when the sheltering capacities of the family are no longer effective¹¹. These sheltering capacities of the family are legally coded in rules which refer to *Unterhaltsverpflichtung* (BGB, § 1360 u.ff.) in Germany and to *obbligazione per legge al mantenimento* (art. 433 of the Civil Code) in Italy, i.e. to the obligation of maintenance by relatives¹². Second, in these occupational models, most of the social rights which should enable societal membership, depend on ones' labour market position. The model of the adult male *family-wage-earning employee*, protected by state and trade-union action, has developed as the main form of citizenship in terms of income maintenance.

Apart these two main common features there are a number of important differences which need to be considered in order better to understand how in the two countries the institutional setting structures the way in which poverty is manifested. In this contribution I will concentrate my attention particularly on the institutional differences which exist at the national and federal level.¹³

¹⁰ As we will see in the last section of this paper, Esping-Andersen (1990) calls this welfare mix *the conservative model of welfare capitalism*, because its countries tend to preserve status differences. His contribution gave rise to a wide debate to which we will briefly refer to in the last section of this contribution.

¹¹ In these countries, the sheltering capacities of the family have in fact remained relatively high compared to the northern countries. In particular, in Germany and Italy, marriage rates declined but not so dramatically as elsewhere (there is more a phenomenon of delayed marriage) remaining above the EU average; divorce rates increased but not as much as in other countries. The relative stability of marriage is also shown by the relatively low number of children born out of wedlock. See: Scheiwe (1995) and Trifiletti (1995). For a critical analysis of the subsidiarity principle see Grottian et al. 1988.

¹² These obligations become important when an individual requires income support from social assistance, or when a frail elderly person requires some kind of social assistance. Before granting the request, social workers must inquire if there is no kin member who should be called upon to fulfil his/her legal obligations. In both countries parents and grandparents are responsible for their children and grandchildren, even when they are adults, if they are not able to support themselves. Siblings are responsible for each other. Children are responsible for their parents if these are in need. But grandchildren are no longer responsible for their grandparents.

2.1. The impact of transformations: new needs, old answers

The new socio-economic conditions emerging from the above mentioned transformations and the social questions they pose are met by old answers and old institutions, which were designed to deal with relatively stable family and employment life cycles, or with migration patterns typical of periods of economic development and employment growth. I will refer here mainly to labour market related policies which, within the German and Italian citizenship systems, are the key policies that influence the production and reproduction of inequality patterns. In fact, as we mentioned before, the individual has access to most social policies through his/her participation to the labour market.

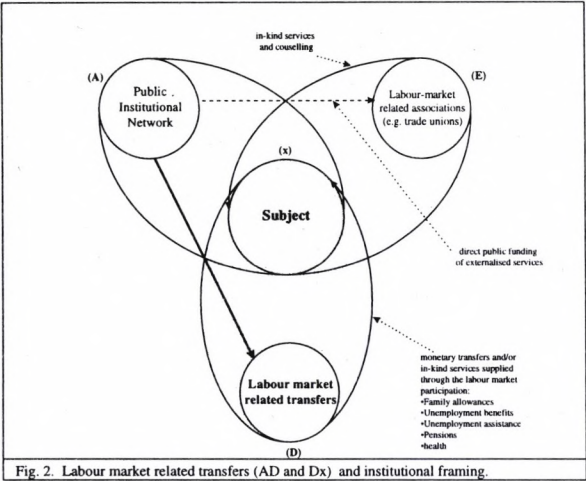


Figure 2 shows how the public institutional network of services and provisions channels resources *only indirectly* to the subject: $[A \rightarrow (D) \rightarrow x]$ and/or $[A \rightarrow (E) \rightarrow x]$. There are of course some areas of intervention which do not obey this logic; in Italy the National Health System is a good example for this, even if since it has been established (1978) universalistic access has been constantly restricted (Dirindin, 1996).

¹³ Paying less attention to the regional differences does not mean being not aware of their great importance, particularly in Italy. See for instance the differences amongst regions in terms of unemployment rates or in terms of concentration of poverty. We will give some accounts on this important aspect in some footnotes; for a more general overview, see: Kazepov (1997).

The socio-economic changes briefly described in the previous section, have had a variable impact on social policies depending on the local socio-economic context and on the specifics of existing welfare provisions aimed at maintaining market capabilities in terms of the purchasing power of persons in a condition of economic need. Comparatively speaking, public intervention provided different solutions to similar problems and produced different forms of institutionalised risks of impoverishment which affect both directly and indirectly people's life chances.

Labour-related social policies tried (and are still trying) to answer to the challenges posed by the ongoing transformations by adapting their schemes to the new discourses on flexibility. However, in continental Europe institutional inertia is relatively high, or at least higher than in countries characterised by widespread liberalism like the United States or, since the end of the 1980', increasingly the United Kingdom. Although this inertia does not affect all kind of social policies, it is particularly true in Germany where the law on employment support (*Arbeitsförderungsgesetz*) which establishes the system of income maintenance in case of unemployment dates from 1969. Of course, since then, and particularly during the 1980s' retrenchment policies have considerably limited entitlements. For example access has been restricted and there is a tendency to focus on core rights¹⁴. The unemployed are getting now less money than before (no longer 63% of their last net wage, but 60%), but the expiry time has been extended for older workers¹⁵. German unification has not challenged this model too much. It created of course a very special situation, but the western model has been extended also to the new Länder, backed up by some *ad hoc* measures (limited in time) to insure income maintenance.

In Italy, on the contrary, the last few years have been characterised by relatively deep changes on the institutional level (e.g. LN 223/91, but also LN 236/93, LN 56/94, LN 451/94 and LN 95/95) mainly due to the inadequacy of

¹⁴ For instance resources are more and more addressed mainly to passive policies like unemployment benefits, than to active ones like re-qualification and retraining measures. For an overview of the retrenchment trend since the early 1980s, see: Hanesch et al. (1994); for a comparative perspective up to the end of the 1980s see Pennings (1990).

¹⁵ As far as the new Länder are concerned, after unification and the introduction of the western market regulatory mechanisms, the east German system of social citizenship changed radically. Unemployment increased rapidly with a shocking effect on the population, whose levels of employment dropped between 1989 and 1994 by more than 40%. This required massive investments which have been keeping, at least until now, poverty levels down. Labour market policies covered nearly one third of the labour force in 1991 and still a quarter in 1995. For an overview see: Häußermann and Kazepov (1996).

the previously existing system. Despite some important improvements, there are still great inequalities in accessing the income maintenance mechanisms in the case of unemployment since there is no comprehensive strategy related to labour market interventions, they are fragmented among numerous legislative acts, and lack any coherence. Not all workers have access to the main protection scheme (*Cassa Integrazione Guadagni* and *indennità di mobilità*) which grants up to 80% of the last net wage, and there is still a gap between well and badly protected workers. For instance workers from small firms or specific sectors are not entitled to these schemes but only to the ordinary unemployment benefit that is far from adequate¹⁶ (see in the next section fig. 4: t_1 - t_2). Italian measures favour mainly workers from medium-large commercial and industrial firms.

I do not want to enter into technical details here (see figs. 3 and 4). The main point I want to make is that the above-mentioned transformations brought about in Germany and Italy the decline of the family wage of the adult male breadwinner as the dominant principle of the social (i.e. also *gendered*) division of labour in favour of a more flexible system centred on the multiple-income household with a slowly increasing women's activity rate¹⁷.

