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SOCIAL EXCLUSION INDICATORS :

PROBLEMATIC ISSUES.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----------|
| <i>Introduction</i> Fadila Boughanémi, Nicole Dewandre | pp. 1-3 |
| <i>Commission Initiatives and Research on Poverty, Social Exclusion and Social Integration Issues</i> Torben Fridberg | pp. 5-23 |

FIRST SESSION :

Theoretical questions related to micro, meso and macro phenomena of social exclusion and social integration.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| <i>Theoretical questions related to micro, meso and macro phenomena of social exclusion and social integration.</i> Pierre Strobel | pp. 25-32 |
| <i>De la pauvreté à l'exclusion : quelques questions théoriques</i> Pierre Strobel | pp. 33-43 |
| <i>Exclusion sociale : à la recherche d'un concept et de modèles explicatifs</i> Denis Bouget & Henry Nogues | pp. 45-55 |
| <i>The Finnish struggle against exclusion : inclusion by high labour participation and universal social policies</i> Jorma Sipilä | pp. 57-61 |
| <i>Some reflections about the conceptual relationship between social exclusion and relative poverty.</i> Matti Heikkilä | pp. 63-66 |
| <i>High unemployment levels and social exclusion macro phenomena individual mechanisms</i> Wout Ultee | pp. 67-70 |
| <i>Macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of analysis in research and theories on social exclusion and social integration</i> Alfredo Bruto Da Costa | pp. 71-73 |

SECOND SESSION :

Key indicators on social exclusion and social integration processes and forms.

- The problem of social indicators - Summary and discussion of the second session.* pp. 75-82
Jürgen Friedrichs.
- The measurement of social cohesion - Examples and remarks of social indicators* pp. 83-94
Heinz Fassmann
- Information and communication indicators concerning social exclusion and integration* pp. 95-98
Josef Hochgerner
- Social reporting on exclusion and integration in Germzny* pp. 99-122
Wolfgang Zapf
- Research on social exclusion and social integration: future research directions* pp. 123-129
Brendan J. Whelan
- Measures of social exclusion and social integration. The confidence of consumers of social indicators* pp. 131-138
Pauline Conroy
- Monitoring long term cultural and social change in Europe* pp. 139-147
Ola Listhaug
- Types of Marginalisation - A preliminary note.* pp. 149-154
Hakon Lorentzen
- Some remarks on social exclusion and vulnerabilisation processes, in the perspective of the construction of indicators* pp. 155-160
J. Madureira Pinto
- Applying the level of living approach to the study of social exclusion* pp. 161-169
Johan Fritzell

THIRD SESSION :

Modelling in social sciences and models on social exclusion and social integration

Modelling in social sciences and models on social exclusion and social integration pp. 170-189
Jan Vranken

Social exclusion as a multilevel-multidimensional process pp. 191-199
Runar Vilhjamsson

Modeling economic and social exclusion. A "Smörgasbord" of reserarch opportunities pp. 201-206
N. Anders Klevmarken

Inequality income distribution and real economy pp. 207-227
José Esteban

Research on social exclusion - Lessons from the underclass debate pp. 229-237
Gordon Marshall

ANNEXES :

The Measurement and Analysis of Social Exclusion : Outline of a possible statistical programme. pp. 239-245
Graham Room

SOCIAL EXCLUSION INDICATORS :

PROBLEMATIC ISSUES.

INTRODUCTION

The present papers deal with the indicators on social exclusion and social integration in Europe. They were presented during a seminar that was held in Brussels in May 1995, within the framework of the Targeted socio-economic program (Area III: Research into social exclusion and social integration in Europe).

Since this seminar was held, the first research financed by the program started and we are about to launch the second wave of research. The second call for proposals includes the "indicators" question (sub-area III.5). The publication of this document is timely to support the increase of effort in the field of indicators.

Ongoing research shows clearly two things :

- the concept of social exclusion needs further elaboration and scientific treatment. It is a concept in the making. And the use of the concept is not neutral. There is a discrepancy between the acceptance of the term in the political field and the shortcomings of it in the scientific analysis. Social science has to help elucidate this discrepancy and put light not only on what social exclusion *is*, but also on what *is meant* by or through social exclusion.
- the lack of data to support an analysis of social exclusion in Europe. Both comparability and longitudinality of available data are weak. Moreover, systematic data does not exist on several areas central to social exclusion, like homelessness for example. Excluded population are often out of reach of data gathering.

It is not our purpose to reflect thoroughly on these two things in this introduction, but we should mention that they are strongly interrelated, these may even be two sides of the same coin, and the research activities have to consider them jointly.

The papers presented here are to be gathered in three groups :

- 1) The theoretical question of social exclusion and social integration.
- 2) The key indicators on social exclusion and social integration processes and forms
- 3) The « models » of social exclusion and social integration

In an introductory paper, Torben Fridberg who was expert in the Commission for 3 years before returning to the Danish National Institute of Social Research in Copen-

hagen presents a brief overview of the Commission initiatives in the field of social exclusion and social integration.

Then, the three groups of papers refer to the structure of the seminar itself. It appears that the papers identify issues that cut across these themes.

Social exclusion is tackled through different definitions and theories referring themselves to different traditions. Far from trying to build a unifying scheme, our point of view is that the reflection on social exclusion and social integration has to be as multiple and dialectic as possible. Reflection on social exclusion and social integration should also draw on multidisciplinary. The understanding of the concept cannot avoid a historical approach for example (as it is stressed by some of the authors, the Poor have not always been considered as socially excluded : on the contrary, they were fully part of a society that considered them as so). Similarly, the reflection on such phenomena requires the help of other social sciences disciplines such as philosophy, history, psychology and anthropology.

There is a broad distinction between two main approaches concerning the methods of analysis and the definition of the social exclusion and integration phenomena : the analysis that focuses on the resources and the redistribution of resources (the absence of resources and a low position in the scale of redistribution of the incomes characterise a situation of exclusion), on the one hand, and on the other hand, the one that stresses on the social links (the dislocation or the rupture of these multi-form links define a situation of social exclusion). An analysis in terms of progressive deprivation of resources and of social links (one being linked to the other) could be understood as a middle term between the two traditions.

There is a real need to understand social exclusion and social integration in a dynamic perspective rather than in a static one. The so-called "excluded population" does not constitute an homogenous and stable group that can be characterized but is composed of people experiencing a disintegration process, which is in essence of a dynamic nature.

There is also a need of linking the macro, the meso, and the micro level in order to understand the processes that produce social exclusion in contemporary European societies at each of these levels : at the macro level (e.g social policies, labour market), at the meso level (e.g inner cities poverty) and at the micro level (what are the structures of the daily life of this part of the population ?) .

Finally, there is a real necessity to have longitudinal data when working on social exclusion and social integration : all the authors insisted rightly on the social mobility generational phenomena and on the reproduction of poverty. This leads to the prime importance of longitudinal approaches. Of course, and this was also stressed by the authors, a panel for longitudinal studies is a heavy investment in terms of both time and money : this leads naturally to the recommendation of using the already existing data in the one hand and to stress on the importance for the re-

searchers as well as for the decision makers to involve themselves in a long term perspective.

It has been shown that social exclusion is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. The system (concepts and data) to apprehend it still needs to be developed. This development will necessarily require a clarification of the link between what is meant by social exclusion and other social issues : work and unemployment, distribution of wealth and equity issues, racism and xenophobia, spatial dimension and urban management, identity and political systems. For "social exclusion" coexists with substantial modification of the "inclusion" models, research on social exclusion cannot be disconnected from the analysis of the change on the "included" side of society.

If research can link social exclusion issues with the changes affecting the main core of society, it opens ways to policies and action not only to fight against social exclusion, but also to help new modes of inclusion, and hence new social models, to develop.

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COMMISSION INITIATIVES AND RESEARCH ON POVERTY, SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION ISSUES

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1. INTRODUCTION

The objective of this document is to present a brief overview of the Commission initiatives in the field of social exclusion and social integration as concerns policies, actions and programmes, research and studies, statistics and indicators.

The research projects within the programme "Research on Social exclusion and social integration in Europe" will in numerous cases be able to draw on data, reports and knowledge already produced within the frame of these Community initiatives. The drafting of the work-programme has taken into account the Commissions knowledge and experiences in the field. Synergy and cooperation with all the concerned Commission services is a must in the implementation of the programme.

2. THE ISSUE OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

The issue of social integration and social exclusion gradually have become of increasing concern throughout Europe. The persistent high levels of unemployment and the tendencies to marginalize and exclude parts of the populations from participating in economic and social life, carries with it signs of a social fragmentation of the society, which call for major and comprehensive responses. Developments in world economy and trade, technological and industrial change and its effects on the labour market, persistent long-term unemployment, changes in the family structures and social networks, changes in value systems and changes in migration-patterns are all factors, which have an impact on the economic and social fabric of the European countries. Increasingly, the problems of social exclusion have come on top on the political agendas in the member countries, and increasingly these problems are perceived as an aspect which have to be taken into consideration at the european level.

The concept of social exclusion, however, has only recently been introduced throughout Europe. The European Commission has played a central role in this, first of all in connection with its actions against poverty in the so-called poverty-programmes. Towards the end of the 1980's the concept of poverty was gradually supplemented with the concept of social exclusion as it became obvious that the emerging problems were not only related to a lack of material wealth, but to various phenomenons characterized by a weakening of attachment to the labour market, a weakening of family ties and informal networks, and a weakening of the access to human rights and the participation in society.

3. COMMUNITY POLICIES AND ACTIONS TO COMBAT POVERTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

It has always been recognised that the problems of poverty and social exclusion are the responsibility of the Member States and their national, regional and local authorities, but the Commission has contributed throughout now twenty years to the development and transfer of knowledge in view of increasing the understanding of the phenomena of poverty and social exclusion. Research networks, advisory groups, studies and research have supported the Commission in these tasks. Much of this have been implemented in connection to the so-called Poverty Programmes. Eurostat has further developed statistical data on the phenomena of poverty and exclusion in the Member States.

In 1975 the problems of poverty and marginalization gave rise to the first poverty programme, launched as part of the Social Action Programme, which was adopted by the Council following the enlargement of the Community from six to nine Member States. The programme ran from 1975 to 1980 and consisted of several pilot action-projects, seven research studies and national reports on poverty (EC, 1981). This was followed up by the Second European Poverty Programme (Council of the European Communities, 1984). The programme ran from 1985 to 1989 comprising 91 action-research programmes (EC, 1988a, 1991).

The adoption of the Single European Act of 1987 placed a stronger emphasis on economic and social cohesion, although the very principle as present already in the Treaty of Rome, and in the working paper : "Social Dimension of the Internal Market" (EC 1988b) the concept of social exclusion was introduced for the first time in a Commission document. The Commission presented as well in this paper its arguments of launching the third European Poverty Programme, which was followed up by the proposal to adopt the "Community Programme for the Social and Economic Integration of the Least privileged groups" (July 1989), commonly known as "poverty 3" (Council of the European Communities, 1989).

The change in the title of the third poverty program, reflects the gradual shift in thinking from a notion of poverty as a question of inadequate financial resources to the broader notion of social exclusion as a process of social de-integration from work, family ties, social relations and participation in society.

The first official Community text to contain the notion of "Social Exclusion" was the Resolution of the Council and Ministers for Social Affairs meetings of 29th, September 1989 (Council of the European Communities, 1989b). This Resolution emphasized that combating social exclusion should be regarded as an important part of the social dimension of the internal market, and it was noted that the process of social exclusion is spreading in many fields, resulting in many different types of situation affecting various individuals and groups of people in both rural and urban areas. Further it was stressed that the reasons for this process have to be found in structural changes in our societies and especially changes concerning access to the labour market are particularly decisive factors. The resolution requested Member States to carry out or promote measures to enable everyone to have access to the social services, and consequently also called on the Commission to study, with the member States, the measures they are taking to combat social exclusion, and to

report on the measures taken by the Member States and by the Community. For this purpose the Commission established the Observatory on National Policies to Combat Social Exclusion, which started up by February 1990 and worked until the end of 1994. Based on national reports, the observatory has completed a series of national and European reports (Room et al., 1991, 1993a, 1993b ; Robbins, 1994).

The Community Charter of the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers, which was adopted at the European Council 9th December 1989 by the Member States, exclusive United Kingdom, and later appended to the Maastricht-treaty, acknowledges that "in a spirit of solidarity, it is important to combat social exclusion" and in June 1992, the Council of Ministers adopted the first European legal instrument specifically aimed at fighting poverty and social exclusion. The recommendation called upon the Member States "to recognize the basic right of a person to sufficient resources and social assistance to live in a manner compatible with human dignity as part of a comprehensive and consistent drive to combat social exclusion, and to adapt their social assistance systems as necessary".

In December 1992 the Commission adopted a Communication "Towards a Europe of Solidarity - Intensifying the fight against social exclusion, fostering integration" in connection with the Report on implementation of the Resolution of the Council of Ministers for Social Affairs meeting within the council of 29 September 1989 on combating social exclusion, (EC, 1992). These documents includes a rather comprehensive analysis of forms and processes of social exclusion as well as of Community policies to combat exclusion and poverty.

The European Commissions' White Paper on "Growth, competitiveness, employment - the challenge of ways forward into the 21st century" states that, we are faced with the immense responsibility, while remaining faithful to the ideals that have come to characterise and represent Europe, of finding a new synthesis of the aims pursued by society ("work" as a factor of social integration and equality of opportunity) and the requirements of the economy and a "new model of European society" characterized by less passive and more active solidarity : Solidarity between those who have jobs, and those who have not, solidarity between men and women, making it easier to reconcile family life and working life, solidarity between the generations, solidarity between the more prosperous and the poor regions and, lastly and what is most important, solidarity with those subject to exclusion. it is a matter for the Member States, but it is also the responsibility of each citizen to practice "neighbourly solidarity". We need a comprehensive policy, preventive as well as remedial, to combat the exclusion that splits the society into two (EC 1993b).

By now the interrelations between economic and social policy and the need for finding social sustainable solutions is recognized, although the solutions and means to achieve them are rather weak.

The Commission followed up with first a Green Paper on European Social Policy (COM(93)551) and later the White paper "European Social Policy - A way Forward for the Union" (COM(94)333) arguing for maintaining and adapting the European Model of Welfare State in view of promoting social integration for all.

11. *The marginalisation of major social groups is a challenge to the social cohesion of the Union and calls for a mobilisation of efforts by Member States and all the parties concerned, and for a reinforcement of the bulwark of social rights. It is*

clear that contemporary economic and social conditions tend to exclude some groups from the cycle of opportunities.

12. *This is not just a question of social justice ; the Union simply cannot afford to lose the contribution of marginalised groups to society as a whole. At a time when major technological, economic and social changes are increasing the insecurity of a growing number of people, the Union needs to ensure that the most vulnerable (people excluded from social and economic life, young people unable to find a foothold in the economy, long-term unemployed, disabled and older people, for example) are not excluded from the benefits of - and from making an active contribution to - the economic strength of a more integrated Europe. (EC 1994b).*

In the implementation and follow-up of the White Paper "Growth, Competitiveness, Employment", one of the areas which has mobilised a great number of the Commission services has concerned the analysis of new "gisements d'emplois". In view of combating unemployment and especially long-term unemployment and creating a "society of initiatives", a synthetic policy document was presented at the Essen summit (December 1994) concerning "Local development initiatives and employment". The document presents the result of the Commission analyses concerning specific instruments such as : the service checks, local borrowing facilities, fiscal rules and public expenditure regulations. The policy documents aims thus to develop local initiatives by encouraging pilot actions, promote the diffusion of successful practices and to support especially the national initiatives in the field as well as the initiatives of structural funds. In relation to the Commission analysis of these local initiatives for creating jobs and satisfying local needs a databank has been set up providing detailed information on experiences in the Union.

Chronology of Community Policies, Programmes and Initiatives to Combat Social Exclusion and Poverty and Promote Social Integration

| Date | Wider EC development | EC programmes with references to the fight against social exclusion | EC research and studies on social exclusion/social integration |
|-----------|---|---|--|
| Jan 1974 | Social action programme adopted by the Council | | |
| 1975-1980 | | First European Programme to Combat Poverty | |
| 1985-1989 | | Second European Poverty Programme | |
| Feb. 1986 | Signing of the Single European Act. | | |
| July 1989 | | Council decision of 18 July 1989 establishing a Community Medium Term Action Programme to Foster Economic and Social Integration of the Least Privileged Groups (1989-94) (Poverty 3) (COM(88) 826) | Evaluation Observatories Statistical and other studies Research-programme. |
| Sep. 1989 | Council Resolution on combating social exclusion, 29 Sept. 1989. | | |
| Dec. 1989 | Adoption of the "Social Charter". | | |
| Dec. 1990 | | HORIZON and NOW adopted by Commission | |
| Feb. 1992 | Treaty on European Union signed in Maastricht | | |
| June 1992 | Council Recommendation of 24 th June 1992 on minimum guaranteed resources (92/441/EEC) | | |
| Oct. 1992 | | ERGO 2 nd phase | Research linked to actions. |
| Dec. 1992 | Communication from the Commission : "Towards a Europe of Solidarity" COM (92) 542 final. | | |
| May 1993 | Community wide Frame-work for employment COM(93) 238 | | |
| June 1993 | | Proposal for a Council decision adopting a specific programme of targeted socio-economic research (1994-98) COM(93) 276 | |

| | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|
| June 1993 | Conference in Copenhagen "Combating Social Exclusion". | | |
| July 1993 | New 3'rd objective in regulations for the Social Fund : Social exclusion and long- term unemployment | | |
| Sep. 1993 | | Commision Proposal of Medium- Term Action Programme to Combat Exclusion and Promote Solidarity (1994-99). COM (93) 435 final. | Evaluation. Statistical and other Studies. |
| Nov. 1993 | Treaty on European Union into force. | | |
| Nov. 1993 | Green Paper on "European Social Policy" COM(93) 551 final. | | |
| Dec. 1993 | White Paper on "Growth, Competitiveness, Employment" (COM(93 700) | | Studies related to the follow-up of the White Paper. |
| April 1994 | | Council decision of Fourth Frame- work Programme on RTD (1994- 1998) COM (94)68 | Specific programme of targeted socio-economic research ; Incl. : <i>Research into social integration and social exclusion in Europe.</i> |
| July 1994 | White Paper on European Social Policy (COM(94) 333 final. | | |

4. RESEARCH AND STUDIES

4.1. The Poverty-programmes

The first poverty programme, launched as part of the Social Action Programme, which was adopted by the Council following the enlargement of the Community from six to nine, ran from 1975 to 1980 and consisted of several pilot projects, seven research studies and national reports on poverty (EC, 1981).

The Second European Poverty Programme (Council of the European Communities, 1984). The programme ran from 1985 to 1989 comprising 91 action-research programmes (EC 1988a, 1991).

The "Community Programme for the Social and Economic Integration of the Least privileged groups" (July 1989), commonly known as "Poverty 3" (Council of the European Communities, 1989a). Under this latter programme, 27 model action projects together with 12 smaller innovation projects were initiated throughout the five-year period of the programme. An interim report was published June 1993 (EC 1993a). The objectives of the programme are centred on actions to combat social exclusion and poverty, but it comprises as well two research components : statistical research and economic and sociological research. The statistical component, conducted in cooperation with Eurostat, has concentrated on analyzing poverty in terms of financial resources based on national household budget surveys. The economical and sociological research has concentrated on transnational aspects, and the themes were decided in consultation with the representatives of the national research committees and members of an Advisory Committee. Reports on this research are about to be published by the research teams.

The cross-national and comparative research on social exclusion and social integration, which were launched in relation to the "Poverty 3" programme, includes the following subjects :

- * New migratory movements in Europe and their effects on the processes of social integration and exclusion ;
- * Processes of detachment from the labour market ;
- * Contradictions and perverse effects in favour of the poor in Europe ;
- * Exclusion and little or non-qualified salary-earners and employee representation ;
- * Local economic development ;
- * Social welfare policies.

Lessons from the transnational research studies were presented at a conference in London, November 1994.

To this should be added research carried out in fields like "regional indicators of social exclusion" and "macro economic consequences of social exclusion and poverty" which have also been launched within the frame of this programme.

A summarising seminar on the Measurement and Analyses of Social Exclusion was held in Bath in June 1994. A report from this seminar will be published during 1995.

A number of studies dealing with the evaluation of the action-projects have been published, and a bibliographic database, "SPES", on poverty and social exclusion in Europe was set up (SPES, 1993).

In September 1993 the Commission proposed a new "Medium-term Action Programme to combat exclusion and promote solidarity : A new programme to support and stimulate innovation (1994-1999)".¹ Among the new elements of this proposed programme was a greater emphasis on multi-objective integrated strategies and the introduction of national level model actions and transnational networks of projects. The Medium-term Action Programme should have carried out a number of studies providing an evaluation of the means of innovation and contributing to the development of programme relevant monetary and non-monetary indicators of social exclusion in order to establish a statistical basis for comparison at European and international level, in cooperation with Eurostat. The Commission (DG V) published in April 1993 a "Call for Interest" concerning "research and technical assistance for the implementation of Community initiatives to combat social exclusion". More than one hundred researchers expressed an interest in the research part of this Call.

4.2. Eurostat

Since 1975, when the first poverty-programme was launched, Eurostat has been engaged in providing statistics on poverty. Under POVERTY 2 a few research projects were carried out, and a "state of art" conference in 1989, summarized the experiences and outlined the need for further research (Eurostat, 1190a). Under POVERTY 3, Eurostat has commissioned a number of research projects in order to shed light on the effects of the use of different poverty concepts and indicators.

Most of the research projects carried out by Eurostat have been methodological studies. The concept of poverty used have been based on the Council Decision of December 1984 : "The poor shall be taken to mean persons, families and group of persons whose resources (material, cultural and social) are so limited as to include them from the minimum acceptable way of life in the Member States in which they live".

During the programmes the poverty concept have changed as consolidated at the Bath seminar in June 1994 :

- from a focus on income or expenditure to multi-dimensional disadvantage ;
- from a static account of states of disadvantage to a dynamic analysis of processes ;
- from a focus on individual or household to a recognition that it is within the local community, with its services and resources that the disadvantage is experienced, and is either reinforced by that general deterioration of the community or moderated by its mutual aid networks.

¹ The adoption of this proposal is presently blocked in the Council by Germany for reasons related to the principle of subsidiary and to the role of the European Social Fund.

Eurostat research projects completed or under way, in connection to the POVERTY 3 programme, are :

- a) Objective poverty (EUROSTAT, 1994)
- b) Subjective poverty
- c) Statistical matching
- d) Non-monetary indicators of poverty
- e) Non-cash benefits from housing and public health
- f) Trend analyses of poverty
- g) Updating of poverty statistics through micro-simulation
- h) Examination of data available in member states for deriving social indicators on poor.

The main approaches of poverty measurement studies in Eurostat have been :

A. - based on the Family Budget Surveys of the Member States from around 1988 :

objective monetary indicators : the households were classified as poor by the use of alternative indicators and poverty lines ; the poor were defined as those whose expenditure (income) fell below a certain percentage of the average expenditure (income) per adult. This study incorporates sensitivity analyses and shed light not only on the numbers of poor households (persons) but also on their characteristics in terms of socio-economic criteria, size of households, type of households, education and so on.

subjective monetary indicators generally yield different poverty rates and poverty profiles from the objective approach. One particular reason for these differences was the implicit equivalence scales

non monetary indicators to take account of the multidimensional aspect of social exclusion, non monetary or deprivation indicators were also studied in 1991 and 1992, using Family Budget Survey data. The basic objectives of this study were to determine the possibility to have a set of such indices across all or most of the Member States. Given the limited content of the Family Budget Surveys in this field, four indices were constructed for some Member States ; a deprivation index in term of housing, of consumption, the average number of persons per room and the average expenditure on cultural and leisure activities or a percentage of total consumer expenditure.

B. - based on other national sources :

multidimensional social disqualification process. This study is considered as a first analyze, based on the data available at the national level (mostly panel data). The study consisted less in describing who is poor than in replying the question of how people become poor today in Europe. The starting point was that the deterioration in the labour market is not the only explanation for development of new forms of poverty. Another factor is the weakening of social ties and social framework which can be different from country to another. It showed that the process whereby population move from insecurity to exclusion can be different among Member States.

By now Eurostat is under way to establish an operationalisation of social exclusion in terms of the most relevant indicators, their sources and definition. A list of social indicators has been established based on existing data sources. Research has already been commissioned on social exclusion based

on the European Community Household Panel survey, and the need for internationally comparable analysis of spatial exclusion based on the population census has been identified.

Finally, Eurostat plans to monitor Community and national efforts to collect regular updated information on the scale and nature of the phenomenon of homelessness, both within individual countries and throughout the European Community. A Task Force will be launched in autumn 1995 in order to study the methodology to gather information about this phenomenon across the European Union.

The major data-files with in Eurostat of relevance to the social exclusion issue are the following :

The European Community Household Panel survey is a rather comprehensive survey covering household income, labour force characteristics, health, education, housing, migration and other topics, but with a focus on the incomes received from all sources by every member of the household. The ECHP was piloted in 1993 in all Member States, and the full survey was launched in April 1994 with the aim of covering an achieved sample of just under 80.000 households at the EC level. As the panel design allows the same individuals and households to be followed over time, the ECHP will become a unique instrument to identify and study individual and household experiences and reactions to changes in socio-economic conditions and policies, and so for monitoring the outcomes of socio-economic policies.

It is the first time a European comparable social micro database will be available, at great expense, and in order to secure that the database is exploited to shed light on the concerns in the Union, Eurostat has outlined a plan of research based on the ECHP. Research is planned in the following three categories :

- (1) Strategic in-depth policy analyses.
- (2) Rapid descriptive reports on specific policy issues.
- (3) Methodological and conceptual research.

The Labour Force Survey offers as well possibilities for comparative analyses. The Labour Force Survey is constituting a rather unique european database covering household composition, work status, employment characteristics, previous work experience of persons not in employment, search for employment, the situation of non-active persons, education and training and situation one year before the survey.

After a period of annual surveys from 1968 to 1971, the Labour Force Survey was carried out every second year from 1973 to 1981. From 1983 to 1991 the survey was held annually on the basis of a revised set of concepts, which were essentially those defined in the resolution adopted by the International Conference of Labour Statisticians in October 1987. The survey was updated in 1992 to include information on the mobility of labour and a more precise classification of educational and training attainments. However, the concepts and definitions are applied continue to be principally those adopted by the International Conference of Labour Statisticians, guaranteeing a large measure of comparability with the surveys held between 1983 and 1991.

Results from the survey are published annually by Eurostat and selected statistics are used in *Europe in figures, Social portrait of Europe etc.*, and the survey is the main source for the

Commissions annual report *Employment in Europe* and for the OECD's report *Employment Outlook*.

Family Budget Surveys are carried out nationally, with different frequencies, but coordinated via Community recommendations. The surveys offer information on household income and expenditure and background information. Data from the most recent surveys carried out in the years 1992-1994 will soon be sent to Eurostat.

Social Protection. The database was developed using the methodology of the European System of Integrated Social Protection Statistics ESPROS and yields aggregated data on social protection expenditure and receipts for every Member State.

Finally detailed yearly Demographic data are available on population, population forecasts, migration flows citizenship, etc.

4.3. The Structural Funds

Apart from the more or less direct contributions from the general community policies the structural funds have been the main instruments for fostering economic and social cohesion in Europe. Money from the European Regional Development Fund and the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund have helped regions in difficulty to improve their infrastructure, their development or restructuring. The European Social Fund has been the Community's main instrument for developing human resources and promoting employment. In the revised regulations of the structural funds for 1994-99 a new objective 3 has been included, stating that especially the European Social Fund shall contribute to "combating long-term unemployment and facilitating the integration into working life of young people and of persons exposed to exclusion from the labour market" (Council Regulation (EEC) No 2081/93 ; OJ No L 193/5, 31.7.1993).

A number of action programmes have been or are being launched in these fields within the frames of especially three "Human Resources" action programmes, which was set up July 1990 :

- * EUROFORM, which is an initiative aiming at integrating unemployed persons into the labour market by using appropriate forms of vocational training ;
- * HORIZON, which is a Community initiative concerning disable persons, other disadvantaged groups and migrants ; and
- * NOW, which is an initiative targeted towards women who are in vulnerable position on the labour market, i.e. long-term unemployed and women wishing to return to the labour market. NOW is also part of the Third Community Action Programme for Equal Opportunities 1991-1995.

In 1994, the programmes were renewed and revised with the initiative of Employment and Development of Human Resources (O.J. No C 180, 1.7.1994) with the programmes Employment - Now, Employment - Horizon and Employment - Youthstart. The Employment - Youthstart

especially dealing with young persons below 20 years of age and especially in less favoured regions or in less favoured groups.

- * ERGO (1. phase : 1989-1991 ; 2. phase : 1993-1996), which is a programme to stimulate successful experience that can form part of national programmes in favour of the long-term unemployed, and in which one also finds studies to improve the existing systems of exchange information and evaluating the impact of different programmes and projects. The programme aims at re-enforcing the work of the ESF, which provides financial support for programme and projects.

4.4 Urban and regional aspects

A specific Community initiative (1994-99) in favour of disadvantaged urban areas has been launched. Already during the period 1989-1990 article 10 of the ERDF regulation allowed the Commission to co-finance urban pilot projects. 32 of these were implemented to test out new ideas on how to handle urban problems. Besides that, co-operation between cities were was promoted to exchange policy experiences with in the RECITE, ECOS and MED-URBS programmes. For the new period 1994-1999 there are two considerable steps forward as far as urban areas are concerned. A new Community initiative URBAN has been approved. This reinforces the urban dimension in the Structural Funds activities. Urban strives to continue and re-enforce the demonstration of ways and means for safeguarding and strengthening the positive trends in the urban systems and to counteract its negative elements. "Urban" has thus as object to support integrated and innovative initiatives to, among others, "combat social exclusion". The guidelines of the programme underscores therefore the serious problem of social exclusion of inner city and peripheral areas, the high crime rates, standards of housing and the socio-ethnic mix. The overall aim of the programme URBAN is "to act as a catalyst in a broad-based approach, by undertaking key schemes to help deprived urban areas to achieve a lasting improvement in living standards for their inhabitants".

Apart from the Community Initiative URBAN the Commission envisages to continue the urban pilot projects to explore new ways of tackling urban problems. The Commission also has the intention to start an observatory of urban problems.

The urban issue is also a research issue for the City Action RTD programme (ACT-Ville) of the DG XII (Former Prospective Research FAST Unit/Social Research Unit). The aim of this research programme covers five study areas organised under the following three objectives :

Obj. 1. To develop new "holistic" concepts for urban development aimed at the promotion of human centred (agora) city plans which, by applying technology options will enable social cohesion, cooperation for co-development of human beings, multicultural co-existence.

Obj. 2. To create through the application of technology options, the conditions necessary to master the pressures from globalisation of the economy on city development choices and future perspectives, with the aim of maintaining local diversity and profiting from local resources.

Obj. 3. To contribute to the development of technology options for the realisation of a sustainable city.

4.5. The Telematics programmes

The action plan "Europe's way to the information society" (COM (94) 347 final) running 1995-2000 will produce a number of studies of the economic and social impacts of the development of the information infrastructure.

Also the specific research programme on Telematics within the Fourth Framework programme will support research activities relating to "Telematics for improving employment and the quality of life" (disadvantaged social categories, urban and rural areas, health care and environmental protection) concerning in particular audiovisual aids and interfaces designed to enable elderly or handicapped people to play a full part in the economy and society.

4.6. Education programmes

In August 1995 the Parliament and the Council agreed on the SOCRATES, LEONARDO and Youth for Europe (OJ C244 31 August 1994). These programmes are the most visible Community actions in the field of education, aiming at 6 million students, 60 million school children and 58 million young people outside the educational structures. Socrates will continue the Erasmus and Lingua programmes, and the Youth for Europe programme will continue the I and II Youth programmes, with the main objective of fighting social exclusion.

4.7. European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

The Dublin-institute, has for the last ten years carried out research in the fields of social cohesion and disadvantaged groups, social cohesion and urban areas, and changes and issues relevant to social cohesion (Ball, 1994). For the period 1993-1996, the Foundation has set itself three main goals :

- 1) Improving the health and wellbeing of European workers and citizens.
- 2) Increasing economic and social cohesion and fighting against the exclusion of disadvantaged groups.
- 3) Maintaining the move towards a sustainable and integrated development of social, economic and ecological aspects of living and working conditions.

4.8 Cost

Other research initiatives, concerned with social integration and social exclusion should be mentioned f. ex. concerted research actions within COST (social sciences) : Among the COST networks starting up or under preparation are "Consequences of European integration for the national forms of Welfare State" and "Social integration and differentiation".

4.9 Observatories

The Commission services (DG V) involved in social and employment policies, the equal opportunities' action programme, and the combat against social exclusion (the Poverty programmes) these are supported by several Observatories and networks counting research and research institutions specialized in the field :

- * The Observatory on National Policies to Combat Social Exclusion, which started up by February 1990. Based on national reports, the observatory has until now completed a series of European reports (Room et al., 1991, 1993a, 1993b ; Robbins, 1994).
- * The European Observatory on National Family Policies, which annually draws up reports on the current trends and developments in family policy, tax policies, family benefits, family and labour market, caretaking policies, family and social security etc.
- * The Observatory on Ageing and Older People, set up in the beginning of 1991 to monitor the impact of social and economic policies on older people with each member state.
- * The Employment Observatory of the European Commission produces a number of regular reports covering different aspects of the labour market. The series inforMISEP "policies presents those measures and policies, which are aimed at promoting employment in the member states. The reports are compiled on the basis of information provided by the Mutual Information System on Employment Policies (MISEP), which was created to meet the need for information on employment policies and institutions within the European Union. "Trends" contains summaries and analyses of employment developments in the EU on the basis of published work in the member countries. Also a number of "Research" papers have been published by the Employment Observatory.
- * The Observatory on Social Protection Provisions (MISSOC).
- * European Observatory on Homelessness, an observatory managed by FEANTSA (estd. 1989) the European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless, but supported by the European Commission, have established a research programme and published three reports. The last one in September 1994 on the legal rights of homeless (Daly, 1994).

4.10 Eurobarometer

Carried out by European Commission DG X, Audio - Visual, Information, Communication, Culture, have three times carried out surveys on the perception of poverty in the Member-States. Last time in 1993. (Eurobarometer 40, 1994).

5. THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

The notion of social exclusion is recognised as being neither clear nor unambiguous. In the Observatory on national policies to combat social exclusion, the concept of social exclusion was defined first of all in relation to social rights (Room, 1992, p.17). They investigated what social rights the citizens have to employment, housing, health care etc., and how effectively national policies enable citizens to secure these rights, and what the barriers and processes are, which exclude people from these rights. Secondly the Observatory studied "the evidence that where citizens are unable to secure their social rights, they will tend to suffer processes of generalized and persisting disadvantage and their social and occupational participation will be undermined" (ibid, 1992).

As the concept has been used in various Community texts, it is a dynamic concept in the sense that it is referring both to the processes of social exclusion and to the consequent situations. While the concept of poverty refers to the lack of resources, especially lack of income, the concept of social exclusion points to the multidimensional nature of the processes of exclusion, which have cumulative effects on individuals, groups of the population, regions or urban areas, and on society as a whole.

At the individual level some forms of social exclusion have become more visible and have caught the attention of the media and public and political debate. The homeless persons in the streets, mentally disordered persons left to fend for themselves, persons driven to behaviour such as violence and drugs, xenophobic behaviour, ethnic tensions and various forms of extremism.

Other forms are less visible, but are hidden in the social de-qualification of the increasing number of long-term unemployed, persons with only marginal contacts to the labour market and persons who never got integrated : Sentiments of reject, low self esteem and stigmatisation accompany the dependence on social benefits, rupture of social affiliation, unstable family situations (weakening of social cohesion), health and housing problems.

Large sections of the population are in a fragile position, as they are threatened by recurrent unemployment, insecure or atypical jobs, industrial restructuring, changes in family structures and other factors, which might have an impact on the processes towards exclusion.

The stigmatisation extends to the areas in which they live, particularly in the urban environment. These developments tend to exacerbate the differences between cities and urban areas, and between districts within the cities. Run-down districts become refuge for rejected or stigmatised populations, where the social fabric is disintegrating. In addition some declining urban areas and rural areas lagging behind in developments, are characterised by more traditional forms of poverty. Other districts are characterised by poorly integrated minority groups. All these districts may be characterised by high crime levels, violence and xenophobia behaviour

The main causes of the social exclusion are usually considered to be :

- the situation and developments on the employment market, and particularly the growing long-term unemployment and increase in insecure forms of employment. The developments on the labour market are crucial.

- changes in family structures with greater number of people living alone and of single-parent families. Implication for social security and social services.
- the mechanisms by which social policies are adapted to such developments and changes. It is often argued that social policies are exacerbating the processes of social exclusion.
- changes in value systems, as illustrated by advances in collective solidarity but also by weakening of the values of cohesion and of traditional forms of solidarity.
- the trend towards social fragmentation and the consequences as far as participation is concerned, for traditional representative institutions. Implications for social citizenship.
- changes in migration phenomena, and the situation of ethnic minorities.
- the persistence and development of traditional forms of poverty, often concentrated in declining urban areas or in rural areas lagging behind in development.
- the urban mal-development - cities as megasystems, which face increasing difficulties in providing a sense of belonging, community and identity.
- more recently attention has been paid to factors of exclusion linked with the rapid technological changes combined with the growing process of competitiveness-led globalisation of economy.
- the emergence of new cleavage between the "information-have's" and the "information-have-not"s.

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**FIRST SESSION : THEORETICAL QUESTIONS RELATED TO
MICRO, MESO AND MACRO PHENOMENA OF SOCIAL
EXCLUSION AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION**

Synthèse par

Pierre STROBEL, C.N.A.F. Paris

First Session Chairman

Cette synthèse tente de rendre compte des débats de la première session du séminaire, sans toutefois viser à l'exhaustivité. C'est une synthèse personnelle, orientée par mes propres préoccupations, et certainement criticable à ce titre. Sur certains points, j'ai volontairement débordé du cadre de la session que j'ai eu le plaisir d'animer, en allant piocher ici où là dans les interventions orales ou les documents écrits relatifs aux autres séances. J'ai autant que possible essayé de citer mes sources : mes excuses par avance à ceux qui auraient été oubliés ou enrôlés pour une cause qu'ils ne partagent pas !

P.S.

1. Des convergences conceptuelles et méthodologiques fortes

L'atelier, et plus largement l'ensemble du séminaire, ont mis en évidence une assez large convergence entre les concepts et les approches utilisées par les différents participants, et leurs préoccupations actuelles. Ainsi a-t-on insisté sur :

- le caractère multidimensionnel de la pauvreté et des processus d'exclusion (Bouget, Bruto da Costa, Marshall, Vilhjalmsson, Whelan...)
- l'intérêt qu'il y a à raisonner en dynamique, en termes de processus d'exclusion ou de marginalisation (Hausman, Heikkilä, Pinto, Thorlindsson, Vranken...), en insistant sur les ruptures personnelles et sociales qui les caractérisent (Bouget, Vranken) ; au-delà de la caractérisation de ces processus, il importe d'en analyser d'une part les déterminants et d'autre part les conséquences sociales et individuelles (Bruto da Costa, Heikkilä).
- l'intérêt en conséquence de disposer de données individuelles longitudinales (Fritzell, Schaber)

- la nécessité de distinguer entre les différents niveaux d'analyse : individus, groupes sociaux, phénomènes localisés, processus d'ordre méso ou macro-social, tout en tenant compte des interactions entre ces différents niveaux (Bruto da Costa, Ultee).
- la disponibilité d'une gamme assez large de cadres théoriques, plus complémentaires que concurrents, dont il conviendrait d'encourager la confrontation, en l'absence de méta-théories unifiantes.
- l'intérêt majeur d'études comparatives transnationales.

Ces convergences sont significatives car à elles seules elles augurent bien de la faisabilité du programme européen de recherche socio-économique finalisée ; pour autant, ce qui a été unanimement souhaité, que la commission se donne les moyens d'une **capitalisation** du savoir déjà accumulé et des résultats des recherches à venir ; et que ces connaissances puissent être largement **diffusées**, non seulement vers les milieux académiques, mais surtout vers leurs utilisateurs potentiels : pouvoirs publics, décideurs, associations et organisations non-gouvernementales...

2. Une nécessaire explicitation des cadres conceptuels et analytiques

Manifestement, les approches théoriques mobilisées pour analyser les processus d'exclusion, classer les situations de pauvreté et rendre compte des phénomènes sociaux qui leurs sont liés sont fort diversifiées. On notera qu'il s'agit plutôt d'approches théoriques de moyenne portée, qui ne sont pas intégrées dans un schéma explicatif global de la société et des rapports sociaux (Bouget) ; ce qui s'explique bien par l'affaiblissement des grands schémas de pensée sociale, mais qui induit en même temps le risque d'une autonomisation des phénomènes d'exclusion par rapport à l'ensemble du fonctionnement social.

Il serait donc vain, voire dangereux, de vouloir unifier ces cadres analytiques et modèles conceptuels, ou de privilégier l'un par rapport à l'autre⁴ : laissons les donc croître et se multiplier, pour autant qu'ils puissent être testés avec des données appropriées (Schaber). Cependant, la reconnaissance d'une telle diversité ne signifie pas qu'il faille abandonner plusieurs exigences théoriques.