2.2. *The groups at risk and the structure of rights*

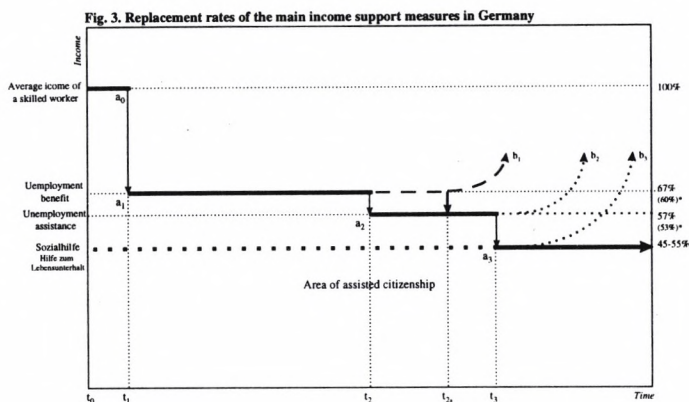
Within these regulatory frames who are the groups structurally more at risk of poverty in the labour market? I will try to give an institutional answer to this question, because it is within these two institutional frameworks that downwards mobility paths are structured, producing different groups that are *structurally* more at risk of poverty.

Relatively speaking, in Germany unemployed male adults are more at risk of poverty than in Italy, where the group most at risk are young people (mainly young females of the southern regions) entering the labour market for the first time (see tab. 1). This is due (amongst other reasons) to the fact that in Germany unemployment benefits are mostly limited up to two years (fig. 3, a_1 , period: t_1 - t_2)¹⁸ and after this period one receives only means-tested unemployment

¹⁶ The ordinary unemployment benefit is about 20%-30% of the last net wage for 180 days. This scheme, however, is marginal compared to other group-oriented income maintenance schemes. The heritage of particularistic and segmented protection is still very strong. (See: Negri and Saraceno, 1996; Dell'Aringa and Samek Lodovici, 1996; Reyneri, 1996).

¹⁷ Italy has the lowest women activity rate (women between 15 and 64 years of age) in the European Union (42.2) compared to the EU average (55.2) or to Germany (60.7). See: Eurostat (1995c).

assistance (fig. 3, a_2 from t_2 onwards) which is often under the social assistance threshold and is therefore supplemented up to that level (a_3).



Young people in Germany are less at risk because (among other reasons) of the relatively smooth transition to the labour market which keeps the youth unemployment rate lower than the adult one (the only case in Europe, see tab. 1). The dual system, despite its rigidities and costs, plays an important role in this process. Family allowances also play a role, in particular because starting from 1996 onwards the benefits have been raised considerably, up to 200 DM for the first child.

In Italy the risk of becoming poor because of unemployment is confined to the entry level, but once *in* the labour market (*in* meaning here a secure, regular job), it is more difficult to get *out*. Rigid *hiring* and *firing* regulations slowed down the turnover, *freezing* employment. This worsened the segmentation of the Italian labour market, discouraging labour mobility for protected workers and increasing the difficulties in finding new jobs for young people with no labour experience. It is not by chance that in the more dynamic regions in Italy there are the lowest unemployment rates for male adults of Europe (see tab. 1). This strong protection of workers was particularly true for specific groups at least until the early 1990s, when, the system was reformed to a great extent through a law (LN 223/91) which redesigned labour policies and

¹⁸ There are now some exceptions in the eastern Länder and for older people; (fig. 3, extension: t_2 - t_{2a}).

both inclusion and exclusion criteria.¹⁹ Access to benefits has been widened for more categories of workers, but the period of benefit claimability has been shortened to the EU average (about two years). The persistence of high levels of unemployment in the early 1990s forced the legislator in 1993 (LN 236/93) to widen access once more to existing income maintenance schemes for further categories in order to avoid creating too many social tensions.

Tab. 1. Unemployment rates in Italy and Germany (1993-1995)

	Country	region	Total			Men			Women			< 25		
			1993	1994	1995	1993	1994	1995	1993	1994	1995	1993	1994	1995
Average	Italy		11.2	11.4	12.0	7.9	9.0	9.3	16.8	15.6	16.7	31.0	31.8	33.3
	lowest	<i>Trentino Alto Adige</i>	3.1	4.3	3.9	2.1	3.1	2.7	4.9	6.1	5.6	6.5	8.3	8.3
		<i>Lombardy</i>	5.4	6.1	6.1	2.7	4.3	4.1	7.2	8.9	9.1	12.2	17.5	16.0
	highest	<i>Campania</i>	22.8	23.1	25.9	17.8	18.4	21.4	33.1	32.3	34.8	58.4	60.1	68.7
		<i>Sicily</i>	23.1	21.9	23.3	15.7	18.1	19.1	38.8	30.9	33.2	56.9	54.9	59.7
Δ	(difference low/high)		20.0	18.8	22.0	15.7	15.3	18.7	33.9	26.2	29.2	50.4	51.8	60.4
Average	Germany		7.0	8.6	8.2	5.7	7.4	7.2	8.6	10.3	9.6	7.8	8.2	7.8
	lowest	<i>Baden-Württemberg</i>	4.1	5.4	5.5	3.8	5.3	5.3	4.5	5.6	5.8	4.1	6.1	5.7
		<i>Bayern</i>	3.9	4.8	4.9	3.5	4.4	4.5	4.4	5.3	5.3	3.2	4.5	4.6
	highest	<i>Mecklenburg-Vorpom.</i>	14.1	18.8	12.0	10.8	14.4	8.8	17.8	23.6	15.7	...	14.7	9.7
		<i>Sachsen Anhalt</i>	13.6	18.5	16.7	9.4	12.7	12.5	18.0	24.8	21.4	...	15.4	13.8
		<i>Saarland (2)</i>	7.4	9.1	9.1	7.3	9.3	9.2	7.4	8.7	8.9	6.1	10.1	9.8
Δ	difference low/high (1)		10.2	14.0	11.8	7.3	10.0	8.0	13.6	19.5	16.1	...	10.9	9.2
Δ	difference low/high (2)		3.5	4.3	4.2	3.8	4.9	4.7	3.0	3.4	3.6	2.9	5.6	5.2

Source: Own calculation on Eurostat (1995b, 1996a). (1) New Länder. (2) Old Länder.

Although several groups of potential recipients are still excluded, through these changes the Italian system moved closer to the German one along two lines:

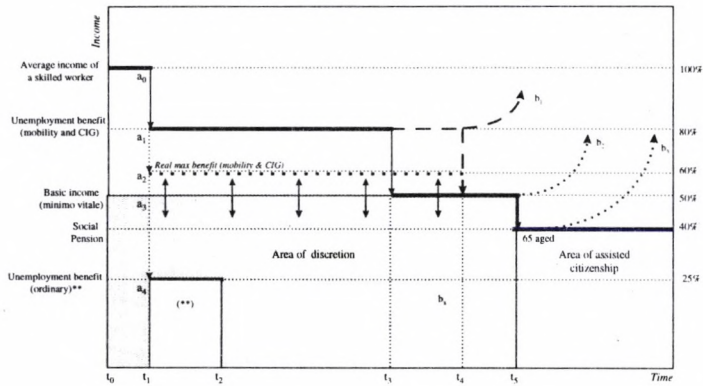
- in limiting the inequalities existing in the access to benefits, *vis a vis* the same condition of unemployment;
- in limiting the length of time benefits can be claimed.

This convergence however has a dangerous effect on the risk of becoming poor in Italy. The status transition from unemployment benefit to means-tested unemployment assistance in Germany is backed up, as we can see in fig. 3 by the social assistance scheme which guarantees minimum life conditions (fig. 3: a₃). If the household's income is below this threshold, automatically its members are entitled to benefits. In Italy (fig. 4) this status transition downwards does not automatically give rise to entitlements (fig. 4: a₃), at least not in all regions and not for all groups at risk. Moreover, formally existing entitlements are not always adequately implemented and a high level of

¹⁹ The LN 223/91 redesigned, for instance, placement services, collective labour displacement schemes, income maintenance rights.

discretion still persists. This higher institutional vulnerability in Italy necessarily implies a higher dependence on the family's sheltering capacities. As we have seen, however, socio-demographic changes tend to weaken this capacity by increasing the risks of poverty for particularly vulnerable groups, for instance children and/or young people within single-parent families or within households with an unemployed male breadwinner, or elderly persons when they are no longer physically self-sufficient, alone or in a one-wage household, or lone adult long-term unemployed males.