La première est de proposer aux porteurs des différentes approches disponibles de préciser leurs filiations, leurs paradigmes fondateurs ; d'explicitier en quoi telle approche se différencie des approches voisines, quels objets sociaux elle construit et quels sont ceux qu'elle ne prend pas en compte. A l'opposé de l'éclectisme ou du relativisme absolu, ou encore de la fuite en avant dans l'empirisme non maîtrisé, il est certainement souhaitable de favoriser à l'échelle européenne une confrontation

⁴ Ou encore, parallèlement, de la problématique des inégalités à celle de l'exclusion.

exigeante des cadres théoriques disponibles dans la communauté scientifique, en s'intéressant notamment aux différences d'approche d'un pays à l'autre (Bouget, Bruto da Costa, Friederichs, Gore, Heikkilä, Ultee, Vranken, Whelan). Très schématiquement, on dispose de deux grandes traditions dans l'analyse de ces phénomènes : celle qui s'intéresse aux **ressources** et à leur **distribution** (l'absence de ressources et/ou une position dans le bas de la distribution des revenus définissant des situations de pauvreté) ; celle qui met l'accent sur les relations et **liens sociaux** (la privation ou la rupture de ces liens multiformes définissant des situations d'exclusion) ; les analyses en termes de "déprivation" se situant dans une position intermédiaire entre ces deux pôles. L'objectif n'est certainement pas de privilégier une approche particulière, mais plutôt de mieux apprécier leurs domaines de validité, leurs avantages et leurs points aveugles, leur complémentarité également, et d'identifier les nouvelles pistes théoriques qui permettraient à terme de dépasser ces traditions (Tsaoussis). L'idée a été émise de confier à une petite équipe de spécialistes le soin d'élaborer un "survey" sur ces questions (Vilhelmsson).

La seconde exigence est liée au fait que les chercheurs sont loin d'être les seuls à proposer des cadres analytiques ou des modèles explicatifs des phénomènes d'exclusion ; les responsables politiques et les appareils administratifs, les médias, les opinions publiques façonnent également de tels cadres et modèles, explicites ou implicites, qui ne sont pas sans lien avec ceux des experts et scientifiques.

Il y aurait certainement grand intérêt à développer, en faisant (entre autres) appel aux sciences politiques, des analyses approfondies de la genèse et des évolutions des représentations contemporaines de la pauvreté qui se diffusent dans nos sociétés, en essayant de mettre à jour les paradigmes et systèmes de causalité, le plus souvent implicites, qui les caractérisent.

A titre d'unique exemple, il serait utile de s'interroger sur la distance qui sépare, à 20 ans d'intervalle, deux définitions retenues par les instances européennes :

En 1974 : *"personnes pauvres : individus ou familles dont les ressources sont si faibles qu'ils sont exclus des modes de vie minimaux acceptables de l'Etat membre dans lequel ils vivent"*¹

En 1994, les exclus sont définis comme *"des groupes" de personnes [qui] se trouvent partiellement ou totalement en dehors du champ d'application effectif des droits de l'homme*⁵

¹ Définition incluse dans le Rapport final de la Commission au Conseil du premier programme de projets et études pilotes pour combattre la pauvreté. COM (81) 769 final, 15 décembre 1981.

⁵ Note introductive, séminaire "exclusion, égalité devant la loi et non-discrimination, Conseil de l'Europe, Taormina, sep-oct 1994, non publiée.

La mise en regard de ces deux définitions laisse bien penser que cette évolution ne résulte pas seulement d'une adaptation aux réalités socio-économiques, mais d'un changement plus profond dans les conceptions de l'intégration sociale et sans doute du rôle de l'intervention publique dans la cohésion sociale. Reste à mieux analyser les processus par lesquels on a, dans ce cas, pu passer d'une définition à l'autre, et quelles en sont les conséquences pratiques et symboliques.

3. La question des données

Nombreux sont les participants à ce séminaire qui ont mis l'accent sur la nécessité de disposer, surtout si l'on veut réaliser un travail comparatif de qualité, de données individuelles rigoureusement construites, et si possible, de données longitudinales. Tous insistent en effet sur la dynamique de l'exclusion sociale, sur les effets de la persistance dans des situations de pauvreté, sur les phénomènes générationnels de mobilité sociale et de reproduction de la pauvreté (Bouget, Friederichs, Hausman, Marshall, Whelan). Les données de panel (LIS, panel européen de ménages...) sont bien évidemment les plus appropriées à ce type d'objectif.

Mais une remarque s'impose à ce stade : le développement d'un panel représente un investissement lourd et sur le long terme, de la part des financeurs comme des concepteurs et utilisateurs. Toutes proportions gardées, il s'agit là, dans le domaine des sciences sociales, de l'équivalent des "grands équipements" que l'on rencontre dans les sciences "dures". D'où la nécessité d'un engagement durable et résolu des partenaires, sachant d'autant plus qu'un panel ne produit de résultats significatifs qu'assez longtemps après son lancement : les chercheurs et surtout les responsables administratifs et politiques doivent savoir être patients et ne pas espérer un retour rapide sur investissement.

On ne peut compter exclusivement sur les données de panel, quel que soit l'intérêt majeur de celles-ci : d'où l'intérêt d'utiliser également les données administratives (à condition de ne pas rabattre la réalité sociale sur les catégories administratives) ou de construire des enquêtes (comparatives) ad hoc, pour autant qu'elles soient bien ciblées sur les phénomènes que l'on veut étudier et bien articulées aux cadres théoriques des recherches (Marshall). L'accent - justifié - mis sur les enquêtes comparatives et les données de panel ne doit pas exclure que l'on recoure à des travaux plus qualitatifs, plus ethnologiques, permettant de mettre à jour des phénomènes mal établis, quitte ensuite à tester les résultats ainsi obtenus sur une plus grande échelle.

Notons enfin l'intérêt et la puissance prédictive de la micro-simulation sur données individuelles, qui doit certainement être encouragée (Klevmarken, Vilhalmsson).

L'horizon des données à investiguer ne peut également se limiter aux seuls individus ou ménages. On verra plus loin (5 ci-après) la nécessité de recueillir d'autres types de données sur les politiques publiques ou le fonctionnement des marchés du travail.

4. Micro/meso/macro : de nécessaires clarifications

Le programme TSER et les textes introductifs au séminaire avaient insisté sur l'objectif d'analyser les phénomènes de pauvreté et d'exclusion sociale à différents niveaux : micro, meso ou macro, tout en portant attention aux relations existant entre ces niveaux. Il semble que ces notions courantes véhiculent des significations très diversifiées, à tel point qu'un travail collectif de clarification s'impose.

Cette distinction s'applique-t-elle aux approches mobilisées par la recherche (holistique/structurale/systémique ou individualiste/utilitariste) ? On a vu sur ce point que le déclin des grands systèmes explicatifs expliquait assez bien une tendance à privilégier le second type d'approches, avec cependant le risque de déconnecter les phénomènes d'exclusion du reste du fonctionnement social, ou de faire des caractéristiques des individus pauvres des caractéristiques individuelles, intrinsèques, alors qu'elles peuvent fort bien résulter de facteurs macro-économiques ou macro-sociaux (Bruto da Costa).

Ceci recouvre-t-il une distinction entre le niveau micro, qui concernerait la vie quotidienne des gens, et le macro, qui s'attacherait aux politiques publiques, au fonctionnement du marché du travail, aux systèmes de régulation sociale ? (Vranken). Cette distinction a ses limites : ainsi, les politiques sociales ne peuvent être seulement analysées au travers des principes généraux de redistribution et de solidarité mis en oeuvre, des masses financières en jeu ou de la configuration juridique des prestations ; comprendre leur effectivité suppose souvent une analyse fine de la façon dont les prestations sont effectivement distribuées, dont agissent et interagissent les bénéficiaires et ceux qui distribuent aides et prestations, des deux côtés des guichets du Welfare.

S'agit-il plutôt de comprendre comment les processus d'exclusion articulent des phénomènes affectant l'individu/le sujet (y compris dans ses dimensions psychiques), les institutions de socialisation et structures sociales intermédiaires (famille, entreprise...), les classes ou groupes sociaux et leurs relations ? (Born, Thorlindsson, Ultee, Vranken) ; sans oublier qu'il existe des sociétés entières frappées par la pauvreté (Gore).

S'agit-il encore de mobiliser différentes échelles géographiques d'analyse, en mettant le cas échéant en évidence les phénomènes dûs à la concentration spatiale de situations de pauvreté ? (Bouget, Bruto da Costa, Friederichs) ; sachant alors qu'il importe fondamentalement de distinguer entre l'opération élémentaire qui consiste à choisir tel ou tel niveau d'observation (ou d'agrégation), celle qui consiste à se poser la question des facteurs spatiaux spécifiques intervenant dans le phénomènes étudiés, celle qui vise enfin à identifier les interactions entre des phénomènes repérés à des niveaux géographiques différents.

On le voit, ces notions couramment utilisées sont susceptibles de recouvrir différentes significations, selon les disciplines, les approches, les objets empiriques étudiés. Un effort spécifique de clarification sur ce point devra certainement être demandé aux équipes de recherche engagées dans le programme TSER ; ce qui rejoint pour partie les exigences théoriques mentionnées plus haut.

5. L'impact des politiques publiques et des stratégies des acteurs économiques

Le séminaire a largement confirmé l'intérêt qu'il y a, au delà de la description des processus et situations d'exclusion, frappant des individus et des groupes sociaux, à examiner leurs principaux facteurs, dont ceux relatifs aux politiques publiques, et ceux qui configurent en permanence les marchés du travail.

Si, comme l'ont réaffirmé de nombreux participants, les positions occupées par les individus sur le marché du travail et les évolutions qui affectent le marché du travail continuent de jouer un rôle crucial dans le processus d'exclusion (Fassmann, Vranken, Whelan), il importe également de développer des analyses sur les pratiques de gestion de la main d'oeuvre, sur tout ce qui détermine la demande de travail (Schaber, Whelan). De même, puisque l'on met l'accent sur la responsabilité des politiques publiques, sociales (Hausman), mais aussi fiscales (Sinfield) et économiques (Madureira Pinto), au niveau national et européen, alors il importe également de mobiliser des analyses sur ces politiques et leurs effets, sans se limiter à la sphère sociale, en tenant compte des interactions entre les politiques publiques, les stratégies des acteurs économiques et les comportements des individus et des acteurs sociaux.

6. Le poids des représentations, des processus symboliques, des phénomènes identitaires

Quelques intervenants ont mis l'accent sur la question des valeurs, en notant l'hétérogénéité, voire les conflits de valeurs en Europe (Gundelach, Kokolosakis, Listhaug) ; d'autre ont insisté sur les dimensions culturelles de la pauvreté, ce qui n'est pas sans lien avec la question - en débat - relative à la formation d'une "underclass" (Marshall, Vranken, Whelan) ; ici où là ont été évoquées les questions des relations plus ou moins conflictuelles entre groupes sociaux, des phénomènes de stigmatisation. Mais il faut constater que les participants au séminaire sont, dans leur ensemble, peu intervenus sur les phénomènes identitaires, les processus symboliques, les systèmes et conflits de représentations qui marquent pourtant profondément les processus d'exclusion sociale. Il semble pourtant que la notion d'exclusion présente - à côté de multiples défauts - l'intérêt de mettre l'accent sur tous les phénomènes de ruptures des liens sociaux, dont spécifiquement les phénomènes symboliques : effacement du sentiment d'appartenance, des liens identitaires ou au contraire renforcement des contre-identités ; culpabilisation, phénomènes de stigmatisation, racisme ; mise à

l'écart symbolique (mais aussi juridique et politique) ; conflits de valeurs, conflits autour des représentations de la justice distributive...

Cette question ne peut manifestement rester absente du travail et des débats scientifiques à entreprendre dans le cadre du programme TSER. La dimension symbolique de ces processus d'exclusion, dont les effets n'en sont pas moins visibles et dramatiques que ceux de la privation de ressources monétaires, nécessite une attention soutenue d'autant plus qu'à quelques exceptions près (données d'opinion) les données issues des enquêtes classiques ou d'origine administrative ne sont d'aucun secours pour analyser ces phénomènes. Il y a là matière à tout un ensemble de travaux ethnologiques, sociologiques, historiques et de science politique, qu'on peut d'autant moins négliger que les phénomènes symboliques qui accompagnent et renforcent les processus d'exclusion sociale sont en interaction permanente avec les courants politiques globaux qui façonnent la régulation de nos sociétés.

7. Quelques pistes complémentaires

En complément aux axes rappelés ci-dessus, on peut énoncer quelques points abordés de façon plus dispersée au cours du séminaire, qui n'en constituent pas moins des perspectives intéressantes.

- **Populations statistiquement invisibles et variables cachées : la possibilité d'accéder à des données individuelles et de réaliser des analyses multivariées devrait permettre à la recherche de ne pas être prisonnière des catégories administratives et de mettre à jour des populations "statistiquement invisibles" lorsqu'on utilise les découpages classiques de la structure sociale. La moindre nécessité dans laquelle on se trouve actuellement de raisonner sur l'unité "ménage" devrait aussi permettre de mieux mettre en évidence les différences de sexe, trop longtemps négligées dans les analyses sur la pauvreté ; de même qu'il serait grand temps de s'arrêter sur les processus d'exclusion reposant sur certaines formes de discrimination sexuelle (Conroy).**
- **Intégration vs. inclusion : certains participants ont souligné l'intérêt qu'il aurait à développer en parallèle des travaux sur les facteurs et processus d'intégration sociale (et là aussi le réexamen des théories disponibles s'impose) ; ce qui peut passer par des analyses approfondies des succès et échecs des actions menées pour insérer ou réinsérer socialement et professionnellement des personnes en situation d'exclusion ; mais aussi par des analyses plus globales, comparatives, des modèles (différenciés, sinon concurrents) de Welfare et de régulation sociale en Europe, de leur efficacité et de leurs limites en matière de cohésion sociale et d'intégration.**
- **L'intégration sans le travail ? La multiplication de situations de chômage prolongé, de mise à l'écart quasi-irréversible du marché du travail, la réduction**

tendancielle de la demande de travail amènent à se poser la question de la possibilité d'une intégration durable des individus hors de la participation formalisée à une activité "productive", directement génératrice de revenus. Cette question comporte bien évidemment des dimensions philosophiques et politiques majeures ; mais elle peut et doit certainement être traitée empiriquement.

En conclusion, il me semble important de revenir sur l'objet de cette session, à savoir les questions théoriques relatives à l'exclusion sociale.

Comme chercheurs, ou tout simplement citoyens, nous devons légitimement nous demander si cette préoccupation théorique est bien nécessaire.

Ne disposons-nous pas, avec les multiples travaux réalisés depuis des dizaines d'années en Europe et ailleurs, de cadres théoriques suffisamment solides pour qu'il suffise de se concentrer sur l'élaboration, la collecte et le traitement de données comparables pour franchir une étape décisive, précisément celle des comparaisons européennes ?

De plus, face à l'ampleur des phénomènes d'exclusion en Europe, à la gravité de certaines situations, à leurs conséquences de long terme, tant sociales que politiques, ne faut-il pas en priorité agir et concentrer les moyens disponibles sur la lutte contre l'exclusion ?

Enfin, et justement au moment où le Programme d'action à moyen terme pour combattre l'exclusion et promouvoir la solidarité (pauvreté 4), proposé par la Commission, tarde à être lancé, le développement de travaux de recherche et de réflexions théoriques dans le cadre du programme TSER ne risque-t-il pas d'apparaître comme un substitut à moindre frais, voire un alibi ?

Ces objections possibles méritent toutes d'être prises en considération. En même temps, il me semble souhaitable que les travaux menés dans le cadre de TSER s'organisent pour essayer non d'invalider ces objections mais de démontrer l'intérêt de ce détour théorique, pour la compréhension des phénomènes actuels et pour l'action. Il reste bien du travail à faire pour mieux comprendre les processus et trajectoires de précarisation et d'exclusion, et les facteurs qui les déterminent, sans oublier parmi ceux-ci les profondes transformations en cours des marchés du travail et les politiques économiques et sociales nationales et menées au niveau européen ; ainsi que pour mieux analyser les représentations collectives, les phénomènes symboliques qui accompagnent et peuvent renforcer l'affaiblissement des liens sociaux.

Les apports théoriques et empiriques à venir devraient ainsi contribuer à verser au débat public une meilleure identification des leviers d'action dont chacun, à son niveau de responsabilité, dispose pour agir effectivement et efficacement dans ce domaine.

DE LA PAUVRETE A L'EXCLUSION : QUELQUES QUESTIONS THEORIQUES

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1. L'exclusion sociale : un état, un résultat, ou un processus dont il importe de déterminer les causes ?

Discours politiques et analyses scientifiques convergent aujourd'hui vers un thème commun, à la fois unificateur et réducteur, celui de "l'exclusion sociale". Corrélativement, la figure sociale de "l'exclu" tend à se substituer à tout un ensemble d'autres, qu'il s'agisse des pauvres ou des indigents, des marginaux et des assistés, des prolétaires et sous-prolétaires, des "handicapés sociaux" ou des mal-logés, autant de catégories forgées à des époques différentes pour désigner les individus situés au bas de l'échelle sociale. Au préalable, il convient de s'interroger sur le succès de ces deux termes. En particulier, celui d'exclusion procède d'un glissement de sens euphémisant : désignant initialement l'action de rejeter quelqu'un d'un groupe, d'une institution, d'un espace social (ou de lui en empêcher l'accès), il signifie désormais le résultat de ce processus, la situation de ceux qui sont exclus, sans préciser de quoi ni par quoi ou par qui ceux-ci sont exclus : "*faire [de l'exclusion] une qualité propre, une caractérisation subjective, c'est en quelque sorte basculer de l'accident vers l'essence en gommant toutefois les circonstances qui rendent l'accident possible*"¹.

2. De la notion de pauvreté à celle d'exclusion : un changement de paradigme

D'où l'importance d'une réflexion sur le passage, sensible notamment dans les discours et les initiatives communautaires, de la notion de pauvreté à celle d'exclusion (on peut le dater de la fin des années 80, avec le troisième programme communautaire de lutte contre la pauvreté); et sur les implications tant théoriques que pratiques de ces évolutions.

La pauvreté n'est pas un phénomène nouveau en Europe et a toujours désigné à la fois la dégradation de conditions d'existence et une position sociale inférieure et à l'écart. Son traitement a en permanence été marqué par une alternance de

¹ Michel MESSU, "Dérégulation et régulation sociales - Contribution à l'analyse sociologique des politiques sociales", Cahier de recherche 51, CREDOC, sept. 1993.

pratiques répressives, de tentatives de contrôle, et de sollicitude ("la potence ou la pitié"- Geremek) et par le débat entre partisans de la charité individuelle et de l'intervention collective.

2.1. Intégration par le travail, pauvreté économique et inégalités

Mais c'est avec le développement massif du salariat et la mise en place de régimes de Welfare que la pauvreté a été principalement référée à la distribution des revenus, eux mêmes liés à la participation des individus à l'activité économique: "*personnes pauvres : individus ou familles dont les ressources sont si faibles qu'ils sont exclus des modes de vie minimaux acceptables de l'Etat membre dans lequel ils vivent*" (définition adoptée en 1975 par le Conseil des ministres européens).

Au fond, dans des sociétés où la norme est le plein emploi, la pauvreté est un état marqué par la privation de ressources et d'accès à des biens élémentaires ; elle se définit et se repère essentiellement en termes économiques (insuffisance de revenus). C'est une notion relative, par rapport à des standards de revenu et de consommation: ainsi, la question de la pauvreté est-elle corrélée à celle de l'inégalité (des conditions). Les classes sociales se définissent essentiellement dans le conflit autour de l'inégal partage des ressources et des biens.

Schématiquement, cette conception unidimensionnelle de la pauvreté s'accorde d'un système d'intégration sociale reposant sur le travail (salarié) dans lequel la participation de tous les individus valides à la sphère productive est considéré comme acquis. La pauvreté est à la fois liée à une rétribution insuffisante de ceux dont la productivité marginale est faible (ce qui implique d'agir sur la distribution des revenus primaires) et à un ensemble de "handicaps sociaux", résiduels, qu'il s'agit de réduire dans une logique assurantielle.

2.2. L'exclusion, un processus pluridimensionnel, social et politique

Les conceptions de l'exclusion développées tant par les chercheurs (par exemple les experts de l'Observatoire des politiques nationales de lutte contre l'exclusion) que par les instances politiques, notamment la Communauté, s'inscrivent dans deux perspectives englobantes, reliées entre elles :

- d'un côté, dans la ligne des analyses développées par Peter Townsend, les exclus sont des individus ou des ménages cumulant un ensemble de risques, de difficultés ou handicaps qui les conduisent à la fois à la pauvreté économique, à l'affaiblissement des liens familiaux et sociaux, au discrédit social, voire à la perte des repères identitaires. Si l'on s'en tient aux travaux français récents, "désaffiliation" (Castel), "disqualification sociale" (Paugam), "désinsertion" (De

Gaulejac)² se produisent au terme de trajectoires individuelles dans lesquelles se cumulent et renforcent différentes ruptures et "pertes" ou privations, redoublées par des mécanismes sociaux qui tendent à stigmatiser, mettre à l'écart ou rejeter les individus concernés. Ainsi met-on l'accent sur des processus pluri-dimensionnels, affectant l'individu lui-même et la représentation que l'environnement social a de lui. Certes, la plupart des analyses continuent d'accorder un rôle premier à la pauvreté économique, qui tient principalement à "l'aggravation de la déstabilisation de la condition salariale" (Castel). Mais elles insistent également sur les ruptures vécues sur d'autres plans (par exemple les ruptures familiales, parfois considérées comme conséquences des ruptures professionnelles) et notamment sur les phénomènes symboliques et psychiques liés à "l'épreuve du déclassement" (De Gaulejac). Les recherches tiennent enfin compte des effets des processus de stigmatisation et des stratégies de défense, de résistance développées par les exclus. La distribution (des revenus et des richesses) n'occupe plus ici une position déterminante, elle ne résume plus les différents plans des processus d'exclusion. Les questions de différenciation sociale et d'intégration prennent une place prépondérante.

- de l'autre (et c'est plutôt le point de vue de la Commission - cf. le Livre vert de 1993), on met l'accent sur "*la nature structurelle du processus qui écarte une partie de la population des opportunités économiques et sociales*" [souligné par moi]. Dans une optique Marshallienne, "*l'exclusion peut être analysée en termes de dénégation ou de non-respect des droits sociaux, c'est-à-dire, le droit qu'a chaque citoyen à une certaine qualité de vie minimale, ainsi que de participer aux principales institutions sociales et professionnelles*"³ Cela rejoint l'analyse du Conseil de l'Europe, qui définit les exclus comme "*des groupes de personnes entières [qui] se trouvent partiellement ou totalement en dehors du champ d'application effectif des droits de l'homme*"⁴. Dans cette même perspective, "*l'exclusion peut être définie en termes d'échec d'un ou de plusieurs systèmes [d'appartenance] considérés comme fondamentaux pour le fonctionnement de la société...le système démocratique et juridique/ le marché de l'emploi/ la protection sociale / la famille et la communauté*"⁵

La dimension économique de la pauvreté est donc ici loin d'être seule en cause, de même que les processus sociaux et symboliques d'affaiblissement du lien social et de stigmatisation. A l'extrême, la dimension prioritaire apparaît être celle des dénis de droits, civils, politiques et sociaux : c'est au fond le fait que les individus concernés ne détiennent pas de créances sur la société, qui matérialise et résume l'exclusion sociale. De plus, c'est fondamentalement l'égalité des

² Respectivement : R. CASTEL, "De l'indigence à l'exclusion, la désaffiliation. Précarité du travail et vulnérabilité relationnelle", in J. DONZELOT (eds), *Face à l'exclusion. Le modèle français*, Esprit, 1991.

S. PAUGAM, *La disqualification sociale*, Paris, PUF, 1991.

V. De GAULEJAC, I. TABOADA LEONETTI, *La lutte des places*, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer/EPI, 1994.

³ *Second rapport annuel de l'Observatoire européen des politiques nationales de lutte contre l'exclusion*, chap. 1., 1992

⁴ note introductive, Séminaire sur "exclusion, égalité devant la loi et non discrimination", Conseil de l'Europe, Taormina, sep-oct 1994, non publiée.

⁵ Françoise EUVRARD et Alain PRELIS, "La lutte contre la pauvreté dans la construction européenne", *Recherche et Prévisions*, 38, déc. 1994.

chances (et non des conditions) qui est ici en jeu. L'objectif majeur des politiques sociales est alors logiquement d'assurer cette égalité des chances, à charge pour l'individu de développer ses propres potentialités et d'accéder aux opportunités qui lui sont offertes, à condition qu'il puisse effectivement s'appuyer sur un socle de droits fondamentaux.

L'intérêt majeur de ces deux conceptions sociologique et politique de l'exclusion réside dans leur caractère globalisant et multi-dimensionnel, et pour la première au moins, dans l'accent mis sur la dynamique des phénomènes individuels et sociaux qui y conduisent. Elles ne rabattent plus la position occupée dans l'échelle sociale sur la seule dimension économique et tiennent le plus grand compte des mécanismes symboliques et politiques qui l'accompagnent : elles font de la lutte contre l'exclusion un enjeu central des sociétés démocratiques, au risque sinon de mettre en péril la démocratie elle-même.

3. Quelques questions théoriques et de méthode.

Ces conceptions contemporaines de l'exclusion soulèvent cependant des questions méthodologiques et théoriques importantes et mal résolues.

3.1. la question de la mesure.

Malgré les efforts multiples faits pour améliorer les indicateurs (en passant de seuils de pauvreté absolus ou relatifs fondés sur le seul revenu à la prise en compte d'indicateurs de privation ou de conditions d'existence et d'éléments subjectifs), il est difficile de dépasser une approche de la pauvreté centrée principalement sur la privation de revenu et de l'accès à des biens et ressources matérielles. La multidimensionnalité de la pauvreté implique que l'on définisse une pluralité d'échelles permettant la mesure, mais pose très vite la question des systèmes d'équivalence entre les différentes échelles.

De plus, la comparaison empirique des populations en dessous de différents seuils fait certes apparaître un noyau dur d'individus ou de ménages qui se situent systématiquement en dessous de tous les seuils possibles, donc certainement pauvres⁶. Mais on voit apparaître différents groupes de population dont le diagnostic varie, parfois très sensiblement, selon qu'on utilise une méthode (un seuil) ou une autre et qui se situent aux franges de la pauvreté⁷. Il faut noter que ces groupes ne s'emboîtent pas les uns dans les autres (ce qui seraient le cas si les seuils retenus différaient simplement par leur niveau de générosité). Au contraire, ces populations se recoupent partiellement tout en se différenciant selon la situation familiale, la position dans le cycle de vie, les conditions socio-économiques. Tous ceux qu'on peut classer dans les franges de

⁶ mais pas forcément exclus au sens des définitions mettant en avant les dénis de droits.

⁷ J.C. RAY et alii, *Aux franges du RMI*, rapport pour la CNAF, ADEPS-Université de Nancy II-CNRS et D.R. INSEE Lorraine, nov. 1991.

la pauvreté présentent cependant de nombreux points communs avec les individus ou ménages classés "certainement pauvres", ce qui montre l'importante proportion de la population soumise à des "risques" d'exclusion⁸ Ces résultats empiriques montrent bien la difficulté qu'il y a à utiliser des notions englobantes, regroupant sous une même définition obscurcissante les pauvres ou les exclus. Empiriquement et opérationnellement, il y a donc intérêt à distinguer les différentes populations concernées par la précarité économique et/ou sociale ou par les risques de telle ou telle forme de précarisation.

Enfin, l'accent mis sur les trajectoires d'exclusion implique que l'on développe des analyses dynamiques : il est peu significatif de passer à un moment déterminé sous un seuil de pauvreté particulier, tandis que le maintien dans la durée sous un ou plusieurs seuils est un signe majeur d'exclusion (d'où l'importance de panels comme celui que développe Eurostat).

Reste que malgré leur affinement progressif, les différentes mesures actuellement disponibles de la pauvreté ou des risques de précarisation sont loin de correspondre aux définitions de l'exclusion et en particulier à celles qui mettent l'accent sur l'accès aux droits, au logement, aux services de santé. Si l'on veut alors suivre plus strictement ces définitions, on est amené à mettre en oeuvre des comptages partiels, souvent très difficiles à mettre en oeuvre techniquement : sans-abri, chômeurs en fin de droits, personnes en situation de "non-recours" (non take-up⁹) à une prestation monétaire à laquelle elles auraient droit, étrangers discriminés dans l'accès à tel ou tel type de droit social, immigrés sans papiers... Autant de catégories hétérogènes et souvent très difficiles à saisir, pour lesquelles un effort de méthode et de recueil de données s'impose (ceci d'autant plus que les méthodes statistiques classiques prennent très mal en compte les populations concernées).

Cependant, le problème demeure de l'articulation entre ces dernières mesures et celles que permettent les méthodes plus classiques fondées sur les différents types de seuils de pauvreté. Leur recoupement est très difficile, et l'on risque de tomber dans un double biais : celui de se concentrer sur une approche minimale de la pauvreté ou de l'exclusion, certes relative à des situations particulièrement dramatiques (les sans-abri) ; ou au contraire de repérer des situations préoccupantes de non accès au droit, mais qui ne se traduisent pas forcément pour les intéressés par l'exclusion sociale ou la pauvreté.

⁸ dans le cas français, environ 30% de la population totale, que ce soit dans les estimations de l'étude de RAY et alii précitée ou selon celles de J. PAUGAM, Précarité et risques d'exclusion en France, CERC, Paris, La Documentation Française, 1993.

⁹ Cette question du "non take-up" fait depuis longtemps l'objet de nombreux travaux en Grande-Bretagne, ou aux Pays-Bas ; elle est quasi-inconnue des chercheurs comme des pouvoirs publics en France.

3.2. La dimension collective de l'exclusion

Comme les mesures classiques de la pauvreté (dénombrant les individus ou ménages situés sous un seuil), nombre d'analyses sociologiques de l'exclusion mettent l'accent sur les processus affectant les individus, sur des trajectoires singulières. On ne peut en inférer que les exclus sont des individus isolés et frappés d'anomie. En effet, des phénomènes symboliques collectifs construisent, de l'extérieur, des groupes sociaux représentés et désignés comme différents ou déviants et donc stigmatisés comme tels ; en retour, ceux qui sont désignés comme tels peuvent se regrouper (ou sont forcés à le faire) et construire des stratégies ou conduites collectives en réponse à la stigmatisation. Ces phénomènes symboliques sont redoublés et s'appuient sur des mécanismes économiques et sociaux qui assignent littéralement à résidence des groupes sociaux défavorisés, en empêchant leur mobilité résidentielle et sociale, tandis que tous ceux qui reconquièrent une possibilité de mobilité s'empressent de quitter les zones urbaines marquées par l'exclusion.

A la différence des Etats-Unis ou de la Grande-Bretagne, où sont abondamment discutés les processus sociaux localisés de "ghettoïsation", et plus largement les questions relatives à la formation d'une underclass, la recherche "continentale" aborde avec une extrême prudence l'articulation entre les processus individuels d'exclusion et les phénomènes collectifs concernant des groupes d'exclus. "*Le risque de marginalisation est individuel, sans doute. Il est aussi collectif. C'est le risque que des quartiers, des cités, des communautés constituées, des régions ou des parties de régions soient progressivement mis au ban de la société*"¹⁰. De nombreux travaux continentaux décrivent en effet ces phénomènes, en mettant l'accent sur les formes spécifiques de sociabilité et de solidarité qui se développent dans les quartiers dits défavorisés, sur les (contre-)cultures, éventuellement déviantes, qui peuvent y émerger, sur les formes de stigmatisation qui touchent ces espaces sociaux, ainsi que sur les stratégies de résistance qui s'y développent ; de même qu'ils peuvent mettre en évidence les mécanismes localisés de reproduction familiale et sociale de la pauvreté (en se rapprochant sous certains aspects des travaux d'O. Lewis). Mais en même temps, on note, dans les travaux empiriques et théoriques français, notamment, une nette prise de distance par rapport aux thèses de l'isolement social et de la "ghettoïsation" défendues par exemple par J. Wilson¹¹. En particulier, la question de la formation d'une *underclass* en tant que telle n'est pratiquement pas abordée, ou avec de multiples réserves. La plupart des travaux tendent à mettre en évidence tantôt des phénomènes d'anomie (individuelle), tantôt, dans les espaces de relégation, le maintien, voire le renforcement de certaines formes de sociabilité familiale et de proximité (et même l'existence de réseaux de sociabilité et d'entraide délocalisés) ; la thèse de l'exclusion est elle-même discutée, tant certains des exclus sont en fait massivement inclus dans des dispositifs publics ou associatifs d'aide et

¹⁰ J.C. LAGREE, "Exclusion sociale ou formation d'une Underclass", in F. BOUCHAYER (sous la dir. de), *Trajectoires sociales et inégalités*, Paris, Eres, déc. 1994.

¹¹ J. WILSON (eds), *The Ghetto Underclass*, Sage Publication, 1993.

d'insertion ; les phénomènes de construction d'appartenances sociales sont également en débat, car celle-ci sont souvent très mobiles, peu durables, ponctuelles et réversibles ; enfin, la formation de communautés ethniques est elle-même controversée.

Il y aurait donc intérêt à poursuivre, à l'échelle européenne, le débat entre ces différentes thèses (et certainement en partie grâce à des travaux comparatifs), notamment sur l'articulation entre phénomènes individuels de précarisation et processus collectifs ; et sur les interactions entre les discriminations - collectives à l'évidence - qui frappent certains espaces sociaux et la conscience de former un groupe, les comportements de groupe social qui peuvent émerger chez ceux qui sont ainsi marginalisés. Et il conviendrait de ce point de vue de faire la part, dans les résultats obtenus par les différents travaux européens menés sur ces phénomènes, entre ce qui relève de problématiques nationales éventuellement divergentes, et de processus sociaux éventuellement distincts d'un pays à l'autre.

3.3. L'importance des dimensions symboliques et des représentations collectives.

Les conceptions unidimensionnelles de la pauvreté en termes de revenus ou de consommation avaient l'"avantage" de focaliser les débats (scientifiques et sociaux) sur une seule échelle, celle de la distribution des ressources et des biens. Les frontières éventuelles entre groupes sociaux ou classes pouvaient ainsi se définir principalement sur cette échelle. Certes, la définition de ces frontières était elle-même l'objet de débats contradictoires, mais un relatif consensus s'établissait au moins sur l'échelle retenue.

Avec les conceptions contemporaines de l'exclusion, plusieurs échelles, non réductibles l'une à l'autre peuvent être mobilisées conjointement ou concurremment pour cerner ce phénomène (cf. 3.1. ci-dessus). Mais il ne s'agit pas que d'une question de mesure. En effet, l'insistance mise à juste titre sur deux dimensions de l'exclusion (d'une part, les formes d'exclusion "symbolique" résultant de la mise à l'écart/stigmatisation de groupes sociaux représentés comme différents ou déviants par d'autres groupes sociaux ou la société dans son ensemble ; d'autre part les formes d'exclusion liées à la privation de droits) débouche sur des controverses socio-politiques de grande ampleur. Sont en jeu à la fois les représentations collectives du classement social, des hiérarchies sociales et symboliques ; les conceptions du lien social et des formes de réciprocité ou de solidarité entre les groupes sociaux ou les individus ; les conceptions différenciées de la justice distributive et de l'équité.

On se contentera ici d'une illustration portant sur ce dernier point. Un droit social quelconque possède en apparence, une fois inscrit dans la loi, un caractère d'objectivité absolue, qui s'impose à tous les citoyens, qu'ils en bénéficient ou non. Mais dans les faits, les formes de redistribution qui en découlent doivent toujours être justifiées et argumentées concrètement, non seulement vis-à-vis du

demandeur, mais surtout plus largement auprès de l'ensemble des citoyens, qu'ils soient ou non bénéficiaires potentiels.

Les représentations que chaque citoyen ou groupe de citoyens a de ses droits, de ses devoirs et des mécanismes de solidarité viennent se superposer au cadre légal pour produire dans certains cas des interrogations sur la légitimité des prestations servies à tel ou tel groupe de bénéficiaires de l'aide publique. Ainsi, certaines catégories d'allocataires de prestations sociales considèrent *"l'accès au R.M.I... comme une sorte de privilège qui n'est justifié qu'autant que le bénéficiaire appartient au groupe des "pauvres-méritants"¹².. Au sein même de la population des allocataires du R.M.I., certains bénéficiaires "établissent une hiérarchie parmi les allocataires : ceux qui veulent se réinsérer et tous les autres, c'est à dire les assistés assimilés très souvent à des paresseux ou des clochards [...] Ils font la distinction classique entre les "bons" et les "mauvais" pauvres, ce qui est un moyen de résister, au moins partiellement et symboliquement, au poids du discrédit social"¹³.*

Ainsi, les luttes de classement social sont au coeur même des processus de définition de l'exclusion et des moyens, notamment publics, d'y remédier. Posant fondamentalement à l'ensemble de la société la question du lien social, des moyens qu'elle se donne de "tenir" ensemble, d'assurer la solidarité entre ses membres, le débat sur l'exclusion devient alors éminemment politique ; ou, en tout cas, il suppose une régulation politique.

Et ceci est d'autant plus nécessaire que l'on passe d'un débat social sur les inégalités à un débat sur les différences. S'il n'y a plus d'échelle unique permettant de comparer les contributions et rétributions et la position de chacun à l'intérieur d'une même communauté (nationale ou en tout cas étendue), alors le sentiment d'appartenance peut se construire par référence à des communautés restreintes, fondées sur la proximité interne et la différenciation externe. Alors la différence n'est plus de condition, elle s'inscrit dans les cultures, les modes de vie, les pratiques locales. C'est ici que l'exclusion a partie liée aux formes contemporaines du racisme, fondamentalement différentielles, qui se substituent pour partie à des formes plus anciennes, qui étaient plutôt inégalitaires¹⁴.

Dans ces conditions, il est extrêmement important d'adjoindre aux analyses dominantes de l'exclusion - qui sont principalement économiques ou sociologiques - des travaux socio-politiques ou même de philosophie politique centrés sur les processus "identitaires" de différenciation sociale. Ce qui permettrait également de mettre à jour les mécanismes (démocratiques) de régulation sociale qui, au delà de la réaffirmation des principes universalistes abstraits, seraient susceptibles de rétablir du lien social là où se développent des

¹² N. BARDAILLE, J.L. OUTIN, *Les allocataires et leurs Caisses d'allocations familiales - l'accès aux prestations à l'épreuve des inégalités*, SET, Université de Paris 1, rapport pour la CNAF, 1992.

¹³ S. PAUGAM, *La société française et ses pauvres*, Paris, PUF, 1993.

¹⁴ P.A. TAGUIEFF, *La force du préjugé. Essai sur le racisme et des doubles*. Paris, la Découverte, 1988.

phénomènes d'altérité radicale. L'affirmation de l'universalité du droit, du refus des dénis de droit ne suffisent en effet pas à cela, puisque le droit, et en particulier le droit social, ne cesse d'ériger et de déplacer des barrières, entre les ayants-droit et les autres, et dans certains cas entre les nationaux et les étrangers¹⁵.

4. retour sur des déterminants des processus d'exclusion

En conclusion, on peut reprendre de façon schématique quelques questions méritant approfondissement, qui ont trait aux grands déterminants (micro ou macro) des processus d'exclusion.

C'est d'abord la question de la centralité du travail et de l'emploi dans nos sociétés contemporaines. Partout, on note à la fois l'exclusion durable de l'emploi de couches importantes de la population, et un affaiblissement du rôle du travail (institutionnellement structuré) comme "grand intégrateur" social. Faut-il faire le deuil définitif de cet intégrateur privilégié, et considérer alors que la tâche la plus urgente est de construire des systèmes multiformes d'intégration sociale passant par l'extension de la couverture des droits politiques et sociaux, les politiques éducatives et culturelles, les politiques sociales et notamment de revenu minimum, et une régulation démocratique d'ensemble aussi cohésive que possible ; ou bien faut-il à tout prix essayer d'abord de rétablir l'accès de tous à l'emploi ? Explorer systématiquement, par contraste, les régimes de régulation sociale et économique qui découlent de l'une ou l'autre de ces options, et leurs conséquences, semble de première nécessité.

Dans la mesure où ce qui se passe dans la sphère économique conserve un rôle déterminant dans les processus actuels d'exclusion, il est sans doute nécessaire de revenir sur les politiques publiques d'emploi et les modalités de gestion de la main d'oeuvre par les entreprises (comme par les employeurs publics¹⁶). Il conviendrait en particulier de poursuivre les analyses sur les évolutions de la relation salariale (comme une forme du lien social), de sa nature et de sa temporalité. De même serait-il souhaitable d'approfondir les transformations des processus de sélection sur le marché (interne et externe) du travail, dans un contexte de tertiarisation et d'immatérialisation croissante de l'activité productive, qui tend de plus en plus à privilégier les capacités de coopération et l'aptitude à

¹⁵ on remarquera d'ailleurs que les mouvements politiques xénophobes font de cette question de l'accès au droit un élément fort de leur fonds de commerce, puisqu'ils réclament la restriction des droits aux seuls nationaux, et qu'en même temps ils développent une rhétorique de "victimes" ou "d'exclus", du type : "les étrangers ont plus de droits que nous ... ils profitent de la protection sociale..."

¹⁶ Cinq millions d'emplois pour la seule fonction publique en France. Par sa politique de l'emploi public, l'Etat joue en France un rôle intégrateur et régulateur éminent, bien au-delà de sa sphère d'influence. En quoi ses propres efforts de modernisation contribuent-ils ou non à l'intégration et à la cohésion sociale ? La question n'a pratiquement pas été étudiée.

tenir des rôles relationnels au détriment de certaines formes de compétence techico-productive.

Un retour s'impose également sur les principes qui structurent la fonction-providence de l'Etat. partout on dénonce la perte d'efficacité de nos systèmes de protection sociale ; et se développe une contestation accrue des conceptions assurantielles dominantes jusqu'à une période récente au profit de conceptions plus solidaristes, qui sont cependant infiniment plus difficiles à instituer et légitimer que les précédentes. De plus, l'analyse concrète des systèmes de sécurité sociale montre que cette distinction entre la fonction assurantielle (que l'on tend à associer trop rapidement aux mécanismes contributifs) et la fonction de solidarité (associée à l'impôt) est purement spéculative et ne tient pas en pratique : les deux sont totalement imbriquées. Tout dépend enfin de ce que la société accepte à un moment donné de considérer comme un risque (assurable) ou comme une condition individuelle ou sociale nécessitant un transfert.

Enfin sont en jeu les différents modèles possible de régulation sociale, à l'échelle nationale et européenne.

Un modèle d'inspiration durkheimienne, mettant en avant une conception holiste de la société, et la prééminence des principes d'assemblage social sur ceux de différenciation, indexe l'organisation du bien-être sur l'activité professionnelle des individus ; et les interventions de l'Etat développent des objectifs de compensation et de redistribution à caractère universaliste. A l'opposé, de ce type d'"Etat d'équilibre social général", l'"Etat d'actions sociales" prend acte de la différenciation [sociale] comme un donné initial... La question [est] de savoir comment faire tenir le tout, dont la forme finale ne résulte pas d'une vue préétablie, mais de l'ajustement des parties"¹⁷. Ce deuxième type se fixe comme mission prioritaire d'ajuster empiriquement les différentes composantes de la société, éventuellement organisées de façon communautaire, en privilégiant des "programmes" sociaux ciblés, visant des populations particulières, les plus défavorisées, et en s'appuyant sur les solidarités locales.

Ces deux modèles se combinent dans des proportions diverses au sein de chaque pays européen. L'enjeu de l'Europe sociale et plus largement de l'intégration européenne est de savoir si l'un de ces modèles doit l'emporter sur l'autre ou si les drames de l'exclusion nécessitent de forger un autre modèle de régulation.

¹⁷ P. MACLOUF, "Etat et cohésion sociale", *Recherches et Prévisions* n° 38, déc. 1994.

"Social exclusion and social integration research : theory, indicators and models"

Brussels seminar, 15-16 may 1995

From poverty to social exclusion : some theoretical questions

1. Words matter : is social exclusion a condition, or a process ?

2. From poverty to exclusion : shifting concepts

- when social integration results mainly of labour participation, poverty is a distributional issue

- social exclusion : two concepts

 - .the result of cumulative drops

 - .the denial of social and political rights

3. Methods and theories

- measuring exclusion ?

- individual and social phenomena. The (under)class debate

- the importance of values and symbolic struggles : from exclusion to racism

4. Macro and micro factors of exclusion

- is labour participation still the main goal ?

- employment and human resources policies : new barriers.

- the crisis of Welfare

- alternate models of social regulation

EXCLUSION SOCIALE: A LA RECHERCHE D'UN CONCEPT ET DE MODELES EXPLICATIFS

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Résumé

La difficulté de l'analyse théorique de l'exclusion sociale provient de plusieurs facteurs :

- de l'imprécision et de l'instabilité du concept d'exclusion,
- d'une articulation insatisfaisante des différentes dimensions de l'exclusion dans un modèle explicatif général,
- des processus socio-temporels qui sont mal connus.

Introduction

Depuis plus d'une décennie, la faible croissance ou la stagnation économique dans les pays de la CE, la montée constante du chômage depuis 1980, la remise en cause des systèmes traditionnels de protection sociale, l'insécurité et les révoltes dans les villes, la montée des formes diverses de xénophobie et de racisme, sont autant de facteurs ou de manifestations des exclusions sociales en Europe.

Deux problèmes de l'analyse théorique de l'exclusion sociale sont abordés ci-dessous¹, le premier relatif à la conceptualisation de l'exclusion, le second relatif à la construction d'un modèle explicatif de l'exclusion, tant au niveau des individus qu'à l'échelon macro-social et économique.

1. EXCLUSION SOCIALE : A LA RECHERCHE D'UN CONCEPT

Cherchant à dépasser le caractère trop économique, voire monétaire, du concept de pauvreté, dénommée parfois pauvreté unidimensionnelle, le concept d'exclusion sociale a tenté de traduire, d'inclure les manifestations économiques, sociales, psychologiques des exclusions dans la société. Le résultat, en revanche, peut laisser perplexe devant l'imprécision, la mouvance, les effets de halo autour du concept. Existe-t-il une réalité sociale dans nos

¹Pour une présentation plus large, voir S. Paugam (1996). L'exclusion : l'état des savoirs, éd. La Découverte.

sociétés si difficile à appréhender que la batterie des synonymes présentés dans le tableau, soit dans l'incapacité d'en rendre compte correctement ou complètement ? Le tableau ne fait que recenser, sans chercher l'exhaustivité, les expressions, les mots qui sont employés comme synonymes d'exclusion sociale, principalement dans la littérature française.

Dénominations des phénomènes d'exclusion

| | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - précarité, - vulnérabilité, - marginalisation, - pauvreté unidimensionnelle, - pauvreté multidimensionnelle, - misère, - indigence, - inégalité sociale, - rejet social, - différences sociales, - exclusion sociale, | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - discrimination sociale, - ségrégation sociale, - relégation, - disqualification, - désaffiliation, - "déprivation", - handicap social, - inadaptation, - désavantage, - apartheid informel, - stigmatisation. |
|---|---|

Plusieurs termes ne concernent que quelques dimensions de l'exclusion, d'autres indiquent plutôt un stade particulier dans le processus d'exclusion. Quoi qu'il en soit, la richesse et l'éparpillement des significations données aux expressions du tableau, sont la marque d'un manque de solidité et de stabilité du concept dans le temps et dans l'espace. Selon les périodes, selon les pays², selon les types de prestations ou encore les types de populations concernées, selon la discipline d'analyse, les dénominations varient considérablement. L'exclusion sociale est à la fois une réalité sociale et, simultanément, une représentation intellectuelle qui dépend des choix des groupes sociaux qui emploient ces concepts. Autrement dit, la connaissance de l'exclusion sociale n'existe qu'à travers les représentations dominantes et contradictoires dans la société, à un moment donné. A titre d'exemple, nous avons choisi deux approches de l'exclusion sociale, celle de l'Observatoire européen des politiques nationales de lutte contre les exclusions sociales, et celle proposée par un auteur français, R. CASTEL.

²Les rapports nationaux de l'Observatoire européen des politiques nationales de lutte contre l'exclusion sociale (coordonné par G. ROOM, publié en 1990, reflétaient d'ailleurs les différences de conceptions entre les pays de la CE, certains d'entre eux ne se reconnaissant qu'assez peu dans l'usage d'un tel concept.

1-1 Exclusion sociale : non réalisation d'un droit

Selon l'Observatoire européen, l'exclusion sociale est définie : *"d'abord et principalement en relation avec les droits des citoyens. Dans les pays de la CE, il est généralement accepté que chaque citoyen a le droit à un minimum de niveau de vie³*; Il s'agit d'une conception institutionnaliste de l'exclusion, correspondant à la non réalisation des droits sociaux de base garantis par la loi. Dans cette optique, l'insertion provient de l'application des droits civils, politiques, économiques et sociaux nouveaux du citoyen. L'intégration sociale est alors centrée sur l'idée d'une citoyenneté retrouvée, enrichie et renforcée :

- citoyenneté enrichie par un élargissement au-delà de la sphère traditionnelle des droits politiques,
- citoyenneté renforcée en donnant à l'ensemble des droits sociaux, la force du droit traditionnel et surtout celle des droits politiques,
- enfin citoyenneté retrouvée par le rapprochement de la société civile et de la société politique.

Cette approche de l'exclusion sociale, empreinte de juridisme, repose sur deux faits historiques indiscutables, d'une part les différentes lois sur les pauvres selon lesquelles il est reconnu que la société a une dette envers les plus défavorisés, d'autre part la constitutionnalisation progressive des droits sociaux qui sont nés des rapports de force au sein de l'appareil productif et des conflits sociaux.

Un débat est ouvert autour de l'exclusion que provoqueraient les droits sociaux eux mêmes, tout particulièrement dans les systèmes de protection sociale de type "corporatiste"; selon l'expression d'Esping Andersen⁴. Les droits sociaux accordés aux individus, protègent les bénéficiaires potentiels⁵ mais, simultanément, deviendraient une source d'exclusion sociale pour les populations exclues de ces droits. En réalité, la source première des exclusions sociales dans une société doit être recherchée dans les mécanismes sociaux et économiques. Les politiques de lutte contre les exclusions sur la base de la notion de citoyenneté et du droit social qu'elles engendrent au profit des personnes les plus démunies, réduisent l'étendue des conséquences désastreuses des exclusions sociales. Mais, simultanément, le droit régit et classe les situations sociales d'exclusion par l'appellation de non-droit, parfois de fin de droit. C'est à ce stade que la question du rapport entre le droit et l'exclusion demeure posée.

3

Observatoire Européen des Politiques Nationales de Lutte contre l'Exclusion Sociale: Premier rapport annuel, Commission des Communautés Européennes, DG V, avril 1991, p. 5

4 ESPING ANDERSEN G: The three worlds of welfare capitalism, Cambridge (UK), Policy Press, 1990

5 Nous laissons de côté pour l'instant certains problèmes classiques liés au bénéfice d'un droit: modification des comportements afin de devenir un ayant droit (travail, famille), bénéfice indu d'un droit, non take-up. De même, les effets pervers de certaines politiques sociales ne sont pas abordés.

Il est possible qu'en cherchant à réduire l'étendue de l'exclusion sociale, il intensifie l'exclusion pour les personnes qui demeurent en dehors des ayants droit.

En outre, une telle conception de l'exclusion sociale autour de la non citoyenneté ne crée-t-elle pas en retour, à travers les diverses politiques, une citoyenneté passive, forme moderne de l'assistanat ?

1-2 Exclusion sociale : rupture du lien social

R. Castel⁶ définit l'exclusion sociale à travers le concept de désaffiliation comme : "un mode particulier de dissociation du lien social"... *"la pauvreté apparant ainsi comme la résultante d'une série de ruptures d'appartenances et d'échecs ` constituer du lien qui, finalement, projettent le sujet en état de flottaison, dans une sorte de no man's land social.*

Ces ruptures proviendraient de la conjonction entre la crise économique et un contexte politico-social de rigidité des rapports sociaux au sein des sociétés développées. En effet, les trois grands pôles d'intégration sociale sont aujourd'hui défailants à des degrés divers, selon les moments, les secteurs ou les pays :

- pôle socio-économique de garantie de ressources et d'intégration professionnelle,
- pôle des droits civils (nationalité, immigration, etc.), et sociaux (protection sociale),
- pôle de la famille et du voisinage (quartiers défavorisés).

Aujourd'hui, en Europe, l'évolution des technologies, la mondialisation des échanges et la globalisation de l'économie sont génératrices, plus qu'auparavant, d'exclusions sociales. Face à l'impératif de compétitivité, d'efficacité économique, de réduction des coûts, face au divorce croissant entre rentabilité financière et rentabilité économique, l'innovation devient une source d'exclusion sans que parallèlement, la société soit même d'engendrer des mécanismes sociaux de protection, ou des modes de vie protecteurs des exclus qu'elle produit. Les mécanismes socio-économiques d'exclusion sociale sont des formes de violence des rapports sociaux au sein des sociétés. Ces phénomènes de violence sont fondamentaux à la compréhension de l'exclusion sociale car ils conditionnent fortement sa représentation dans la société. L'exclusion ne devient "réelle", perceptible, médiatique, que lorsqu'elle devient une menace pour la société.

Les manifestations de cette perte du lien social sont innombrables : déflation des idéaux politiques, sociaux, moraux et religieux, effondrement du militantisme politique, crise du syndicalisme, augmentation de l'isolement des ménages et réduction des rapports intrafamiliaux, difficulté à percevoir même la notion de famille (enfants de divorcés ou

6 CASTEL. R.: De l'indigence à l'exclusion: la désaffiliation, dans DONZEL. OT. J.: Face à l'exclusion, le modèle français, Ed. Esprit, 1994, p. 139

séparés), polarisation spatiale des situations d'exclusion (banlieues reléguées), expansion de l'individualisme, scepticisme des exclus vis à vis des formes associatives créées au nom de la participation des pauvres.

Comment interpréter alors, le résultat de l'exclusion sociale ? L'aboutissement des processus sociaux d'exclusion est-il seulement une perte, un manque, une absence, un reste ? Les processus d'exclusion sociale conduisent-ils à des formes d'anomie ou de vacuité sociale ? Ou bien faut-il réintroduire les notions de culture de l'exclusion⁷, d'underclass ? L'exclusion sociale est-elle en définitive le prolongement, dans le domaine social, d'une forme de répression, de sanction d'un état ? Dans la première conception de la perte du lien social comme déficit, l'exclusion est conçue comme une incapacité d'expression de la situation vécue et une incapacité pour les exclus de sortir des zones d'exclusion par eux-mêmes ; il n'existe pas d'expression collective du groupe social. En revanche, dans la seconde conception, d'ordre anthropologique, l'exclusion engendre une culture, des modes de vie spécifiques dans des groupes sociaux considérés par la société comme déviants, voire dangereux⁸.

La solidarité comme réponse aux exclusions sociales, est comprise comme le souci du maintien de la cohésion sociale. Mais cette cohésion sociale est-elle seulement une régulation dans le modèle inégalitaire, dans un modèle de société dualiste, ou bien s'agit-il d'introduire, de renforcer ou de généraliser la finalité d'égalité à travers la notion de citoyenneté née de l'égalité politique des individus dans une société démocratique ?

Au total, l'idée d'exclusion sociale sous-entend une globalité impliquant des facteurs d'exclusion divers articulés entre eux. Il s'agit aussi d'un processus formé de ruptures souvent violentes à l'égard des personnes ou des groupes sociaux qui les subissent. L'exclusion sociale ce n'est pas un peu plus d'inégalité, jugée intolérable, mais plutôt une rupture, un décrochement social.

7 MARSHALL G.: "Research on social exclusion: lessons from the underclass debate", séminaire de la DG XII "Exclusion sociale, intégration sociale : indicateurs, théories, modèles", Bruxelles, mai 1995

8 Voir également l'idée de "participation négative" chez I. VRANKEN : "Poverty in Modern Western Societies : Some Elements For a Model", séminaire de la DG XII "Exclusion sociale, intégration sociale : indicateurs, théories, modèles", Bruxelles, mai 1995

2. EXCLUSION SOCIALE : A LA RECHERCHE D'UN MODELE EXPLICATIF

2-1 Multidimensionalité de l'exclusion sociale

2-1-1 Dépassement de la notion de pauvreté

Le caractère multidimensionnel de l'exclusion sociale fournit une compréhension, une vision plus large des phénomènes sociaux que la pauvreté qui, historiquement, a été attachée à la notion d'insuffisance de ressources ; d'où la distinction entre pauvreté unidimensionnelle et pauvreté multidimensionnelle, l'exclusion sociale se référant à la deuxième expression. Il ne s'agit pas ici d'opposer les deux notions en considérant l'une comme caduque ou dépassée, au profit de l'autre, mais d'examiner leurs relations mutuelles. La plupart des discours considèrent que si les situations d'exclusion impliquent pratiquement toujours des conditions de pauvreté, en revanche, la pauvreté ne serait pas toujours la marque d'une exclusion sociale. Les exemples qui sont souvent fournis sont ceux de minorités ethniques, dont les ressources matérielle sont faibles mais, qui connaissent à l'intérieur de leur communauté une reconnaissance sociale.

Autre exemple : les paysans et le monde rural, chez qui, la faiblesse des ressources matérielles serait compensée par un réseau de relations sociales. En réalité, cette conception de l'exclusion sociale est imprégnée de rousseauisme, sorte de vision idyllique de la vie rurale par des citadins. En effet, l'examen de la liste des désavantages sociaux que connaît le monde rural est impressionnant : effets de l'exode rural, désertification des campagnes, surendettement des jeunes paysans, rupture de la solidarité intergénérationnelle, faiblesse des équipements publics et des services sociaux, désavantages nombreux au regard de l'éducation et de la santé, etc. Tout ceci montre à la fois la difficulté d'établir le positionnement de l'exclusion sociale par rapport à la pauvreté et, simultanément, le caractère normatif des jugements qui la déterminent.

2-1-2 Absence de schémas globaux de compréhension de la société

La notion d'exclusion sociale n'est pas intégrée dans un schéma explicatif global des rapports sociaux de la société. Que signifie cette volonté d'autonomiser un concept, sous une forme universaliste sans référence claire et articulée au fonctionnement global de la société ?

La difficulté d'analyse de l'exclusion sociale tient à la perte des grands schémas de pensée sociale, d'explication globale des sociétés et de leur évolution. Alors que, par exemple, le concept de paupérisation est un des éléments de la pensée explicative de l'évolution des sociétés de classes chez Marx, le concept d'exclusion sociale, à défaut d'être intégré dans un schéma explicatif global, cherche une sorte d'autonomie universelle. Ceci rend difficile l'interprétation de l'exclusion sociale, autonomisée comme concept, mais sans intégration à un système explicatif global du fonctionnement de la société. Ceci ne signifie nullement que les systèmes de valeurs n'existent plus mais que, faute d'utopie crédible, faute de projet social mobilisateur, ils sont réduits à la conservation de l'existant. Le modèle de référence devient donc une société actuelle d'inclus, d'insérés ou d'intégrés sociaux, généralisée, autour d'une idée de moyenne, voire de normalité. L'exclusion sociale est souvent conçue comme un rapport "in / out"; à où l'exclusion est provoquée par la non-performance, par la non-efficacité,

la non-adaptabilité économique d'une partie de la population.

2-1-3 Dimensions de l'exclusion sociale

La désignation multidimensionnelle suppose une définition et un recensement des dimensions de l'exclusion. Celles-ci sont généralement désignées sur la base d'un mélange de nominalisme et d'apriorisme :

- nominalisme : *"on observe que"*. Mais qui observe ? L'évaluation de l'exclusion sociale (nombre d'exclus, situation sociale des exclus, etc.), devient elle-même un mode de définition de l'exclusion,
- apriorisme : projection des acteurs sociaux dans une image de l'exclusion (politiciens, travailleurs sociaux, associations, administrateurs, etc.).

La source première des exclusions sociales dans nos sociétés développées est recherchée à l'intérieur des mécanismes sociaux et économiques. Dans les sociétés qui acceptent les mécanismes fondamentaux du marché du travail, la recherche du plein emploi est le moyen privilégié et légitime de réduction de l'exclusion sociale mais, simultanément, le marché du travail est le lieu immédiat de la formation des exclusions sociales (chômage, inactivité, auto-emploi, petits boulots, faibles salaires, etc.), qui provoquent une perte de ressources, une perte de statut social, une perte de réseaux de relations sociales. On peut comprendre facilement l'idée d'une rupture implicite dans la notion d'exclusion sociale, à partir du chômage. En effet, celui-ci ne porte pas seulement sur la perte de revenu qu'il provoque mais, également, sur la perte des droits sociaux qui y sont fréquemment associés, surtout dans les sociétés où la cellule familiale et les relations intergénérationnelles se modifient et se réduisent.

Faute d'un retour au plein emploi par les mécanismes du marché du travail et par la croissance économique, plusieurs grands projets tentent de promouvoir une nouvelle intégration économique par :

- l'acceptation sociale du travail informel, voire de l'activité illégale (le Welfare contre le Welfare),
- le partage du travail par une réduction significative du temps de travail,
- la dissociation du salaire, du travail effectué (passage du salaire minimum au revenu minimum).

En partie corrélées aux manifestations d'exclusion par le marché du travail, plusieurs autres dimensions sont :

- l'éducation,
- la santé,
- le logement.

Au-delà de ce *"cœur"* de l'exclusion sociale, les auteurs et les acteurs sociaux ajoutent, de

façon pragmatique, d'autres dimensions en fonction de leurs propres fonctions, en fonction des objectifs qu'ils poursuivent : délinquance, immigration, etc.

Une autre façon de concevoir une théorie de l'exclusion sociale est de la positionner par rapport à l'intégration et à ses trois piliers fondamentaux: la sphère économique, la sphère des droits civils et sociaux (nationalité, protection sociale, etc.), la famille et le voisinage.

2-1-4 Linéarité entre chaque dimension et l'exclusion sociale

Implicitement, l'énumération des dimensions de l'exclusion sociale suppose une relation univoque entre l'exclusion et chacune de ses dimensions. Par exemple, elle suppose que plus le chômage augmente, plus l'exclusion est étendue et/ou intensive. De plus cette relation étant supposée symétrique, elle signifie que toute lutte contre le chômage permettra de réduire l'exclusion.

La généralisation de cette relation implique que l'exclusion sociale deviendrait d'autant plus intense et/ou étendue que chacune de ses dimensions s'aggraverait. En réalité, les relations entre exclusion et certaines de ses dimensions sont nettement moins simples. Prenons par exemple l'isolement des personnes. Aujourd'hui, l'interprétation de l'isolement en France est très "négative". Au moment de la mise en oeuvre de la politique du Revenu minimum d'insertion (Rmi) au cours de 1989, une nouvelle population de pauvres, inconnus des organismes de protection sociale, était composée de personnes seules (près des trois quarts des bénéficiaires du Rmi). L'isolement est, dans ce contexte, synonyme de solitude et de pauvreté, solitude du fait de la raréfaction des supports relationnels, pauvreté du fait de l'exclusion du marché du travail.

Simultanément, l'isolement est le fruit conjoint d'une augmentation du niveau de vie et de l'individualisme. Il peut alors être interprété comme l'acquisition d'une autonomie nouvelle, comme une libération des contraintes tutélaires de la famille traditionnelle. Ses manifestations sont en particulier la décohabitation des jeunes, et la décohabitation des personnes âgées qui bénéficient d'une retraite suffisante pour vivre d'une façon autonome. Le jugement porté sur l'isolement est alors extrêmement ambivalent. L'isolement est à la fois la marque de l'exclusion sociales chez certaines personnes, et celle de l'autonomie chez d'autres, au regard de l'exclusion sociale.

2-1-5 Articulation entre les dimensions

Cette articulation entre les diverses manifestations ou les causes de l'exclusion s'avère plus importante que la mesure de l'étendue des exclusions, ou que la description des populations d'exclus. La connaissance de l'articulation entre les dimensions de l'exclusion est insuffisante du fait des modifications, des changements incessants du phénomène et de sa représentation, mais surtout du fait de l'absence d'un modèle général, de théories générales du fonctionnement de la société. A défaut d'un schéma général explicatif, l'hypothèse dominante et implicite est celle de la complémentarité entre les dimensions de l'exclusion ; d'où l'idée de cumul des facteurs d'exclusion, d'agrégation de facteurs d'exclusion, d'intensification des formes d'exclusion. Cette idée du cumul des facteurs d'exclusion n'est pas nouvelle. Elle est déjà

présente dans les théories de la pauvreté ; elle est également présente dans le fondement de l'analyse statistique de désignation des groupes d'exclus.

L'analyse théorique s'inscrit souvent à l'intérieur de deux attitudes intellectuelles opposées. Ou bien l'exclusion sociale est la résultante d'une cause unique ou tellement dominante que les autres facteurs d'exclusion sociale ne sont que complémentaires. L'exemple le plus caractéristique de cette tendance est celui du chômage comme cause majeure de l'exclusion sociale : *"tout est de la faute au chômage"*. Ou bien l'analyse tend à privilégier une circularité quasi-totale entre les dimensions de l'exclusion, de peur d'en oublier quelques unes : *"tout est dans tout"*. Dans ce dernier cas, le cumul des dimensions est opéré en l'absence de hiérarchie, en l'absence de priorité parmi les facteurs d'exclusion.

2-2 L'exclusion : un processus spatio-temporel

2-2-1 Processus temporel

L'exclusion sociale est un processus qui s'inscrit dans le temps. La façon dont le temps est utilisé dans l'explication de l'exclusion sociale varie énormément selon le domaine d'analyse. Les situations d'exclusion sociale connaissent des temporalités variables. Il serait utile de distinguer l'exclusion transitoire de l'exclusion chronique. Mais quels sont les facteurs sociaux qui font qu'une exclusion transitoire devient chronique ? A défaut de théorie, on stipule le plus souvent que le cumul des désavantages contribue à cette pérennité, mais sous quelles formes, à quelles conditions ?

L'idée de rupture, presque toujours implicite dans le concept d'exclusion sociale, renvoie à celle de changements brusques dans le temps, et difficilement réversibles (licenciements, maladie, etc.).

Le temps intervient ensuite pour ordonner des stades ou des états différents d'exclusion sociale. R. Castel propose un processus d'exclusion sociale par une série d'étapes ou de stades en fonction de l'intensité de l'exclusion qui frappe les individus ou les groupes sociaux : intégration, vulnérabilité, assistance, désaffiliation. Les classifications des états sont multiples et varient selon les auteurs. Elles reposent souvent sur un mélange d'apriorisme et de taxinomie. Mais même réduites à une métaphore, elles sont très utiles pour rendre compte à la fois de la diversité des degrés d'intensité de l'exclusion et de leur caractère temporel.

La durée intervient pour définir et pour mesurer l'intensité d'un état d'exclusion. La probabilité d'être exclu est fonction de la durée des écarts entre statuts sociaux favorisés et défavorisés. Ainsi, en France, le chômage d'exclusion est défini par un chômage de long terme. Mais la définition du "long terme" varie dans le temps. Plus le taux de chômage augmente, plus le long terme semble s'allonger. Au début des années quatre-vingt, le chômage de long terme était un chômage d'une durée ininterrompue de plus d'un an. Aujourd'hui, il est défini plutôt comme un chômage de plus de trois ans. Mais, même si l'embauche devient de plus en plus difficile lorsque la durée du chômage s'allonge, la probabilité de retrouver du travail même après un chômage long, n'est jamais nulle. L'exclusion sociale n'est pas automatiquement irréversible et chronique.

Le temps intervient également dans l'expression des déterminismes sociaux, dans l'expression de la reproduction des situations d'exclusion de génération en génération, au sein des mêmes familles, des mêmes lieux, des mêmes groupes sociaux. C'est une rupture entretenue par un déterminisme temporel : *"Qui est exclu aujourd'hui sera exclu demain"*. L'exclusion sociale est un processus qui ne touche pas les groupes sociaux de façon aléatoire ; elle atteint de façon permanente des groupes vulnérables. Au plan individuel, l'exclusion sociale est souvent un mélange de facteurs prédisposants et d'événement fortuits.

L'exclusion sociale actuelle ne frappe pas tous les âges de la vie de la même façon. Il existe un effet considérable d'âge et de génération. Aujourd'hui, ce sont surtout les jeunes générations, surtout les jeunes ménages qui arrivent sur le marché du travail qui souffrent le plus du risque d'exclusion sociale.

2-2-2 Processus spatial

L'exclusion sociale possède une inscription territoriale très forte qui peut être résumée par l'expression *"qui est exclu est entouré d'exclus"*. La polarisation spatiale de l'exclusion sociale est une des formes de la notion de classe socio-spatiale développée en France par N. Tabard⁹. Cette polarisation résulte :

- des modèles sociaux des quartiers, avec un embourgeoisement des villes-centre, au détriment d'aires en banlieues,
- des politiques d'urbanisme des années soixante, tout particulièrement des "grands ensembles",
- du manque relatif de services publics dans les quartiers de banlieue et en milieu rural,
- des délocalisations de l'activité économique,
- de la désertification des campagnes.

Quelles sont les transformations spatiales de l'exclusion dans une période d'accroissement de l'exclusion ? Assisté-t-on à une intensification dans les zones préexistantes, à une extension des anciennes zones, à une dissémination des exclus sur l'espace urbain, ou bien à un remodelage spatial ? Aujourd'hui, un phénomène nouveau provient de la permanence et de l'intensification des diverses formes d'exclusion : l'usage et l'appropriation de fait, par les exclus, d'espaces publics, privés, abandonnés, sans droits de propriété en exercice.

L'exclusion sociale est renforcée sur le plan spatial du fait du manque d'identité entre l'espace économique, l'espace social et l'espace administratif qui sert de support à l'application des politiques publiques sociales. En outre, aujourd'hui en France, le discours sur la discrimination spatiale est un discours essentiellement urbain. Il trouve sa traduction politique dans la création des politiques sociales dites de "politique de la ville". Ce sont des politiques

9 Tabard N. (1983) : Des quartiers pauvres aux banlieues aisées : une représentation sociale du territoire, Insee, Economie et Statistique, n°270.

qui concentrent leurs efforts sur des zones géographiques bien délimitées des villes moyennes ou des grandes villes. Le discours sur l'exclusion n'est pas neutre vis à vis de l'espace dans la mesure où il oublie l'espace rural. Or cet espace connaît une forte probabilité d'exclusion : crises économiques, exode rural, isolement, etc.

Enfin, sur le plan méthodologique et conceptuel, si, comme le montrent une multitude d'études, l'exclusion sociale impose un territoire, en retour, l'espace impose-t-il des formes d'exclusion sociale ? Ou bien n'est-elle déterminée que par des facteurs socio-économiques peu ou pas influencés par l'espace ?

Conclusion

Cette communication a eu pour objet d'indiquer plusieurs difficultés théoriques que soulève l'analyse de l'exclusion sociale :

- conceptualisation instable de l'exclusion sociale qui est à la fois une réalité mais appréhendée par un ensemble de représentations qui sont imprégnées et donc dépendantes des systèmes dominants de valeurs dans une société, analyse d'un rapport social dont le caractère violent est sous-estimé, voire ignoré,
- accumulation de dimensions de l'exclusion sociale souvent sur la base d'un pragmatisme du moment, mais en fait du système de valeurs dominant,
- analyse d'un processus temporel qui inclut des niveaux différents de temps : l'instant au moment d'événements brusques (licenciements, etc.), court terme (marché du travail), temps séculaire pour représenter les déterminismes sociaux reproductibles,
- polarisation spatiale dans les quartiers dégradés des grands centres urbains mais qui sous-estime l'exclusion en milieu rural et ne permet pas de rendre compte des espaces interstitiels ou dits de transition.

THE FINNISH STRUGGLE AGAINST EXCLUSION: INCLUSION BY HIGH LABOUR PARTICIPATION AND UNIVERSAL SOCIAL POLICIES

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Many Asian students who come to the University of Tampere look at the first sight upon Scandinavian social policies as almost impossible. Why has the government created an enormous bureaucratic system to take care of the simplest things? Why must the state and the municipalities look after that people are getting by, look after such things as people having enough money and children, the disabled and elderly being cared for? When all one needs for these tasks really is the members of the family and relatives doing their duty!

We do not know enough about why Scandinavian countries went so far in their sociopolitical experiments, setting about to create "the people's home". The familiar explanations that emphasize Social Democracy and the position of women are hardly enough. But at all events, the highly-developed and relatively universal social security together with the widest and most universal social care services in the world (figure 1) has created the special Scandinavian model of welfare state.

The citizens' extremely wide participation of in the working life has been characteristic of the Scandinavian model, and particularly the participation of single parents and the mothers of small children (OECD 1993 ; Women in the European Community 1992). The level of taxation is among the highest in the world, and an unusually large part of the population works in the public sector. The welfare state has provided the means for turning the population into labour force; the relative number of working hours of the population is the highest in Europe (Labour Cost and Social Protection 1992). For Scandinavian people, gainful employment is no longer an option to devoting oneself to the family; both options are part of men's as well as women's life projects. Gainful employment has not been an obstacle to the birth rates, either; in Sweden, the fertility rate is among the highest in Europe (Labour and Social Protection 1992).

The wide participation in gainful employment and the universal social security of the welfare state model have been a powerful combination in the fight against social exclusion. In Scandinavia, relative poverty has been among the lowest in OECD countries (Room 1992; Ritakallio 1994). If we widen our observation perspective, the picture will, however, change: in Finland and in Denmark, for example, suicides are a serious social problem. Even our Asian students make remarks about social exclusion: they think that our old people who get municipal home help are depressingly lonely and their families irresponsible when leaving their elderly alone. Our own studies, however, tell us that Scandinavian old people are the happiest in Europe and do not suffer at all from loneliness. They are satisfied because they can get on alone in their own flats and need not ask for help from their families (Vanhusbarometri 1994).

One of the big questions of the Scandinavian model of welfare state has been what kind of people it produces. Typical of the American criticism has been the tendency to emphasize the fact that Scandinavian people become irresponsible when they learn to shift the responsibility of care on to professionals (Wolfe 1989). Japanese policies, on the other hand, have claimed that a welfare state makes people weak (Takahashi 1995). But the Scandinavian self-understanding underlines the fact that the model breathes special social solidarity at the same time as it permits an individualistic way of life (Leira 1991). The older generation does not tie down the younger one; instead, free paid labourers can go after work anywhere they want.

FROM WELFARE STATE TO UNEMPLOYMENT STATE: HAS FINLAND LOST ITS WAR AGAINST SOCIAL EXCLUSION ?

Denmark experienced its time of "meagre diet" in the 1980s, Sweden and particularly Finland are experiencing one now. Can a welfare state-based model of inclusion work when unemployment increases to the level of 20 per cent as it has done in Finland during the past few years ?

The recession of the 1980s has shown how extremely finely tuned a construction the Scandinavian welfare state has actually been. When the private sector fell into difficulties, the public sector started to run into debt as the tax revenue decreased and the costs of unemployment increased. The slowing down of this process by reducing public income transfers and services caused the demand to fall into a declining circle, which is still squeezing the home market and the public sector. Even though exports are going up at the moment, the crisis of the home market continues, and the huge export profits cannot be transferred to the support of the public sector in the open economy. Earlier, it was quick and easy to expand the public sector while the tax revenue was channelled to social services, a fact that supported the increasing use of labour force — now this same circle moves to the opposite direction at a fast rate.

In Finland, measures have been taken to relieve the pressure of falling into social exclusion as a result of unemployment ; this has been done, for example, by promoting entrepreneurship, by slowing down the process of young people becoming independent and by supporting home care of children and old people. 1) Wage earners have been prompted to transfer to entrepreneurs, which might be a promising operation, because traditionally the number of entrepreneurs has been relatively low in the Scandinavian countries. At the time of recession, entrepreneurship is, however, a difficult option. 2) The dissolving of study support systems and unemployment benefit systems for youth has made young people stay longer in their childhood homes. 3) Social security has been more clearly than before channelled to support home care of children and the elderly. In Finland, from the 1980s onwards, parents with small children have received benefits for not taking their children to daycare. These benefits have become an increasing source of income for families strained by unemployment (Sipilä 1995).

There has been a lot of public discussion about the fact that the so-called incentive traps sustain unemployment: social security is income-tested to the extent that a small salary brings less in cash than social security. Social security seems thus to be an obstacle to social inclusion, at least when we look at things from the standpoint of the Scandinavian protestant work society. Yet in practice, work ethics seem to withstand.

The incentive trap is a symptom of a wider phenomenon: Social inclusion is expensive in a Scandinavian welfare state. There are no good means of integrating the excluded population groups in a situation in which both the state budget and municipal budgets are extremely stringent. The integrating of the unemployed and refugees into the labour market of the poor is not easy when such market has become virtually non-existent in the course of development of the welfare state.

The fact that the public sector constitutes such a large part of the labour market, the strong investment in specialized vocational training, the building of a universal and income-related social security – all of these become problematic if we need to integrate people into the private sector, and the more so, if we need to do it cheaply. This kind of integration works in the grey market, but it does not really help to alleviate the crisis of the state economy. A slow process of recovery is discernible, but in the very near future, the state is faced with a sharp decrease in the income from alcohol sales as a result of the European integration.

At the moment, it seems that a welfare municipality is coping better with the economic crisis than the state. In practice, this means that the services are kept up at the expense of income transfers, which in turn takes Finland even further away from the Central European model.

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THE FINNISH WAR AGAINST EXCLUSION: INCLUSION BY HIGH LABOUR PARTICIPATION AND UNIVERSAL SOCIAL POLICIES

The Scandinavian countries are well-known for their ability to combat social exclusion. I would emphasize the following two reasons for their success:

- high participation in labour force among men and women, and
- universal social security benefits and universal social services.

These two elements are connected with each other and they require a tax system with a wide coverage.

However, at the moment we have to ask whether Finland, in particular, has lost its war against social exclusion. The present Finnish crisis has shown the vulnerability of the Scandinavian welfare model. In a time of high unemployment the well-functioning interaction between public services and private industries has come to an end. The well-organized social security has become a burden for the public economy. Politicians have seen the remedy in the budget cuts and in the growth of exports, but the financial crisis of the central government remains. It is difficult to create new jobs when the state is unable to support the purpose. Also, a flexible labour market for the poor is an alternative that has not existed in a welfare state.

SOME REFLECTIONS ABOUT THE CONCEPTUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND RELATIVE POVERTY

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The current definition of poverty as a distributional issue stemming from the idea of multiple deprivation approaches the somehow more diffuse concept of social exclusion. The exclusion is however more dynamic and also action- or policy oriented by its nature.

Several recent Scandinavian sociological contributions indicate that operational definitions of poverty as multiple deprivation, as a lack of economic resources and as a social assistance dependency lead empirically to different population categories and the overlap is far from complete. The same inconsistency is evident when subjective exclusion and poverty is investigated simultaneously.

On the conceptual similarities and differences

The concepts of social exclusion and relative poverty are closely related to each other in the European context¹. The concept of exclusion can be seen as a dynamic, process based phenomenon acting in the continuum where the other end is social cohesion or integration. It is by nature a community oriented concept referring often to a rapid change in a normal state of social equilibrium. The underlying dimension in poverty on the other hand is always the material one and the concept is often been criticized about its static nature. In short one can say that exclusion is more a relational whereas poverty is more a distributional issue.

Widely discussed issues are the complex relationships of inequality and poverty and also exclusion. With good reason one can argue that social exclusion always means inequality whereas poverty does not. When using scientific concepts it seems to be relevant to make some distinction between the analytical and political advantages of the discourse. It might be more efficient to use the somehow diffuse and many faceted concept of social exclusion when advocating political demands and programs whereas in striving towards a more strict scientific analysis the use of more conventional concepts of poverty, deprivation, accumulation etc. can be more beneficial.

In the traditional Nordic, i.e. Scandinavian academic thinking the concept of social exclusion

¹ E.g. the definition of poverty adopted in the European Poverty Programmes (COM(91) final, Brussels, 13 May 1991) and also Kohl, J. 1994, Room G. 1994 and Duffy, K. 1995.

refers to a some kind of drop-out from the essential forums of societal action like production/working-life, consumption, social relationships and also education. The cohesion related understanding refers to the weakening of connections linking individuals to the society, i.e. production and family ties. All this means that the exclusion is the more total by its nature the more of the essential links are cut off simultaneously. By this understanding we are approaching the phenomena of multiple deprivation which is the true essence of the operational definition of modern (relative) poverty².

In the CROP Scientific Symposium (Paris, December 1994) the European Regional State-of-the-Art Reviews presented by Jurgen Kohl and the Nordic group (Halleröd, Heikkilä et al.) advocated the distributional (relative) meaning and multiple deprivation -based nature of the relevant concept of poverty. By this recognition we are clearly approaching the concept of social exclusion as it is used in the EU context. Modern poverty research is more and more oriented to the outcome effects of material deprivation on the level of individual welfare than to the traditional input factors i.e. income as such. Similarly when the issue of social exclusion is concerned we should be interested in social distances and individual subjective perceptions and not only the structural factors increasing or maintaining them.

If we assess the depth of exclusion according the importance and number of societal domains from which citizens are either temporarily or permanently excluded we easily come to the conclusion that a big part of the modern, distributional and deprivation-based poverty is exclusion - but not all - and not vice versa. A different question is then whether the exclusion originated from the material deprivation can be analyzed in the same theoretical frame as the exclusion based mainly on the immaterial forms of deprivation.

On the operationalizations and empirical overlap

The Scandinavian school of thought of the welfare sociology has seen the operational meaning of poverty as a multiple, i.e. cumulative deprivation of living conditions where the material deprivation has to be the driving force³. It is well-known that the Scandinavian school has taken the resource-based definition of welfare concept as its starting point. This implies that the actual living conditions are seen as resources of the individual well-being. Consequently poverty, deprivation, social exclusion and related things can be empirically investigated from extensive living conditions surveys which form a long tradition in nordic cooperation of social research. Here empirical research of poverty and exclusion are clearly approaching each other whereas the traditional (input-oriented) head-count studies of economic poverty are quite apart from social exclusion. The last mentioned comment applies also to the comparative LIS-data based studies of poverty in Europe and in some other OECD-countries.

Social exclusion is determined by traditional market processes as well as by the social protection policies, i.e. by the type of the welfare state. This makes understandable inter alia the fact that even a relatively long period of unemployment does not necessarily lead to poverty in countries where the earnings-related benefit system has a clear priority in income maintenance system. It can however lead to some forms of social exclusion even when the

² Look e.g. Ringen 1987 and Kohl 1994.

³ E.g. Stein Ringen 1987, 1987b and Halleröd, Heikkilä, Mäntysaari and Ritakallio 1994.

relative purchasing power or consumption ability is been maintained. The same holds when the groups in risk of exclusion are supported by public, universal services with low or without any user charges as is the case in the Nordic welfare model.

Let me give one illustrative empirical example about the surprisingly small empirical overlap of different operationalizations of poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion based on Nordic data⁴. The following three categories of deprivation were constructed from national data: (i) those defined as poor by the 50% of median income poverty line; (ii) those facing simultaneously multiple severe deprivation factors which comes close to the traditional understanding of the social exclusion; and (iii) those been dependent on the last-resort, menas-tested social assistance. The overlap between the poor in strict economic meaning (i) and the deprived or "excluded" (ii) was relatively small. So was the overlap between the poor (i) and the social assistance recipients. Largest was the empirical consistency between the multiple deprivation (ii) and the social assistance dependency (iii).

Another example can be given from the data collected by EUROSTAT on the subjective poverty and exclusion in 15 European countries from 1993⁵. In most countries covered by the data the subjective exclusion was clearly more extensive than subjective poverty and the overlap of these two subjectively defined phenomena was far from total. This finding was interpreted so that the two forms of deprivation were seen deriving from different experiences. The surprisingly high rates of perceived social exclusion in Finland and Norway could have been explained from the traditionally high expectations to the welfare state and from the relative disappointment of citizens whereas same kind of frustration could not be seen in e.g. Mediterranean countries expressing a more limited welfare state model.