Fig. 4 Replacement rates of the main income support measures in Italy



In addition to its weakened sheltering capacities, we have to consider that Italy is the only country in the European Union which does not have a proper scheme of child/family allowances. Benefits are restricted to households of dependent workers, unemployed persons receiving the unemployment benefit and pensioners who have a past record as dependent workers (see fig. 2 in the previous section). This benefit has been means-tested since 1988, although it does not cover all poor families with children because it excludes all those who cannot enter the labour market or have been expelled from it and are no more entitled to unemployment benefits. The self-employed are also excluded and the level of the benefits is low (CIPE, 1996). The distribution of social expenditure in Italy shows clearly (see tab. 2) the over-representation of expenditures for pensions and the elderly (the highest in Europe after Greece) and the under-representation of family benefits (the lowest after Greece).

Tab. 2. Current expenditure on social protection in relation to GDP and current expenditure per head (ECU), 1993.					
	Exp % of GDP	Per Head ECU	Per Head at 1985 prices	% exp. for elderly pensions	% exp. for family allowance
EU12	28.8	4,514.8	3,529.9	36.5	6.8
EU12_90	27.8	4,489.0	3,509.9	36.7	6.6
D	31.0	6,234.7	4,522.8	30.6	7.3
D_90	27.6	6,213.2	4,507.2	29.9	6.9
I	25.8	3,834.0	3,169.9	51.8	3.3
Highest (1)	(NL) 33.6	(DK) 7,379.9	(DK) 5,447.1	(GR) 55.7	(IR) 10.5
Lowest	(GR) 16.3	(GR) 1,202.2	(GR) 866.0	(IR) 21.9	(GR) 0.5
Δ hi-lo	17.3	6,177.7	4,581.1	33.8	10.0

Source: Own calculation on Eurostat (1995b). (1) Luxembourg excluded.
 NB: EU12 includes the new Länder, EU12_90 does not. D includes the new Länder, D_90 does not.

Given the new situation of vulnerability, the old selective protection schemes which guaranteed the male breadwinner from short-term unemployment are no more adequate in Germany than in Italy, because his position is also increasingly eroded both in institutional terms (more flexibility in the regulations) and on the labour market (globalisation). The overall consequence of these changes is therefore that the last safety net of social assistance is becoming more and more important in order to prevent or at least to back up the spread of poverty among larger parts of the population.²⁰

3. Germany and Italy: two ways of shrinking contextual resources

Considering the increasing importance of social assistance, in the third section of this contribution I will focus my attention on how the social assistance schemes are organised and function in Germany and in Italy. A brief description of the formal aspects (e.g. access criteria, level of benefits) and actual practices (e.g. degree of discretionality, the extent to which rules are in fact implemented? ...), will show how the two systems lead to a different degree of

²⁰ The Italian adult male unemployment rate is much below the European average, reaching in some regions the lowest level within the whole European Union (below 3%). On the contrary the unemployment rate of young people below 25 years of age in some southern regions (e.g. Campania, Sicily,...) is higher than 60%. Source: Eurostat (1996).

market dependence within their respective national contexts²¹. Adequate or inadequate entitlements produce, in fact, a different degree of dependence from the market for the satisfaction of basic needs. Less rights increase and institutionalise poverty risks in the set of existing rules, restricting in this way the options individuals or families have in developing their strategies of coping with the condition of need. It is this difference in the degree of market dependency and the resulting groups at risk that allows us to link the structure of entitlements at the basis of citizenship systems to existing patterns of poverty, allowing us also to understand the role of the state. The state is in fact the main subject that contributes to shaping the way in which poverty manifests and to which groups, with which characteristics, are more at risk, by widening or shrinking the contextual resources of the families and individuals in a condition of economic need.

Within a context of instability in which it is no longer possible to rely on extension of the employment base and on the stability of the family life cycle, minimal entitlements and the related practices have to be considered as institutional mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion which will more and more contribute to the development of wide *or* restrictive societal membership patterns.

What are the minimal entitlements in the German and Italian contexts? The differences between the two countries are notable. In Germany, social assistance is regulated by the *Bundessozialhilfegesetz* of 1962 (the Federal law on social assistance), a good example of institutional inertia, currently under strong pressures in the German political debate after unification²². According to

²¹ Given a condition of economic need, the more an individual is dependent on the market, the more the support responsibility is externalised from the state to individuals and families, i.e. to the primary social networks within which persons in a condition of economic need are living.

²² After unification and starting from 1.1.1991, this scheme has been implemented in the east German Länder as well. But there are important differences: a) the right to social support can be claimed before a court in the eastern Länder only if the municipality has adequate financial capacity; b) there is a gap in the subsidies paid and in the supplementary benefits which should integrate the subsidies. Although the difference in payments has been reduced from 11% to 4% between 1991 and 1994, the supplementary benefits are still not paid in the eastern Länder. In early years these restrictions did not have a great impact as most of the population was covered by active labour market policy. However persisting high levels of unemployment caused a wave of downward mobility. People covered by social assistance schemes increased from a minimum of 0.5% (1990) to a maximum of 4.6% (1992) of the population. This figure is still lower than in the older Länder (1992: 6.8%), but it is increasing much faster. See: Häußermann and Kazepov (1996).

this law, each person who is in a condition of economic need (defined as having an income below a given threshold), has the right to receive financial benefits from the municipality in order to minimise his/her social exclusion at least in economic terms. The person receives this amount automatically as soon as his/her income is below that threshold (see fig. 3); the possibility for the social worker to exercise discretion is very low, although the bureaucratic procedures stigmatise persons in need more than in the Scandinavian countries. A decision of the Federal Administrative Court (24/6/1954) stated that the right of the person to social assistance could be claimed in front of a court, because, “although a person is subordinated to public authority, he/she is not a subject (my specification: in the sense of *sujet* in French or *suddito* in Italian or *Untertan* in German) but a citizen, that means that he/she can not be considered as an object of state intervention but as an autonomous personality having rights and duties” (BVerwGE, 1/1955:159). This claimability of the right to minimum life conditions interrupts institutionally the downwards mobility paths and sets up the basis for the development of empowering accompanying measures (fig. 3: b₁-b₃). Benefits are relatively generous compared to Italy and apply partly also to resident aliens. Young people are entitled like adults, but the responsibility for their well-being is up to their parents’ until they are 18 and the income considered, in order to determine the threshold, is the income of the household²³.

In Italy (and I am using Italy as an example of a south European country) the situation is completely different (see fig. 4 in the previous section). Institutional inertia is reflected in the persisting absence of a national level framework-law since 1977. The right to social assistance is sometimes established by regional framework-laws, but not all regions have one, and those which do have such a law did not co-ordinate with one another, so that social assistance is regulated in different ways in different regions, granting low or high levels of benefits. Furthermore within single regions there are great differences among cities, and the fact that rights which have been proclaimed are not always implemented makes the situation even worse.

²³ The benefits are means-tested and the threshold is individualised. This means that the specific case of the person is taken into consideration using standardised parameters. There is a basic amount which is integrated via supplementary benefits for specific conditions of need (e.g. ageing, lone motherhood...), housing costs (rent and heating) and extra *ad hoc* payments. The sum of these amounts, adapted to the size of the household through an equivalence scale, constitutes the threshold for the means-test. Until 1993 Asylum seekers were covered by the same programme. Only after this they have been covered by a similar programme, although with lower cash benefits and a more stigmatising institutional design (AsylbLG, 30.6.1993).

The main problem related to this fragmented and heterogeneous picture of minimal rights and social citizenship is that a person in a condition of need does not really know if he or she has a right to be helped (or not). The exercise of discretion is relatively widespread, influencing practice mostly in a negative way²⁴ (see the large area of discretion in fig. 4).

Also in the regions with the most advanced social policies, like Emilia Romagna, Lombardy, Piedmont, social assistance rights are subordinated to several constraints which differ from region to region, for instance *budgetary constraints*. In this case, the right of the person to be helped depends on the financial resources at disposal of the municipality. This means that the condition of need is not the main criteria of intervention, and that the right to be helped is subordinated to political and economic decisions. Another constraint is related to the fact that an insufficient income is not enough to qualify one as being in a condition of need. Besides an economic deficit, a person has to demonstrate additional conditions of deprivation, for instance having dependent members in the household (namely children, young or aged people) or minors facing judicial proceedings, or any other situation that limits the household's autonomy. Most of the implementation guidelines specify that social workers are to intervene only in households where the so-called *qualified needs* are combined with an insufficient income. The conceptual problem related to this implementation rule is the fact that it tends to categorise interventions around specific conditions of cumulative deprivation without considering that social intervention should encompass the situation of need *tout court*. The only persons entitled to be helped as soon as they have an income below the threshold are the elderly, who automatically receive social pensions, although these are comparatively less generous than the social assistance benefits in Germany, which are provided for all persons in a condition of economic need. Resident aliens are not always and everywhere entitled to benefits.

The fragmentation of rights corresponds to a fragmented institutional design of social assistance at the local level. In fact even if the implementation guidelines of the basic subsidy are the same for everyone, practices tend to be different in each of the offices, which segment intervention according to age

²⁴ For example, to calculate the threshold for a family of two persons, municipalities use equivalence scales, that should account for savings on fixed costs (for instance rents, heating, and so on). In Italy the 14 municipalities I have investigated, that cover nearly 15% of the population, (see: Kazepov, 1996), all have different scales increasing the payable subsidy for the second person for an amount ranging from 25% to 89%. This wide range is not the result of contextualised living standards and of possible savings, but of political discretionality in setting up different criteria without any underlying rational.

(children and their mothers, adults, elderly, disabled, etc.). The most striking aspect of this fragmentation is the high degree of exclusion of adults in favour of a higher degree of inclusion of minors and of the highest for the elderly. Less discretion in the evaluation of the conditions of need and a set of services that integrate the cash benefits, thus allow an active exercise of societal membership. The number of persons dependent on each service is therefore more an indicator of adequate or inadequate entitlements than of existing problem groups. The entitlements which exist for children and young people, however, are related to the important role of judicial courts in forcing the municipality to intervene in serious cases of deprivation. This means that, as we have already mentioned, the mere condition of economic need of the family within which the minor is living, is not enough to entitle the family to economic protection. For this reason the families protected by social assistance schemes in Italy are more marginalized than in Germany, where access criteria are less restrictive and managed²⁵ with less discretion.

Given these institutional frameworks and related practices we can draw the conclusion from the institutional point of view that the vulnerability of the families in a condition of economic need is increasing and the availability of contextual resources is shrinking. In particular the situation is worse in southern European countries where a general scheme of income maintenance is missing²⁶.

The institutionally influenced downward trajectories are a clear example of the state's role in the structuring of poverty risks and downward mobility patterns. Fig. 3 and 4 show the potential difference between a context with a general minimum income maintenance scheme and a context with fragmented group rights and a missing general scheme. In Germany minimum life conditions are granted and the downward mobility path is interrupted at that level (fig. 3: a₃). The limited time of reciprocity of unemployment benefits (fig.

²⁵ Recent research, co-ordinated by the author and conducted by a working group of the Observatory of Urban Poverty based at the University of Milan, carried out on minors inserted in social assistance programmes in Milan showed that nearly 50% (1995: n=7726 minors) have had a mandate from the judicial court. This means that they were (and are) not necessarily in a condition of economic need (although most of them are), but more in a condition of need *tout court*.

²⁶ In this contribution the attention was paid to Italy, but similar patterns are to be found in Spain, Portugal and Greece. Spain is closer to the Italian case: some regions developed a relatively well-working minimum income scheme (e.g. Cataluña) while others did not, see Aguilar et al. (1996). Starting from July 1996, Portugal is also launching an experimental programme in some areas, see: Pereiraña (1998).

3: t_1 - t_2) and the decreasing active policies of job reinsertion (the new Länder excluded) for unskilled workers have increased the numbers of families and individuals in Germany depending on social assistance. These people, however, are somehow protected²⁷.

In Italy the interruption of downward social mobility is not available to all. In the assistance system, the elderly are formally the better off. This does not of course mean that their available resources are adequate; in fact, the elderly are over-represented among the poor, as well as large families (with 3 or more children), who are the worst-off group in general, particularly in the south where 68.1% (1995) of poor families are concentrated²⁸.

Italian convergence with Germany in relation to the mechanisms regulating labour market failure creates an increasing number of situations at risk that pose serious questions if not adequately backed up by a general system of income maintenance integrated and supported by active re-insertion accompanying measures. What will happen to the vulnerable groups of people who face increasing employment precarity, are less protected by their families and lack any adequate last safety net?

4. Citizenship systems: towards a new classification?

From Titmuss (1974) onwards, different scholars²⁹, by using different indicators, classified western industrialised welfare states into different clusters arguing for the coherence and adequacy of the criteria used. Our focus on the changed role of the state in supporting people in a condition of need, on the impact of the ongoing transformations and on the related increasing importance of social assistance schemes, has also some consequences on the criteria to be

²⁷ In Germany, people depending on social assistance increased from 6.6% (1990) to 6.8% of the population in the old Länder. The range of values (1992) was between 4.2% (Bayern) and 7.4% (Saarland). Statistisches Bundesamt (1994). People living below the 59% income threshold were however 11.6% in 1994 (Leibfried et al, 1995).

²⁸ In Italy, in 1994 a couple with a head of household above 65 years of age was 9% of the population but 14.2% of the poor. A couple with 3 or more children was 8.1% of the population, but 17.8% of the poor. The situation is even worse as soon as we consider Italian regional disparities. The high concentration of the poor in the *Mezzogiorno* implies that 1/4 of all young people in the south are also poor. See: CIPE (1996:10).

²⁹ See for instance: Wilensky (1975), Mishra (1990), Esping-Andersen (1990), Ferrera (1993, 1996), Leibfried (1993), Castles (1996).

used in a system of classification. In fact, considering citizenship systems as a complex organisational mix between state, family and economy (i.e. the *market*), systematically interconnected on the basis of entitlements and related practices, implies at least a partial change of perspective. In particular the interplay between different labour-related protection schemes and social assistance in the structuring of downwards mobility trajectories (see figg. 3 and 4 in section 2.2.) requires the inclusion of the latter in the criteria at the basis of the construction of a citizenship systems' typologies. In this last section, I will briefly sketch a possible direction for analysis³⁰ using Esping Andersen's (1990) model as a starting point, and using the regulatory frame of social assistance as an additional indicator. In fact, although means-tested social policies (a legacy of the reformed poor-relief) aimed at granting minimum life conditions are not to be seen as a welfare state commitment *per se* (Esping-Andersen, 1990:20), they indicate what a society considers acceptable from the point of view of social commitment, thereby defining institutionally the limits of citizenship.

Esping-Andersen's pioneering (1990) contribution, combined qualitative (based on historical account) and quantitative analysis (based on national statistics and entitlements), to illustrate two main features of *welfare state regimes*: 1) the systematic relationship between levels of de-commodification and the consequent social stratification; 2) the different mixes of family, state and market as mechanisms of socio-economic integration enabling the social reproduction of individuals and families. While this latter aim has been only partly developed, his efforts have been concentrated on the classification of OECD countries according to their degree of de-commodification and its effect on social stratification. In using both of these classifications we will attempt to propose some first steps towards a citizenship systems' typology.