The last comment deals with the connection between economic change (recession vs. boom) and subjective exclusion. Stemming from the lessons of the reference group theory we can assume that during the economic depression objective exclusion can be extensive and clearly structural but subjectively not so bitter and deep. During the boom when more of the temporarily excluded can in principle get integrated back to the mainstream, subjective exclusion tends to be more bitter, deep and also more individually interpreted.

⁴ From Sweden Halleröd 1991 and from Finland Haikkilä and Ritakallio 1994.

⁵ Results are from the study Heikkilä, M & Sihvo, T.: Subjective poverty and exclusion in 14 European countries, (in print), Helsinki 1995.

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HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT LEVELS AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION MACRO PHENOMENA AND INDIVIDUAL MECHANISMS

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In the mid 1980s the countries of the European Union witnessed a level of unemployment much higher than the level observed in these countries since the end of World War Two. Although the unemployment rate has gone down somewhat since then, it still is much higher than in the 1970s, already a period of high unemployment. This memorandum is not about the causes of this high unemployment rate but about its consequences. In fact, it is concerned with the question of the extent to which this high unemployment rate has led to what some call the formation of an underclass and others social exclusion.

As regards terminology, I would like to point out that in some countries of the EU, in contrast to other countries within the EU, a tendency exists to avoid the word class and therefore the word underclass. One apparent reason is the association of the word class with now largely defunct marxist political thought. However, in countries like the Netherlands - a country that in contrast to countries like France and Italy had a very weak communist party and a strong social-democratic tradition - the word class hardly ever was associated with notions of exploitation and struggle. It was associated with a relatively low income, and also with little participation in social and public life, or limited 'life chances' in general. Perhaps for that reason the, if we may say so, European sociologist Dahrendorf not only describes the current social situation in the European Union by the word exclusion, but also by the term underclass and especially with the expression differential life chances.

In the following pages I list the various dimensions of and stages in an ongoing process of social exclusion as a consequence of persistently high unemployment. The idea of a process is attractive since it does not require the specification of some end state, a state that in all likelihood never will be fully attained. I would like to say in advance that in my arguments a high unemployment rate in a country is a macro-phenomenon, that is, a characteristic of a country. The relationship obtaining between education and unemployment in a country in a certain time I regard too as a phenomenon on the macro level. However, in these pages I regard the latter macro-phenomenon as resulting from the interplay of macro constraints like a high unemployment rate and the nature of various social institutions, and assorted to be specified individual or micro-level mechanisms. These mechanisms invoke the decisions of various types of persons.

The extent to which high unemployment in a country contributes to social exclusion is limited if all individuals in a society stand the same chances of unemployment. However, statistics show that persons with a limited level of education have higher chances of unemployment than persons with more education, and that young persons and old persons, in contrast to middle aged persons, stand higher chances of unemployment. So do women compared with men. It is a matter of definition whether such a social distribution of unemployment indicates

a first phase in the process of social exclusion. Yet it has to be recognised that the social consequences of high unemployment are stronger in this case than when unemployment is randomly distributed.

This point needs to be elaborated to bring out the mechanisms that make a high unemployment rate in a country result in a relation between little education and unemployment. Why is there at a certain moment in a country a connection between education and unemployment? One explanation might hold that persons with little education stand a higher chance of being fired than persons with more education. However, this explanation invoking the micro-mechanism of particular firing decisions by employers, is not very convincing or at least seems to explain too little. Any organisation that fires its least educated employees, who are most likely directly involved in the production of goods and services, becomes top-heavy and forgets the reason why persons had to be fired in the first place: limited efficiency. Indeed, if the number of low-level employees goes down, so may the number of supervisory personnel and the number of administrative staff. It is unlikely that educationally selective firing of employees by management fully accounts for the relation between education and unemployment observed in labour force surveys.

Another, more convincing, explanation of the relation between education and unemployment is that the chances of losing a job are the same for persons with varying levels of education, but that for more educated unemployed persons the chances of finding a new job are higher than for unemployed persons with little education. The individual mechanism behind this relationship is that, if economic growth falters, all kinds of individuals get sacked by certain employers and other employers for vacancies prefer persons with more education above persons with little education. Employers have this selective preference since they assume that highly educated persons are more likely to be efficient in their job than lowly educated persons.

There is no logical necessity that a higher unemployment rate in a country goes together with an increase in the percentage of persons that has been unemployed for more than a year. Within the European Union these persons are usually called the long-term unemployed. So it can be maintained that the process of social exclusion has progressed further if an increase in the unemployment rate is accompanied by an increase in the percentage of long term unemployment. The mechanism behind this often observed relation might be the preferences of employers: this time not for employees with a higher level of education, but for persons who have been unemployed for a shorter period or not at all. Employers have this selective preference given their assumptions about efficiency. Limited mobility from unemployment to employment indicates a specific dimension of the process of social exclusion.

Those with little education will, if employed, be characterized by low income. Thus the macro phenomenon of high unemployment and the social distribution of unemployment at the individual level make for a cumulation of low income: lower wages and even less money because of unemployment. Long term unemployment adds to this cumulative income effect. That is, a country's income distribution is elongated at the bottom end. The mechanism behind this macro phenomenon is the nature of a country's social security arrangements and the constraints put in this way upon the decisions of people working in the social security office. Of course, depending upon levels and periods of benefits, the extent to which high unemployment rates contribute to social exclusion, may vary from country to country.

If a person's income goes down as a consequence of unemployment and long term unemployment, this person cuts expenses. Given the fact that memberships of various associations like soccer clubs, political parties and trade unions are luxuries, just like subscriptions to journals, visits to friends by car or public transport and attending museums, exclusion from the labour market makes for social exclusion in a narrow sense of the word. The individual mechanism behind the macro relation between unemployment and social participation is an individual's hierarchy of needs.

Indeed, social exclusion of the unemployed as a consequence of high unemployment levels may go quite far. Before the second world war, it generally was observed that in periods of economic downturn the marriage rate went down. The individual mechanism here is the initial investment needed for making a home. With persistently high unemployment levels, postponement of marriage or cohabitation among young persons is expected.

If often has been remarked that for married persons the drop in the level of living (or more general 'life chances') as a consequence of unemployment needs not be as large as the drop in this person's income. After all, persons in a couple pool income, and if a person's marriage partner is employed, the drop in living standard generally will be about half of the drop in income. However, it often has been observed that 'unemployment comes in couples'. This is not an all to surprising phenomenon if it is recognised that persons tend to be married to persons with the same level of education. That is, behind the macro-phenomenon of double unemployment in households stand the individual relation between education and unemployment and the decision of individuals to marry persons with about the same level of education. It may be said that social exclusion has attained a higher stage to the extent that within a country unemployment comes in couples.

I add that research for the Netherlands has indicated that double unemployment within couples only so a limited extend can be accounted for by educational homogamy and the relation between education and unemployment. It remains to be seen whether this finding also can be made for other EU countries.

The process of social exclusion has progressed even further if persistent high levels of unemployment, because of their consequences for social security expenditure, make for a downward pressure on other state funded forms of social security such as disability pensions and old age pensions. The mechanism here is the act of budget balancing by politicians. That is, the underclass in this case not only consists of the unemployed, but also comprises disabled persons and elderly persons.

The dimensions or stages in the process of social exclusion I have indicated above, in turn may have consequences for the length an individual person is unemployed. I already have indicated that employers prefer to hire short term unemployed persons above long term unemployed persons. But more can be said, especially from the point of view of the unemployed person her- or himself. It is well known that a lot of unemployed persons do not find jobs by way of replying to job advertisements and labour exchanges, but through word of mouth. In that case, the size of an unemployed person's network becomes the crucial individual mechanism behind macro phenomena. If an unemployed persons visits friends less often, until now never has been married or is divorced,

or is married to a person who is also unemployed, the chances of these persons to find a job by way of word of mouth is smaller. That is, unemployment by way of its social consequences, becomes a vicious circle.

For Ireland it has been observed that a person's chances of unemployment not only depend upon this person's level of education, but also upon the social class this person belonged to when young. This finding also indicates a dimension of social exclusion: in this case the phenomenon of unemployment is not intra-generational but inter-generational. The individual mechanism behind this relationship may be limited network of the unemployed person.

In this memorandum we linked high rates of unemployment within a country and individual chances of unemployment with:

- a person's level of education
- a person's social class of origin
- a person's length of unemployment
- a person's civil state (unmarried, divorced)
- the unemployment of a person's (marriage) partner
- a person's per capita household income
- a person's social participation
- a person's political participation.

To the extent that a person's chances of unemployment are linked to these phenomena, in that degree social exclusion is present. The extent of social exclusion may vary from country to country and it may vary within countries in the course of time. It is an eminent task for social scientists to bring out this extent of social exclusion as a consequence of persistent high levels of unemployment.

MACRO-, MESO- AND MICRO-LEVELS OF ANALYSIS IN RESEARCH AND THEORIES ON SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION

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1. Research methodologies are, at once, a *result* of and a *contribution* to the understanding of poverty and social exclusion, and have a bearing on the process of shaping anti-poverty and social integration policies.

The development of the approaches used to study poverty and social exclusion seems to reveal two types of movements, with the extremes as points of departure and apparently convergent directions. On the one side, the concern for measuring and understanding inequality and poverty from the *macro*-approach takes the global perspective, and, on the other, the *micro*-approach begins by focusing on aspects that, although relevant, are sufficiently detailed to be out of reach of the macro perspective. More recently, some researchers have discovered the relevance of the *meso* level, for a more comprehensive understanding of those phenomena.¹

Notwithstanding some tentative bridges between the above approaches, it seems that each has been developing within its respective specificity, leaving huge gaps between each other. The general outcome of the research undertaken until now seems to be clear as to the crucial importance of each of the three approaches. However, not much attention seems to have been given to the relevance of closing those gaps, that is, of developing a coherent method for feeding each level with the findings of the other levels, desirably in an interactive feedback process. A desirable step forward in the direction of developing that complementary could be a possible contribution of the TSER.

2. Social exclusion is an extremely *heterogeneous* phenomenon. And one of the aspects of that heterogeneity resides precisely on the level at which the problem has to be predominantly tackled. For example, there is the *individual* homelessness, there are excluded social *groups*, there are depressed *areas*, as well as entire *regions* struck by poverty (*spatial poverty*). One may say that each of these types of poverty and exclusion has an appropriate level of analysis and action. Nevertheless, the explanations of any of those cases cannot be comprehensively understood without resort to analysis at the remaining levels. Thus, the problems of the individual homeless (micro-level) may require, personal support (say, psychological) as well as changes in the social security policy (macro-level). This means that social exclusion, besides being heterogeneous, is also *multidimensional*.

¹ It is known that the key-words "macro", "micro" and "meso" may have different meanings according to the areas or fields of analysis. For purposes of simplification, I do not discuss this point here. Nevertheless, we will have to define them in future discussions.

3. The relation between macro-analysis and global policies (national or European) may be seen from another angle. Social exclusion is partly a result of macro-policies, either as a perverse effect or as a direct consequence of policies. For example, the present Common Agricultural Policy has been mentioned as a cause of poverty among rural households in some of the Southern Member-States of the EU. Some economic and/or financial national policies (say, to bring down inflation rates or limit public expenditures), mainly those related with the *nominal convergence criteria*, may also have a negative impact on poverty and social exclusion. In these cases, anti-poverty programmes may have to play the remedial, and always unsatisfactory, role of filling up the holes dug by those policies. In some cases, those adverse effects may be predictable (considered as unavoidable, though undesirable), but they may also occur because macro-policies are not able to foresee their respective effects at the micro-level.

4. Given the increasing relevance that *local initiatives* are having in programmes designed to combat social exclusion and unemployment (which is a major form of social exclusion), it is of utmost importance to call attention to the crucial distinction between *local problems*, understood as problems that have local causes and accept local solutions, and *local manifestations of national problems*, in which case both the causes as well as the solutions are to be sought at the national level. The latter may be, for example, the case of some groups of the elderly, whose problems are a result of unsatisfactory pension schemes. Even in the case of local job-creation initiatives, the consistency and stability of the new jobs may be short-lasting or illusive if the relations between the local situation and the global situation of the labour market and the economy are ignored or underestimated. On the other hand, global labour policies risk to be biased (in either direction) by an incomplete or incorrect evaluation of the local resources and potentialities.

It is due to the need of having a comprehensive and integrated approach towards the phenomena of poverty and social exclusion that, in the case of *spatial poverty* (meaning poverty that affects not only households or groups, but entire areas), projects to combat poverty and exclusion seem to shift, unavoidably, towards actual local development plans. In this sense, the *local level* (call it, meso-level) appears as an ideal level for exercising the multi-level integration approach, due to its intermediary position between the micro and the macro levels.

5. A specific aspect that seems to have received little attention in understanding poverty and social exclusion is the complex problem of the *consequences* of poverty and exclusion on the poor and excluded. Most of the studies seem to consider some individual "inadequacies" of the excluded (lack of motivation and initiative, low aspirations, etc.) either as individual shortcomings or as a result of social structures and/or policies. Without putting into question those possible explanations, what needs to be stressed is the fact that those "inadequacies" are also a consequence of poverty itself. This means that programmes aiming at combating poverty and exclusion need to take account not only of the causes of poverty, but also of the consequences that poverty and exclusion have on the victims. This is one of reasons why, from the policy point of view, the situation of the "new poor" (less marked by poverty) and the "long-term poor" are distinct. In this aspect, micro-analysis may be crucial for a deeper understanding of the problems.

6. Most theories on poverty and social exclusion do not seem to explain important forms that the phenomenon takes in our days. It seems that most of the findings of recent research have not been used for theory building. Some of the theories are focused on *social systems* and *social structures* (macro-level). Others on individual characteristics of the poor (apparently micro-level), perhaps incorrectly understood (an interesting, and particularly relevant, aspect of the problem is the extent

to which the "individual" characteristics of the excluded are, themselves, a result of socio-economic (macro) factors). The cross-fertilisation of those levels (and of the meso-level) should lead both to test each of the existing theories, as well as to complete them with inputs from the other perspectives.

Concerning the theoretical perspectives, Graham Room has pointed out what seems to be a particularly useful distinction between the major intellectual traditions: on the one side, the Anglo-Saxon (mainly British) tradition, basically focused on *resources*, and, on the other, the Continental (mainly French) tradition, more concerned with the *relational* aspects of exclusion. The expression "social exclusion" has its origin in the latter tradition. It has been stressed that none of these traditions ignores the other. It is rather a question of emphasis on one of those two aspects (resources and social relations).

I argue that the two intellectual traditions should not be seen as alternative, but rather as complementary. TSER seems to offer a particularly important opportunity to try to put together experts from the two approaches, with the aim of identifying their complementarities and trying to develop a theory that takes account of both those traditions.

7. I think it useful to highlight the most common types of poverty and exclusion that may be observed in the context of the European Union.

Firstly, there is *poverty*, in the sense of processes that lead to *deprivation* due to *lack of resources*. These processes and situations relate not only to material living conditions, but also to psychological, emotional, social and cultural handicaps, that are *consequences of poverty*.

Secondly, and mainly in large urban centres, there are *extreme forms of exclusion*, of which the *homeless* (individuals and families) are a relevant example. In these cases, lack of resources may be one of the factors, but, often, the process seems to have primarily relational and/or psychological causes. These forms of exclusion, common to Northern and Southern member-States, may ultimately lead to lack of resources.

Thirdly, all the member-States have the type of exclusion characterised by persons who seem to have *"no place" in the streamline society*, for reasons that may have no relation with *lack of resources*. This is typically the situation of the *elderly, disabled, drug addicts, inmates* (former or actual). In such cases, the main consequence of exclusion is *loneliness* and exclusion from *social relations*. The notion of *poverty* does not seem to apply to this type of exclusion.

A fourth type may refer to *women* and to *ethnic and cultural minorities*, suffering from discrimination, racism or xenophobia, centred mainly on *cultural* biases or *political* motivations.

These different types of social exclusion may have common features and, in practice, often overlap. Nevertheless, it seems useful to distinguish them from the theoretical point of view, since they differ in causes, meaning and remedies, and, therefore, theoretical explanations.

SECOND SESSION: THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION INDICATORS

Summary and discussion by

Jürgen FRIEDRICHS, University of Cologne

Second Session Chairman

Indicators are crucial to the analysis of social exclusion. First for methodological reasons, since they link theories to empirical research. Second, for practical reasons. They will be used to measure the extent of social exclusion in a given spatial unit. Third, for political reasons: the task of a unified European monitoring system requires a high degree of consensus among the scholars from the different countries.

The seminar addressed all three aspects. Although only a partial consensus was reached, the results are promising. They constitute a basis the scheduled future conferences can build upon and will thus eventually lead a common set of indicators for comparative European reports.

To this end, the following text summarizes the discussion on problems and suggestions for indicators across the written and oral contributions during the seminar. References are largely restricted to the papers and will not quote references cited in the papers themselves.

1. General Problems

The discussions revolved about the broad spectrum of problems related to social exclusion. Three major problems and research questions emerge from this discussion.

1. Is social exclusion inherent to achieving societies? Since all industrialized societies stress individual performance and motivate individual achievement by selective incentives, we have to ask whether a necessary consequence or implication of this basic pattern is social exclusion of persons and groups not capable or restricted from this dominant pattern of action (cf. Klevmarken, Petrella).

2. The dynamics of economic transition vary among the EC countries (cf. Duffy). These have to be studied in greater detail. More specifically, we have to test the proposition that the later a country enters the transition process, the more rapid and disruptive the process will be and, following from this, the greater the extent of social exclusion will be.

3. This transition may for many countries result in a race between new jobs and higher tax revenues vs. migration to larger cities and higher welfare expenditures with growing national deficits and difficulties to establish or maintain the welfare system.

A final task of social exclusion research is to better relate social exclusion to general theories in the social sciences, such as of unemployment (cf. Ultee), poverty (cf. Figueredo, Heikkilä, Vranken, Whelan), the older debate of marginalization (cf. Lorentzen, Vilhjamson), the underclass debate (cf. Marshall), Durkeim's treatment of social integration and anomie (cf. Thorlindson), institutional economics to study the excluding effects of institutions (cf. Gore).

2. Defining the Concept "Social Exclusion"

There is little agreement on the definition of the concept "social exclusion" (cf. Bouget). The discussion about the concept "social exclusion" resembled the earlier debate about poverty. Again, an income-based approach is challenged by a broader resource-based approach. The income-based approach has the advantage of being pragmatic and as well serves as a precondition for all resource-based approaches. However, to conceptualize social exclusion in terms of resources seems more fruitful, since it captures the idea of multiple exclusion. Persons can be excluded from several domains of life, like restrictions on the housing market to participation in cultural life or voting.

There are further arguments in favour of a resource-based approach of social exclusion from a given number of social domains (cf. Heikkilä) and might even think of ordinal scaling of social exclusion by number and importance (weight) of each domain. Further, conceptualized this way, research on social exclusion can be linked to more recent developments in social inequality theory, including research on life style and life style groups. Several papers address this problem of social exclusion in everyday life and the consequences for living conditions, suggesting indicators based on empirical research (cf. Fritzell, Ultee, Vilhjamson).

Another major result of the conference was to view social exclusion in its dynamics (cf. Bouget, Hausman). Neither unemployment, nor poverty are static conditions of an individual or household. Instead, we find periods of unemployment alternating with periods of employment, phases of poverty terminated by a phase of above poverty level income. It is evident, that the same holds true for social exclusion. We should therefore apply event history methods to study the spells of social exclusion (and its extent) in greater detail (cf. Klevmareken, Marshall). We may look at persons and groups as to whether there are "careers" in social exclusion and ask under which conditions social exclusion aggravates, and which conditions contribute to ameliorate social exclusion.

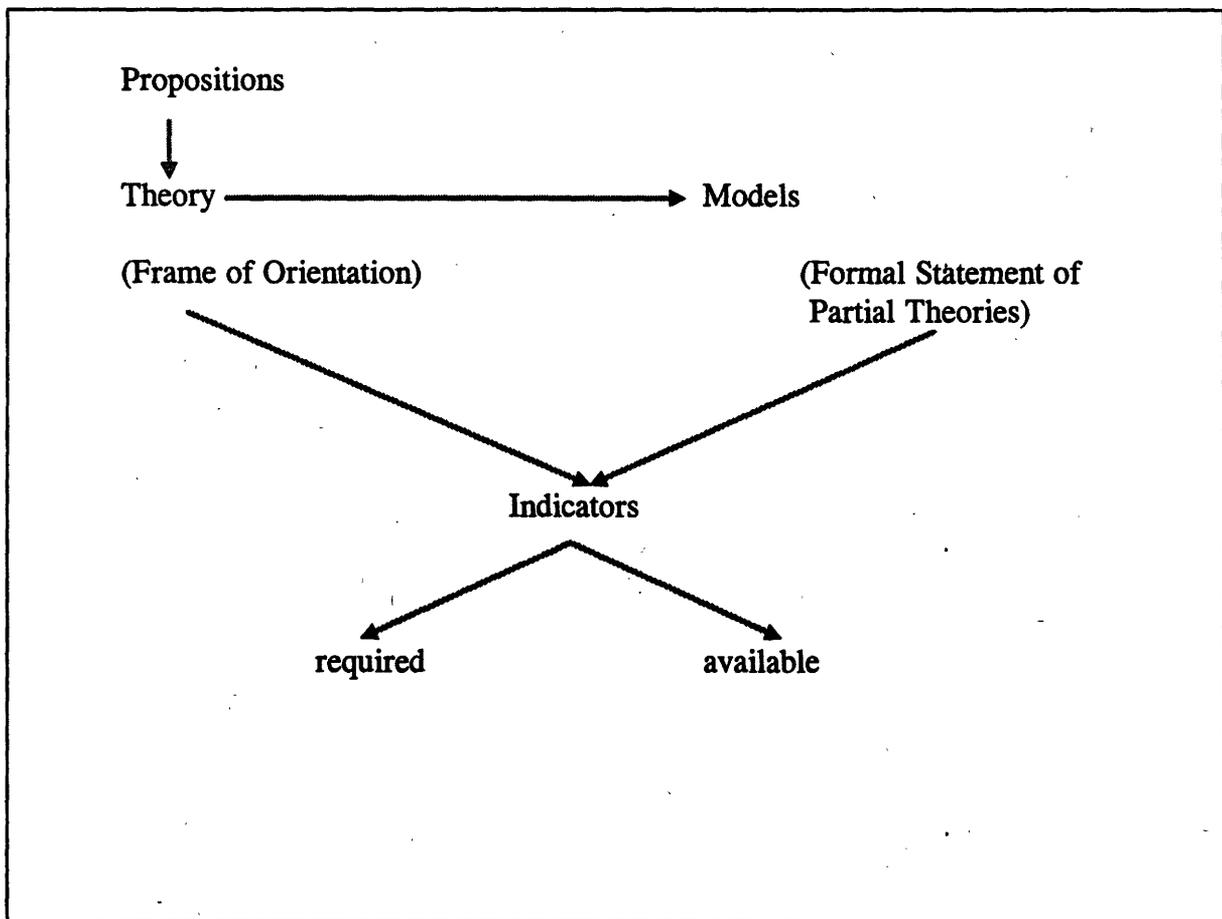
With respect to the social groups hit by social exclusion, it was argued that there are evident examples, like drug addicts, imprisoned persons, mentally handicapped, disabled, but our major interest should be directed towards specifying the less obvious groups (cf. hauser).

To summarize: We have to analyze the extent (level) of social exclusion by the number and weight of the domains an individual or a group is excluded from, the dynamics of exclusion by the duration and sequence of spells, and establish a typology, grouping individuals with similar forms of exclusion. This requires longitudinal data, e.g. surveys in single European countries (socio-economic panels, welfare surveys) or cross-national surveys (for instance, the European Values Study) (cf. Listhaug, Zapf).

3. Derivation of Indicators

To substantiate the argument about the crucial role of indicators, Figure 1 shows how indicators are related both to theory and formal models.

Figure 1



As the figure shows, indicators can be derived in two ways: via definition of the concept "social exclusion" or via the propositions explaining social exclusion or specifying the consequences of social exclusion.

Another problem is whether to use objective or subjective indicators. This discussion has been prominent among scholars of social indicators in the 1960s. Participants of the seminar agreed to the result of this earlier discussion by suggesting both types of indicators to be relevant for social exclusion research.

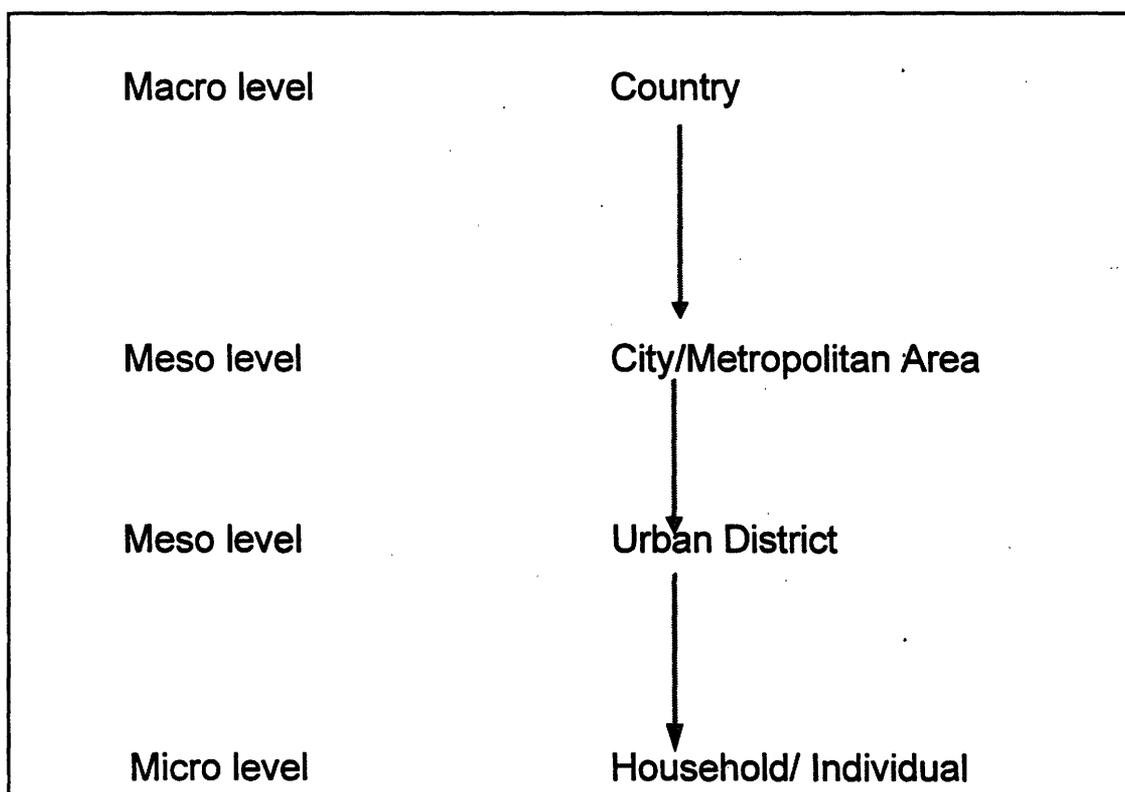
It was further agreed that we need multiple indicators. The question, however, remained, whether these indicators should be used independently or combined into a single index (cf. Fassmann). In the latter case, we should be aware, as one contributor argued, that such an index might just conceal the lack of theory.

4. Multi-level Approach to Social Exclusion

It became evident that we need a multi-level approach. Research on social exclusion can neither be restricted to the macro level of one nation or country nor to the meso level of cities, nor to the micro level of households or individuals. Instead, all three levels have to be included. This implies

- to specify indicators for each aggregate level,
- to specify "aggregation rules", i.e. how data from lower levels are aggregated to higher levels,
- to specify the context effects from macro to meso, from meso to micro and from macro to micro. The basic logic is shown on Figure 2.

Figure 2



A great number of contributions during the seminar can be organized around this methodological scheme. Many authors stressed the importance of the labour market and the levels of unemployment, differing by city and country, as a central point of departure for the analysis of social exclusion. Since the labour market and employment are related to income, it was discussed whether unemployment or income constitute the central concept on the micro level (cf. Guthrie; and how these are related to deprivation, cf. Whelan). From the discussion two approaches emerged, they are presented in diagrammatic form in Figures 3a and 3b.

Figure 3a

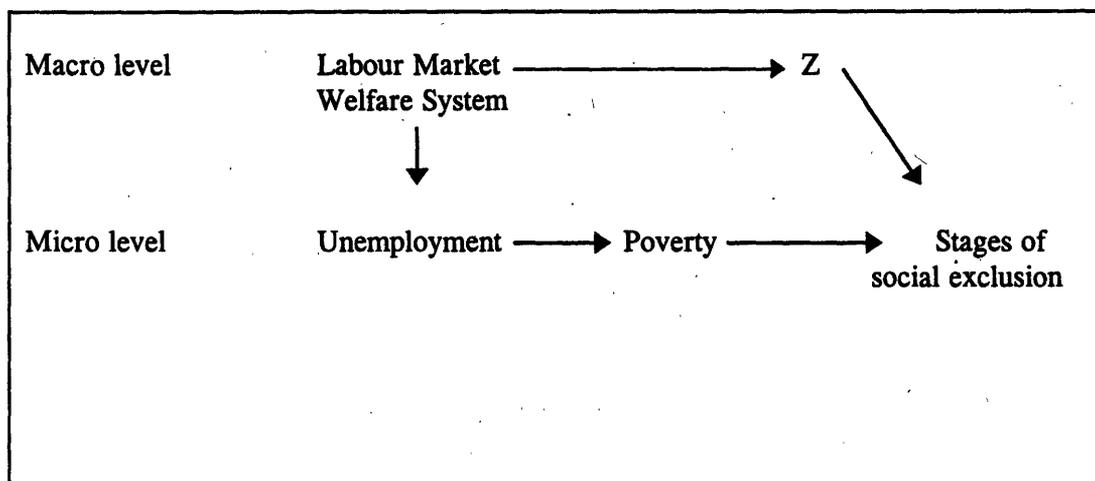
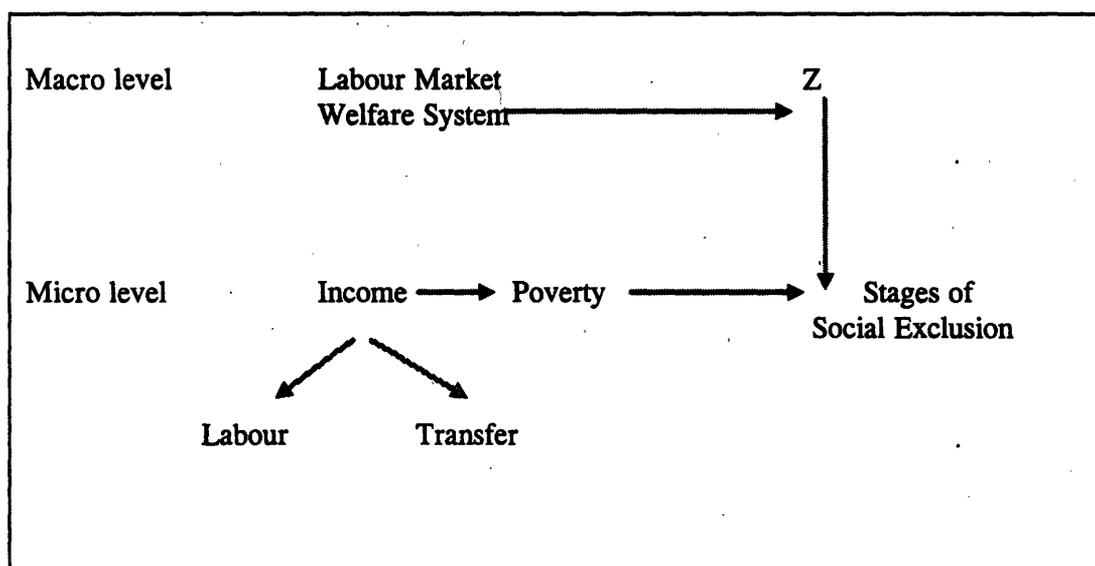


Figure 3b



The two approaches differ with respect to the variable on the micro level which is affected by the macro level conditions of the labour market and type of welfare system. In the first case, unemployment which is thought to be decisive in its effects on poverty. In model 3b, this position is taken by income, be it by labour or transfer payments. Obviously, both approaches are fruitful and have to be tested for their respective explanatory power.

As the two approaches suggest, the labour market and the welfare system are the most basic concepts on the macro level. However the task remains to specify indicators for both concepts. In contrast, indicators of unemployment, income and poverty are simple to specify, since a rich literature exists and prior publications of the EC and OECD can be used. A good example is the agreement on the 50 percent poverty line and the weights for the calculation of equivalent incomes.

However, it was agreed that unemployment rates and public assistance quotas do not suffice for the description of social exclusion. Further, income levels and social welfare systems vary by country. Finally, when studying social exclusion, we have to take into account that the support networks individuals can rely upon vary by country as well.

Some contributions pertain to the question whether we have to specify indicators of integration if we wish to study social exclusion (cf. Tsoulos). This - although plausible argument - was not dealt with a greater length in the discussion, the major reason being that it meant to burden the concept and measurement of social exclusion with a further complexity. However, the propositions related to the concept of differential participation may become a fruitful link between integration and exclusion (cf. Vranken).

5. Concepts and Indicators

Given the multitude of propositions, concepts, indicators discussed in the seminar, it is impossible to reduce the complexity of the subject by supplying a simple list of indicators. The major difficulty still is to properly separate poverty and social exclusion, since often indicators for both concepts overlap. Therefore, the list of concepts and indicators presented in Table 1 is fragmentary and serves to document the methodological problems still to be solved. This is as well the reason for listing indicators which are in some cases concepts themselves, although in many cases the authors specify respective indicators in their papers.

6. Next steps

At the end of the conference, next steps for further working groups were discussed. Basically, three steps were suggested. Listed in their temporal sequence, these are:

1. Taking stock. A small group would have to go through the papers and additional contributions in greater detail and reach an agreement on two or three major definitions of se, give a preliminary list of propositions explaining social exclusion and specifying the

consequences of social exclusion and explicate from the texts the indicators for central concepts.

2. Conference. The result of the small working group would be a comprehensive paper which then becomes the basis of a conference discussing the findings assembled in the paper. The aims of the conference would be to amend, modify and agree on a list of concepts, definitions, basic propositions and indicators. In a final section, it may give preliminary policy recommendations.

3. Research proposals. As a result of the conference, research proposals should be submitted. These would be small projects, devoted to specific aspects or problems, agreed upon in the revised comprehensive paper, but ideally linked to each other under the general umbrella of the revised comprehensive paper.

Table 1: Concepts and Indicators

| Concepts | Indicators | Authors |
|--|---|-------------------|
| Social exclusion | Ressources | Bouget |
| | Civil rights | |
| | Social networks | Friedrichs |
| | Social Isolation | |
| | Housing conditions (e.g. persons per room) | |
| | Social distance/ discrimination | |
| | Residential segregation | Conroy |
| | School drop-outs | |
| | Consumption | |
| | Level of immunization of children | Vilhjamsson |
| Life-style marginalization, e.g. health risk, alcohol abuse, delinquency | | |
| Illiteracy | Vranken | |
| Differential participation, e.g., in norms | | |
| Integration | Consumption | Lorentzen |
| | Civil rights | |
| | Network | |
| Labour market | Unemployment quota | Fassmann |
| | Educational level | |
| | Jobs created | Whelan Vranken |
| | Extent of segmentation | |
| | Secondary labour market | Bruni |
| | Size of labour force by phase of life | |
| Living conditions | Income | Zapf |
| | Housing conditions | |
| | Happiness | Born & Gavray |
| | Anxiety | |
| | Loneliness | |
| | Networks | |
| | Psycho-social wellbeing | |

THE MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL COHESION

Examples and Remarks of Social Indicators

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1. Introduction

The present paper deals with the dimensions and the indicators of social cohesion which is a similar concept to that of exclusion and integration. The paper is based on a review of the existing literature concerning measurement of the "quality of life", the societal modernization or the standard of living. The theoretical assumptions and the strengths and weaknesses of the individual indicators will be discussed. Furthermore, the advantages and the disadvantages of the so-called synthetic indicators will be commented upon and finally calls for a compiled catalogue of exclusion and integration indicators will be made.

Social cohesion, social integration and social exclusion is a relative measurement. It can only be measured by comparison with regional, national or European averages. Therefore a meso- or macro level of analysis is necessary to scale results that are based on micro research. It has to be emphasized that this paper focuses on the use of indicators on a meso or macro level (e.g. studies with indicators for regions or countries) and not on micro level (e.g. case studies with persons, families or households), because microanalytical indicators for social exclusion and integration are not of great practical value for building up an European social report system. International comparative social reports cannot be based on the case study approach dealing with selective problem areas and problem groups. Case studies are able to choose different and very detailed indicators,¹ but that cannot be applied due to financial and scientific reasons to a European research.

2. The social indicator research of the 1970s

Prevalant research concerning social exclusion and social integration does not have to re-invent the wheel. Social exclusion and social integration research can draw upon the tradition of the social indicators research undertaken in the 1970s. In Germany for instance, the SPES-Project (socio-political

¹ Indicators that one can only find in case studies with a limited target population and very specific research objectives are variables dealing with the existence and quality of individual networks, family ties, language capability, criminality, possibilities of income substitutions etc.

decision and indicator system for the Federal Republic of Germany) or in Austria, the project examining _social inequality² were two examples of this research. Evaluations of the societal development as well as social transformation were carried out and published in manual form in many European and non-European countries. The British Social Trends (published yearly since 1970), the French *Donnees Sociales* (1973), the American Social Indicators, the welfare surveys and social reports in Northern Europe³ or the Austrian report pertaining to the population's social situation should be mentioned here.

The social indicator research of the 1970s was guided by a normative conception of an active social policy. This conception advocated state intervention in bringing about change within the society, in ensuring equality of possibilities and in supporting selective groups. Social indicators were and are a necessary pre-condition in the field. Social policy is not feasible without prior knowledge of the social situation and without identification of the social problem groups. The question concerning which political measures should be implemented on which population groups, remains impossible to answer without the knowledge of the real and objective situation. In reference to an extensive system of yearly economic statistics, the foundation for every national economic policy, a similar system for social reports was conceived and carried out in an exemplarily manner. The functions of the system consisted of a statistical observation of the society, the gaining of information from specific problem groups and the supervision of the success of the socio-political measures.

Social indicator research was not based on a universal self-contained theory, which settled the central dimensions of a modern industrial society and set up a relationship with each other. The theory served more the normative fixed dimensions, which, on the basis of operationalized indicators, should have reproduced the notion of _quality of life⁴. The theoretical argument, in terms of which societal dimensions were selected and through which indicators operationalized, took on more of a subordinate role. Empirical analyses of the individual indicators or the formation of synthetic indicators were and still are in the forefront of the numerous literature devoted to measuring the quality of life, the living conditions or the trends in the development of the social structure.⁵ Furthermore, prevalent publications concerning the development level of the countries, measured from the living conditions of the population,⁶ also used the aforementioned indicators in conducting studies.

The fragments of theory behind the social indicator research, which are available to establish and to define the dimensions and the operationalized indicators, are numerous. They extend from the Colin-

² see Fischer-Kowalski, Bucek 1992

³ see Vogel 1993, 127-149

⁴ see Fischer-Kowalsi, Bucek 1992, 2-3

⁵ see Ballerstadt, Glatzer 1979, Glatzer 1992, Glatzer, Noll 1992, Glatzer 1993

⁶ see Giese 1985

Clark Model of the sectoral transformation of the society to more general modernization theories whose formulations are once again numerous.

3. Individual indicators

Individual indicators are a disputed point. There is no theoretical model - as mentioned before - to determine the selection of indicators, rather there are normative decisions that determine the selection and definition of the social indicators. Every individual indicator has its specific advantages and disadvantages. The decisive criteria are the availability of data, international comparability, and particularly important, the certainty that factual suitable diagrams pertaining to the listed phenomena can be produced.

The first differentiation that can be ascertained concerns the difference between subjective and objective indicators. Exclusion and integration and quality of life and welfare do not only cover objective living conditions, but also the subjective perception. The same objectively evaluated living conditions, can be perceived differently from a subjective point. This occurs because either relevant factors are left out or because the living conditions, which are evaluated at a definite time, sometimes result in a "recovery process" and other times in a downward process.

Nowadays one can observe a consensus that both objective and subjective indicators have their relevance and importance, as the methodological difficulties in gathering and comparing subjective indicators are well known.⁷

In the pertinent literature, the frequently mentioned "objective" social indicators can be grouped into four distinctive dimensions. The fact that this summary is of an arbitrary nature, and could just as well be grouped into six dimensions, is clearly understood and should not be stressed further. The dimensions are:

- * Resource based indicators ;
- * Employment, qualifications, and labor market ;
- * Social infrastructure, health ;
- * Societal developmental level .

⁷ The regularly conducted EUROBAROMETER-surveys provide corresponding information. Accordingly, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg have the highest rate of "satisfaction", while Italy, Portugal and Greece have the lowest. The correlation with the material-wealth indicators is high and positive, although scepticism remains, whether actual satisfaction with life can be measured.

3.1 Resource based indicators

3.1.1 The Gross Domestic Product

The most important resource based indicator pertaining to the material living standard is the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The GDP is based on per capita of the population and is converted into purchasing power. The GDP per capita, despite its conceptual and statistical weaknesses, is the most meaningful single indicator for the economic development of the population.⁸ It is therefore used in the classification of countries and regions and it is used to demonstrate the decrease or increase in societal and spatial disparities.

Undoubtedly, the Gross Domestic Product is not the proper indicator to measure social exclusion or social integration. GDP per capita provides only a measurement of the goods and services which are available to the population on average. It does not show the distribution of income among the people nor among the individual groups within the population. Moreover, a relatively high GDP per capita (above the European average) might be deceiving since theoretically, a large part of the population could be impoverished.