The different clusters identified by Esping-Andersen are characterised respectively by the prominence of one of the above mentioned mechanisms in the distribution of resources, and correspond to different kinds of prevalent policies and to different levels of de-commodification:

³⁰ The model that will be presented is strongly indebted to the discussion I had within the working group on "Poverty and Social Exclusion" chaired by Enzo Mingione who gave the original input for its development. His perspective, however, does not emphasis the institutional implications of the changes, but the underlying socio-economic dimensions (Mingione, 1997).

- The *social-democratic model* is characterised by the prominence of the state and policies are mostly universalistic. Access to them is granted to all residents and the level of de-commodification is high.
- The *conservative model* is characterised by the prominence of the family, and the subsidiarity principle is underpins most of its selective policies. Access to them is granted mainly through participation in the labour market and the level of de-commodification is average.
- The *liberal model* is characterised by the prominence of the market and policies are residual and targeted at specific groups. Access to them is mainly means-tested and the overall level of de-commodification is low.

In order to classify the OECD countries within these three ideal-typical typologies, Esping-Andersen uses a complex index of de-commodification based on three sets of indicators: 1) pensions; 2) monetary transfers/benefits in the case of sickness and 3) monetary transfers and benefits in the case of unemployment; each of them including many variables³¹.

Tab. 3. Clustering of countries according to the different welfare state regimes and the de-commodification index of Esping-Andersen.						
Institution	State		Family		Market	
Principle	Redistribution		Reciprocity		Exchange	
Model	Social-democratic		Conservative		Liberal	
	Countries	Index	Countries	Index	Countries	Index
	Austria	31.1	Finland	29.2	Australia	13.0
	Belgium	32.4	France	27.5	Canada	22.0
	Denmark	38.1	Germany	27.7	Great	23.4
	Netherlands	32.4	Italy	24.1	Britain	23.3
		38.3	Japan	27.1	Ireland	17.1
	Norway	39.1	Switzerland	29.8	New Zealand	13.8
	Sweden				United States	

Source: Own calculation on: Esping-Andersen (1990:52).

³¹ For an overview of the methodology underlying the index and the variables used, see Esping-Andersen (1990:52-53).

By using these indicators he classifies, for instance, Germany and Italy in the conservative model and the United States and the United Kingdom in the liberal model (see tab. 3), giving rise to a wide methodological and theoretical debate on the adequacy of the indicators used. Criticism has been expressed because the importance of gender has been underestimated in the calculation of the de-commodification index (e.g. Langan and Ostner, 1991; Taylor-Gooby, 1991), because anti-poverty policies have not been considered (e.g. Leibfried, 1992) and in general because the indicators that have been chosen³² tend to create a misleading typology (Ferrera, 1993; Castles, 1993) of the overall performance of the welfare states.

If we adopt a citizenship systems perspective, and consider the set of rights a person in a condition of economic need has, in particular the entitlements upon which social assistance and all accompanying measures are based, Esping-Andersen's model displays some of these weaknesses more clearly. In fact, as we have illustrated in section two and three of this paper, taking these schemes into account changes radically in both countries the role of the family and of the state in the de-commodification process. In reality, also the levels of de-commodification identified by Esping-Andersen for the two countries differ enough (Δ 3.6) to justify the presence of a further type in a citizenship typology: a type in which the state allows access to minimum life conditions on the basis of individual rights, playing also a more active role in reducing the levels of poverty and redistributing the resources in a more equal way. The model, however, does not consider the deviation the level of de-commodification present. In the conservative cluster, Italy is nearer to the United Kingdom (Δ 0.7), than to Finland (Δ 5.7). The same can be said for the United Kingdom, which is nearer to Italy (Δ 0.7) than to the United States (Δ 9.6) (see tab. 3 and fig. 5). The comparison between additional indicators such as the poverty rate (+9%)³³, the Gini coefficient (+0.07)³⁴ and the welfare effort (-5.5%)³⁵ underlines the weaker position of Italy compared to Germany.

³² The choice of the schemes to be included in the classification is justified, according to Esping-Andersen, by their importance in terms of welfare effort and of the overall institutional significance (1990:47-49). This aspect has been questioned (Ferrera, 1993) considering the fact that including different schemes would have produced different degrees of de-commodification and, consequently, a different distribution of the countries within the typology (our proposal is an example of this possibility). In particular what seems to be questionable is the fact that single schemes may play a different role within the different countries. As we have seen previously, the *Cassa Integrazione* was in Italy a *de facto* unemployment benefit and invalidity pensions were, particularly in the south of the country, a functional equivalent of social assistance.

In order to show a more adequate picture of citizenship systems, fig. 5 shows how the conservative cluster, despite some important common features (subsidiarity, labour-related benefits), should be divided into two variants:

- a) a south European *Latin rim* (Leibfried, 1992) variant in which, *vis-à-vis* a high degree of de-commodification of the policies addressed to well protected groups, there is an increasing number of persons inadequately protected by the State who are forced into the care of the family, which is responsible for their well-being, without being, however, sufficiently supported. Social assistance schemes within these countries are highly fragmented and stigmatise able bodied people not inserted in the labour market and not entitled to any labour-related benefit. Besides Italy in this cluster we find Spain, Portugal and Greece³⁶;
- b) a *conservative etatist variant* in which, *vis-à-vis* social policies informed by the subsidiarity principle, there is a social assistance scheme which grants universally minimum life conditions and which is backed up by active policies. In these countries (besides Germany, there is for instance France), rights are stated and implemented with less discretion and people in need find a more effective, lasting social safety net.

³³ The poverty rates refer to the people living below the 50% of the average equivalent net monthly income in 1993. Data is drawn from the European Community Household Panel (ECHP) whose results have been recently published (EUROSTAT, 1997).

³⁴ The Gini coefficient is a useful tool for giving an impressionistic view of the spread of incomes. They vary from 0 (no inequality) to 1 (total inequality) (EUROSTAT, 1997:2).

³⁵ With welfare effort we refer to the social protection expenditure as a % of the GNP. This indicator differs from public expenditure *per se*. It is well known that this latter figure is very high in Italy due to the interests paid by the state in order to finance the public debt.

³⁶ In most of these countries there is no general scheme on social assistance and the degree of discretion according to which the municipalities intervene on the conditions of need is relatively high. For an overview see Ferrera (1996), for the Italian case see Kazepov (1997); for the Spanish case see Aguilar et al. (1996) and for the Portuguese case see Pereiriña (1998).