The Gini-Coefficient has generally been adopted as the measurement to calculate the income distribution, according to the differentiated individual percentiles. The degree of income concentration can be measured with this coefficient. One calculates, which share of the population receives which percentage of the national income. The results are demonstrated through a two-axis diagram in a cumulative manner, the so-called Lorenz Curve.⁹

Pertinent analysis shows a negative correlation, whose strengths are limited in any case, of the GDP per capita with the distribution of income among different societal groups.¹⁰ The higher the GDP per capita, the smaller the income differences among societal groups. The contrary situation holds true as well. The poorer a country or a region is, the more likely is it to have an unequal distribution of income. Analyses of social exclusion and social integration require nonetheless indicators of the distribution of income.

3.1.2 Indicators of poverty

The poverty level offers a strong and vivid, if not problematic in international comparison, indicator in terms of distribution of income. This is calculated from the share of the population who lives under the

⁸ Many authors have dealt with the critique of the Gross Domestic Product. They point out that defense production also contributes to the raising of the GDP as well as the elimination of traffic accidents and environmental damages (see Zapf 1993, 164).

⁹ From this diagram one can calculate the Gini-coefficient, which equals 0 when the income is evenly distributed and equals 1 in the case of extremely unequal distribution.

¹⁰ see Giese 1985

so-called poverty-line or simply the poverty stricken in the total population. The poverty line was defined in the past as the amount of income which was necessary to ensure a minimum level of existence. EUROSTAT proceeded to count those households which spent less than 40% or 50% of the average national and weighted needs on household expenditures, as the „poor“ population. Hence, EUROSTAT does not place the household income in the forefront, rather the household expenses.¹¹

3.1.3 Indicators of material living standard

Inequality in the society resigns itself to a „material“ defeat in regards to the availability of long-term goods and housing space. Which groups have access to consumer goods, reflects the social integration or social exclusion in a society. In welfare surveys conducted in the Scandinavian countries therefore, resource based indicators are used. The percentage of households that owns automobiles, televisions, washing machines, sufficient living space, etc. is used as an indicator for social equality. The difference between several social groups (for example the blue collar workers compared to the white collar workers) is documented.¹²

Information about consumer goods as well as the sizes and the amenities of various apartments are contingent upon the indicator in terms of the applicability for social integration and social exclusion. Much is dependent on the culture or other often trivial circumstances. Accordingly, comparisons of apartments in Europe with central heating would lead to meaningless results. A similar dilemma would also apply to questions about home freezers and air conditioning. Therefore the use of income level and distribution of income indicators better determine material living standards than other resource based indicators.

3.2 Education and labor market indicators

3.2.1 Unemployment rate and participation rate

Integration and social exclusion begin with employment. One who cannot find employment or is unemployed over a long period of time and finds few chances to reintegrate into the employment system, is not only in danger of dropping into poverty, but also loses a part of his identification in society. A job fulfills economic security needs as well as important social and psychological functions. Not only is income distributed through a position in the working world, but also the possibilities in life are more structured.

Indicators pertaining to the employment situation and to unemployment therefore assume a central status in each social report. In particular, the unemployment rate is one of the most important indicators which should provide information about the functions capacity and the receptivity of the

¹¹ see Hradil 1993 and Buhmann-Priester 1993 for a further discussion of the problematic comparability.

¹² The differences can be expressed by a so-called inequality index (see Vogel 1993).

labor market. Whether the unemployment rate actually fulfills this expectation, is a question that must be asked.¹³

The problem of using the unemployment rate in cross-national comparisons is that unemployment is based on employment. The rate is calculated by dividing the number of job-seekers who are unemployed into the number capable of gainful employment. In an international comparison, the number of people capable of gainful employment in the general population is quite possibly different. The accessibility to regional labor markets and the culturally conditioned attitude towards an occupation, often differs considerably from one country to another.

Furthermore it is important to consider that the average unemployment rate - in relation to the working population - does not indicate the distribution of the unemployment within a certain time period. A 10% unemployment rate can mean that 10% of the working population were unemployed a full year or 40% of the working population for approximately three months. Information about the affected persons and the duration of the unemployment therefore pertain more to the absorptive capacity and performance of the labor market, than the crude number of unemployed persons.

The unemployment rate of certain "problem groups" (foreign laborers, youth, older workers and, under certain circumstances, women) characterizes in a differentiated form tendencies of exclusion. These or similar indicators should be taken into account in a state comparison.

A further indicator is therefore necessary in order to measure the amount of persons capable of gainful employment among the general population. The calculated general labor force as such, which should additionally be standardized for age, shows the degree of registration among the professions. Furthermore, participation rates for special population groups (i.e. women) indicate how far outside these groups are from a paid gainful employment.

3.3 Health and social infrastructure

3.3.1 Indicators of health

In social reports, one can always find indicators pertaining to health and social infrastructure. Health is frequently operationalized through the life expectancy a newborn baby has from the moment of birth. This is a summary indicator which unifies many factors. Some of these factors are nutrition, working conditions, living habits, living conditions, attitudes and the quality of medical care.

Regarding the use of these indicators for exclusion and integration research, it must once again be said that it is only meaningful if the living expectancy of individual social groups can be calculated and compared distinctively from one another. This is practically impossible however, judging from the knowledge taken from Austrian statistics.

¹³ see Fassmann 1993

3.3.2 Indicators of social infrastructure

Developed social welfare system. Indicators of social infrastructure show similar problems. They are also almost always labeled in social reports. The social structure is operationalized on the basis of the number of medical doctors and hospital beds per 10,000 inhabitants, on the basis of health expenditures per capita of the total population or more generally on the basis of accumulative public expenditures for social security (sickness, accident, pension). These indicators do not measure exclusion or integration per se, rather more the development of the social welfare system. Some indicators however have shown a surprising picture. The highest proportion of medical doctors per 10,000 inhabitants in Europe for example is in Italy and Spain that are not known as the typical countries with a high developed social welfare system.

3.4 Societal developmental level

Indicators measuring a societal developmental level assume a central position in international social reports. The developmental level of a country or a region can be observed in the relationship of employment between the primary sector (agriculture and forestry), the secondary sector (industry) and the tertiary sector (services). Numerous empirical articles, notably from Jean Fourastié, Colin Clark, Brian Berry and many others, deal with the division and classification of the European countries and the world in regards to the relationships of the three sectors.

In the framework of a comparative analysis of exclusion and integration within the European societies, it appears that this starting point is overgeneralized. The measurement level and stated views derived from this starting point pertain to the country as a whole and not the individual societal groups. Concerning the question at hand, these indicators and others of a similar nature can therefore merely provide background information.

The societal developmental level is measured by some authors¹⁴ on the basis of alternative indicators. The consumption of newspaper per capita among the population is used as a measurement of the development: the more newspapers consumed, the higher the level of development. That these implicit assumptions are unrealistic, does not need to be stressed here. Moreover, measuring a state is feasible, but not individual social groups. It would only make sense to use one of these indicators in the latter case, if the indicator was appropriate.

4. Individual indicators versus synthetic index

Social exclusion and social integration are complex phenomena. The analysis can therefore only occur using one or two insufficient indicators, which only describe a part of the conceivable reality. Nevertheless, the political demand is unmistakable and presses for a *“as simple as possible”*

¹⁴ e.g. Bratzel and Müller 1979

measurement. Accordingly, the answer to the question of whether the European societies are equal or unequal, integrated or excluded should be clear and unequivocal.

The need for a synthesis of the social indicators is probably as old as social indicators research itself. In the framework of the Human Development Programs from the United Nations, this need is met through the calculations of a Human Development Index. This index is based on three single initial variables: The GDP per capita, life expectancy and the number of illiterate among the general population or the number of school years.

Noll (1993) puts forward a differentiated index for Europe. This index is also based on a small number of individual indicators: GNP per capita, average unemployment rate, yearly working hours, life expectancy of women at childbirth, infant mortality rate and social benefits per inhabitant.¹⁵

Systematic indices like Noll's index or the HDI's, are relatively simple to put together and comprehensible, however, they demonstrate two weaknesses: because of the small number of initial variables, the indices are dependent on the variables that are chosen. If the index is put together with the combination of many single indicators, then the influence of one single variable decreases.

The second weakness of synthetic indices is the unified evaluation. The assumption when describing the phenomenon, that all the initial variables have the same value and the same equality in a given situation, is difficult to justify.

Therefore an alternative process can be found in literature. This consists of choosing many indicators, which in turn decreases the influence of one individual variable. In the meantime, it is a generally accepted demand that the choice of the characteristic must be given a theoretical reason. Less complex defined description dimensions are extracted from this set of variables with the help of factor analyses. These description dimensions are linear combinations of the initial variables, whereas the evaluation of the initial variables is quite different, however as a result of the calculating procedure, they possess a certain amount of objectivity.

The principle components or factors possess an advantage in that they both condense a large number of individual indicators into a new and not directly measurable size. The disadvantage is that they both present a very abstract structure and the effect of the initial variables is not very transparent. This dilemma can be avoided if one continues to calculate using a variable which possesses a high loading instead of the principal component or in that the principal component is calculated as a linear combination of the three or five indicators with the highest loadings.¹⁶

¹⁵ Noll calculates for each country a deviation from the EU-average that was set with 100. Based on welfare considerations, Noll determines a positive or negative sign for the deviation, then standardizes the deviations (z-transformation) and sums up the z-values. Noll's synthetic index registers each individual indicator with an integrated weight.

¹⁶ see Lichtenberger, Fassmann and Mühlgassner 1987

A first attempt of this kind was done by Brain Berry (1960). Ensuingly, various authors have attempted similar classifications with the support of this method. The characteristics have been changed and the method of proceeding has been improved, however in principle, Berry's initial method has remained the same.

5. Conclusion

Also in the future, social exclusion and integration research will be embraced more as the analysis for poverty, marginal social groups or the position of migrants. Social exclusion and integration are phenomena that encompass the whole society and must be taken into account when choosing suitable indicator calculations. The following should be considered:

1. Resource based indicators are in a central position in every exclusion and integration research. Per capita GDP or per capita income in terms of purchasing power is and remains an important variable, which is especially difficult to replace in international comparisons. Since per capita income represents an average value, features of the characterization of income distribution are imperative. The Gini-Coefficient is the most suitable for this task as well as information concerning single percentile income or the variations coefficient.

The amount of population living under the poverty level is likewise an important indicator in characterizing national income distribution. EUROSTAT's way of defining poverty and its dependence on a household's average expenditure in a given country is fundamentally correct. It leads however to the problem of comparability of the indicators on a European scale. This is especially clear by the indicators which demonstrate a strong national component. Characteristics such as apartment amenities and long-term consumer goods are difficult to compare on a European level.

2. Labor market indicators, above all the unemployment rate, take on a central position in many research projects concerning social reports, research on the "quality of life" and also social exclusion and integration research. The weaknesses of the comparabilities have already been addressed. An unemployed person can only be labeled unemployed, if the person had previously held a job. Population groups and the extent to which they are bound to the employment system differ from country to country. The female labor force reflects clearly, once again, these national components.

3. Every feature which takes on a central role in the modernization theory is used in research papers dealing with social change and in social reports following a "classic" model. Accordingly, indicators such as the amount of people employed in agriculture or the amount of industry in the domestic content play a role. But these indicators are of minor importance for social exclusion and integration research. More important however are the features concerning the level and quality of the social "overheads". An indicator such as state spending for social security can serve as an explanation variable for exclusion or integration. There is in any case a positive correlation between the level of social expenditures and the subjective satisfaction with life.

4. With the analysis of social exclusion and integration, a fundamental problem in each societal formation is addressed. The openness or closeness of the social structure make up the grass-root characteristics of the modern society. Intragenerational and intergenerational mobility are the appropriate indicators for this evaluation. How far societal positions are carried from one generation to the next, reveals a lot about the openness of a society. If foreign migrants and their second or third

generation descendents remain fixed on a small segment of the labor market, then it is a clear indicator that the society is closed.

Social mobility is consequently part of the key indicators of each social exclusion and integration research. The degree of importance of the indicator is positively correlated to the difficulty concerning the data situation. National surveys on social mobility are difficult to compare and future surveys will therefore necessitate a higher as well as a binding conception.

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INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION INDICATORS CONCERNING SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND INTEGRATION

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Main objective of this contribution:

Referring to Annex 2 of the seminar materials submitted by the SRU, the central research area dealt with is "macro-developments and ... level of inequality". The paper aims to extend the conception of social exclusion indicators beyond using the dimensions applied by the EUROSTAT system or HDI. Starting from a theoretical basis the task is to find ways to add information utilization and participation in communication systems/networks to make integration/exclusion indicators appropriate to what is called the information society.

Background analysis in brief:

Means of production are changing: Natural resources increasingly are becoming scarce, labour is expensive. Land basically is a means of production of that type, B. W. Arthur (1984) calls means of "diminishing returns". This applies as well to certain technologies as to lines of industrial production; thus we do not need to wonder about retarding rates of investment in industry. Recent economic research indicates little impact (in terms of incentives and stimulance of growth and employment in industry) even of low interest rates: There are still wide ranging and promising alternatives to speculate rather than to invest capital.

However, there are booming branches of service industries and even some branches of productive industries prosper. There is no 'one and only', no unique and comprehensive pattern of industrial decline. But it also remains a matter of fact, that booming industries are not labour intensive, hence they are by no means able to restore and secure full employment.

On the other hand there is the rise of "knowledge economy". This conception of new ways to understand economic processes asserts that the traditional factors of production are constantly losing relevance. Basic economic activity will soon be centered around the optimal allocation of knowledge - which seems available inexhaustibly - instead of the scarce resources capital, labour and land. In fact this new crucial factor of production exposes a very startling alteration compared to the core quality of the crucial factors of the former mode of industrial production: In difference to the traditional factors of production knowledge in today's world does not represent a scarce resource; it rather seems to be abundant as its level of availability increases at an exponential rate. If defenders of this hypothesis (e.g. K. Polanyi, 1980; P. Drucker, 1990; T. Sakaiya, 1991) are right, an incredible fundamental change in socio-economic thinking is due. The "law" of supply and demand, insinuating that demand would always tend to exceed supply, would be less applicable to increasing sectors

of existing and emerging new markets. Even more so: According to the basic assumption of generally rising demand vis-a-vis shrinking supply scarcity makes commodities valuable. Goods produced by employing scarce resources become expensive, and the market would eliminate inappropriate (too expensive) products. Industrial operations are traditionally guided by the elementary conception of economy being composed of rational behaviour, obeying the rule of scarcity.

Now one may question the notion of "rationality", and perhaps serious doubts will rise if we think of some peculiar decision making processes. Emotions and irrational aspects happen quite often in economic operations, both on individual and on companies level, and in traditional industry as well as in a knowledge economy. The important difference between the classic form of economy and the evolving knowledge economy is, that the latter is not just another (modern) kind of managing scarcity; it is (or at least: will become) - instead - a way to manage abundance.

This view employs new thinking, it rests on new theoretical conceptions, and it definitely affords the development of appropriate indicators to understand and perhaps to measure e.g. social participation in economic developments, their pace and impact. It applies - first and predominantly - to the countries and their population in the "Triade", as they move towards information society. Starting from the expanding sectors of telecommunications industries, occupations in the information processing and information management segments of "highly developed" nations, globalization will - sooner or later - spread this new and universal principle of socio-economic structuring around the globe.

Indicators needed to observe and possibly govern this process should aim at one basic operational task, i. e. answering the following question: Who belongs at a certain stage of local, regional, national and global development to the so called information society - and who is or will be (according to the dynamics involved) be excluded?

In spite of this approach my concern is about indicators of social integration or exclusion in terms of being part of emerging new information and communication structures in the upswing of the information society.

Components of relevant indicators:

To develop indicators from the sphere of information/communication does not imply to construct thoroughly "new" indicators or the need to generate totally new data and statistics. Available data and statistics about information (e.g. of media use, the diffusion of information in social strata and by particular channels) or communication structures (social networks, attendance of communication systems such as telephone and internet etc.) should of course be taken into consideration. But these elements are not sufficient if it comes to actually indicate the role information and communication play regarding social exclusion.

New and transnational comparable data will be needed to assess the impact of multimedia, of TEN (Trans European Networks), of new forms of communication stemming from telework, distance learning, transborder data flow (engineered by EDI/Electronic Data Interchange and a lot of other systems), and - last but not least - the exponentially increasing number of data

bases and networks (recently addressed as "networking entities"). Related to these issues structures of the labour market, qualifications, education and training, trends in professional activities could provide indicators to identify winners and losers of the coming information society.

The process of choosing and developing indicators from this lots of possible data sources faces some specific problems.

Because of the abundance of information relevant indicators will have to separate (abstract) availability from (concrete) utilization of information. Global networks of integrated information offer new opportunities to the public - but the range of use is still restricted to a small elite. Managers, bureaucrats, media people, politicians, scientists use this systems, whereas the vast majority of people are literally excluded. Elites are integrated around the globe by organizational, institutional, and technical infrastructures. Specified user groups meet in "cyber space", their local neighbours may be excluded (if - maybe for various reasons - "unwired"). International patterns of exchange of telecommunications equipment show the dominance of the triadic regions, making the much larger "rest of the world" at best consumers (O. Dartois/D. Pouillot, 1994). Abundant information suffers from concentration in the hands of few information providers (The Group of Lisbon, 1992), mis-use and dis-use, and an insulating layer seems to stretch between the traditional communication/information structures and new systems of worldwide communication and information opulence.

Thus on global scale the dynamics of information and communication rather seem to indicate exclusion, despite unifying effects of the so called Madonna economy, which occur in the consumption of information and communication as well as in other homogenized segments of our culture. At the same time, though, global networks may as well induce integration on regional scale or locally. It is - so far - impossible to reliably identify scales, range and directedness of the impact of information and communication in contemporary societal developments. Yet certainly it's true that "communication on a world scale affects the fate of nation states and of individual lives" (C. Hamelink, 1994); indicators or adapted indices should explain and measure how.

However, the world is not only a world of turning into an informational era; my further proposition is, that we can not deal exclusively with the evolving information society, based and structured by new forces and paradigms of the knowledge economy. If information society and knowledge economy really should become the successful modes of shaping future developments, proof will come from contesting the top issues and challenges of our present time and next future:

- * Globalization - we will need to develop and reflect on indicators of kinds of information and communication appropriate to help understanding and necessary adjustment of policies and organisations.
- * World population - in the advent of the information society utilisation of information/communication will gain increasing relevance to serve the needs of an as rapidly as regionally imbalanced growing number of people in the world.
- * Environment - information and communication indicators regarding endangered

components and prospects of the biosphere could contribute to the development of guidelines and action plans to safeguard nature, human culture and social life.

- * Limits - even if knowledge, communication and information open a sphere of abundance, the world will still remain finite; knowledge allows better living within this limitations - provided relevant indicators inform people about eligible measures which should be drawn from insights into various limits (to growth, to competition, and to traditional kinds of progress; cf. D. Meadows, 1992; The Group of Lisbon, 1992).

Concluding remark:

This paper should present the idea of establishing information/communication indicators. Under the assumption of accepted relevance this approach should be discussed in order to reach the next step: Establish a research network to define indicators that enable scientists in comparative studies to stage and analyze the transformation process of industrial society into an information society. Some "pilots" of this kind are either done or on their way to this - though - still distant goal. An overall indicator of "mechanization" [Technisierung, Informatisierung] of communication and economic operations in general could possibly lead toward alternatives to J. Fourasties's (1954) three-sector model of the economy. This was appropriate to the post-war development of the industrial society, but becomes increasingly unsuitable to describe the knowledge economy of an information society.

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SOCIAL REPORTING ON EXCLUSION AND INTEGRATION IN GERMANY

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It is the purpose of my brief contribution to present some practical examples of ongoing social reporting on important problems of exclusion and integration in German society. I am referring to the regular publication Data Report - Figures and Facts on the German Federal Republic¹. This publication appears biennially, and since 1987 consists of two parts. Part one is a compendium of the Federal Statistical Office, part two is written by social scientists. It contains sociological analyses based on survey data which go beyond the scope of German official statistics (which, e.g., never investigates into subjective questions). There are two major data sources used in the 1994 edition: the Socio-Economic Panel Study and the Welfare Surveys 1988 and 1993 for West Germany and 1990 and 1993 for East Germany². I am selecting four examples which refer to the biggest exclusion threats and integration problems of today's Germany, namely the integration of East Germany and West Germany and, secondly, the integration of the foreign population which was 6.7 million in 1993. My general theoretical perspective is one of modernization theory, in which upgrading, differentiation, value generalization and integration are major developmental tasks but at the same time also developmental trends. In this perspective, modern societies have considerable integrative capacities. This is not to deny the many problems of exclusion, inequality, prevention of access, marginalization. It is to say, however, that in modern societies there are mechanisms to mobilize against exclusion and for integration.

¹Datenreport 1994 - Zahlen und Fakten über die Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Statistisches Bundesamt (Hrsg.) in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung und dem Zentrum für Umfragen, Methoden und Analysen, Mannheim. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Bonn 1994, 640 pages. Earlier joint editions were published in 1985, 1987, 1989 and 1992.

²For a description of these data sets cf. Datenreport 1994, pp. 415/16.

My first example (cf. Table 1 and 2) is a summary of welfare development in West Germany and East Germany based on a selection of objective and subjective social indicators³. Objective Indicators mean tangible living conditions, here income, housing, and environmental pollution. Subjective indicators mean subjective well-being, here happiness, symptoms of anxiety, symptoms of anomia, and satisfactions. The general picture is as follows:

- There is a considerable cleavage in objective living conditions and in subjective well-being between East and West, i.e. a considerable welfare gap of the East Germans.
- This cleavage is reflected in a significantly lower subjective well-being of the East Germans.
- However, living conditions and subjective well-being, in nearly all dimensions, have improved between 1990 and 1993 in East Germany, at least on average and for the majority.
- Given also slight improvements in West Germany (measured between 1988 and 1993), the distance between West and East has not increased but the gap is narrowing only slowly.
- For some problem groups like unemployed and single parents the distance to the relatively satisfied majority becomes bigger and heavier.
- To single out some special observations, I want to refer to the higher than average improvement of the income situation of retired East Germans and the rather generous compensation of unemployed which helps to cope with the heavy load of job reduction. Noteworthy, too, is that the improvement in environmental pollution is measured here by interviewees' evaluations but corresponds to available objective indicators. As far as subjective well-being indicators are concerned, we observe that, at least in two dimensions (personal exhaustion and personal powerlessness), there are high negative values even in the much wealthier West Germany. As to satisfaction with different areas of life, the personal areas of family and health are evaluated rather similarly in East and West, whereas housing, living standards and the public domains of public safety and environmental protection are significantly less satisfying in East Germany and, altogether in West Germany, less satisfying than the private domains.

³Data for Tables 1 and 2 in Datenreport 1994, pp. 452-456, 500/501, 568-570, 419-423, 611-613, 428-436. A summary of objective and subjective welfare development is to be found in Roland Habich/Wolfgang Zapf, "Verbesserungen und Krisensymptome: Zur Wohlfahrtsentwicklung in West- und Ostdeutschland", in: Gegenwartskunde No. 2/1994, pp. 259-291.

My next two examples refer to a collection of direct indicators of social integration⁴, again comparing East Germany and West Germany (cf. Table 3) and to an analysis of problem situations and their cumulation. Our indicators of social integration are the perception of contact possibilities, availability, number, and frequency of meetings with friends, membership in churches and in private organizations, proportion of singles, proportion of single households, couples, and other households. There is one surprising observation concerning East vs. West - less contacts, friends, and meetings with friends in East Germany - because there are, prima facie, no convincing reasons why a lower standard of living, lower income etc. should lead to a lower level of personal contacts. Instead, we should expect personal resources as a substitute. I guess, one explanation is given by the membership ratios which show a much lower membership in religious groups and also a significantly lower membership ratio in private organizations in East Germany. On the other hand, the proportion of single households in West Germany is significantly higher than in East Germany, and those singles certainly substitute kinship relations by friendship relations.

Our indicators of problem situations (Table 4) are presented here, as in the upper part of the table, as the basis for the following analysis of cumulation⁵. Therefore, I want to only mention a few substantive points. The first is the very low ratio of people without occupational training diplomas in East Germany. The high skill level of the East German labor force certainly is a resource in the transformation process which is accompanied by so much anxiety and sorrow. However, in East Germany, too, the degree of problem cumulation is rather low. 52% of West Germans and 41% of East Germans are in none of the nine problem situations, 77% in the West, 71% in the East in none or only one. We know, of course, situations and also mechanisms by which problems accumulate but the message of our analysis basically is: cumulation is exceptional. I regard this to be an important structural factor of modern societies. It is as important as another structural factor which becomes obvious only in dynamic analyses, namely a relatively high turn-over rate, i.e. a relatively low rate of "stayers" in situations of poverty or unemployment. We have in "Datenreport 1994" a special chapter on poverty which, in detail, analyzes this mechanism⁶. Over a period of nine years (1984-1992) in West Germany, 18% of all households had, at least, one spell of poverty, defined by the threshold of 50% of the average household income. This 18%, on the one hand, is twice as high as the yearly average of poor as measured cross-sectionally. On the other hand, long-term poverty is rare, i.e., the chances to leave the poverty status are rather high. Nevertheless, the hard-core poor as well as the hard-core unemployed belong of course to the most serious problem groups in the affluent German society.

⁴Cf. Datenreport 1994, pp. 615/616 (H.H. Noll).

⁵Cf. Datenreport 1994, pp. 582-588 (R. Habich).

⁶Cf. Datenreport 1994, pp. 598-607 (R. Habich/P. Krause).

My last example concerns the question of exclusion and integration of the largest group which is repeatedly listed as a problem group, namely foreigners. The analyses cover occupational status (cf. Table 5), economic sector, wages, and, finally, language competence, social contacts with Germans, plans to stay in Germany, and identification with Germans⁷. They compare foreigners and Germans over time and give special attention to women and to the largest group, the Turks. The most innovative idea is, however, to single out the second generation in order to measure the relative progress of foreigners who went to school in Germany and speak the language, in comparison with their parents and with their German peers. For a summary of our results I quote directly from the "Datenreport": "Foreigners are still in marginal occupational and social positions in the Federal Republic of Germany. For the first generation, occupational position and economic sector have not changed very much since its immigration in the 1960s und 1970s. Unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in industry are still dominating. In contrast, the situation of the second generation has significantly improved; part of it could make it into middle and higher white collar positions. However, the second generation of foreigners, too, is more often to be found in low-skilled positions than the respective German age-group. Turks were in 1984 especially underprivileged compared to other nationalities - they have caught up and especially have moved into skilled blue collar positions. As to foreign women, we observe an increase of jobs in the service sector and a decrease of jobs in the industry sector." The analysis ends with the observation that in spite of some upward mobility, narrowing the wage gap, improvement in language competence, and rising numbers of people planning to stay in Germany, there are also indications of segregation (e.g., a majority has no German friends) and a relatively low ratio of foreigners who identify themselves with Germany (24% of the second generation). Thus, many foreigners still are in a marginal position and German society still has not passed this test of its integrative capacities.

NOTES

+ Paper prepared for the seminar "Social Exclusion and Social Integration Research - Theory, Indicators and Models", European Commission, DG XII, Brussels, 15-16 May 1995.

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⁷Cf. Datenreport 1994, pp. 589-597 (W. Seifert). The quotation is from p. 597.

Table 1: Objective Living Conditions

| Objective Living Conditions | West Germany | | East Germany | |
|--|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|
| | 1988 | 1993 | 1990 | 1993 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | | |
| Gross salary | DM 3.110 | 3.680 | 1.360 | 2.360 |
| Net household income per capita | DM 1.220 | 1.570 | 730 | 1.080 |
| Blue collar | DM 1.140 | 1.430 | 750 | 1.020 |
| White collar | DM 1.440 | 1.920 | 840 | 1.270 |
| Self-employed | DM 1.580 | 2.380 | 720 | 1.010 |
| Retired | DM 1.340 | 1.560 | 650 | 1.130 |
| Unemployed | DM 970 | 1.040 | 550 | 830 |
| <u>Housing conditions</u> | | | | |
| Rooms per capita | ø 1.66 | 1.62 | 1.35 | 1.34 |
| Less than 1 room per capita | % 7 | 9 | 17 | 18 |
| Bath + WC + central heating | % 80 | 88 | 49 | 53 |
| Rate of home owners | % 48 | 47 | 21 | 29 |
| <u>Environmental pollution (very, rather strong)</u> | | | | |
| Noise | % 28 | 23 | 36 | 30 |
| Air pollution | % 24 | 21 | 59 | 28 |
| Destruction of landscape | % 18 | 13 | 40 | 18 |
| Bad water quality | % 13 | 13 | 33 | 21 |

Table 2 : Subjective Well-Being

| Subjective Well-Being | West Germany | | East Germany | |
|--|--------------|---------------------------|--------------|------|
| | 1988 | 1993 | 1990 | 1993 |
| | in % | | | |
| Happiness | | | | |
| Very happy | 23 | 23 | 11 | 12 |
| Rather happy | 71 | 70 | 73 | 75 |
| Rather unhappy | 5 | 5 | 14 | 12 |
| Very unhappy | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Symptoms of anxiety | | | | |
| Often exhausted | 44 | 39 | 52 | 43 |
| Often anxiety and sorrows | 19 | 17 | 29 | 26 |
| Permanently nervous & agitated | 12 | 10 | 17 | 14 |
| Often depressed | 11 | 10 | 16 | 16 |
| Symptoms of anomia | | | | |
| Loneliness | 14 | 13 | 21 | 16 |
| Unable to orient oneself | 11 | 13 | 38 | 32 |
| Don't like work anymore | 14 | 11 | 20 | 17 |
| Cannot change my situation | - | 74 | 74 | 86 |
| | | Average Scale 0-10 | | |
| Satisfactions | | | | |
| Satisfaction with life | 7.9 | 7.9 | 6.5 | 6.9 |
| Satisfaction with family | 8.7 | 8.5 | 8.3 | 8.2 |
| Satisfaction with health | 7.3 | 7.3 | 6.9 | 7.3 |
| Satisfaction with housing | 8.2 | 8.2 | 6.5 | 6.9 |
| Satisfaction with standard of living | 7.5 | 7.5 | 6.0 | 6.3 |
| Satisfaction with public safety | 5.8 | 5.0 | 3.4 | 3.6 |
| Satisfaction with environmental protection | 4.5 | 4.8 | 2.2 | 4.8 |

Table 3 : Indicators of Social Integration

| Indicators of Social Integration | West Germany | | East Germany | |
|---|--------------|------|--------------|------|
| | 1988 | 1993 | 1990 | 1993 |
| | in % | | | |
| Perception of own contact potential | | | | |
| Good possibilities | 75 | 79 | 65 | 68 |
| Bad/No possibilities | 23 | 20 | 33 | 31 |
| Don't know | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Having close friends outside of family | 81 | 87 | 75 | 81 |
| Average number of friends : 1 | 4.6 | 4.9 | 4.3 | 4.4 |
| Frequency of meetings | | | | |
| Nearly daily | 18 | 14 | 10 | 12 |
| At least once a week | 48 | 51 | 32 | 40 |
| At least once a month | 25 | 27 | 37 | 35 |
| Less frequent, never | 9 | 8 | 20 | 13 |
| Proportion of member in religious communities | 92 | 87 | 33 | 30 |
| Proportion of members in private associations | 58 | 56 | 43 | 47 |
| Proportion of singles | 15 | 17 | 24 | 13 |
| Type of household | | | | |
| One person | 24 | 32 | 24 | 25 |
| Married, couple | 64 | 57 | 68 | 64 |
| Other households | 12 | 11 | 8 | 11 |

Data base : Wohlfahrtssurvey 1988, 1990-Ost, 1993

Table 4 : Problem Situations and their Frequencies

| Person is/has | West Germany | | | East Germany | |
|---|--------------|------|------|--------------|------|
| | 1978 | 1988 | 1993 | 1990 | 1993 |
| Objective problem situations | % | | | | |
| Lowest income decile ⁸ | 1 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Less than one room (without kitchen) per household members ⁹ | 17 | 7 | 9 | 17 | 18 |
| No bath in apartment | 9 | 3 | 1 | 17 | 10 |
| No occupational training diploma ¹⁰ | 30 | 24 | 26 | 10 | 8 |
| Single and with no close friends | 5 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 4 |
| Permanently ill or handicapped ¹¹ | 15 | 13 | (5) | 13 | (5) |
| Subjective problem situations | | | | | |
| Often lonesome | 18 | 14 | 13 | 22 | 16 |
| Repeatedly anxieties and sorrows | 19 | 19 | 17 | 28 | 26 |
| Normally unhappy or depressed | 14 | 10 | 10 | 17 | 16 |

⁸Proportion of persons whose income is in the lowest decile of all household incomes, weighted according to age of individual household members

⁹1978 including kitchen, later on without kitchen. 1978 data are reduced by one room if at least three rooms reported.

¹⁰Proportion of persons without occupational training diploma compared to population of age 18-70: 1978: 23.1% ; 1984: 22.8% ; 1988: 18.9% ; 1990-Ost: 5.6% ; 1993-West: 15.9% ; 1993-Ost: 5.8%

¹¹Up to 1990 question: "Do you have a permanent illness or handicap which caused you to change your job or your complete way of life?" 1993 the question was: "Are you permanently handicapped or needing care?"

Table 4 : Problem Situations and their Frequencies (cont'd)

| Person is/has | West Germany | | | East Germany | |
|---|--------------|------|------|--------------|------|
| | 1978 | 1988 | 1993 | 1990 | 1993 |
| All problem situations | | | | | |
| None | 33 | 42 | 52 | 33 | 41 |
| 1 | 33 | 32 | 27 | 29 | 30 |
| 2 | 17 | 14 | 12 | 19 | 15 |
| 3 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 9 | 10 |
| 4 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| 5 and more | 4 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| Average | 1.32 | 1.05 | 0.83 | 1.39 | 1.08 |
| Objective problem situations¹² | | | | | |
| None | 42 | 52 | 66 | 48 | 63 |
| 1 | 36 | 34 | 26 | 36 | 25 |
| 2 | 16 | 10 | 7 | 10 | 9 |
| 3 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| 4 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 1 |
| 5 and more | - | - | - | - | - |
| Average | 0.88 | 0.66 | 0.43 | 0.73 | 0.50 |
| Subjective problem situations¹³ | | | | | |
| None | 72 | 74 | 72 | 60 | 63 |
| 1 | 17 | 19 | 19 | 21 | 21 |
| 2 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 12 | 11 |
| 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 7 | 5 |
| 4 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 5 and more | - | - | - | - | - |
| Average | 0.41 | 0.35 | 0.40 | 0.66 | 0.58 |

¹²All six objective problem situations.

¹³All three subjective problem situations

Tab. 5: Germans and Foreigners in the Labor Force According to Occupational Status

| | Foreigners | | Germans ¹ | | Foreigners | | Germans ¹ | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|------|----------------------|------|------------|------|----------------------|------|
| | 1984 | 1988 | 1984 | 1988 | 1989 | 1992 | 1989 | 1992 |
| Occupational Status | in % | | | | | | | |
| <i>Total</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Unskilled Workers | 25 | 24 | 4 | 4 | 22 | 17 | 4 | 4 |
| Semi-skilled Workers | 45 | 37 | 12 | 11 | 43 | 40 | 12 | 11 |
| Skilled Workers/Foremen | 20 | 27 | 18 | 18 | 25 | 26 | 18 | 21 |
| Lower White Collar | 4 | 3 | 9 | 10 | 3 | 3 | 9 | 5 |
| Middle/Higher White Collar | 3 | 6 | 33 | 35 | 4 | 6 | 37 | 37 |
| Self-Employed | 4 | 4 | 12 | 12 | 3 | 7 | 10 | 12 |
| <i>Second Generation²</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Unskilled Workers | 25 | 14 | 8 | 3 | 26 | 12 | 5 | 2 |
| Semi-skilled Workers | 25 | 31 | 12 | 14 | 36 | 39 | 9 | 10 |
| Skilled Workers/Foremen | 30 | 34 | 22 | 25 | 23 | 29 | 31 | 30 |
| Lower White Collar | 15 | 11 | 17 | 11 | 12 | 5 | 15 | 4 |
| Middle/Higher White Collar | 4 | 7 | 29 | 35 | 3 | 13 | 33 | 44 |
| Self-Employed | 3 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 4 |
| <i>Females</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Unskilled Worker | 34 | 36 | 6 | 7 | 32 | 29 | 7 | 7 |
| Semi-skilled Workers | 47 | 40 | 12 | 13 | 42 | 37 | 12 | 11 |
| Skilled Workers/Foremen | 3 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 9 | 5 | 6 |
| Lower White Collar | 9 | 8 | 21 | 20 | 7 | 6 | 18 | 10 |
| Middle/Higher White Collar | 3 | 8 | 39 | 39 | 7 | 14 | 43 | 51 |
| Self-Employed | 4 | 3 | 13 | 11 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 10 |

¹ Difference to 100% is due to civil servants not included

² For Germans second generation is defined as the 16-25 age group.

Tab. 5: Germans and Foreigners in the Labor Force According to Occupational Status (cont'd)

| | Foreigners | | Germans ¹ | | Foreigners | | Germans | |
|----------------------------|------------|------|----------------------|------|------------|------|---------|------|
| | 1984 | 1988 | 1984 | 1988 | 1989 | 1992 | 1989 | 1992 |
| Occupational Status | in % | | | | | | | |
| <i>Turks</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Unskilled Workers | 37 | 32 | | | 30 | 21 | | |
| Semi-skilled Workers | 42 | 39 | | | 41 | 42 | | |
| Skilled Workers/Foremen | 13 | 22 | | | 23 | 22 | | |
| Lower White Collar | 4 | 2 | | | 2 | 3 | | |
| Middle/Higher White Collar | 2 | 4 | | | 4 | 5 | | |
| Self-Employed | 2 | 2 | | | 1 | 8 | | |

Data base: Socio-Economic Panel, longitudinal samples for 1984-1988 and 1989-1992.

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It is the purpose of my brief contribution to present some practical examples of ongoing social reporting on important problems of exclusion and integration in German society. I am referring to the regular publication Data Report - Figures and Facts on the German Federal Republic¹. This publication appears biennially, and since 1987 consists of two parts. Part one is a compendium of the Federal Statistical Office, part two is written by social scientists. It contains sociological analyses based on survey data which go beyond the scope of German official statistics (which, e.g., never investigates into subjective questions). There are two major data sources used in the 1994 edition: the Socio-Economic Panel Study and the Welfare Surveys 1988 and 1993 for West Germany and 1990 and 1993 for East Germany². I am selecting four examples which refer to the biggest exclusion threats and integration problems of today's Germany, namely the integration of East Germany and West Germany and, secondly, the integration of the foreign population which was 6.7 million in 1993. My general theoretical perspective is one of modernization theory, in which upgrading, differentiation, value generalization and integration are major developmental tasks but at the same time also developmental trends. In this perspective, modern societies have considerable integrative capacities. This is not to deny the many problems of exclusion, inequality, prevention of access, marginalization. It is to say, however, that in modern societies there are mechanisms to mobilize against exclusion and for integration.

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II

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- Given also slight improvements in West Germany (measured between 1988 and 1993), the distance between West and East has not increased but the gap is narrowing only slowly.
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III

My next two examples refer to a collection of direct indicators of social integration⁴, again comparing East Germany and West Germany (cf. Table 3) and to an analysis of problem situations and their cumulation. Our indicators of social integration are the perception of contact possibilities, availability, number, and frequency of meetings with friends, membership in churches and in private organizations, proportion of singles, proportion of single households, couples, and other households. There is one surprising observation concerning East vs. West - less contacts, friends, and meetings with friends in East Germany - because there are, *prima facie*, no convincing reasons why a lower standard of living, lower income etc. should lead to a lower level of personal contacts. Instead, we should expect personal resources as a substitute. I guess, one explanation is given by the membership ratios which show a much lower membership in religious groups and also a significantly lower membership ratio in private organizations in East Germany. On the other hand, the proportion of single households in West Germany is significantly higher than in East Germany, and those singles certainly substitute kinship relations by friendship relations.

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IV

My last example concerns the question of exclusion and integration of the largest group which is repeatedly listed as a problem group, namely foreigners. The analyses cover occupational status (cf. Table 5), economic sector, wages, and, finally, language competence, social contacts with Germans, plans to stay in Germany, and identification with Germans⁷. They compare foreigners and Germans over time and give special attention to women and to the largest group, the Turks. The most innovative idea is, however, to single out the second generation in order to measure the relative progress of foreigners who went to school in Germany and speak the language, in comparison with their parents and with their German peers. For a summary of our results I quote directly from the "Datenreport": "Foreigners are still in marginal occupational and social positions in the Federal Republic of Germany. For the first generation, occupational position and economic sector have not changed very much since its immigration in the 1960s und 1970s. Unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in industry are still dominating. In contrast, the situation of the second generation has significantly improved; part of it could make it into middle and higher white collar positions. However, the second generation of foreigners, too, is more often to be found in low-skilled positions than the respective German age-group. Turks were in 1984 especially underprivileged compared to other nationalities - they have caught up and especially have moved into skilled blue collar positions. As to foreign women, we observe an increase of jobs in the service sector and a decrease of jobs in the industry sector." The analysis ends with the observation that in spite of some upward mobility, narrowing the wage gap, improvement in language competence, and rising numbers of people planning to stay in Germany, there are also indications of segregation (e.g., a majority has no German friends) and a relatively low ratio of foreigners who identify themselves with Germany (24% of the second generation). Thus, many foreigners still are in a marginal position and German society still has not passed this test of its integrative capacities.

NOTES

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Table 1: Objective Living Conditions

⁷Cf. Datenreport 1994, pp. 589-597 (W. Seifert). The quotation is from p. 597.

| Objective Living Conditions | West Germany | | East Germany | |
|---|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|
| | 1988 | 1993 | 1990 | 1993 |
| <u>Income</u> | | | | |
| Gross salary | DM 3.110 | 3.680 | 1.360 | 2.360 |
| Net household income per capita | DM 1.220 | 1.570 | 730 | 1.080 |
| Blue collar | DM 1.140 | 1.430 | 750 | 1.020 |
| White collar | DM 1.440 | 1.920 | 840 | 1.270 |
| Self-employed | DM 1.580 | 2.380 | 720 | 1.010 |
| Retired | DM 1.340 | 1.560 | 650 | 1.130 |
| Unemployed | DM 970 | 1.040 | 550 | 830 |
| <u>Housing conditions</u> | | | | |
| Rooms per capita | ø 1.66 | 1.62 | 1.35 | 1.34 |
| Less than 1 room per capita | % 7 | 9 | 17 | 18 |
| Bath + WC + central heating | % 80 | 88 | 49 | 53 |
| Rate of home owners | % 48 | 47 | 21 | 29 |
| <u>Environmental pollution (very, rather strong)</u> | | | | |
| Noise | % 28 | 23 | 36 | 30 |
| Air pollution | % 24 | 21 | 59 | 28 |
| Destruction of landscape | % 18 | 13 | 40 | 18 |
| Bad water quality | % 13 | 13 | 33 | 21 |

Table 2 : Subjective Well-Being

| Subjective Well-Being | West Germany | East Germany |
|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|
|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|

| | 1988 | 1993 | 1990 | 1993 |
|--|------|---------------------------|------|------|
| | in % | | | |
| Happiness | | | | |
| Very happy | 23 | 23 | 11 | 12 |
| Rather happy | 71 | 70 | 73 | 75 |
| Rather unhappy | 5 | 5 | 14 | 12 |
| Very unhappy | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Symptoms of anxiety | | | | |
| Often exhausted | 44 | 39 | 52 | 43 |
| Often anxiety and sorrows | 19 | 17 | 29 | 26 |
| Permanently nervous & agitated | 12 | 10 | 17 | 14 |
| Often depressed | 11 | 10 | 16 | 16 |
| Symptoms of anomia | | | | |
| Loneliness | 14 | 13 | 21 | 16 |
| Unable to orient oneself | 11 | 13 | 38 | 32 |
| Don't like work anymore | 14 | 11 | 20 | 17 |
| Cannot change my situation | - | 74 | 74 | 86 |
| | | Average Scale 0-10 | | |
| Satisfactions | | | | |
| Satisfaction with life | 7.9 | 7.9 | 6.5 | 6.9 |
| Satisfaction with family | 8.7 | 8.5 | 8.3 | 8.2 |
| Satisfaction with health | 7.3 | 7.3 | 6.9 | 7.3 |
| Satisfaction with housing | 8.2 | 8.2 | 6.5 | 6.9 |
| Satisfaction with standard of living | 7.5 | 7.5 | 6.0 | 6.3 |
| Satisfaction with public safety | 5.8 | 5.0 | 3.4 | 3.6 |
| Satisfaction with environmental protection | 4.5 | 4.8 | 2.2 | 4.8 |

Table 3 : Indicators of Social Integration

| Indicators of Social Integration | West Germany | | East Germany | |
|----------------------------------|--------------|------|--------------|------|
| | 1988 | 1993 | 1990 | 1993 |
| | in % | | | |

| Perception of own contact potential | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Good possibilities | 75 | 79 | 65 | 68 |
| Bad/No possibilities | 23 | 20 | 33 | 31 |
| Don't know | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Having close friends outside of family | 81 | 87 | 75 | 81 |
| Average number of friends : 1 | 4.6 | 4.9 | 4.3 | 4.4 |
| Frequency of meetings | | | | |
| Nearly daily | 18 | 14 | 10 | 12 |
| At least once a week | 48 | 51 | 32 | 40 |
| At least once a month | 25 | 27 | 37 | 35 |
| Less frequent, never | 9 | 8 | 20 | 13 |
| Proportion of member in religious communities | 92 | 87 | 33 | 30 |
| Proportion of members in private associations | 58 | 56 | 43 | 47 |
| Proportion of singles | 15 | 17 | 24 | 13 |
| Type of household | | | | |
| One person | 24 | 32 | 24 | 25 |
| Married, couple | 64 | 57 | 68 | 64 |
| Other households | 12 | 11 | 8 | 11 |

Data base : Wohlfahrtssurvey 1988, 1990-Ost, 1993

Table 4 : Problem Situations and their Frequencies

| Person is/has | West Germany | | | East Germany | |
|---|--------------|------|------|--------------|------|
| | 1978 | 1988 | 1993 | 1990 | 1993 |
| Objective problem situations | % | | | | |
| Lowest income decile ⁸ | 1 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Less than one room (without kitchen) per household members ⁹ | 17 | 7 | 9 | 17 | 18 |
| No bath in apartment | 9 | 3 | 1 | 17 | 10 |
| No occupational training diploma ¹⁰ | 30 | 24 | 26 | 10 | 8 |
| Single and with no close friends | 5 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 4 |
| Permanently ill or handicapped ¹¹ | 15 | 13 | (5) | 13 | (5) |
| Subjective problem situations | | | | | |
| Often lonesome | 18 | 14 | 13 | 22 | 16 |
| Repeatedly anxieties and sorrows | 19 | 19 | 17 | 28 | 26 |
| Normally unhappy or depressed | 14 | 10 | 10 | 17 | 16 |

⁸Proportion of persons whose income is in the lowest decile of all household incomes, weighted according to age of individual household members

⁹1978 including kitchen, later on without kitchen. 1978 data are reduced by one room if at least three rooms reported.

¹⁰Proportion of persons without occupational training diploma compared to population of age 18-70: 1978: 23.1% ; 1984: 22.8% ; 1988: 18.9% ; 1990-Ost: 5.6% ; 1993-West: 15.9% ; 1993-Ost: 5.8%

¹¹Up to 1990 question: "Do you have a permanent illness or handicap which caused you to change your job or your complete way of life?" 1993 the question was: "Are you permanently handicapped or needing care?"

Table 4 : Problem Situations and their Frequencies (cont'd)

| Person is/has | West Germany | | | East Germany | |
|---|--------------|------|------|--------------|------|
| | 1978 | 1988 | 1993 | 1990 | 1993 |
| All problem situations | | | | | |
| None | 33 | 42 | 52 | 33 | 41 |
| 1 | 33 | 32 | 27 | 29 | 30 |
| 2 | 17 | 14 | 12 | 19 | 15 |
| 3 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 9 | 10 |
| 4 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| 5 and more | 4 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| Average | 1.32 | 1.05 | 0.83 | 1.39 | 1.08 |
| Objective problem situations¹² | | | | | |
| None | 42 | 52 | 66 | 48 | 63 |
| 1 | 36 | 34 | 26 | 36 | 25 |
| 2 | 16 | 10 | 7 | 10 | 9 |
| 3 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| 4 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 1 |
| 5 and more | - | - | - | - | - |
| Average | 0.88 | 0.66 | 0.43 | 0.73 | 0.50 |
| Subjective problem situations¹³ | | | | | |
| None | 72 | 74 | 72 | 60 | 63 |
| 1 | 17 | 19 | 19 | 21 | 21 |
| 2 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 12 | 11 |
| 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 7 | 5 |
| 4 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 5 and more | - | - | - | - | - |
| Average | 0.41 | 0.35 | 0.40 | 0.66 | 0.58 |

Tab. 5: Germans and Foreigners in the Labor Force According to Occupational Status

¹²All six objective problem situations.

¹³All three subjective problem situations

| | Foreigners | | Germans ¹ | | Foreigners | | Germans ¹ | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|------|----------------------|------|------------|------|----------------------|------|
| | 1984 | 1988 | 1984 | 1988 | 1989 | 1992 | 1989 | 1992 |
| Occupational Status | in % | | | | | | | |
| <i>Total</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Unskilled Workers | 25 | 24 | 4 | 4 | 22 | 17 | 4 | 4 |
| Semi-skilled Workers | 45 | 37 | 12 | 11 | 43 | 40 | 12 | 11 |
| Skilled Workers/Foremen | 20 | 27 | 18 | 18 | 25 | 26 | 18 | 21 |
| Lower White Collar | 4 | 3 | 9 | 10 | 3 | 3 | 9 | 5 |
| Middle/Higher White Collar | 3 | 6 | 33 | 35 | 4 | 6 | 37 | 37 |
| Self-Employed | 4 | 4 | 12 | 12 | 3 | 7 | 10 | 12 |
| <i>Second Generation²</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Unskilled Workers | 25 | 14 | 8 | 3 | 26 | 12 | 5 | 2 |
| Semi-skilled Workers | 25 | 31 | 12 | 14 | 36 | 39 | 9 | 10 |
| Skilled Workers/Foremen | 30 | 34 | 22 | 25 | 23 | 29 | 31 | 30 |
| Lower White Collar | 15 | 11 | 17 | 11 | 12 | 5 | 15 | 4 |
| Middle/Higher White Collar | 4 | 7 | 29 | 35 | 3 | 13 | 33 | 44 |
| Self-Employed | 3 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 4 |
| <i>Females</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Unskilled Worker | 34 | 36 | 6 | 7 | 32 | 29 | 7 | 7 |
| Semi-skilled Workers | 47 | 40 | 12 | 13 | 42 | 37 | 12 | 11 |
| Skilled Workers/Foremen | 3 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 9 | 5 | 6 |
| Lower White Collar | 9 | 8 | 21 | 20 | 7 | 6 | 18 | 10 |
| Middle/Higher White Collar | 3 | 8 | 39 | 39 | 7 | 14 | 43 | 51 |
| Self-Employed | 4 | 3 | 13 | 11 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 10 |

Tab. 5: Germans and Foreigners in the Labor Force According to Occupational Status (cont'd)

| | Foreigners | Germans ¹ | Foreigners | Germans |
|--|------------|----------------------|------------|---------|
|--|------------|----------------------|------------|---------|

¹ Difference to 100% is due to civil servants not included

² For Germans second generation is defined as the 16-25 age group.

| | 1984 | 1988 | 1984 | 1988 | 1989 | 1992 | 1989 | 1992 |
|----------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Occupational Status | in % | | | | | | | |
| <i>Turks</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Unskilled Workers | 37 | 32 | | | 30 | 21 | | |
| Semi-skilled Workers | 42 | 39 | | | 41 | 42 | | |
| Skilled Workers/Foremen | 13 | 22 | | | 23 | 22 | | |
| Lower White Collar | 4 | 2 | | | 2 | 3 | | |
| Middle/Higher White Collar | 2 | 4 | | | 4 | 5 | | |
| Self-Employed | 2 | 2 | | | 1 | 8 | | |

Data base: Socio-Economic Panel, longitudinal samples for 1984-1988 and 1989-1992.

¹ Difference to 100% is due to civil servants not included.

RESEARCH ON SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION: FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

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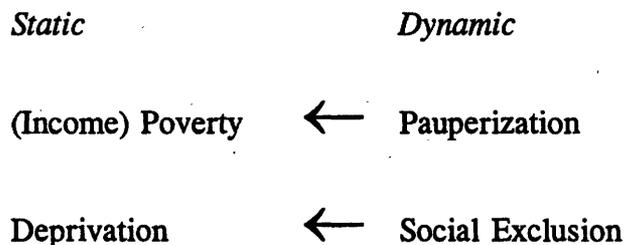
Introduction

This paper attempts to address the question of what direction should future research on social integration and social exclusion should take. While focusing mainly on improving indicators of social exclusion, it argues that these must be firmly grounded in an appropriate theory, and must be utilised in appropriate explanatory models. The paper begins with a brief review of some recent developments in indicators of social exclusion, emphasising the importance of utilising both "indirect" income-based measures and "direct deprivation indicators. It goes on to argue that these indicators need to be broadened in both the temporal and spatial dimensions. Social exclusion is better viewed as a process rather than a state - hence the need for dynamic data and analysis. Reasons are given for distinguishing at least three spatial levels: the individual or household level; the "local area" (however defined) and the national level. The importance of linking indicators of social exclusion with other major themes in modern social research is also underlined. The paper concludes with some suggestions for a number of concrete research programmes.

The Current Position of Indicators of Social Exclusion

Social Exclusion and Poverty

"Social exclusion" is a term of rather recent origin, coined at least in part because of the reluctance of policy makers to use the older term "poverty". (See Bruto da Costa (??)). Yet it is a useful term because it connotes a less myopic concentration on the dimension of money income and because it emphasises a process rather than a state. Berghman (1994) usefully distinguishes 4 concepts, two static and two dynamic:



While some differences of scope exist, there is, as he points out, substantial overlap between the notions of poverty and deprivation and between the processes of pauperization and of social exclusion. In what follows, therefore, I will use these terms loosely and to some

extent interchangeably.

Current Measures of Social Exclusion

Deprivation may be measured indirectly (via income based indicators) or indirectly (via deprivation or non-monetary indicators). (See Ringen (1987)). Whelan (1993) mentions over 40 studies using such indicators and documents the huge variety of measures that have been used and combined in various ways. Callan et al. (1993) and Nolan and Whelan (1995) argue strongly that the direct and indirect approaches must be combined in order to give fruitful results.

The combination of these two approaches leads to some apparent inconsistencies i.e. households or individuals who are on low incomes but not deprived or conversely are on high incomes but are experiencing deprivation. See Fig A which displays data from Dutch and Irish studies. Most households are seen to be disadvantaged or advantaged on both criteria i.e. to be consistently poor or consistently non-poor. However, there are appreciable numbers who are deprived but appear to have reasonable incomes, or to be on low (current) incomes but not deprived. Nolan and Whelan (1995) show that these inconsistencies may be largely resolved by taking account of several factors, principally the *dynamics* of income and resource accumulation and the levels of accumulated *resources* (e.g. assets; social networks; coping skills).

Income vs. deprivation measures

| | | <i>Income</i> | |
|--------------------|--|--|--|
| | | IV: NON-POOR (High Inc. / Low Depriv.) IRL: 76.6 % NL: 83.7 % | I: (High Inc. / High Depriv.) IRL: 4.9 % NL: 6.9 % |
| <i>Deprivation</i> | | | |
| | | III: (Low Inc. / Low Depriv.) IRL: 8.7 % NL: 6.6 % | II: POOR (Low Inc. / High Depriv.) IRL: 9.8 % NL: 2.8 % |

Fig. A Households Classified by Two Dimensions of Poverty: Income and Deprivation.

Current applications of income and deprivation indicators are generally speaking, limited to *static, national level* studies of a generally *descriptive* rather than analytic nature (see Deleeck et al. (1991) for an exception). Room (1994) also points to an important feature

of current studies of social exclusion when he describes them as "ghettoised" i.e. *lacking substantial linkages* with mainstream research in sociology, economics and the other social sciences.

Agenda for the Future

These limitations seem to me to imply an agenda for future research on poverty and social exclusion embodying the following features.

An International Dimension

First, new work should emphasise *international and inter-regional comparisons*. These are clearly of importance from the point of view of its relevance to EU policy. Equally important, they will enhance the scientific and analytic quality of our work. Samples will be extended, leading to better generalisations. Theories will be tested in a variety of national and regional contexts, thus fulfilling a central role of science - to distinguish the crucial, causative variables from those which are only incidental. This distinction is much more difficult to make if one is working with data from only one culture or society. From the practical point of view of policy evaluation, such studies have a vital role to play since they will allow us to carry out comparative studies of the effectiveness of different policies in the social and economic fields.

Dynamics

An increased emphasis on dynamic data will allow us to focus on processes rather than states. Our models will then incorporate a crucial feature of social reality - the fact that it occurs within a specific time frame with a specific temporal ordering. This will improve our understanding of patterns of social causation. From the point of view of policy, well estimated models based on a dynamic perspective will allow us to make suggestions as to where policy intervention will be most effective and what obstacles it is likely to encounter in its implementation.

Linkage with Other Major Themes in Social Research

Clearly, the objective of any scientific investigation is to offer the most comprehensive explanation possible for the phenomena it studies. No further justification is really needed from a policy analysis point of view, help to elucidate the effects on poverty and social exclusion of policies pursued in different spheres such as macro-economics, health or social security. Measurement of the intended and unintended effects of such policies would be most useful to policy-makers.

Specific Suggestions

These, then, are the aspects towards which future research should, in view, be directed. Let me now turn to attempting to specify a set of concrete research themes which could form an agenda for research.

1. **International Study of Social Exclusion combining Income and Deprivation based measures:** The European Community Household Panel database provides,

even in its first wave, a unique opportunity to study poverty and social exclusion combining information on income and on experienced deprivation. We have argued elsewhere (Whelan and Whelan (1994)) against the "shotgun" approach to measurement which involves using a conceptually heterogeneous mixture of items and hoping that a good measure of social exclusion will emerge via multivariate analysis or otherwise. We advocate instead an approach which attempts to separate causes, descriptions and consequences of social exclusion. The implementation of such an ambitious project must be seen as a series of linked tasks, including:

1. Definition and construction of appropriate indicator variables to measure the nature and severity of social exclusion.
2. Specification of appropriate causal models, well grounded in theory, and covering the main hypothesised causal processes.
3. Estimation of the models and analysis of their implications. It would probably be necessary to split this into several sub-projects looking various causal factors, types of exclusion and different social groups.

It seems unlikely that EUROSTAT alone will have sufficient resources to fund all of the desirable work in this area.

2. **Adopting a Dynamic Perspective:** There are two elements to this suggestion. The first and most obvious is that the sufficient resources be available to maintain and analyze the European Community Household Panel. Even though true dynamic data will not be available for some years yet, it is important to be developing appropriate models (perhaps on the existing panels such as those in Germany, the UK and Luxembourg) and planning analysis.

More immediately, it would be possible to make a good deal of progress in elaborating a dynamic perspective using existing information. The use of retrospective questions and job histories is one fruitful way of doing this. Three useful examples of this kind are Buck et al. (1994) and Nolan et al (1994). Extensions of this work could be designed that extend this approach on an internationally harmonised basis.

3. **The Relationship of Social Exclusion to Labour Market Developments:** Paugam (1991) and Whelan (1996) point to the crucial role that labour market position and developments on the labour market play in the process of social exclusion. This role is particularly strong in the case of long-term unemployment. Table 1, taken from Callan and Nolan (1994), illustrates the very strong relationship between labour market marginalisation and poverty. It would be very worthwhile to study this type of relationship in greater depth and across a number of countries. Is the relationship as strong everywhere? If not, what factors enhance or attenuate it? (Variations in labour supply or demand? social mobility processes? social security provisions? social norms and attitudes?). What policy initiatives does this analysis suggest?

Table 1: *Risks of Poverty classified by Employment Experience for Persons in the Labour Force*

| Employment Experience | Below the 60% Income Poverty Line | Below the 60% Income Poverty Line and Suffering Basic Deprivation | Percentage of Labour Force in this Category |
|--|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| Now at work and never unemployed | 7,5 | 3,4 | 74,8 |
| Now at work, some experience of Unemployment | 14,9 | 8,0 | 8,0 |
| Now unemployment for less than 27 weeks | 44,3 | 22,6 | 2,7 |
| Now unemployed for 27-51 weeks | 44,6 | 32,9 | 3,0 |
| Unemployed for all of previous year | 65,4 | 46,6 | 11,5 |
| Unemployed All Year and at least 2 years of unemployment during career | 70,9 | 52,6 | 4,9 |

Source: Callan and Nolan (1994) *Poverty and Policy in Ireland* Gill and Macmillan Dublin

4. **The Transition to Work:** A critical nexus in the process of insertion into the labour market is the transition from school to working life. For some, this is relatively smooth and painless; for others, it represents their recruitment into a life-

style characterised by unemployment, or very precarious employment, and consequent deprivation. What are the factors that determine which individuals fall into which category? How effective are the policies (educational, social, training) in different countries at coping with these problems. A number of countries have research programmes and surveys aimed at school leavers. A harmonised research project based on these data would help to answer some of these questions.

5. **Linking Social Exclusion with Job Creation/Destruction:** The economist Alfred Marshall described supply and demand as two blades of a scissors, both necessary to determine the market outcome and both requiring study. I fear that in studying the labour market in its relationship with social exclusion we err on the side of studying only one blade. We collect via censuses, administrative data and surveys extensive data on the unemployed - their numbers, characteristics and behaviour. Yet, we know relatively little numerical information on the factors determining labour demand - how are jobs created and eliminated; what forces both at the macro and micro level are determining the number and nature of the jobs on offer; how can policy be modified to improve the match between labour supply and labour demand. These issues, it may be argued, are the province of economists studying macro-economics and industrial development. However, if we are to understand how the scissors of supply and demand functions and so helps to determine the life chances of those we term "socially excluded", we need to link our research on the poor and the unemployed with work on labour demand and its future evolution.

It is quite a challenge to build links between two such conventionally disparate areas. Three steps could be suggested:

- (a) A preliminary study seeking to identify datasets and researchers with proven records in studying one or other "blade of the scissors", i.e. those studying the supply of labour (especially unskilled labour) and those researching labour demand. The latter would comprise those studying the process by which new firms are set up or existing ones expanded, the causes of job eliminations, redundancies etc.
- (b) Bring these together in a seminar to help define a collaborative research project.
- (c) Define and conduct the project.

6. **The Spatial Aspects of Social Exclusion:** There is increasing emphasis in both research and policy on the spatial aspects of social exclusion. At both national and EU level, much policy is now conducted on an "area-based" approach. It is, therefore, very important for research to describe and analyze the spatial aspects of poverty and social exclusion. There are a number of important research questions here:

- (a) What proportion of the population can be described as "socially excluded" at local, regional and national level? How does this vary in causes nature or effects?

- (b) Are there local "vicious circle" effects whereby residence in a particular area cumulatively exacerbates one's probability of being socially excluded ?
- (c) How can the risk and incidence of poverty in different areas be assessed ? Can census or other comprehensive administrative data be linked to the insights gained from survey analysis to provide a detailed mapping of the geography of social exclusion ? Can such linkages be extended to geographical information systems.

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MEASURES OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION - THE CONFIDENCE OF CONSUMERS OF SOCIAL INDICATORS

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Abstract

Indicators on social exclusion and social integration are increasingly in use by consumers in the field of social policy and programme operations and by social service administrators. Such consumers contribute to the level of confidence which is associated with existing and experimental indicators. The theoretical underpinning of indicators is frequently unknown to the consumers. The use of exclusion-integration indicators by social development managers in the field, is examined in reports of territorial operations in the European anti-exclusion programme (1989-1994). An exploratory analysis compares their use in Spain, Italy and Greece.

The construction of new measures and indicators of social exclusion and social integration raises two older questions. The first question concerns the equality or equity goals one aims to achieve and measure by the use of indicators. The second question concerns the standards of living and well-being to be fixed and embodied in the indicator (Carr-Hill, 1981). These two questions, which carry both theoretical and political implications, are frequently hidden inside the more technical aspects of discussions on social indicators, such as those concerned with exclusion and social integration (Mac Carthaigh, 1994). An absence of understanding that these issues set the framework for the construction of indicators can give rise to unreasonable expectations by consumers of what can be achieved in the formulation and use of indicators.

Indicators on social exclusion and integration have expanded from strictly quantitative to non-monetary and qualitative indicators. In making a choice of indicators, it has been argued that two criteria should prevail (Williams, Whelan, 1994). These are the pertinence of the indicators to an analysis of poverty, more especially poverty dynamics, and the availability of appropriate data sets. These two criteria might be qualified by a third factor, namely the views of consumers. A particular difficulty arises in the relationship between the definitions of poverty, exclusion or integration adopted and the indicators constructed and selected for their respective measurement.

The population of consumers of social exclusion and social integration indicators has altered radically since the nineteen eighties. Gone is the period when a rather narrow strata of public

officials in centralised departments and some related academics pursued a solitary interest in the broad field of social indicators. Today new factors are propelling an additional strata of consumers onto the horizon.

Economic policies stressing a reduction in public expenditure and lower taxation have devolved a part of the delivery of social welfare and redistribution policies to the non-state sector (Galbraith, 1992). The mixed economy of private and public welfare (Mayo, 1994) with its accompanying privatisation and dismantling of regulatory mechanisms and standards, has generated demands for efficiency and effectiveness criteria. The growth in unemployment and the emergence of precarious zones between 'integrated' and 'excluded' (Fondation, 1995) may be a factor in the welfarisation of labour markets and the proliferation of social and economic integration programmes.

It is in these latter conditions that we can identify the appearance of new consumers of exclusion and integration indicators. They are front-line workers in the socio-economic field, social workers, agents of change and local development, training designers and advisors, managers of rural development initiatives and staff in the not-for-profit sector. The new consumers are increasingly to be found at different levels of regional and local government.

An examination of the use of exclusion and integration indicators among new consumers could provide an indication of the levels of confidence in indicators at the following points:

- * existing quantitative and qualitative measures, and their relative preferences.
- * the pertinence of indicators at a non-national level
- * the sufficiency and adequacy of indicators available or under research to encompass all the phenomena to be addressed.

It is worth noting that these are some of the same questions which formed part of the new formulation and revision of indicators for 158 Governments by the United Nations following the end of the U.N. Decade of Women in 1986. This was partially prompted by a crisis of confidence in existing data on women's status in society. Doubts had been expressed as to the relationship between the absence of qualitative indicators, the value of existing indicators and new theoretical developments in the understanding of women's economic activity.

The UN's third report on the subject (United Nations, 1988) proposed extremely significant revisions in the conceptualisation of women's economic activities. The revised indicators were designed to encompass intermittent and interrupted economic activities, and activity in the informal economy, frequent among women. As a consequence of the work on reconceptualising indicators on women's status and economic activity, the UN report publishing statistics on women for the end of the decade (United Nations, 1989) differs entirely from the approach adopted for the next decade (United Nations, 1991). The latter attempts to define the specific equality objective to be achieved and to justify the choice of indicator. In this regard, the report reflects an awareness that the indicators and data it is presenting will be acted on, and consumed by, a significantly larger public than hitherto and will be used in social policy formulation. New indicators have been constructed for women's participation in decision making and for the reporting of different forms of violence against women.

In the course of the European programme to combat exclusion and promote the integration

of the most disadvantaged (1989-1994) large territorial operations throughout the Member States were established to experiment with new strategies and social actions.

The project-operations were encouraged by the European Commission to engage in intensive monitoring of their own activities, to compare their actions on a transnational basis and to publish reports on the outcomes. A reading of a selection of these reports shows that these anti-exclusion operations, on the advice of experts, were involved in the use of and development of indicators to measure integration and data-indicators on poverty/exclusion to measure levels of disadvantage. A closer reading of the reports gives an indication of their level of confidence and the weight attached to a range of different classes of indicators.

Observations on this process can be extracted from a selection of these reports from forty two operations. Those selected for comment are from Sicily (Italy) Catalunya (Spain) Thessaloniki (Greece). The complexity of the social and economic phenomena under study was extremely heterogenous, fluid, and complex for operations research staff and managers. In four out of five operations, large segments of the populations of the territorial zones in question did not speak any of the officially recognised languages of the European Union as their mother tongue or language of choice.

A number of researchers have undertaken work on definitions of poverty, exclusion and integration (Bruta Da Costa, 1994a). In the case of social exclusion, this concept implies a variety of forms and levels, not all of which are necessarily amenable to cross-national comparison. Labour market exclusion is a type where cross-national comparisons may be feasible, notwithstanding differences in culture and welfare state regimes.

The Case of Onyar Est

The project-operation of Onyar Est in the area of Girona in Catalonia typifies the phenomena of poverty in a region which has a relatively high GDP per capita compared with other European regions (Ajuntament, 1994). The project-operation determined that economic integration into employment was one of the central methods for combating social exclusion. The project invested resources in designing a mass-scale socio-economic integration process. The process of integration was carefully decomposed into phases.

Attempts were made to establish measures of 'success' at economic reinsertion for persons outside the regular labour market, at different points in the reinsertion process and to develop an insertion 'rate' which could be comparative at European level. The town of Roubaix, in France was selected as a comparator.

The standard of employment in terms of output measures to be achieved was defined as the:

- the taking up of a job
- the job would be in regular contractual employment
- the job would be in the industrial/services sector

Onyar Est followed a group of 2,100 unemployed and desegregated their process of integration as follows:

%

- 100 °unemployed long and short-term
- 100 °called and attended for labour market interview
- 40 °were provided with and attended advice sessions
- 14 °agreed to aptitude testing
- 7 °were introduced to and met with industrial employers
- 7 °were selected by companies for in-company training
- 7 °underwent training and were offered employment

Each point of the process could be crossed with the variable of unemployment duration. Onyar Est carried out parallel studies on the nature of employment obtained. The average 'integrated person' obtained fixed duration contracts of employment of about seven months. Thanks to its comparative work, Onyar Est could observe that a 7% integration rate was equivalent to that obtained in Roubaix, France and higher than that for an Irish industrial operation of an analogous type.

Onyar Est undertook similar work of phased decomposition in order to construct an indicator of social integration. The approach can be broadly categorised as an indicator based on a resource-input approach using the strength of social ties. Their implied distinction between exclusion and integration has similarities to the use of the concepts of labour market insiders and outsiders (Bjorn, Pedersen, 1993).

The Case of Thessaloniki

A quite different approach to indicators was adopted in a Greek operation in the metropolitan area of Thessaloniki (Tsiakalos, 1994). The operation opted, among other actions, to determine the level of exclusion of a large, mixed ethnic population in a set of local authority districts to the West of the city. The wider objective was to reduce disadvantage by achieving parity of outcome in a range of social and economic integration fields. The absence of available data sets posed a difficulty. The phenomena demanded new indicators. The operation determined to measure social exclusion by the absence of consumption of definable resources and by absence of use of public services.

Among the several researches, studies, and data collections, three measures, widely used in the developing world, were employed: levels of literacy, levels of immunisation among children, and proportions of disabled persons in households. (Income levels were also used). The standard expected by the Operation, for the first two was 100% literacy and 100% immunisation, levels of disability compared to the population of the entire metropolitan region.

This apparently simple operation proved fraught with difficulties. The new consumers of indicators for this operation included local authority staffs, elected representatives, social workers, public bodies, local associations. The use of such indicators and the expected negative results, could be perceived as a political failure to deliver public services.

Vaccination against notifiable diseases is a well established measure of health well-being

used by the WHO. Absence of vaccination and consequent exposure to disabling and life threatening diseases is a strong anti-poverty strategy. Health experts aim for 100% coverage under free public systems to prevent small pools of infection spreading in populations. The Thessaloniki Operation found that only 69% of Gypsy children had been vaccinated compared to 93% of the surrounding area populations.

To ascertain levels of literacy the Operation used three measures:

- unable to read and write
- basic reading and writing only
- enrolment at compulsory primary school
- regular attendance at primary school

On each of these counts, gypsy children were identified as having significant differences from the rest of the population. Just 68% were registered at school, of which only half attended regularly.

In the field of disability, an examination of public records, revealed no disabled children at all under the age of 15 years in the area of operations. This peculiar observation contradicted common sense. The Operation went on to identify higher than average rates of disability in households, among persons unknown and untouched by public services.

The project used non-monetary measurements which were well tested and validated in the general comparative field of social indicators. As proxy measures for exclusion, they offered to non-expert staffs and representatives an easy-to-understand system to examine the subject on a comparative basis. In its use of non-monetary indicators, the Thessaloniki Operation focused on the consumption of public benefits and services, available free to the consumer-citizen.

The Case of Sicily

In contrast to the examples from Spain and Greece, an Italian Operation in the Province of Palermo in Sicily opted to focus on a single indicator pertinent to the region: emigration (Rovelli, et al., 1994). While recognising that illiteracy, attitudes, demography and the absence of productive work were important characteristics of rural underdevelopment, the Operation considered that emigration had an extremely important negative effect on the capacity of the area of 34,000 people to develop itself.

In a detailed and ambitious research investigation, the Operation decomposed migration flows between 6 communes, by migratory inflows and outflows, country of origin of immigrants and destinations of out migrants. Data gaps existed. In addition, within this same area, resides a relatively closed community of Albanian origin which migrated to Sicily in the Middle Ages. Immigration into Sicily today originates not just from returning emigrants but also migrants from non-EU Member States, such as the Mediterranean rim. To remedy or interpret the data gaps, interviews were conducted with latter two groups.

Unlike the cases of Spain and Greece, the Sicilian Operation chose to focus their attentions on what they identified as a cause of poverty and exclusion, namely emigration. Recognising that emigration flows in the region are the outcome of absence of resources, the Operation was concerned to understand how this cause would impact on the future development of the a region. In decomposing the emigration indicator for part of Palermo, the research revealed its meaning for some exclusion processi in the area. Far from considering their work a local study, their research concludes that it considers itself to be a contribution not only to knowledge, but also a bridge towards eventual constructive work undertaken by the Project-Operation, involving the European Union and other institutional actors.

CONCLUSIONS

Work on the construction (Spain) usage (Greece) and development (Italy) of indicators pertinent to exclusion and poverty is being developed by new consumers of social indicators outside the traditional European research circuits and centres. The application of exclusion/indicators in areas of high volatility, restructuring, crisis, and often dilapidation is a challenge to the effectiveness of indicators. The reports reviewed reveal considerable heterogeneity as to the choice of type of indicators being developed at this local level-regional level. The complex social and economic structures, in a constant state of change, of mixture of cultures, has not been a deterrent to attempts to develop and use new measurements of change. Notwithstanding their local dimension, interest in the cases cited, in comparative indicators is high. Social managers, social directors and their associates, do, in some instances wish to collaborate in researching new social indicators. The collaboration of the new consumers in the field is an important dimension of the confidence which new indicators must attract.

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MONITORING LONG TERM CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN EUROPE

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Abstract

The proposed research programme on "Targeted Socio-economic research" asks several questions related to long term social and cultural change of European societies. In the comparative dimension models should seek to assess the variation of change between nations as well as capturing how the developments in Europe stand out against other regions of the world. The need to monitor indicators that measure variations in values, citizenship, confidence in the political systems and institutions at various levels, and the quality of life is obvious for processes that relate to social integration and exclusion, but might be important for policy research as well. In evaluating the impact of variations in science, technology developments, and education policies one also needs to observe how these developments are linked to the value systems in societies and how they impact on the quality of life of the populations. We argue in the paper that the Values Studies of the EVSSG, that have been expanded into the World Values Survey, contain important social and cultural indicators that are valuable to answer the above research questions. The first wave of this survey was done in 1981, the second in 1990, and the third wave, covering 40 countries, is planned for 1995-1996.

Introduction

It is our belief that the proposed programme on "Targeted Socio-economic research" would benefit from the inclusion of indicators that tap long term cultural and social change in Europe. Not only will information about the dynamics of such factors be useful to inform policy research and policy decisions in particular areas, but we will argue that such knowledge is crucial for an understanding of the process of European integration. Moreover, an understanding of the cultural dynamics of Europe needs to be assessed within a comparative framework that goes beyond current EU and EEA members. It is important to know how differences and similarities between European nations are developing over time, but it is equally significant to know where Europe is located when compared with other world

regions. To know what is specific for Europe one needs to have a frame of reference that measures the observed change in Europe against similar developments in other societies - particularly in advanced industrial nations.

It is obvious that to answer such questions one needs to establish a data collection programme that covers a large number of nations over an extended time period. For the comparative study of cultural change we are fortunate that the EVSSG Values studies - which have been expanded into the World values surveys - have collected a wealth of interesting material on indicators of values in the domains of work, family, religion, and politics. The first wave of data collection was in 1981, the second in 1990, and the third is scheduled for 1995-1996. Most of the countries of Western Europe were included in the study in 1981 and 1990 and are planned to be in the third round as well. Other crossnational survey based data collections exist, notably the Eurobarometer studies, the International Social Survey Programme, and the planned Comparative Study of Electoral Systems by ICORE. None of these studies match the Values studies in breadth of indicators and coverage of nations. Comparative survey research is an approach with potentials as well as pitfalls (Szalai and Petrella, 1977; Halsey, 1985). Scholars need to be aware of problems of comparing answers to standardized questions across countries using different languages and representing distinctive cultures. If one needs to monitor subjective states of the populations of a large number of countries sample surveys constitute about the only feasible research tool that is available.

In this paper we will first review briefly some examples of current survey research on cultural change. This review will include studies that put the focus on global processes of social change as well as research that seek to identify specific national cultures. We then identify areas of policy research that would benefit from using data from the Values studies. Finally, we give a short overview of the design and main themes of the third wave of the study.

General approaches

Early survey based research on culture tended to give a static picture of national cultures (Almond and Verba, 1963). Based on relatively few units and collecting data for only one point in time, this research had much in common with the case study approach. The more recent comparative survey research is dynamic and cover more units - thus lending itself to a stronger degree of making generalizations and the formulation of broader theories of societal change. Prominent among the transnational development models is the Inglehart theory of postmaterialism (Inglehart, 1971; 1977; 1990). In the core model he sees value priorities as formed by socialization experiences that are more or less unique for each cohort of citizens. The values that are formed by cohort specific socialization processes have a relatively high degree of stability over the life course. Cohorts growing up under conditions of economic scarcity and crisis will develop values that stress the need for material values and security, while cohorts that are socialized under economic affluence and peace will take such value priorities for granted and shift their value priorities to higher order values like concern for personal selfrealization and the environment. The value shifts that are driven primarily by the socioeconomic modernization processes are not in the Inglehart theory limited to particular societies or to particular cultures, but are more or less the path that all societies are set to follow.

Inglehart has been criticized at various points. Flanagan (1982) and several others have brought up the issue that the index that is used to tap the materialist-postmaterialism dimension contains two distinct subdimensions, one tapping materialism proper while the other measures the degree of support for authoritarian values. In a Norwegian sample Jenssen and Listhaug (1988) have demonstrated that the latter dimension is predominant, and has the strongest ability to account for differences in political behaviour among the mass publics. But the authoritarian dimension is the least relevant of the two to the theoretical reasoning that Inglehart makes. A second argument has been raised about the stability of values over time. In an alternative model Tyler and Schuller (1991) have argued that the process of socialization and attitude change over the life course is much more open than what is predicted by Inglehart. When the living conditions and environments of the middle aged or the elderly are changing, their values and attitudes will have a relatively high likelihood to change. An interpretation of this is that it is less the strength of socialization by age than the increased probability that individuals will be in less changing environments as they are aging which can explain the relative stability of values over the life course.

The approach of de Moor, Halman and associates (Ester, Halman, and de Moor, 1993; Halman, 1991; Halman and Pettersson, 1994) extends the empirical investigations to cover even more general models and hypotheses than Inglehart. Building their case on an extensive analysis of data from the first two waves of the Values studies they test hypotheses about secularization, individualization, fragmentation, and convergence. The hypothesis that economic modernization leads to a secularization of values, primarily by a weakening of religion, is mostly supported by their data, although the authors contend that the rate of secularization was fairly slow in the 1980s (Ester, Halman, and de Moor, 1993: 64). One would think that as values become less anchored in religion a development towards greater autonomy of individuals in developing own value systems would occur. The data do not give support to this notion of individualization (Ester, Halman, and de Moor, 1993; Halman and Pettersson, 1994).

The fragmentation hypothesis suggests the idea that the links between value domains are weakened. In modern society there is no dominant source of norms and values that guide values and behaviours in the spheres of the family, work, and politics. The hypothesis of a fragmentation of values across domains is getting support in the data. If socioeconomic modernization is the ultimate driving force behind value change one would predict that values across nations should converge. This would come as a result of an increasing individualization and because modern societies tend to be more interdependent through trade and other forms of communication. Within the time limits that the data from the Values studies set they do not find support for the prediction of value convergence across nations (Ester, Halman and de Moor, 1993).

It seems fair to conclude that the results must be characterized as mixed, and that modernization processes only partially can explain long term cultural change. It is also noteworthy that for fragmentation, which gets empirical support, modernization related variables like gender, cohort, and education have little leverage in explaining variations in fragmentation levels (Halman and Pettersson, 1994). The transnational studies point to factors that modify and, in some cases, weaken core mechanisms of integration in societies, but they do not tell the whole story.

Despite that both Inglehart and Halman, de Moor and associates set out to demonstrate that value change were driven by transnational modernization processes they conclude that differences between nations remained, and, relying on data from the Values studies, they could not establish patterns of convergence across countries. These findings suggest that nations remain important units for the analysis of values and sociopolitical attitudes.

Current survey based comparative research demonstrates a large variety in factors that are used to account for variations between nations. With the small number of cases that normally are available for such analyses, and the large number of variables that can be used to account for the differences, this research rarely can reach definitive conclusions. One line of inquiry seeks to confront standard views or stereotypes about national cultural differences with systematic data from mass surveys. Comparisons of support for collectivism or equality of outcomes have tended to sustain the widely held notion that these beliefs are more strongly held among publics in Europe than in the United States (Smith, 1987; Public Opinion Report, 1990) - thus confirming a basic part of the thesis of American exceptionalism. The observed variations within Europe are, however, not in line with commonly held expectations. Using data from Eurobarometers Inglehart (1990: 256) has demonstrated that the support for policies of redistribution is weaker in Denmark than in other EU member countries. He explains this in the following way "... in countries like Denmark [the classic welfare state policies] have largely solved the problems they are capable of solving most readily - and have thereby reduced the demand for more of the same" (Inglehart, 1990: 257). Using various operationalizations from the Values studies Knutsen (1994), Listhaug (1990) and Huseby and Listhaug (1995) have produced empirical findings that at least partially are in line with the Inglehart evidence. Svallfors (1993) in a comparative study of Britain and Sweden does not find that the Swedes are more leftist in their value orientations than people in Britain. Based on his findings Svallfors questions the effects of the regime to mold ideological values of citizens. Without being conclusive these findings should at least question some of the conventional wisdom on crossnational patterns of ideology and political values.

In another field Wilcox (1991) investigated if the support for egalitarian attitudes to gender roles is weakest in countries with strong catholic churches. He works from the hypothesis that the catholic church is a conservative force in the area of equalization of gender roles. At the individual level he does not find consistent differences between protestants and catholics. The mostly negative finding for the effect of protestantism and catholicism on gender attitudes is matched for work values in a study by Lindseth and Listhaug (1994). They find no support for Weberian hypotheses that protestantism should breed more dynamic work values than catholicism. Using data from the Values studies they cannot find support for this proposition neither at the level of nations nor at the individual level. Lindseth and Listhaug (1994) also review a large number of studies that demonstrate that Weberian hypotheses on work values fare badly when tested against data for the recent decades.