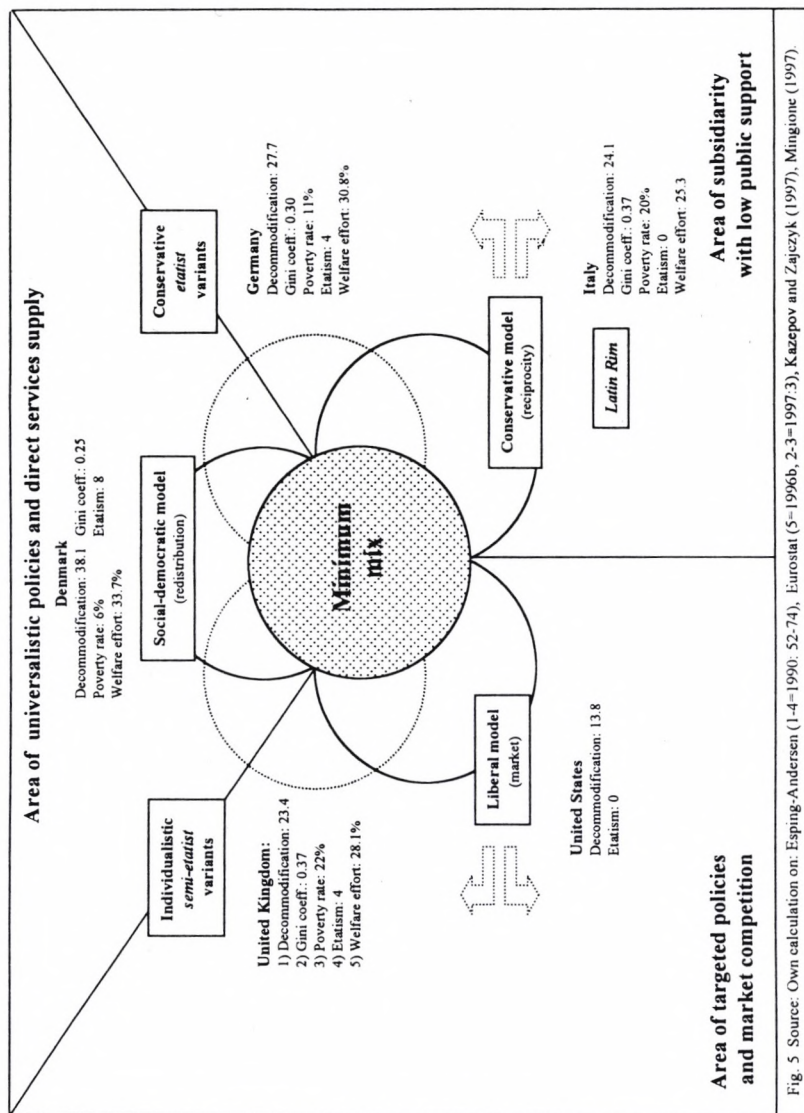


Fig. 5 Source: Own calculation on: Esping-Andersen (1-4=1990: 52-74), Eurostat (5=1996b, 2-3=1997/3), Kaczepov and Zajczyk (1997), Mingione (1997).

In reality, to a certain degree, Esping-Andersen also contributes to making his model more complex by considering other protection schemes³⁷ in order to measure the dimensions of welfare-state stratification. *Conservative*, *Liberalist* and *Socialist* principles of stratification are identified, considering respectively the importance of distinct pension schemes, the weight of means-tested benefits and universalistic access to sickness, unemployment and pension benefits. If we intersect the outcome of this second classification with his original typology, we came very close to the classification we are proposing here. In fact, Italy shows a low degree of socialism (=0 in fig. 5) while Germany shows a level which is half way (=4 in fig. 5) to that of the countries of the *social-democratic* cluster (e.g. Denmark=8 in fig. 5). Esping-Andersen, however, does not rethink the distribution of countries within his typology according to these results; nor does he revisit his typology. It is, anyway, clear that the state shapes the relationship between the person in a condition of need and his/her family (see fig. 1 in section 1.2.) in a completely different way. In Italy it makes it more dependent upon the family's informal resources (in fig. 1 the relation A-B is weak both in term of entitlements and of resources), showing an *ambiguous familialism* (Saraceno, 1994) which is forced to compensate for the lack of effective State intervention. In Germany, on the contrary, the State supplies the family with more effective rights and resources (in fig. 1, the relation A-B is a strong one)³⁸.

Data presented in fig. 5 reflect this situation and confirms also a lower level of poverty and less concentration of income in countries where the State intervenes more directly (e.g. Denmark and Germany). In Italy, the lack of

³⁷ For an overview of the criteria used and the schemes considered, see Esping-Andersen (1990:69-78); the scoring procedure for stratification indices is explained in an appendix of the chapter (1990:77-78).

³⁸ A parallel specification should be made about the English-speaking countries which are not a homogenous cluster as Esping-Andersen presupposes. In fact, they are not all considerable welfare state laggards (like for instance the United States), and the United Kingdom uneasily fits this cluster. Through national consensus around the Beveridge Report and the reform impetus of the first majority Labour government, Britain became the international example of the comprehensive welfare state in the decades following World War II. For an overview of the re-classification of the English-speaking nations within a new frame of analysis see Castles (1993: 94). Once again the more important role of the State should be taken in consideration in building up a citizenship system typology. Fig. 5 shows how also the liberal cluster should be divided into two variants: a) the proper *liberal model* (e.g. the United States) fully placed in the area of targeted social policies, residual *per se*, mostly means-tested, highly stigmatising and with a low level of de-commodification and a high level of market competition; and b) an *individualistic semi-etatist variant*, in which the State plays a more important role, transfers are more generous than in the pure liberal model, last longer and achieve a higher re-distributive effect.

institutionalised help for individuals not inserted into the labour market, puts them also at the margins of social policies, addressing to them only residual schemes often characterised by a high level of discretion (see fig. 4 in section 2.2.). The “areas of solidarity” (Ferrera, 1993:77) produced by the existing entitlements in the two countries determine therefore a different market-dependence whose institutionalisation will influence for a long time the direction of the redistributive flow of resources.

References

- Aguilar, M., Gavina, M. and Laparra, M. (1996) *La Caña y el pez. Estudio sobre los salarios sociales en las comunidades autonomas*, Madrid, Fundación Fossa.
- Amann, A. (1983) *Lebenslage und Sozialarbeit. Elemente zu einer Soziologie von Hilfe und Kontrolle*, Berlin, Ducker & Humblot.
- Andreß, H. J., Burkatzki, E. and al. (1996) *Leben in Armut. Analysen der Verhaltensweisen armer Haushalte mit Umfragedaten*, Endbericht des DFG-Projektes "Versorgungsstrategien privater Haushalte im unteren Einkommensbereich (VuE)", Bielefeld, *Mimeo*.
- Ashton, D., Maguire, M. and Spilsbury, M. (1990) *Restructuring the Labour Market. The Implications for Youth*, London, MacMillan.
- Atkinson, B. A. (1995) *Incomes and the Welfare State. Essays on Britain and Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Bahle, T. (1995) *Familienpolitik in Westeuropa. Ursprünge und Wandel im internationalen Vergleich*, Frankfurt/M, Campus Verlag.
- Banks, M., Bates, I., Breakwell, G. and al. (1992) *Careers and identities*, Buckingham, Open University Press.
- Barbalet, J. M. (1988) *Citizenship. Rights, Struggle and Class Inequalities*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- Behrens, J. and W. Voges (Hrsg.) (1995) *Kritische Übergänge. Statuspassagen und sozialpolitische Institutionalisierung*, Frankfurt/M, Campus.
- Benassi, D. (1996) *Forme di regolazione allocativa e forme di welfare*, Brescia, Dipartimento di Studi Sociali, *Mimeo*.
- Berger, P. A. and Sopp, P. (Hrsg) (1995) *Sozialstruktur und Lebenslauf*, Opladen, Leske & Budrich.
- Berkel, R. van (ed.) (forthcoming) *Welfare Claimants Movements*, Aldershot, Avebury Press.

Brubaker, R. (1992) *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, Cambridge Ma, Harvard University Press.

Bulmer, M. and Rees, A. M. (eds) (1996) *Citizenship Today. The contemporary relevance of T.H. Marshall*, London, UCL Press.

Castel, R. (1995) "Les pièges de l'exclusion", *Lien Social et Politiques - RIAC*, n° 34, automne 1995, pp. 13-21.

Castles, F. (ed.) (1993) *Families of Nations. Patterns of Public Policy in Western Democracies*, Aldershot, Dartmouth.

Coles, B. (1995) *Youth and Social Policy. Youth Citizenship and Young Careers*, London, UCL Press.

Commissione di Indagine sulla Povertà e l'Emarginazione (CIPE) (1995) *La povertà in Italia 1993-1994*, Rome, Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri.

Commissione di Indagine sulla Povertà e l'Emarginazione (CIPE) (1996) *La povertà in Italia 1995*, Rome, Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri.

Culpitt, I. (1992) *Welfare and Citizenship. Beyond the crisis of the Welfare State?*, London, Sage.

CYRCE (ed.) (1995) *The Puzzle of Integration*. European Yearbook on Youth Policy and Research, Vol. I, Berlin, de Gruyter.

Dean, H. (1996) *Welfare, Law and Citizenship*, Hertfordshire, Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Dell'Aringa, C. and Samek Lodovici, M. (1996) *Policies for the unemployed and Social Shock Absorbers: the Italian Experience*, paper presented at the MIRE conference on *Comparing Social Welfare Systems in Southern Europe*, Florence, 22-24 February.

Dirindin, N. (1996) *Chi paga per la salute degli italiani?* Bologna, Il Mulino.

Döring, D., Hanesch, W. and Huster, E.-U. (eds) (1990) *Armut im Wohlstand*, Frankfurt/M, Suhrkamp.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*, New York, Polity Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. (ed.) (1996) *Welfare States in Transition. National Adaptations in Global Economies*, London, Sage.

Eurostat (1995a) *Social Protection Expenditure and Receipts 1980-1993*, Theme 3, Population and Social Conditions, Luxembourg, European Commission.

Eurostat (1995b) *Annuario '95. Visione statistica dell'Europa 1983-1993*, Luxembourg, European Commission.

Eurostat (1996a) *Basic Statistics of the European Union*, 33nd edition, Luxembourg, European Commission.

Eurostat (1996b) *Social Protection Expenditure and Receipts 1980-1994*, Theme 3, Population and Social Conditions, Luxembourg, European Commission.

Eurostat (1997) *Income Distribution and Poverty in EU12 – 1993*, “Statistics in Focus: Population and Social Conditions”, 6.

European Commission (1995a) *Employment in Europe 1995*, Luxembourg, European Commission, COM(95)381.

European Commission (1995b) *Youth policies in the European Union. Structures and Training*, Studies N°. 7, Luxembourg, European Commission.

Falkingham, J. and Hills J. (eds) (1995) *The Dynamic of Welfare. The Welfare State and the Life Cycle*, Hertfordshire, Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Ferrajoli, L. (1994) “Dai diritti del cittadino ai diritti della persona”, in D. Zolo, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-92.

Ferrera, M. (ed.) (1993a) *Stato sociale e mercato*, Turin, Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli.

Ferrera, M. (1993b) *Modelli di Solidarietà*, Bologna, Il Mulino.

Ferrera, M. (1996) “Il modello sud-europeo di welfare state”, *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, XXVI, 1, pp. 67-102.

Freedland, M. (1996) *Changing duties and role conceptions of employees providing services to the public and their impact on the expectations of citizens*, paper presented at the workshop "Citizenship and public services: a legal framework", EUI, Florence, 2-3 February 1996.

Giddens, A. (1991) "Structuration Theory: past, present and future", in Bryant, C.G.A. and Jary, D. (eds.), *Giddens' Theory of Structuration: a Critical Appreciation*, London, Routledge.

Gough, I. (1995) *Diverse systems, common destination? A comparative study of social assistance in OECD countries*, paper presented at the conference on A new social contract?, EUI Florence, 5-6 October 1995.

Grottian, P., Drotz, F., Lütke G. and Pfarr, H. (1988) *Die Wohlfahrtswende. Der Zauber konservativer Sozialpolitik*, Munich, Beck Verlag.

Guerrero, T. J., Naldini, M. (1996) *Is the South so Different? Italian and Spanish Families in Comparative Perspective*, MZES, mimeo.

Häußermann, H. and Kazepov Y. (1996) "Urban poverty in Germany: a comparative analysis of the profile of the poor in Stuttgart and Berlin", in Mingione (ed.) *op. cit.*, pp. 343-369.

Hanesch, Walter et al. (1994) *Armut in Deutschland*, Der Armutsbericht des DGB und des Paritätischen Wohlfahrtsverbands, Hamburg, Rowohlt.

Heinz, Walter R. (ed.) (1991) *The Life Course and Social Change: Comparative Perspectives*, Weinheim, Deutscher Studien Verlag.

Jessop, B. (1993) "La transizione al post-fordismo e il welfare state post-keynesiano", in Ferrera, M. (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 65-98.

Kazepov, Y. (1994) "Ai confini della cittadinanza: il ruolo delle istituzioni nei percorsi di esclusione a Stoccarda e Milano", *Polis*, 1/95, pp. 45-66.

Kazepov, Y. (1995) *I nuovi poveri in Lombardia. Sistemi di welfare e percorsi di impoverimento*, Numero Monografico, Milan, Quaderni Regionali di Ricerca, Regione Lombardia, N°. 1.

Kazepov, Y. (1996) *Le politiche locali contro l'esclusione sociale*, Quaderni della Commissione di Indagine sulla Povertà e l'Emarginazione, Rome, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato.

Kazepov, Y. (forthcoming) "Urban Poverty and Local Policies against Social Exclusion in Italy: the North-South Divide", in Andreß H. J. (ed.), *Empirical Poverty Research in a Comparative Perspective*, Aldershot, Avebury Press.

Kazepov, Y. and G. Orientale Caputo (forthcoming) "No organisation, no services, no money. The poor and the excluded from welfare in Italy" in R. van Berkel (ed.), *Welfare Claimants Movements*, Aldershot, Avebury Press.

Kazepov, Y., Mingione, E. and Zajczyk, F. (eds) (1995) *Esclusione sociale ed emarginazione grave: istituzioni e percorsi*, Milan, Franco Angeli.

Kazepov, Y. and Zajczyk, F. (1997) "Urban Poverty and Social Exclusion: Concepts and Debates", in Moulart, F. and Scott, A. (eds) *Cities, Enterprises and Society on the Eve of the 21st Century*, London, Pinter, pp. 151-173.

Kymlicka, W. and N. Wayne (1994) "Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory", *Ethics*, 104, pp. 352-381.

Langan, M. and Ostner, I. (1991) "Geschlechterpolitik im Wohlfahrtsstaat: Aspekte im internationalen Vergleich", *Kritische Justiz*, 24, 3, pp. 302-317.

Layard, R., Nickell, S. and R. Jackman (1994) *The Unemployment Crisis*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Leibfried, S. (1992) "Towards a European welfare state? On integrating poverty regimes into the European Community", in Ferge, Z. and Eivind Kolbert, J. (eds), *Social Policy in a changing Europe*, Boulder Colorado, Westview Press, pp. 245-279.

Leibfried, S., Leisering, L., Buhr, P. and al., (1995) *Zeit der Armut. Lebenslaufe im Sozialstaat*, Frankfurt/Main, Suhrkamp.

Leibfried, S. and P. Pierson (1993) "Le prospettive dell'Europa sociale", *Stato e Mercato*, 37, pp. 43-82.

Leibfried, S. and P. Pierson (eds) (1995) *European Social Policy. Between Fragmentation and Integration*, Washington D.C., The Brookings Institution.

Lister, R. (1990) *The Exclusive Society: Citizenship and the poor*, London, The Child Action Poverty Group.

Ludwig, M. (1996) *Armutskarrieren zwischen sozialem Abstieg und Aufstieg*, Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag.

Marshall, T. H. (1992) "Citizenship and Social Class", in Marshall T.H. and Bottomore, T. , *Citizenship and Social Class*, London, Pluto Press.

McFate, Katherine, Lawson, Roger and William Julius Wilson (eds) 1995 *Poverty, inequality and the future of social policy*, New York, Russel Sage Foundation.

Millar, J. and Warman, A. (eds) (1995) *Defining Family Obligations in Europe*, Bath, Bath Social Policy Papers, N°. 23, University of Bath.

Mingione, E. (1997) *Sociologia della vita economica*, Rome, Nuova Italia Scientifica.

Mingione, E. (ed.) (1996) *Urban Poverty and the Underclass: A Reader*, Oxford, Blackwell.