Religion is of course but one of the factors that can be used to form hypotheses of how nations differ. Sometimes expectations are formed from more diffuse stereotypes. For example, Davis (1990: 2) in a study of crossnational variance in tolerance states his expectations in the following way: "We all know that the USA is the 'land of the free', that Britain enshrines civil liberties (when government secrets are not involved), that Australians are 'laid back', that Italians are notoriously anarchic and tolerant, that Germans are highly authoritarian, and that somehow Austrians manage to be simultaneously relaxed and authoritarian. From which, I guess, one would predict that every other country would be more tolerant than Germany." Although Davis obviously tries to be funny here, cultural stereotypes play a role in comparative research - especially in modes of inquiry that play scant attention to systematic data analysis. Confrontations with data often lead to the rejections of such stereotypes. In the case of tolerance Davis analyzed ISSP data, and he could not establish a consistent pattern of differences across the six countries. If West Germany was to be characterized by one of the extremes he found that it was more in the direction of tolerance than in dominance of authoritarian attitudes. Working with data on racism, Kuechler (1994) does not find that the Germans can be set apart, although this is an area where a lot of people are quick to put the racist stamp on Germany.

A comparative analysis of how values and attitudes change should rely both on a transnational approach which looks for the long term factors that characterize the development in all countries and approaches that seek to isolate elements in cultures by countries.

Areas of policy relevance

Crossnational studies of value dynamics might be worthwhile as a pure scientific enterprise, but we also see such studies as both relevant and useful for a number of policy issues in contemporary society.

Political integration

The shifts in popular opinion within the European Union that followed the Maastricht treaty raised the general issue of limits to political integration and how to manage a policy of integration within the constraints that are set by mass opinion. In early works on political integration by Karl Deutsch he argued that a successful integration was dependent on a convergence of values and culture in the nations that were cooperating. This hypothesis has been renewed in a recent study of the cooperation in NAFTA by Canada and the United States by Nevitte and Inglehart (1993). Following Deutsch, they argue that value convergence will result from increased communication between nations. Convergence in values and culture might also be seen a consequence of the broader processes of modernization (Meyer, Boli-Bennet and Chase-Dunn, 1975). The latter perspective is also dominant in the publications based on Value Studies data (Ester, Halman and de Moor, 1993; Inglehart, 1990). In a distinct opposition to the convergence model Huntington (1993) has predicted that we will enter an era of conflict between civilizations. He gives religiously based values a decisive position in his models. While value convergence can increase the likelihood that nations will develop closer ties, links for example in the form of economic cooperation in free market zones and in political unions of variable strengths might also increase the probability that the values of the populations will converge. The policies of standardization that are associated with the

European Union have in some cases lead to reactive processes at regional levels that have worked to strengthen distinct cultures within the member nations. With Values studies data one can test hypotheses both of general value convergence (which has been done) and value convergence related to membership in the European Union. It is also possible to study processes of cultural convergence and divergence within countries (although data problems for some countries will prevent a complete comparative study of this problem). A recent study by Huseby and Listhaug (1995) seek to understand the strength of identifications with Europe in Norway, and in other European nations, within the context of value conflicts between nations. The degree of value conflicts and level of integration within society will also be relevant for the support for democracy and political institutions. Some work has been done based on the Values data on the development on confidence in institutions in European countries from 1981 to 1990 (Listhaug and Wiberg, 1995), but more research is clearly needed in this area.

Quality of life and social integration

If one is concerned about the success of policies to promote social integration, or for that matter, in other policy areas, one would like to have an assessment of the quality of life in society. Quality of life concepts are commonly divided into objective and subjective measures - with a less than perfect correlation between the two (Andrews, 1986). To evaluate the success of societies to integrate social and cultural groups one should pay attention to how members of these groups feel about their lives. Quality of life measures that are included in the Values studies include happiness, total (global) life and satisfactions in the domains of family, work, and income. With the data that are available one can monitor developments of life quality across time as well as comparing nations. In the comparative dimension earlier research has found relative stability of countries over time (Inglehart and Rabier, 1986). An observed decline of subjective life satisfactions could be accounted for by economic problems in a nation, for example by a strong increase in unemployment - which is one of the explanations for the deterioration of the subjective quality of life in Belgium in the early 1980s (Inglehart and Rabier, 1986). But variations in life satisfactions should also be assessed with reference to the processes of social conflicts and the working of the political institutions as one observes that some countries are able to keep people happy even in times of economic hardship.

Economic growth and technological development

In a situation where nations increasingly find themselves as actors in international markets a stronger focus is put on how nations can compete in these markets. Policies that stimulate economic growth and promote technological development are in demand. The ability of nations to increase their competitive advantage in world markets obviously depend on a large number of factors. Much discussion has been centered on the role of business and government in this process. In addition, one need to monitor the support for technological development and economic growth at the mass level. A successful implementation of policies to support these goals are dependent on the beliefs of citizens and employees that such goals are important to pursue. Countries where the mass publics hold positive attitudes toward economic growth and technological development might hold a competitive advantage against countries where people nurture sceptical beliefs toward such goals. Again, using Values studies data one can monitor indicators that bear on this problem.

Design and content of the third wave of the Values studies

The third wave of the Values survey is scheduled for 1995-1996. It will consist of personal interviews with the adult populations in more than 40 countries. With the 24 countries surveyed in the first round, the more than 40 countries in the second wave, and the same number of countries in wave three, the accumulated data base will provide a unique opportunity to study cultural and social change. In the third wave emphasis is put on replicating the key items tapping values in the important domains of work, leisure, religion, family, and politics. A set of items measuring subjective life quality will also be replicated. This will make it possible to monitor long term social and cultural change and life satisfactions. In the third round an extensive set of new questions will be directed at measuring support for policies of environmental protection. In addition, the focus will be put on confidence in institutions, support for principles of democracy, and aspects of interpersonal trust and tolerance of marginal groups in society. In the comparative dimension the data will cover the dynamics within Europe, and it will include countries in other parts of the world to provide a frame for comparisons that set Europe in perspective.

A new feature of the current data collection is to include macro level variables for the countries to provide an opportunity to integrate individual level data with data at the level of society. Macro data will include economic and social indicators like GNP per capita, growth rates, trade flows, investment rates, and fertility measures. Political variables will include legislation in the areas of environmental protection and on moral issues and the programs of political parties.

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TYPES OF MARGINALISATION A PRELIMINARY NOTE

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Introduction

In European social policy, unemployment is treated as the main cause of labour market, as well as social marginalization¹. Unemployment is the root of all evil, and social disintegration is commonly regarded as a direct result of rising unemployment rates.

It is, however, theoretically as well as empirically difficult to distinguish the disintegrational effects of unemployment from other factors that contribute to loosen social ties. On the individual level, studies have revealed that health problems, educational background and social network interact with a marginal labour market position in many complex ways. On the meso-level, degree of urbanization may act as an intervening explanation between labour market marginalization and societal disintegration. On the macro-level, the more diffuse term of "modernization" and "political regimes" are used to explain national differences in social marginalization.

The question to be discussed here, is: It is possible to discern the disintegrational effects of labour market exclusion and marginalization from other forces that contribute in the same direction? The intention of the paper is mainly to discuss theoretical and conceptual aspects of this question.

Types of marginalization

In recent literature, the concept of marginalization most often have been used to describe relations between the individual and the labour market. To be "marginal" in the work force usually implies a temporary or loose relation. A marginal individual oscillate between employment and unemployment, without a permanent position in any of these statuses. By "exclusion" is usually meant a permanent position outside the labour market.

In this connection, labour market marginalization can be regarded as an independent variable, which may (or may not) influence societal integration on other arenas than the labour market.

Labour market marginalization may also be treated as a mediating variable, which accelerate

¹ "Social and economic integration: Employment is the key". European Social Policy: A Way Forward for the Union. Social European, a white paper, p. 11.

other types of marginalization. For example: Health problems may reduce the possibilities of getting a job, and the resulting status as unemployed may increase a social marginality. Here, bad health can be described as a mediating mechanism, which reduce the individuals opportunities in the labour market.

Labour market marginalization can also be regarded as a dependent variable. In Putmans study of Italy, degree of "civility" within a region is regarded as a condition which influence (or maybe determine) economic success (and consequently employment rates) of the area. Here, degree of social integration is the independent variable, while unemployment rates are regarded as the dependent one, with political institutions as the mediating ones.

How can other kinds of mediating mechanisms between labour market marginalization and other types of societal marginalization be identified? Before discussing this question, it may be useful to make a distinction between three ways of understanding societal integration.

Integration in society take place through different roles, each reflected in different theories of integration. The first set of roles is related to the role as *consumer*. This theoretical approach is related to the ways consumption of goods and services produce identity and social ties. The second is connected to the identity as *citizen*; that is, the set of rights towards the state and duties which tie the individual to the state. The third one and the most diffuse concerns social roles within the community; as a neighbour, member of voluntary organisations, religious affiliations and other networks outside the family sphere. Etzioni would place civil society obligations as a part of the *communitarian* role, a term I here apply, being short of a better one.

As theories and concepts, each of these approaches offer more or less distinct, and more or less testable descriptions of the mechanisms that integrate the individual in society. The basic question in this connection is: How are the effects of labour market marginalization and exclusion perceived within these approaches? Where do they differ in their explanations?

1. The *consumer* approach mainly focus the ways identities are created through consumption of goods and services. Among others, Featherstone (1991) argues that in post-modern societies, integration take place through participation in the consumer culture, where dreams, images and status are created. individual identity is created and confirmed through the symbols which follow the acts of buying and consuming. The excluded consumer can be found in a position where individual consumption through purchase of goods and services is reduced to a minimum. The concept of poverty is usually connected to a certain degree of consumer marginalization; where the income per household is less than x per cent of average income, the household may be described as "poor"
2. The *citizenship* approach can be divided in a "classical" and a "modern" version. The classical one focus citizenship as a cluster of rights and duties that follow naturalized members of the nation-state. As such, citizenship regulate the right to vote, freedom of expression, protection from violence and other basic rights.

The "modern" version is often labelled "social citizenship" and describes the welfare activities of the state, like transfers, public services. Here, the term "citizenship" can be seen as the common denominator for legally structured obligations from the state towards the individual. Integration in welfare society can be regarded as the sum of rights and duties which connect public authorities and the individual. There are also more comprehensive citizen roles. Hernes (1988) suggest that also places of work are important mediators of citizenship rights.

3. In the *communitarian* approach roots can be traced back to founding fathers of sociology, like Durkheim and Tönnies, and to Hegels descriptions of integration through moral commitments. The context is the community as a social or territorial unit, and "integration" usually refers to processes where common identities and norms are developed or weakened within this context. Being "integrated" implies normative ties between the individual and the community. Such ties are developed through repeated interaction between the individual and the group/system. Relations are most often treated as "social", that is, a result of kinship, common beliefs, neighbourhood or common interests or tasks. In the sociological tradition, social integration usually is regarded as a result of social interaction. Thus, a certain degree of stability is a precondition for integration. Marginalization is a by-product of weakened ties, or disintegration of the social system.

The consumer, citizen and communitarian approaches differ in their focus of individual preconditions for societal integration. They also differ in their descriptions of how exclusion and marginalization occur.

According to Rainwater (1993), "Money buys membership in industrial society". This statement represent a merge of the consumer approach and the modern version of citizenship. They both focus *money* (incomes, transfers, etc.) as the most important individual precondition for integration in society. The two approaches differ in their perception of what money can buy: Identity as a consumer, 'welfare' or material living standard as a citizen.

On the other hand, the classical citizenship, as well as the communitarian approach focus social, non-economical preconditions for integration. Here, *participation* is a common key word, in democratic processes as a citizen, in local activities as a communitarian. Money is usually not regarded as a condition of integration. Disintegration usually is connected to processes of modernization, like increase in mobility, dissolution of community and family ties, urbanization, social and ethnic segregation. The US communitarians attempt to transform a moral ethic into applicable policies, strengthening the community networks in urban areas.

After this distinction between three types of societal integration, I will return to the question of the relation between the independent variable, labour market marginalization, and the dependent one, marginalization as a consumer, citizen and communitarian. *The basic question is: How are the relations between labour market marginalization/exclusion and marginalization as a consumer, citizen and communitarian perceived within these approaches?* What are the mediating mechanisms that forward social marginalization? Of different reasons, I will drop citizen integration in this connection.

Consumer marginalization. In research literature, the causal relations between income and consumer integration seem to be the most obvious. Exclusion and marginalization from the

labour market will most often affect individual income. Loss of wage income may more or less be compensated through social security, pensions or other sources. One may claim that the greater gap between wage income and unemployment support, the greater will the consumer marginalization of the individual be. The consumer approach put a direct causal relation between reduced of incomes and societal integration. Standard of living is more or less a direct function of income.

More intuitively, one can imagine that the degree to which people have their identities sustained by their roles as consumers, will vary. Some relations can be hypothesized:

1. The identity effects of lowered incomes on consumer identities will vary by *level of income*. The lower the level as unemployed, the greater effects.
2. The identity effects of lowered incomes on consumer identities will vary by *age*. The older the unemployed is, the lower the effects will be.
3. The identity effects of lowered incomes on consumer identities will vary by *degree of urbanization*. Rural areas are less 'modernized' than urban ones, and

Community marginalization. How do labour market marginalization influence the integration of the individual in the community? Here, the following working hypotheses are suggested:

1. Labour market marginalization will increase the integration of the individual in the community: Free time will be used on activities which increase participation in community activities.
2. Labour market marginalization will weaken certain kinds of community integration. The more the social networks of the unemployed consist of colleagues and work place friends, the stronger the disintegrational effects will be.
3. The effects of labour market marginalization on community integration will depend on the properties of the community: The more urban the community, the stronger the community marginalization will be.
4. The effects of labour market marginalization on community integration will depend on properties of the individual: Age, sex, social status, social capital (that is, existing network relations).

Relations between consumer and community marginalization.

In daily life, consumer and community integration are interwoven, and it may be difficult to discern the one from the other. To a varying degree, money is a precondition for social participation, and consequently, participation will be reduced as a result of reduction of incomes. But what are the background and individual variables that determine the effects of lowered incomes on community integration? And how do properties of the community and public policies intervene between unemployment and community marginalization?

These are the questions to develop further in this project.

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SOME REMARKS ON SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND VULNERABILIZATION PROCESSES, IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF INDICATORS

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- a) The diagram which follows tries to represent some of the main structural determinants of the vulnerabilization and social exclusion processes.

The differentiation, marked on the graphic, of these two processes is intentional and must be stressed: for theoretical and political reasons, I am convinced that the construction of indicators on these subjects should privilege and give precedence to the analysis of the social locus and processes in which (and through which) individual and collective vulnerabilities emerge.

In other words, I do believe that, if reflexion is primarily focused at this level, then the identification, analysis and intervention on risk groups and circular dynamics of social exclusion will become easier and, plausibly, more adequate. It seems to me that some remarks of Professor Tsaoussis about "the need for policy indicators in order to monitor and evaluate policy measures and to forecast imminent changes" go in the same direction. I know that, putting things in these terms, we'll have to face additional difficulties - unfortunately sociological methods are a bit reluctant to identify and measure social processes and some kind of social relations -, but I feel that this is a worthwhile challenge.

- b) The left side of the diagram represents some of the structural determinants of the "vulnerabilization processes" which are mainly related to the "development models" dominant in our societies (in fact, the whole exercise was made with Portugal on my mind...).

(1), (2) and (3) deal with some traits of the national productive structures and employment system; (4) and (5) with the consequences of internal and international migrations and demographic recomposition trends; (6) with the links between regular education, professional training and labour market.

In order to avoid too simplistic and mechanical interpretations, some crucial (and hopefully pertinent) mediations between "Development models" and "Vulnerabilization processes" were considered. They are identified in the diagram as three kind of crisis of the integration patterns present in our societies (crisis of the social integration patterns associated with work, crisis of the social integration patterns associated with family and local communities, crisis of the social integration patterns associated with the educational system).

- c) The right part of the diagram deals with other kind of structural determinants of the vulnerabilization and exclusion processes - those connected with some political, cultural and ideological dominant trends.

I must recognize all the difficulties of establishing, in this case, the pertinent intermediate factors to include in the diagram. But, as Professor Ola Listhaug also says in her paper on "Monitoring long term cultural and social change in Europe", this doesn't mean necessarily that the construction of social indicators on this domain is impossible.

- d) The central section of the shema refers, at the top and at the bottom, to the social regulation institutions that have historically acted as shock absorbers of inequalities and social vulnerabilities (the state institutions, and particularly the welfare state apparatus, on one side, and the "spontaneous" and associative networks of the "civil society", on the other side). The latter have been identified as "Providence- Society", in order to suggest that they act as a functional equivalent of the Providence State (Etat Providence).

It seems that, at least in some countries, the social regulation organizations concerning state initiative focused on the factors identified as (1), (2) and (3), whereas the spontaneous and associative modalities of social regulation were directed mainly to (4), (5) and eventually (6).

Apparently, (7), (8), (9) and (10) factors have remained out of the sphere of action of the welfare state and of the "providence society" (although they make regularly their appearance in some important intellectual and political controversies).

However, I cannot but think that the analysis of social vulnerabilities and the reconsideration of the welfare state should take them in account: for instance, a reflexion on (7) and (8) should lead to the preparation of extensive educational programs for solidarity and, in many countries, to a deep reform of the public service of television.

The kind of issues represented by (9) alerts to the necessity of changing the philosophy and some institutional models of social intervention, particularly those based on the legitimation of the client status vis a vis the welfare state services, and points out some hidden aspects of the reproduction and reinforcement of social vulnerabilities.

- e) In the perspective of precedent issues, the selection and/or construction of indicators on social exclusion can be structured as indicated in Figure 1.

Before making concrete suggestions on that matter, some general methodological remarks become necessary.

First remark: a set of plausible indicators on social vulnerabilization processes must be thought on different levels of analysis: national level, regional level and local level. Some of them should be expressed in all levels (for instance: national, regional and local long term unemployment rates or national, regional and local percentage of immigrants in qualified jobs) ; some other indicators should be expressed eminently at national level

(for instance: number and type of references to social exclusion on school manuals or on TV informational programs); admissibly, some other should be reserved to the local level (for instance, those related with associative affiliation in popular quarters).

Second remark: perhaps, it would be important to distinguish, at regional level, between rural, urban and suburban areas (indicators related with ethnic minorities or with retirement pensions have not necessarily the same meaning in these three kind of areas).

Third remark: we should not work only with average or central tendency measurements, but also with dispersion measurements. As Dr. Heinz Fassman reminds us, the Gini coefficient of income concentration or information about single percentile income are more informative indicators on social factors of exclusion than other conventional average measurements on the matter.

Fourth remark: although it is necessary, for analytical purposes, to distinguish between dimensions of the main concepts of social exclusion or social vulnerabilization, it is important not to loose the global perspective of the phenomena. Fortunately, there are several technical devices which allows us to conceive and treat in adequate statistical terms a kind of blocks of interrelated variables - which is a way of re-incorporating complexity in the model, after the necessary analytical segmentation.

Fifth remark: once formulated in a provisional version, the set of indicators on exclusion and vulnerabilization processes should be improved on the basis of selected case studies, in which qualitative research complement quantitative data collection.

f) A tentative (that is, provisional and illustrative) list of indicators on social vulnerabilization processes will be now presented. It is organized in accordance with dimensional analysis suggested by Figure 1.

(1) Competitive indicators (see Ec Reports on the subject)

Minimum wage (parity units)

% of minimum wage earners

Average wage (p.u.)

% of less than average earners

Unemployment rate

Long term unemployment rate

% of people never having entered labour market

(2) Illegal work rate ("non-declared" work rate)

Minor work rate

(3) % of on term labour contracts

% of unqualified workers

Levels of handicapped people integrated in workplaces

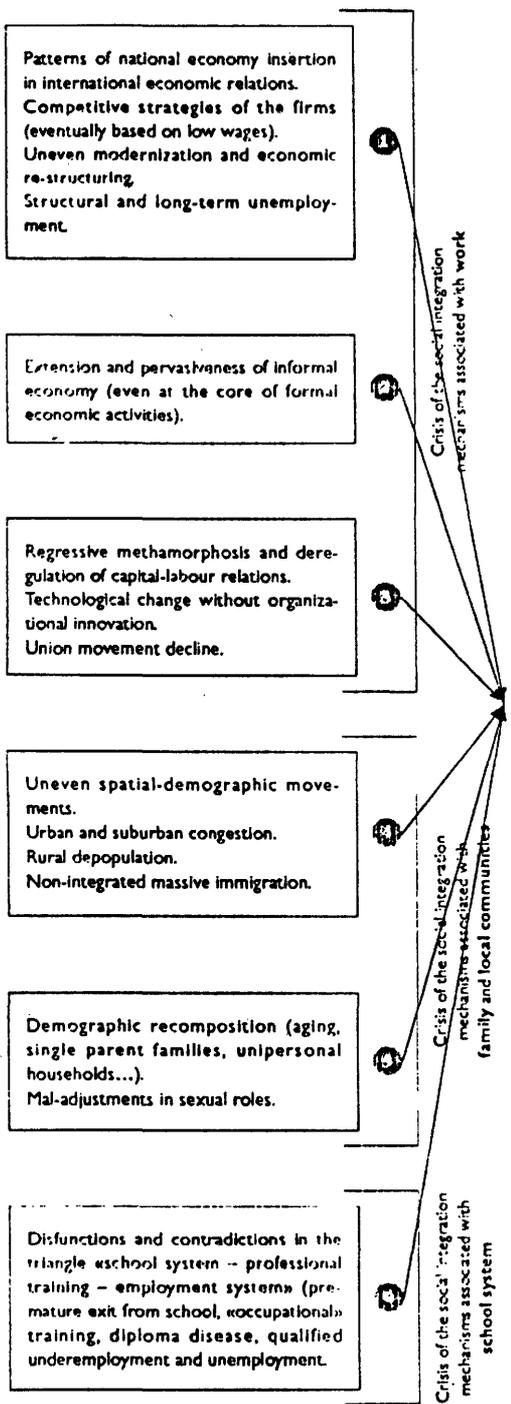
Work injuries rates

Union affiliation rate

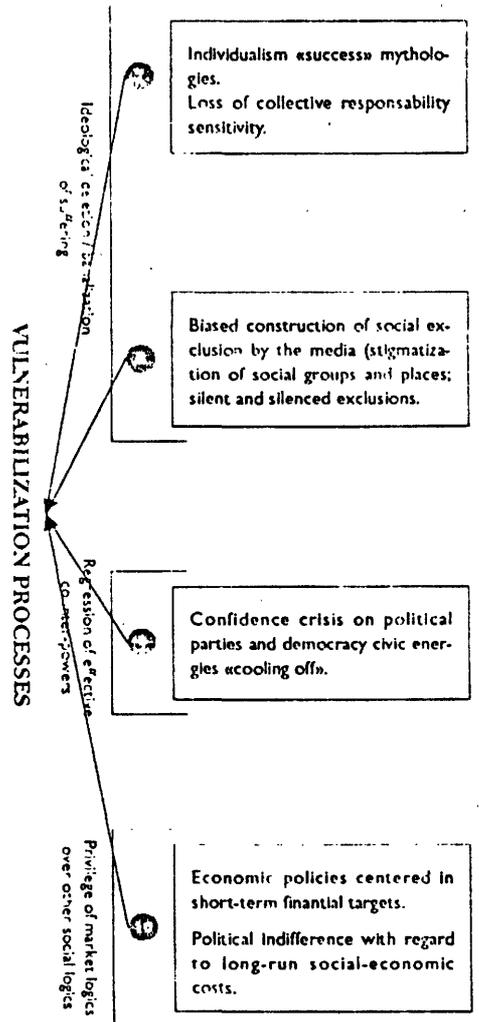
(4) Demographic growth rates in suburban areas

- Depopulation rates in rural areas
Immigrants rate of unemployment
% of immigrants in qualified jobs
- (5) Aging rates
Minimum retirement pension
% of minimum retirement pension earners
% of less than average retirement pension
% of unipersonal households
% of single parent families
% of families with no employed members
- (6) Premature exit from school
Educational attainment levels
Illiteracy rates
Young people leaving school system without any professional qualification
School diploma/job qualifications (qualified underemployment)
- (7) Number and nature of references to social exclusion problems on school manuals
(content analysis)
- (8) Number and nature of references to social exclusion problems on TV information
programs ("structural" approach vs "spectacular" approach)
- (9) Associative affiliation
Party affiliation
Abstaining rates
Interest on politics (see national and international surveys on the subject)
Confidence on Parliaments (idem)
- (10) % of national budget allocated to preventive social policies

Lacunar and sub-financed Welfare State

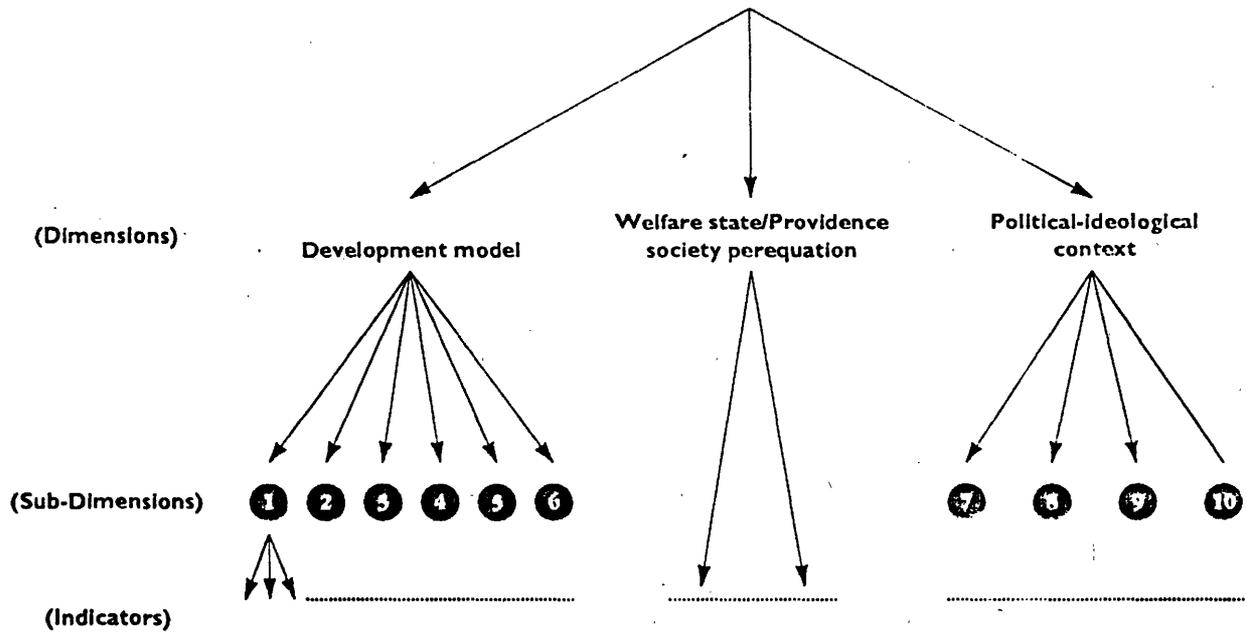


S O C I A L E X C L U S I O N



«Providence-society» (in a destructuring process)

SOCIAL VULNERABILIZATION PROCESSES



APPLYING THE LEVEL OF LIVING APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

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1. Introduction

The discussion within poverty research has for some time been concerned with discrepancies between how poverty is defined and conceptualised theoretically, and how it is measured. A distinction is made between direct and indirect measurements of poverty (see, e.g., Ringen 1987; 1988). In mainstream research poverty is operationalised with reference to household income at a particular time period and where those below a specific threshold are defined as poor. In contrast, almost any theoretical definition about poverty deals with a more direct concept, like for example Townsend's by now classical definition:

"Lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities that are customary, or are at least widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which they belong" (Townsend 1979:31).

The preoccupation with money income has not only been a matter of concern within poverty research, but also when it comes to depict welfare or living conditions within a country more generally. In this case the United Nations already in the 1950s took an initiative to try to develop alternative indicators to the Gross National Product. This, eventually, led to what has been termed "the social indicators' movement" and to several attempts to standardize the measurement of living conditions and the quality of life by multinational organizations such as OECD, the U.N., the World Bank, etc. However, these transnational initiatives have had quite negative outcomes when it comes to reaching truly comparative standards (the *Human Development Index* might in a sense be regarded as an exception). This has meant that there is no consensus on how we should compare developments between societies on nation-level. Further, it has meant that even though most nations in Europe beside monetary indicators today have some measurement of living conditions on the micro-level, these are not standardized and have their focuses on quite different aspects such as subjective evaluation of living conditions, quality of life, level of living, macro-social indicators, etc. (a comprehensive review on the history and state of art within this field was recently given by Rothenbacher, 1993). Thus, most agree upon the necessity of having complementary measures to monetary indicators both on the micro- and macro-level, still cross-national comparisons, if done, often have an ad-hoc character. One plausible reason for the backlash of the social indicators movement was that it did not have a unified theoretical framework (cf. Doyal & Gough 1992).

The prevailing situation in Scandinavia is, however, quite different. In Sweden continuous measurements of what are labelled "level of living" has by now been conducted for about a quarter of a century. Two major surveys have been run in Sweden. *The Swedish Level of*

Living Survey conducted by the Swedish Institute for Social Research and *The Survey on Living Conditions* conducted by Statistics Sweden (for a presentation, see Vogel et al. 1987). Statistics Sweden is responsible for social reporting in Sweden, whereas the level of living survey, which I will focus upon in this paper, is a more regular research survey with a panel design. These measurements are based on large-scale interviews with random samples of the population. In them the level and distribution, and change of various central aspects of living conditions can be studied (for the most recent overview of changes in level of living over the whole period covered by the level of living surveys, see Fritzell & Lundberg 1994). In this paper I will discuss some central features of the Swedish Level of Living Surveys conducted at the Swedish Institute for Social Research. The rationale being that some of these features are, in my opinion, of vital importance for the research on Social Exclusion and Social Integration in Europe launched within The Targeted Socio-Economic Research programme.

In the following I will first give a short description of how level of living is perceived in Sweden (section 2 and 3). This will include a description of the so-called component perspective and an argumentation for why we focus on descriptive/actual rather than subjective/evaluative states. In section 4 an argumentation for the necessity of simultaneously having a panel design and a broad comprehensive approach follows. The fifth section includes a general discussion of relevant indicators and how these should be measured from a cross-national perspective of social exclusion. Lastly some general conclusions and suggestions are given.

2. The component and resource perspectives

Swedish level of living research was from the start, the first survey was conducted in 1968, influenced by the discussion in the United Nations and in line with this applied a component perspective on welfare and level of living, to some extent in line with the sectorial division in politics. By this is implied that level of living is regarded as a multi-dimensional concept and, unlike most welfare economics, there has been no striving for making an overall summary measure of level of living.

Theoretically, much influence came from British social policy research, in particular the writings of Richard Titmuss. His concept of "command over resources" became the leading sign of the project. This is already seen in the definition of level of living which reads: "*The level of living is the individual's command over resources in a given context to control and consciously direct his living conditions*" (Erikson & Åberg 1987:3).

The perspective of 'command over resources' has several implications from both a theoretical perspective and for the practical design of the study. Theoretically, it implies a view of human being as an agent who consciously acts. With the help of resources she is able to direct her living conditions according to preferences. More resources enlarge the scope of action even though we do not necessarily know the choices made by each individual. The perspective that command over resources should go much beyond income or some transformation of the income concept is of course also in line with Titmuss.

The following list was finally argued for:

1. Health and access to care

2. Employment and working conditions
3. Economic resources
4. Educational resources
5. Family and social integration
6. Housing and neighbourhood facilities
7. Security of life and property
8. Recreation and culture
9. Political resources

The Swedish level of living approach has no doubt had influence in other countries. In particular, of course, the neighbours Denmark, Norway and Finland but also more remote countries such as Australia and the former Yugoslavia (nowadays continuing in Slovenia) have started studies directly influenced by the Swedish approach (see Brownlee 1990; University of Ljubljana 1994). Even though the exact nature of the list of components have been slightly changed over the years, and even though some of the components hardly can be regarded as pure resources but rather outcomes in themselves, it is indeed striking that most areas included are similar when comparing lists of these kinds conducted by different research groups in different nations and with different theoretical point of departure. Thus, it is hardly regarded as a controversial standpoint to argue that in most countries, and definitely those within the EU, areas such as health, economic resources, employment and working conditions, etc. are of central importance if we want to give a picture of the prevailing level and inequality of living conditions within a nation.

However, reasoning about which components to include is hardly the most severe issue in this respect. A more controversial issue is how we should study them.

3. Measuring actual conditions or satisfaction

A major signum of the Swedish approach is the focus on actual conditions. What, then, are the major arguments behind our focus on actual living conditions rather than on people's perception and subjective evaluation of their quality of life. First it is here important to note that "it makes a difference". Thus, to ask people whether or not they are satisfied with their living conditions gives a different picture than making inferences based on questions about how they actually live. The reasons for this anomaly have been discussed and analyzed massively in the literature and it is, of course, outside the scope of this paper to give a thorough summary of different standpoints and theories of this major issue (for a thorough presentation of the relation between satisfaction and actual conditions in Germany, see Zapf 1987). Nevertheless, a key dimension in this respect is the level of aspiration a person has, and, in turn, how one's level of aspiration is formed. The subjective state can be seen as dependent on the actual condition but filtered by the level of aspiration. One's level of aspiration is to a large extent based upon our perception of the actual conditions of "relevant others". Relevant others might in this case be different groups such as friends, neighbours, working mates, other comparable occupational categories, etc. but this concept has also a time dimension. That is, relevant others also include how my conditions were some time ago as well as how the conditions of, for example, my parents were.

With this kept in mind it should come as no surprise that it is not necessarily those with the highest living standards that are most satisfied with their conditions. Thus, by focusing on the

subjective state we have the obvious risk of having to deal with “the satisfaction-paradox” (Olson & Schober 1993), that is the fact that some of the poor also are very satisfied and vice versa. Consequently, one main argument for trying to diminish the individuals own evaluation of their living conditions was that one otherwise should be measuring “*the dissatisfaction of the rich and the forbearance of the poor*” (Johansson 1979, on this matter see also Sen’s (1985) disapproval of happiness as well-being).

It should also in this case be mentioned that if the study is, at least partly, aimed at having a political impact, that is mainly focusing on issues that are possible and desirable to change, we ought to leave subjective elements as far behind us as possible. Let me exemplify this standpoint with a reference to some results from the 1991 level of living survey (which do indeed after all include some questions of a more subjective nature).

Assume that the political actors want to foster gender equality (as most political actors today at least says they are in favour of) and therefore are in need of empirical facts concerning differences in various living conditions of men and women. In an evaluative question we have asked all person to state how they look upon their living conditions generally on a five point scale ranging from very bad to very good. It turns out that approximately 35 per cent of all men replies “very good”, but that this percentage is about 47 per cent for women. From these figures alone then we would argue that in order to foster gender equality we should focus our attention and collective resources on men in order to improve their living conditions, or, even worse, we should manipulate men’s living conditions in order to make men as positive as women. With other knowledge, from actual conditions, indicating that women, on average, have lower wages and more scarce economic resources generally, more health problems, less autonomy at work, etc.etc. we would of course not be willing to make such a statement. Instead this finding could, perhaps, be understood by making references to changes in living conditions for men and women over a longer time period and how these changes have influenced aspirations and subjective perceptions of living conditions.

My disapproval of the subjective evaluation method as the basis for welfare comparison does not imply that the issue of how people’s satisfaction are shaped and formed by actual conditions, now and in the past, is an uninteresting field of research. It is certainly of great interest to study the associations between these states.¹

4. Longitudinal and comprehensive design

What, then, are the main advantages of the comprehensive design and the longitudinal approach? Even though some of the benefits of these features are obvious let me mention some aspects that have a specific policy relevance.

As already stated the idea of a single summary measure based on all of these components and indicators has, by and large, been disregarded as a dead-end street. The reason is that we

¹ Thus, for example, if we regard long-term unemployment as an important factor in a study of social exclusion it could indeed be interesting to study subjective states of various kinds of those long-term unemployed and perhaps in particular how this, in turn, influence their chance of getting a job in the future. But it is rather the relation to the labour market, and not the mental state *per se*, which should form our basis for making a statement about whether or not a person should be regarded as social excluded or in a process which might lead to social exclusion.

cannot really compare combinations of good and bad conditions between the areas. Whether an economically poor but healthy person should be regarded as better off, equal to, or worse off, than a rich but sick person is a value judgement in which we hardly will reach any consensus. However, the comprehensiveness makes it possible to study the links between different areas. Are those with insufficient resources or condition in one respect also the same individuals that are worse off according to another domain of life? An answer to such a question is obviously important for how we will evaluate inequality (cf. Walzer 1983). We can here distinguish three possible outcomes, the situation in one sphere is unrelated to another, that is a zero correlation (for example, as has been found between social support and income, see e.g. Fritzell 1995), second, that we have a cumulation of good and bad conditions, that is a positive correlation (e.g. those with lower incomes tends to have more health problems, see e.g. Lundberg & Fritzell 1994), and/or third, those who are worse off in one area are compensated by having better conditions according to another component, that is we have a negative correlation, for example as stated in the theory of compensating wage differentials (for a test of this theory based on the level of living surveys, see Tåhlin 1991).

From a public policy perspective it is easy to imagine that successful reforms aiming at improvement for the worst off are likely to be different depending on which of these three different outcomes are at hand (Erikson & Uusitalo 1987). In the first case sectorial policies might be successful, in the third we might argue that only those in the most severe circumstances should be our concern since in general those with low resources are compensated in another domain. As for the most likely outcome, that is the tendency for a cumulation of problems, we ought to realise that a specific sectorial policy is unlikely to solve any problems, unless it can be shown that there is one specific domain that causes problems in other domains.

This naturally leads to the necessity of a panel design. Because if we want to make any casual inferences, which we must as soon as we go from the descriptive account of "*how it is*" to the more difficult issues of "*why it is like this*" and "*how can it be changed*", we must have access to panel data. We cannot otherwise, for example deal with methodological matters such as, for example, selectivity (cf. Lieberman 1985). If those with the most severe working conditions also have most health problems in a cross-sectional study we, of course, cannot know whether it is indeed the working conditions that have caused the observed health status or vice versa. As soon as we go from description to matters of causality, from static to process, we definitely are in need of longitudinal data.

5. Relevant areas and indicators

So far the discussion has been on a rather high level of abstraction. I have basically stated that we should aim at having:

- a) broad large scale surveys including several important domains of life which makes it possible to study the interrelations between different spheres.
- b) our main focus of attention on actual conditions rather than satisfaction with these conditions;
- c) access to panel data in order to look upon processes leading to bad conditions.

In the context of social exclusion what, then, can be said about relevant indicators. A first natural suggestion would be to focus as much as possible on conditions, indicators, and questions that minimise the influences of cultural and linguistic factors. More generally, all

methodological research indicates that the problem of reliability becomes more severe the more subtle and imprecise questions we use. When shifting the perspective from a single nation to the European context these problems, of course, become even more severe since we safely can assume that the meanings of different concepts differ strongly between, for example, Denmark and Portugal. This fact, on the other hand, makes yet another case for having actual living conditions in focus rather than subjective evaluations. Ideally we would strive at indicators based on numerical facts. Questions such as "how many rooms do you have?" or "how long have you been unemployed?" are examples of this kind. In other domains this is of course more easily said than done.

If going back to the lists of components and with references to what just have been said it seems that we as a first step could identify some areas as mostly relevant. One angle of incidence is to start with areas that have a natural link to different societal institutions (such as the educational system, the labour market, the health care system, and social insurance programs) and thereby also to the issue of social exclusion and integration from a policy perspective. Thus, as a first step it seems natural to focus upon educational resources, housing conditions, labour market attachment and working conditions, health and access to health care and economic resources.

Within these spheres one should, as said above, try to focus on questions and indicators that as far as possible are quantitative in order to avoid incommensurability.

As already been said the problem of weighing different indicators against each other in order to be able to reach a summary measure of level of living is such a doubtful adventure even in the perspective of one nation that such an approach will definitely be a misuse of resources from the perspective of the European Union. Nevertheless, it seems as a more fruitful approach to concentrate on "evil" conditions within each sphere. This is, of course, quite natural from the viewpoint of social exclusion but it has further advantages. It seems more realistic to assume that our value judgements coincide when it comes to deciding what constitutes an unacceptable or evil level of living within these different areas (cf. Erikson 1993). Thus, what constitute the good life might vary between individuals and therefore should be left to each individual according to his preferences. Still, most people might accept that some states in which the level of living falls below certain minimum standards should be regarded as "evil".

6. Conclusions and suggestions

Comparative studies are, in my opinion, necessary if we want to learn more about the causes to social exclusion in Europe. However, cross-national research has, by and large, shown that in order to fully explore the many theoretical advantages of comparative studies we need truly comparable data, ideally collected precisely for this matter. Otherwise, we always risk that our conclusions are just artifacts of differences in matters such as population coverage, wording of questionnaire items, sampling procedures, coding of central variables, etc. (cf. Erikson & Goldthorpe 1992, pp. 47-53). It is also therefore not, generally, an optimal solution to include data from more nations but of a less comparable nature. However, in particular evidence from the success story of "the Luxembourg Income Study" (see e.g. Atkinson 1990) exemplify that secondary reprocessing and standardization of data originally collected within nations are, at least in some instances, a possible alternative to the ideal design of cross-national research.

At this point it might be too early to state exactly which indicators that should be seen as most relevant in the context of studies of the extent and causes of social exclusion. This discussion could, in my opinion, be guided of what has already been stated. In order to carry out fruitful research on these matters we should strive at: (i) trying to describe actual living conditions based on large-scale quantitative survey data covering different central areas; (ii) focusing on indicators that are most likely to be comparable across nations, such as numerical indicators (iii) focusing on evil conditions; (iv) (ideally) having panel data in order to be able to capture causal relations.