Mishra, R. (1990) *The Welfare State in Capitalist Societies. Policies of Retrenchment and Maintenance in Europe, North-America and Australia*, Hertfordshire, Harvester Wheatsheaf.

MISSOC (Mutual Information System on Social Security) (1995) *Social Protection in the Member States of the Community*. Situation on July 1st, 1994 and evolution. Brussels, Commission of the European Communities, DG V.

Negri, N. and C. Saraceno (1996) *Le politiche contro la povertà in Italia*, Bologna, Il Mulino.

North, C. D. (1990) *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Paci, M. (1989) *Pubblico e privato nei moderni sistemi di Welfare*, Naples, Liguori.

Pennings, F. (1990) *Benefit of doubt. A Comparative Study of the Legal Aspects of employment and unemployment schemes in Great Britain, Germany, France and the Netherlands*, Deventer, Kluwer.

Pereiriña, J. (1998) "Poverty in Portugal: trends, main features and an overview of policies", forthcoming in *Zeitschrift für Sozialreform*, special Issue on "Armut in Europa" edited by Wolfgang Voges and Yuri Kazepov.

Polanyi, K. (1957) *L'economia come processo istituzionale*, in *ibid. Traffici e mercati negli antichi imperi. Le economie nella storia e nella teoria*, Torino, Einaudi, pp. 297-331.

Reyneri, E. (1996) *Sociologia del mercato del lavoro*, Bologna, Il Mulino.

Roche, M. and R. van Berkel (eds) (forthcoming) *European Citizenship and Social Exclusion*, Aldershot, Avebury Press.

Room, G. (ed.) (1995) *Beyond the Threshold*, London, Polity Press.

Roussel, L. (1994) *La famille en Europe occidentale depuis 1950*, Paper presented at the International conference "Changes in Family Patterns in Western Countries", Bologna, 6-8 October, published by Assessorato alle Politiche Sociali e dell'Immigrazione, Comune di Bologna.

Sabel, F. C., Herrigel, B. G., Deeg, R. and Kazis, R. (1987) *Regional Prosperities Compared: Massachusetts and Wurttemberg in the 1980's*, Discussion Paper IIIM/LMP87-10b, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin.

Sahlins, M. (1974) *Stone age economics*, London, Routledge.

Sainsbury, D. (ed.) (1994) *Gendering welfare states*, London, Sage.

Saraceno, C. (1994) "The Ambivalent Familism of the Italian Welfare State", *Social Politics*, 1, pp. 60-82.

Saraceno, C. and Negri, N. (1994) "The Changing Italian Welfare State", *Journal of European Social Policy*, 1, pp. 19-34.

Scheiwe, K. (1994) "Labour market, welfare state and family institutions: the links to mothers' poverty risks", *Journal of European Social Policy*, 4, 3, pp. 201-224.

Scheiwe, K. (1995) "Family Obligations in Germany", in Millar and Warman, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-127.

Sen, K. A. (1981) *Poverty and Famine*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Sen, K. A. (1992) *Inequality Reexamined*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Somers, M. R. (1993) "Citizenship and the Place of the Public Sphere: Law, Community and Political Culture in the transition to Democracy", *American Sociological Review*, 58, 5, pp. 587-620.

Somers, M. R. (1994) "Rights, Relationality and Membership. Rethinking the Making and Meaning of Citizenship", *Law & Social Enquiry*, 19, 1, pp. 63-112.

Somers, M. R. (1996) *The Making of Modern Citizenship Rights*, Paper presented at the European Forum, February, Florence, European University Institute.

Standing, G. (1995) "Labour insecurity through market regulation: legacy of the 1980s, challenge for the 1990s", in McFate et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 153-196.

Streeck, W. and P. Schmitter (1985) "Comunità, mercato, stato e associazioni? Il possibile contributo dei governi privati all'ordine sociale", *Stato e Mercato*, 13, pp. 47-85.

Titmuss, R. (1958) *Essays on the Welfare State*, London, Allen and Unwin.

Titmuss, R. (1974) *Social Policy*, London, Allen & Unwin.

Trifiletti, R. (1995) "Italy" in Millar and Warman, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-46.

Venturini, A. (1994) *Youth Employment Policies: Causes and Effect. Contrasting the Italian Case with the French and the Spanish ones*, Bergamo, Monografie e Rapporti di Ricerca del Dipartimento di Scienze Economiche, 1994/2.

Weisser, G. (1978) *Socialpolitik*, *ibid. Beiträge zur Gesellschaftspolitik*, chosen and edited by S. Katterle, W. Mudra and L. Neumann, Göttingen, pp. 275-83.

Wilensky, H. L. (1975) *The Welfare State and Equality*, Berkeley, University of California Press.

Wilson, J. W. (1987) *The Truly Disadvantaged*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, J. W. (1991) "Studying Inner-City Dislocations", *American Sociological Review*, 56, pp. 1-14.

Wilson, J. W. (1996) *When Work Disappears. The World of the New Urban Poor*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf.

Zincone, G. (1992) *Da sudditi a cittadini*, Bologna, Il Mulino.

Zolo, D. (ed.) (1994) *La cittadinanza. Appartenenza, identità, diritti*, Bari, Laterza.



EUI WORKING PAPERS

EUI Working Papers are published and distributed by the
European University Institute, Florence

Copies can be obtained free of charge
– depending on the availability of stocks – from:

The Publications Officer
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I-50016 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy

Please use order form overleaf

Publications of the European University Institute

To The Publications Officer
 European University Institute
 Badia Fiesolana
 I-50016 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI) – Italy
 Telefax No: +39/55/4685 636
 e-mail: publish@datacomm.iue.it
 <http://www.iue.it>

From Name

 Address

- ☐ Please send me a complete list of EUI Working Papers
- ☐ Please send me a complete list of EUI book publications
- ☐ Please send me the EUI brochure Academic Year 1998/99

Please send me the following EUI Working Paper(s):

No, Author

Title:

No, Author

Title:

No, Author

Title:

No, Author

Title:

Date

Signature

Working Papers of the European Forum

EUF No. 95/1

Diemut BUBECK
A Feminist Approach to Citizenship

EUF No. 95/2

Renaud DEHOUSSE/Thomas
CHRISTIANSEN (eds)
What Model for the Committee of the
Regions? Past Experiences and Future
Perspectives

EUF No. 95/3

Jens BONKE
The Concepts of Work and Care - An
Economic Perspective Applied to Britain
and Denmark

EUF No. 95/4

Jens BONKE
Education, Work and Gender -
An International Comparison

EUF No. 95/5

Henriëtte MAASSEN VAN DEN
BRINK/Wim GROOT
Household Production and Time
Allocation, the End of the Male
Chauvinist Model

EUF No. 95/6

Andrés BARRERA-GONZÁLEZ
Language, Collective Identities and
Nationalism in Catalonia, and Spain in
General

EUF No. 95/7

Diemut BUBECK
Gender, Work and Citizenship: Between
Social Realities and Utopian Visions

EUF No. 95/8

Miriam A. GLUCKSMANN
Gendered Economies of Time: Women
Workers in North-West England

EUF No. 96/1

David PURDY
Jobs, Work and Citizens' Income: Four
Strategies and a New Regime

EUF No. 96/2

Barry EICHENGREEN/Andrew
ROSE/Charles WYPLOSZ
Contagious Currency Crises

EUF No. 96/3

Yasemin SOYSAL
Boundaries and Identity: Immigrants in
Europe

EUF No. 96/4

Yasemin SOYSAL
Changing Parameters of Citizenship and
Claims-Making: Organized Islam in
European Public Spheres

EUF No. 96/5

Giovanna PROCACCI
Poor Citizens. Social Citizenship and the
Crisis of Welfare States

EUF No. 98/1

Yuri KAZEPOV
Citizenship and Poverty. The Role of
Institutions in the Structuring of Social
Exclusion