Even though the social indicators movement have resulted in different paths in different parts of Europe there is today a large amount of data from these fields (see Rothenbacher 1993) which could be used for research along these lines at least for certain aspects of social exclusion but in the long run we should strive at collecting data that in this respect are truly comparative across the nations of the European Union.

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The use of models for a better understanding of social exclusion and social integration.

A personal synthesis of the debate during the seminar on

'Social Exclusion and Social Integration Research:

Theory, Indicators and Models'

(Brussels, 15 & 16 May 1995)

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The aim of this synthesis is not to discuss the how's and why's of models in social science or to compare different models of social exclusion and/or integration. We have only tried to integrate some of the many interesting ideas that have been brought forward in the papers and during the debate in a more or less coherent framework. That some parts are more elaborate than others has to do with the specific abilities and interests of the author of this synthesis report. That is why he has called it 'a personal synthesis'. He is convinced that some energy should be put in the production of a more substantial publication.

1. The problem with 'social exclusion'

Towards the end of the eighties, the notion of 'social exclusion' has appeared alongside that of 'poverty' and, at present, it is close to replacing it as the central concept in the political debate. The European Commission has played a central role in its promotion. Whether this development indicates 'a change of paradigm' (Strobel) is not at all certain. Many questions that presently are being asked about 'social exclusion' already have been answered during the debate on poverty in the sixties and seventies.

As with 'poverty' before, the study of 'social exclusion' has been determined by its construction in terms of a 'social problem'. A social problem is a discrepancy between a given reality and a set of standards, a discrepancy that is judged dysfunctional by relevant groups and that can be reduced through collective action. The effect of such a social problem approach is that conceptual frameworks are more strongly influenced by the practical concerns of policy-makers, social administrators and social workers 'to do something about the situation' than by the intention of social scientists to better understand society. The

difference is, in the end, a very profound one. From the social problem approach - and thus from the policy-makers' point of view -, social exclusion is something quite irrational, particularly if the social resources are available for a better social integration of all members. It is not, however, for the social scientist. For her, social exclusion and poverty are perfectly rational, in the sense that they can and should be explained by the organisation of and functioning of society and/or its constituent parts.

An approach in terms of rationality, however, does not imply that all social scientists are referring to the same phenomena as a source of social exclusion; it is and will be explained from different points of view. The first question to be asked, then, is whether a society could function without any form of social exclusion. Doesn't any society need some form of exclusion in order to obtain the minimum level of coherence required by any system or/and to produce the degrees of liberty needed for inducing internal mobility and change. The next question is: will processes of social exclusion be differently organised in different societies, according to their demographical, cultural, political, social and economic structures or are identical processes working in most or even all societies? These reflections lead to the important conclusion that a better knowledge and understanding of social exclusion comes through comparing its forms and production in different types of society. This comparative perspective can be historical, but should at least be cultural. Theory development and model building, the latter also for policy purposes, are the results of this process.

However, theories and models will not be developed in this synthesis. Some simple 'models', presented by the participants in the seminar, will be used for illustrating rather general statements on 'the use of models in the study of social exclusion and integration'. Before embarking on this main topic of the debate, we will discuss the identification of the central concepts and describe the context within which to look for definitions. Indeed, 'a man must carry knowledge with him, if he would bring home some knowledge' (Samuel Johnson, in Boswell, 1799/1980: 954).

2. 'Establishing the phenomenon to be explained'

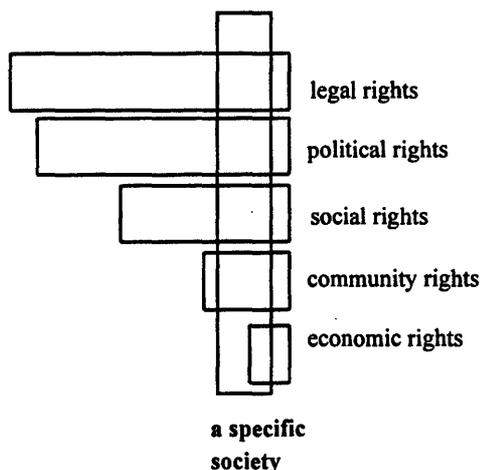
The first step to be taken in any scientific venture is 'to establish the phenomenon to be explained' (Merton). This seems to be a problem both with 'social exclusion', which is 'an extremely heterogeneous phenomenon' (Bruto da Costa) and 'social integration'. Probably because of their recent introduction into the international political debate, both terms still have no definite and generally accepted meaning. Social exclusion seems to refer to a *set* of 'problems', social integration to a *set* of 'solutions'. How could one further define their relation?

'Social exclusion' and 'social integration' seem to be 'two concepts that are in fact two sides of the same coin' (Thorlindsson), but do they stem 'from different theoretical traditions' (Thorlindsson)? That they are closely related, not only as concepts but also in social reality, is illustrated by one explanation for the increasing social exclusion in present societies, that is the malfunctioning of the three main mechanisms of ... social integration: professional resources and integration, civil and social rights, and family and neighbourhood (Bouget & Nogues).

That they come from different traditions should become clear from incompatibilities between both concepts, such as when moving either from social exclusion to social integration or the other way round. It would mean that the contextual environment of both concepts is so different that the positive part (integration) does not match sufficiently its negative counterpart (exclusion) and that other concepts should be looked for so that two new couples can be formed: 'integration & X' and 'Y & exclusion'.

In the end, the key to a solution perhaps is to refrain from identifying all possible definitions of 'social exclusion' or 'social integration', but to work the other way round. Which elements do we consider as crucial for a better understanding of social exclusion and should therefore be given the status of concept, be defined and christened? Bouget and Nogues furnish us with a list of possible names for such concepts, the most relevant ones being: deprivation, differentiation, discrimination, disqualification, inequality, misery, precariousness, segregation, stigmatisation, vulnerability. One could add others, such as marginalisation and participation. What needs to be done is to work out how these concepts are related, which means constructing one or more conceptual models.

In doing this, account should be taken of the historical context. The poor not always have been socially excluded. Although their material situation was bad and any formal rights were lacking, in most feudal societies they were accepted as an integral part of (local and larger) societies; the dominant religious world view, defining society alike to a natural body, took care for that. The attention presently going to the urban context of social exclusion and to its urban forms is related to a number of developments, such as the changing shift in economic power between urban and rural areas, the emigration of the 'economically productive' households from the centres of cities and the moving in of social-serviced households, and the gradual introduction of a new basic rights context, which is no longer limited to the traditional civic and political rights but has been enlarged to social rights and even starts to refer to economic rights (right to work, right to a - basic - income).



3. In search of a definition of 'social exclusion'

Let us first list some questions about and statements on the difference between 'poverty' and 'social exclusion', as they can be read in the papers and were heard during the debates.

a. Both 'social exclusion' and 'poverty' can be defined as referring to either a multi-facetal or to a uni-facetal phenomenon. In the first case, the concepts refer to a cluster of problematic situations, mostly including (un)employment, (low) income, (limited possibilities for) expenditure, (bad) housing, (deficient) health, (a specific) cultural pattern, (absence from) associational life. In the other case, both would be reserved for one specific condition. This applies most to poverty, which still is being used in its traditional sense; that is, as a deficient income or expenditure situation. This remains particularly true in most of the large-scale surveys aiming at measuring the extent of poverty. However, if poverty is defined in its 'modern' sense, as a multi-facetal phenomenon, then social exclusion could be reserved for specific situations such as homelessness, illiteracy, long-term unemployment, severely handicaps or AIDS. The relation between a specific form of social exclusion and the global situation of poverty often is fairly direct.

b. A multi-facetal concept of 'social exclusion' could become circular, when the type of relations between the different facets are not enough specified. The result is that every factor is explained by every other factor and vice versa: weakened links with the labour market, broken family ties, disappeared informal networks, reduced access to human rights and participation in society. The hypothesis of a 'vicious circle of poverty' is an informative example from the past. The structuring of these relations, so that some hierarchy between the different facets is arrived at, will require a lot of research.

c. The developing of a strict hierarchy between the different facets (labour market, education, housing and others) could, of course, result in 'social exclusion' (or poverty) becoming one-dimensional. Although often used as synonymous for 'uni-aspectual', one-dimensional should be used for what it means: that one dimension (e.g. the economic or the cultural) 'permeates' all facets to such a degree, that the whole phenomenon (in this case: social exclusion) can be defined as an 'economic' or a 'cultural' one. Little or no autonomy then is left to the other components of the multi-facetal phenomenon of 'social exclusion'. It is clear that it often is difficult to make a distinction between 'facets' and 'dimensions', but some effort should be made at doing so.

d. It is often said that 'social exclusion' implies a rather dynamic phenomenon, whereas poverty would refer to a 'state'. 'The *process* of social exclusion is spreading in many fields, resulting in many different types of situations' (The Social Research Unit). In fact, the process of 'social exclusion' appears in a multitude of forms, which offers a built-in possibility for comparative research. 'Exclusion processes operate upon a plurality of categories of actors. We cannot expect to find a few generalized statements valid to analyse (...) all the processes involved. We should concentrate on (constructing) a toolbox of mechanisms and go deep enough to be able to combine them in several ways according to the evidence in hand' (Sciortino: 1).

e. Is it so that 'social exclusion' highlights the importance of structural changes in our societies, such as with respect to the labour market? Does it, however, lack 'an integration into a global scheme for explaining the social relations in society' and does it therefore run the risk of becoming an isolated and quasi-autonomous concept that will be used for defending the societal status quo (Bouget & Nogu et), or for explaining social problems 'away' from their social roots into results of personality disorders or deviant behaviour (Vranken)?

f. 'Social exclusion' has a very strong spatial connotation which has been developed in France by N. Tabard (Bouget & Nogu es). It should be noted that this meaning of 'social exclusion', combining social and spatial references, is very close to the original concept of 'marginalisation' as it has been elaborated and applied in Latin American sociology during the sixties. It also has indirect links with the social ecology approach, particularly as developed by the Chicago school (Burgess).

g. 'Social exclusion', at least implicitly, refers to a Durkheimian frame of reference through related notions such as 'social integration' or 'anomia'. It implies a state of isolation from other members of society and it is also related to the norms which are accepted in society (Klevmarken). 'Social exclusion' and 'integration' have a fundamentally different meaning in culturally homogeneous societies or in multicultural societies (Kokosalakis). In the latter

type, exclusion from one culture/community can imply integration in another culture/community and sometimes it even is a requirement for it. Reference group theory and the concept of 'marginal man' then is not far away.

At present, three definitions of social exclusion are being used (Vranken, Thorlindsson). The *first* one has been developed by the 'European Observatory on National Policies to Combat Social Exclusion' (Room e.a., 1991: 5). It defines social exclusion in relation to *social rights* and to the barriers and processes by which people are excluded from these rights. Social exclusion then is analysed in terms of the denial or non realisation of these rights. This approach is used in the green paper on 'European Social Policy'. In a *second* definition, social exclusion is a dynamic concept for the *processes* that express a gradual or sudden reduction of social integration. R. Castel (in Donzelot, 1991) specifies this process through a series of stages that represent an intensification of the degree of social exclusion: integration, vulnerability, assistance, disaffiliation. A *third* definition refers to social exclusion as an extreme form of marginalisation, as a situation of *discontinuity*, as a 'catastrophic rupture' with the rest of society (Vranken; Bouget; Strobel). In the last meaning it refers to both one specific social condition and to poverty as a multi-facetal phenomenon. Social exclusion in matters of education then is illiteracy and concerning 'housing' it is homelessness; poverty then is by definition a form of social exclusion.

4. In search of a definition of social integration

There seems to be as little consensus with respect to 'social integration' as there is for 'social exclusion'. This should not be astonishing, since both concepts are being used as each other's opposites.

As a model for social organisation, social integration usually refers to reciprocal cultural adaptation. In this sense different communities living within the same political boundaries take over part of the culture pattern of each other, in the end arriving at a shared system of values and norms (though not necessarily of life styles). The degree of reciprocity naturally depends upon the power relations between the different parties. In this sense, 'social integration' holds the middle between 'adaptation', that is the replacing of one's own cultural pattern by the dominant one, and 'specific development' (ghettoization, apartheid) which means the co-existence, peacefully or otherwise, of different societies (or cultures) within a formal political structure (a city, a state).

Lorentzen states that 'integration in society takes place through different roles, each reflected in different theories of integration'. The first set of roles is related to one's position as a

consumer, the second to the position as a citizen and the third - and 'most diffuse' - is related to the positions within the community, as a neighbour, member of associations and other networks outside the family. The three approaches - consumer, citizen and communitarian - differ in their focus of individual preconditions for societal integration. They also differ in their description of how exclusion and marginalisation occur' (Lorentzen). What is lacking in this elegant model, is the role that people have as producers. It is commonly accepted that overall social integration is fundamentally rooted in labour market integration (or economic integration in a larger sense) and this is very well grounded in empirical findings,

Should 'social integration' be replaced by 'social inclusion' , as was suggested at the seminar, because it is on the same 'logical continuum' as 'social exclusion'? There are good arguments for this replacement. In the relevant literature, the opposite for social integration is not social exclusion but *social segregation*; social exclusion then has as its twin *social inclusion*. A promising way to arrive at a solution could be Lockwood's distinction between social integration and system integration. However important, we will not elaborate on this point because it has not been treated sufficiently at the seminar.

The two new couples referred too earlier in this synthesis thus would carry the names of: 'integration & segregation' and 'inclusion & exclusion'. Which leaves us with the most recent member of this family, 'insertion'; let us, for the time being, consider it the odd man out.

It is important to include also the concept of 'solidarity' in our review and not only because it occupies a prominent position in the discourse of the E.C. Whereas 'social integration' and 'social exclusion' refer to the relation of a person to a group or the relation of a group to a larger community, 'solidarity' refers to the mechanisms of maintaining social cohesion within a group or a community. Specific forms of solidarity then are, besides 'spontaneous solidarity', systems of social security and of division of labour.

5 The utility of a model

A model is a simplified representation of reality which is useful and adequate for an understanding of and insight in reality. It consists, at least, of two elements and of the (one) relation between these two elements. The most complete model would contain all elements and relations to be discovered in a given reality. In its simplest form, a model is a replica, a reproduction, an isomorphic reconstruction of different aspects and levels of reality. The weaker model has functional relationships between its variables; the stronger ones have causal relationships. 'If relevant data are collected (...), from a sufficiently large sample, then the causal relationships between these characteristics can properly be treated as an empirical

issue through the family of regression and other statistical techniques. Causal modelling, rather than definitional fiat, should be the criterion by which social exclusion is determined' (Marshall).

We should make a distinction between two types of models, according to whether they refer to reality itself or to a conceptual representation of reality. Models that link concepts are called 'conceptual' models, whereas models that link variables and are meant to be tested are 'empirical' models.

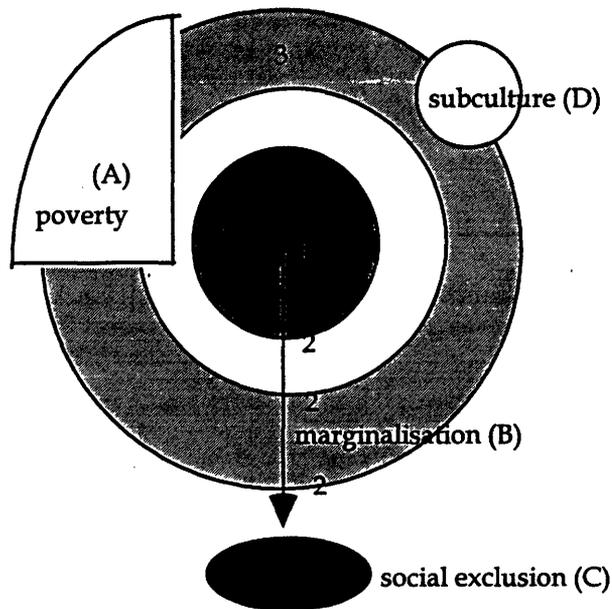
The ultimate test for a good model lies in its predictive capabilities. The social sciences, however, are weak at prediction and this is partly so because they have not yet developed theory and scientific methods far enough. The more fundamental reason is that their predictions are subject to unpredictable actions by their subject matters, individuals and groups. In spite of these limitations, it remains that a good model is an instrument of great relevance to policy makers, especially if a number of policy making variables are included. Even if this is not the case, as often is in structural models, a model should inform policy makers of the limits of their actions; they then become a good pedagogic tool.

Phenomena such as social exclusion, however, create an additional problem. The 'idea' of social exclusion perhaps is present in all societies, but its very forms differ. It means that models either are specified and then quickly tend to be falsified, or remain very general and then are but an intellectual exercise; which does not imply that this is not a legitimate and useful function. Short term models often are of the former type, long term models of the latter.

6. Conceptual models of social exclusion

A conceptual model on 'social exclusion' defines more or less specific relations between different concepts that are supposed to be relevant for understanding this reality. This also means that no concept can be defined outside its direct or indirect relation with at least one other concept. From the first part of this synthesis we have learned that there are many such concepts; as a result, a number of conceptual models on 'social exclusion' can be constructed. A debate on 'concepts' therefor always implies a debate about the underlying models.

An illustration of a conceptual model is given by Vranken. We reproduce the figure from his contribution to the seminar.



- 1: centre
- 2: ruptures
- 3: periphery

7. Empirical models

The first decision to be taken when constructing empirical models is whether to use 'social exclusion' as a dependent, an independent or an intermediate variable. Then comes the question about what variables to select? Does the development of statistical methods with which a set of mutually independent variables can be selected imply that there is no longer a role to be played by the researcher? On further investigation, there still is; several crucial decisions remain with the researcher. What is the number of variables to include? What type of variables to choose? Will the research be limited to endogenous factors only or will it also take account of endogenous ones? Should attention be focused on individual characteristics or on collective dimensions?

a. Some elements for an empirical model

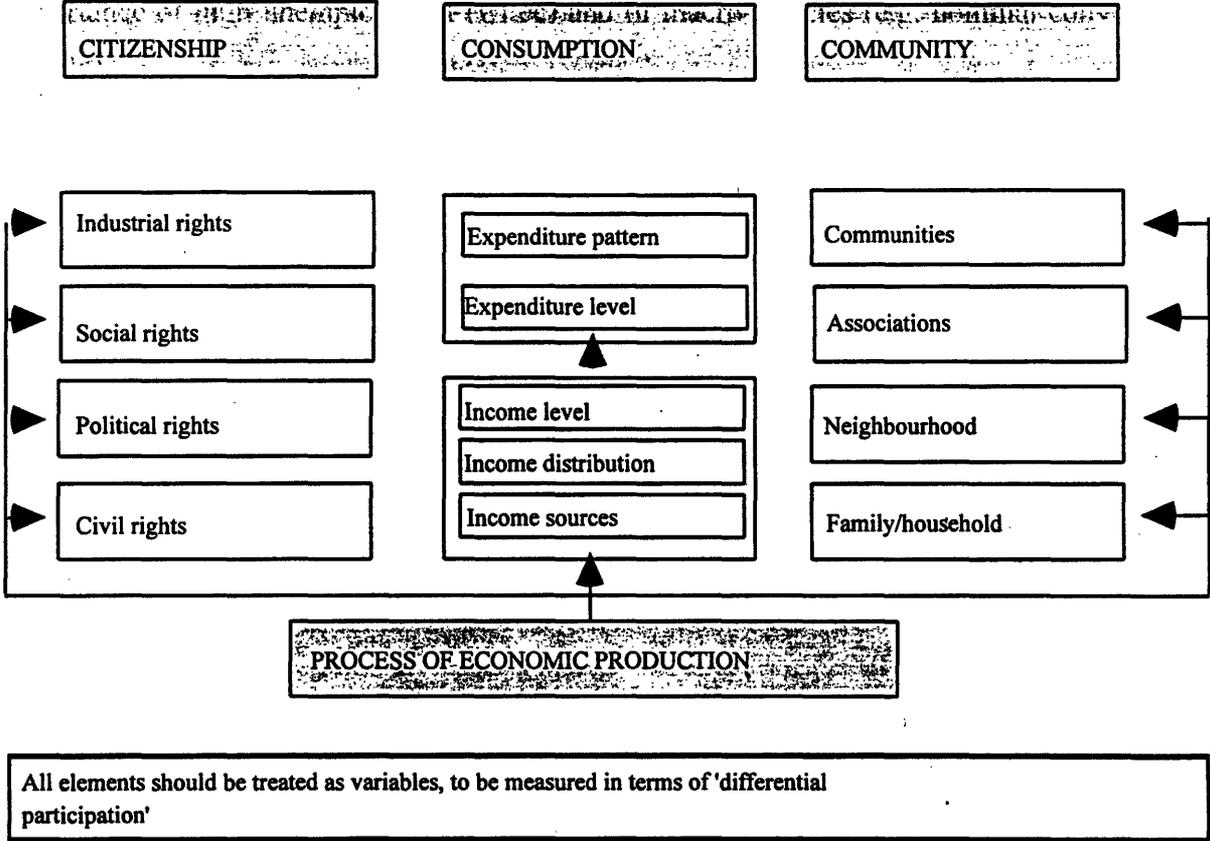
In the papers presented for the seminar and during the debate, a number of important elements for such an 'empirical' model have been summed up. We list them here rather at random.

Economic factors such as market processes (Heikkilä), the material dimension (Strobel), the speed and type of economic growth, which may have disruptive effects (v.a.) and the importance of high unemployment (Ultee) and of macro-policies (e.g. nominal convergence criteria).

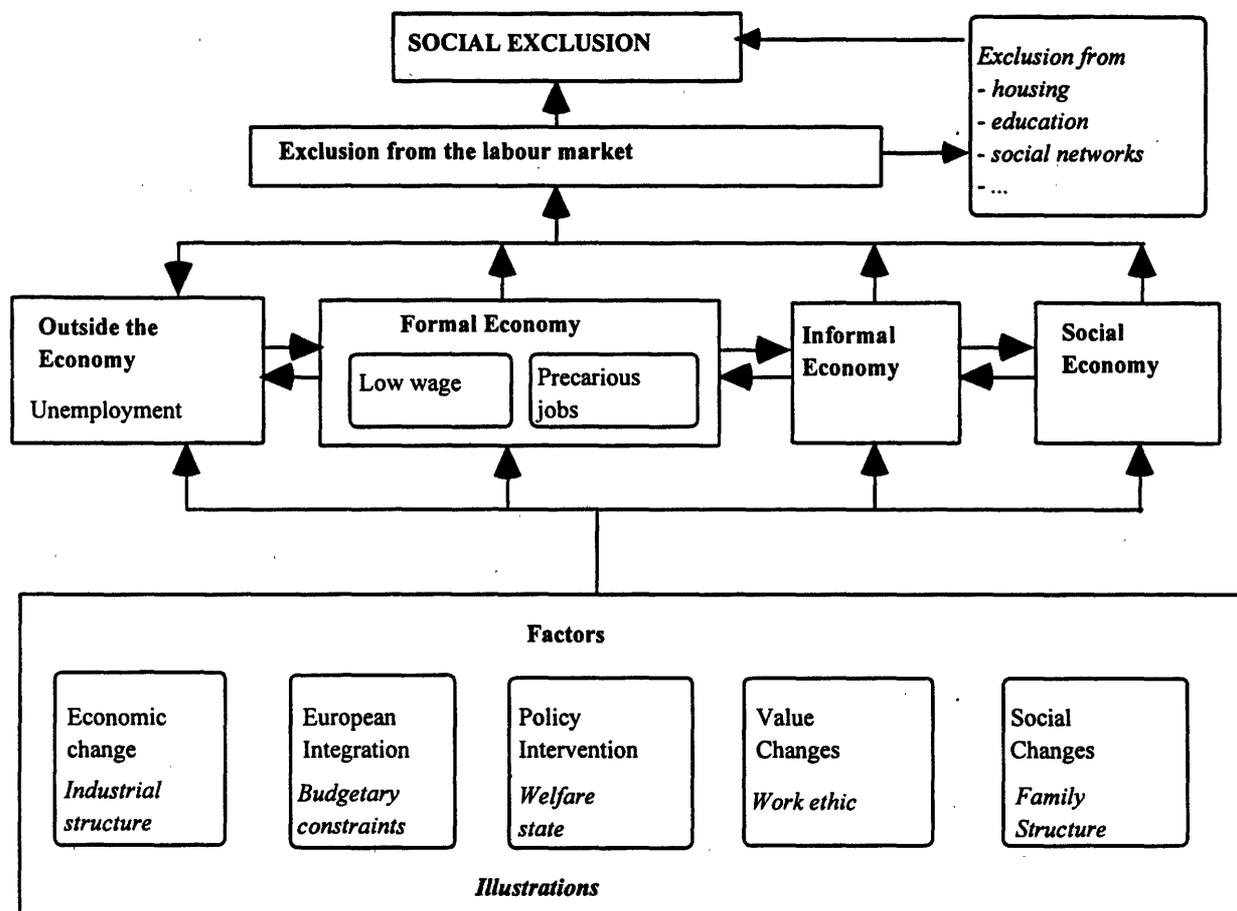
Social factors such as economic strain and low social support (Vilhjalmsson), resources and relations (v.a.), social protection policies (Heikkilä) or the level of welfare provision and the opportunities for secure employment (underclass debate, Marshall)

Cultural factors such as the symbolic dimension such as collective representations (Strobel) or subjective perceptions and economic changes (Heikkilä)

For practical reasons, illustrations are again taken from Vranken's paper. In the first model, an attempt has been made to integrate some of these factors into a whole.



For one element (exclusion from the labour market) this model could be specified as follows:



b. Models at different levels

Both types of models (conceptual and empirical) often will refer to different societal levels: the micro, the meso and the macro level. Micro-models are about individuals and their behaviour, meso-models about institutions, groups or (local) communities and macro-models about whole societies (regions, nation-states, international unions, cross-national institutions, the world).

In this respect, the crucial and so far unresolved problem in theory and model building is: how to link these different levels? Indeed, any step from the micro level to both the other levels implies an epistemological 'jump'. At the micro-level, *attributional* characteristics of individuals constitute the basic data, whereas at the meso-level *relational* information, linking social units, dominates. The integration of different levels thus will be a difficult matter, only to be undertaken at the conceptual level. Empirical models only exist in the form of partial models; they could be integrated at one of the three levels.

The only paradigm trying to bridge the gap between micro, meso and macro is the network paradigm. It implies that any breakthrough will have to focus on relational characteristics and not on attributional ones. Contradictions between the different levels can, however, be productive; they will invite us to formulate relevant questions.

It is clear that micro-models based upon individual behaviour are most developed, by economists and psychologists. Economists tend to see people's behaviour as the result of an optimization of their welfare or utility. If one introduces uncertainty and erroneous perceptions about the constraints subject to which utility is maximized, as well as uncertainty about the consequences of one's decisions, then it is possible, according to Klevmarcken, to explain at least partly social exclusion as an unfortunate result of an unsuccessful attempt to maximize welfare. Another micro-economic approach is through a micro simulation model, which could be used as a vehicle to achieve an integration of economic growth models and the issues of inequality and social exclusion.

Another distinction refers to the range of the model: closed or open models. The former will try to isolate the phenomenon of social exclusion from its social context and focus upon specific variables. Open models will introduce variables or concepts linking the phenomena of social exclusion to their societal context. However, even an open model should be targeted on the conditions to be explained and in our case, this is 'social exclusion'.

What is needed, is a European cross-national comparative understanding of social exclusion/inclusion and this is a necessary instrument for cross-national capability of relevant knowledge (use and analysis of data). The research effort therefor should start from a series of specific models within the European context, which then could be linked and finally integrated. Should we, however, strive for 'holistic' models, based upon a 'general' theory?

c. Static versus dynamic models?

The consensus about the need for introducing the time dimension in the constructing of models, the importance of static models should not be neglected. Indeed, static models allow us to focus upon the structural dimension. It should by now have become clear that this is an important one, given that social exclusion in general and in many of its forms constitutes a feature of all societies and of most larger groups. Concerning the development of dynamic models, it should be noted that the use of panel surveys perhaps is a necessary step but not a sufficient one. Longitudinal data of this kind only refer to the micro level and should be placed within a context of institutional change and an even larger.

Another way of approaching this opposition is that of focusing attention either on events or on recurrent features; either on crises or on 'normal' situations. Vilhjalmsson presents a model, linking economic downturns to occupational and domestic upsets, resulting in economic strains and low social support. These contribute in turn to the marginalisation of life-style. It is indeed the 'support deterioration hypothesis', which states that strains undermine supports, at least in the long run, which receives most support from the available research evidence.

8. The use of models

Models are very difficult to construct and at the same time a most important part of scientific activity. They are most difficult, because the construction of models presupposes at least one well-developed theory, the identification of relevant variables and their specification into indicators. They are the most important part for roughly the same reasons: only scientific endeavours that arrive at constructing a model are really successful. Models contribute to a better understanding how (a given part of) reality works. Models also can be targeted to policy-making variables. Even if this is not the case, policies always are one of the main variables.

Researchers' and policy-makers' interests do meet here, because - as Comte already wrote - 'savoir pour prévoir, prévoir pour pouvoir'; reality only can be controlled and changed if one can foresee its developments and in order to do so one needs to know reality. This does not mean that their interests always coincide, because the theoretical context and related indicators can be selected either with a focus on better understanding society, or rather at changing society. In the former case, the model will include rather structural - and therefore less manageable - dimensions of society, whereas in the latter case more attention will be paid to policy relevant dimensions, which can be manipulated by policy-makers.

The consequence is that very close relations exist between perspectives, theories and models and between models (as a set of variables) and social indicators.

9. What kind of data?

We certainly do need more and better data on social exclusion and related matters, but most of all we need research to relate them systematically to data on other social groups and situations and more in particular to social inequality and social stratification in general.

Some consensus exists on the need to further explore existing data bases and to improve the informative quality of administrative data bases on phenomena of social exclusion. Both can be done with less money and probably give more insights into social exclusion than the often superficial analyses done on new data gathered through expensive surveys. If new surveys are to be undertaken, they should focus on specific conditions and neighbourhoods and certainly overrepresent target groups and situations. 'Only targeted surveys will yield sufficient numbers for anything other than the most simple analysis' (Marshall: 6).

In the debate, relational data often have been opposed to resource or attributional data. According to Room (1994) this distinction is related to two major intellectual traditions. The Anglo-Saxon tradition has focussed on (lack of) resources and poverty whereas the French tradition has been more concerned with the relational aspects of social exclusion. Resources usually have been handled as attributional data, which are collected through traditional surveys, panel surveys included. They should (at least) be complemented by qualitative and quantitative surveys on the 'structures (and strategies) of daily life of the poor', generating relational data. The key question then becomes: what types of relations do not give (sufficient) access to social resources and thus lead to social exclusion? What types of relations protect people against exclusion, thus becoming resources themselves?

Both kinds of data have been linked in the network approach, where resource data are placed into the essential relational context of networks. Resources are relevant insofar they are part of a network; if not, they are not accessible and thus not part of the social exchange structure.

10. A proposal and a list of priorities

a. Where does 'social inclusion' belong? A proposal.

The different concepts and models should be integrated into a framework, which respects their variety and legitimises their the different components. There is a need for a general theory but reality is different and variety perhaps will prove to be more productive. So the main conclusion could be that there is no need for a new analytical tool, since all relevant elements can be identified with the help of the present toolbox. However, it would be a pity to throw away nice things and this reflexion upon the place of the concept of 'social exclusion' has not been not useless. On the contrary, it has been very stimulating.

My personal conclusion is that perhaps the best use to be made is as the name for a toolbox, that is for indicating a set of more specific but closely interrelated concepts. In this, 'social

exclusion' then would resemble 'social inequality' and 'social differentiation'. Both also are generic concepts under which a set of more specific concepts is collected. It refers to a complementary reality, in that

1° social *differentiation* refers to a structure or to the related process, where the elements only are *horizontally* differentiated from one another. They thus stand 'side by side', as it were;

2° social *inequality* refers to a set of *vertically* different(iated) elements. In this case, there is hierarchy between the elements of a set, based on economic, social, political or cultural power relations and often even on irreconcilably opposed interests. Inequality is possible in a framework of either continuity (different functionalist 'strata') or discontinuity (different marxist 'classes') ;

3° social *exclusion* adds another relation to the set of elements; it implies a *discrepancy*, a 'gap'. Inequality becomes that large and deep that part of the set of elements is driven outside the system (i.e. the dominant social order).

Schematically:

| Social differentiation | Social inequality | Social exclusion |
|---|--|--|
| Definitions | | |
| <i>Differences between persons or groups, without implying economic, social or political inequalities</i> | <i>Inequalities between persons or groups; the existence of an economic, social or political hierarchy</i> | <i>Exclusion of persons (from groups/society) and groups (from society); a situation outside the dominant social order</i> |
| Illustrations | | |
| eating habits, 'folkways' | income distribution | poverty |
| colour of hair, eyes | access to higher education | 'institutionalisation' (prisons, psychiatric institutes) |
| personal tastes | | |
| Specific concepts | | |
| cultural patterns | participation (degrees of) | 'marginal man' |
| communities | social classes | culture of poverty |

Or, in terms of an equation:

Social differentiation + hierarchy = social inequality;
social inequality + discrepancy = social exclusion.

The introduction of 'social exclusion' would thus enlarge the traditional duo to a trio, better covering social reality as it appears to-day in particular.

b. A list of priorities

1° Try to develop a clear conceptual framework, eventually frameworks, which facilitate mutual understanding between participants in the debate.

2° Do not try to find a definition for an isolated concept of 'social exclusion', but define it in a 'relational' way. That is, try to identify which elements of social reality are important for a better understanding of our field of concern. These should therefore be put into a concept and given a definite name. How are these concepts related?

3° Promote relational data and the network paradigm in research on resource allocation and accessibility, on 'the structures of daily life of the poor'. Use existing data bases (included administrative ones) and focus upon secondary analyses.

4° Pay more attention to the overall context that produces social exclusion (structures and processes).

5° Develop networks of researchers for integrating the theoretical and conceptual knowledge. Organise future meetings from the perspective of accumulating knowledge, accepting and respecting the existence of different theories and models.

Some personal ideas for a research programme on social exclusion (partly realised)

Prof. dr. Jan Vranken

This research programme should draw the lessons from former research and related experiences. These lessons can be summarised as follows:

- 1° The need to develop a research framework and a research strategy before carrying out the programme;
- 2° Develop well-organised interactions and networks between the main partners and functions;
- 3° Close monitoring of research initiatives, including a regular checking of their goal-orientation and their complementarity;
- 4° Better use of research results, through the development of a more standardised methodological framework and their integration into larger and better publicised initiatives.

Taking account of the basis principles also means that the research programme should invest in researching the neglected (non-income dimensions) of social exclusion and social integration, in the creation of networks (that is, bringing together research groups and other relevant partners who have been working on problems of social exclusion) and that it should contribute to a better knowledge of the actual living conditions of the socially excluded.

The general idea behind this is that the emphasis of research should be shifted from the *results* of the production processes of social exclusion to these production processes themselves. The main question then is: which are the processes that produce social exclusion in contemporary European societies, at the macro-level (e.g. labour market, social policies), at the meso-level (e.g. inner-city poverty, the accessibility of social services) and at the micro-level (the structures of daily life of the poor, social networks and their functions). This does however not mean that we can afford to neglect the results of these processes of production. They constitute the direct environment with which the poor have to cope every day and they are the indicators with which relevant partners have to work in assessing the impact of policy programmes.

Most important is that the research efforts should not be restricted to the discovering of problematic situations, but that some dynamic and prospective perspective are introduced. Indeed, the programme is not only focused on social exclusion but also to foster social integration and it is this second part that perhaps will invite most approval by the outer world.

This means that our attention should also go to the strengthening of initiatives to promote solidarity and to increase the chances of emancipation. Since there still is some vagueness about the central concepts, a special and co-ordinated effort should be undertaken to clarify them and to structure the debate. This should be done in close collaboration with scientific disciplines that until now have somewhat been left outside the poverty programmes: philosophy, history, psychology, cultural anthropology).

Although research has its own logic and should be carried out autonomously, it should not isolate itself from the other partners and their activities.

If I had to choose, two major things:

1° research on social exclusion should pay more attention to production process than to results

2° EC should give importance to all actors, ... (experts), and to consultation for implicating the actors.

1° It will support the development of models for the co-ordination of activities at different levels of social administration and political decision-making: the local, the regional, the national and the transnational level.

2° It will contribute to the development of networks of individual researchers and research institutions with the development of themes around which their activities are structured and of strategies.

3° It will invest in the increasing of synergy between research and the policies to combat social exclusion at all levels in the member states.

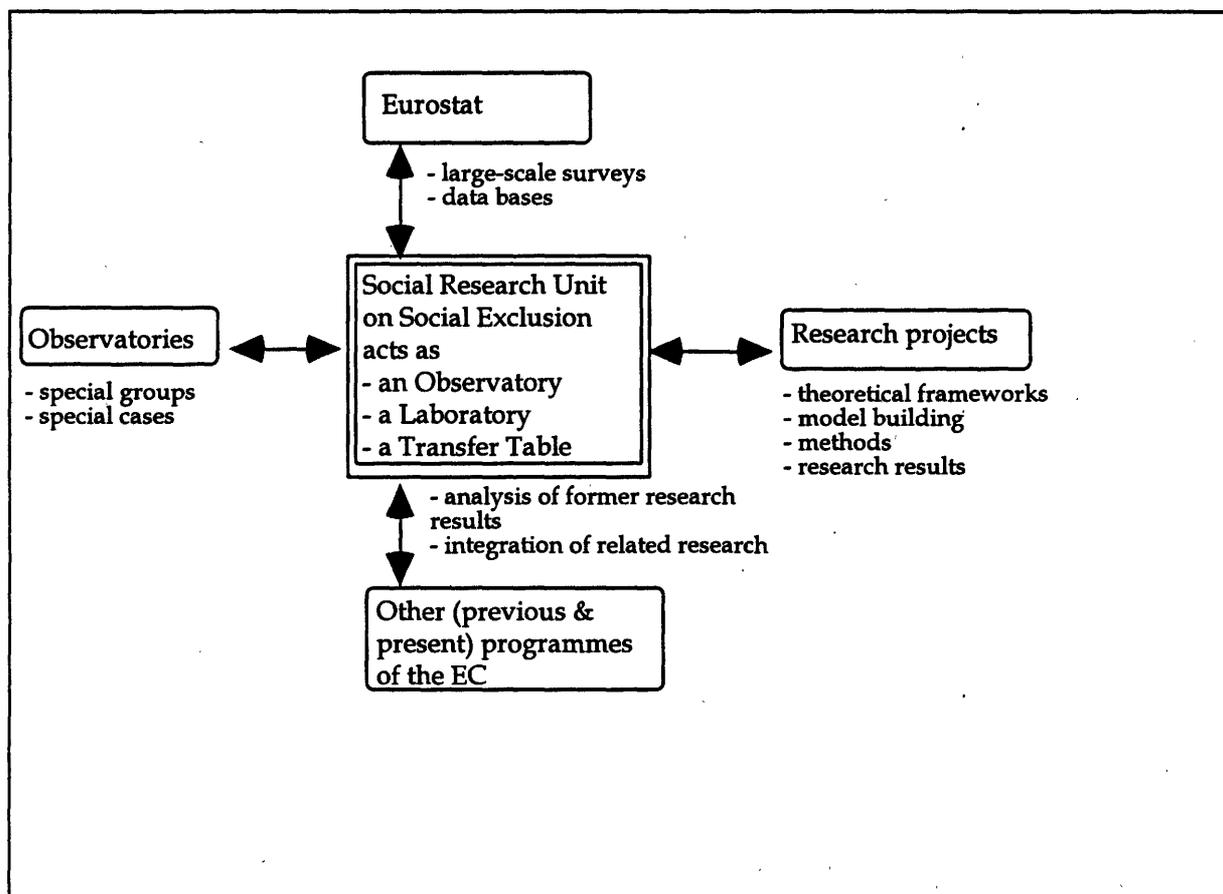
4° It will promote the research results obtained at the different levels, with special attention to its comparative dimension.

5° It will assist in the development of a database on social exclusion and in the preparation and presentation of annual reports.

6° Last but not least, it should prepare, in collaboration with the Commission, research activities, reports and specific analyses that contribute directly or indirectly to the further development and the success of the programme.

Elements for an organisational chart

Of course, the activities mentioned above will not be undertaken in isolation. The best way to assure their maximum effect is to set up a network (or several networks) that facilitates the input of the resources available and the distribution of the results to as many relevant actors as possible.



The relation with these different 'research partners' could be defined as follows.

1° With the projects.

A central unit should contribute to improving the quality of the projects and guarantee a better co-ordination between them. This co-ordination should lead a completing of in gaps in the information on the subject in specific spatial areas, to improve knowledge of crucial aspects of the problems of social exclusion and to co-ordinate the efforts of the projects.

However, a central unit should also function as a sort of 'transfer table' on which expertise is collected and transferred to the projects or to other relevant actors (such as Eurostat, Observatories, related Community initiatives, research centres). Indeed, during former research programmes, a lot of money has been spent on research but this effort has but left few traces.

2° Surveys should be set up or continued in close collaboration with Eurostat. The specific contribution from TSER could be:

- to monitor the 'social exclusion' dimension of indicators and of statistics;
- to complete the statistical information, by undertaking special surveys in those regions or on those matters on which crucial information is missing:

- to ensure and to improve the accessibility of the data for relevant users;
- to monitor co-ordination, so that the data can be used for evaluating the impact of initiatives to combat social exclusion and to promote social inclusion.

3° With the 'Observatories' . The meeting in Pavia (1993) has taught some important lessons: that many materials are being collected and analysed and that they are not being used sufficiently. Therefore, a sustained co-ordination and feedback effort are proposed.

4° With individual researchers and research centres.

One of the criteria for a successful research programme is its cumulative character: it is based on former research results and it tries to integrate the products of other researchers and institutes. This means that the TSER programme should first evaluate the products of former poverty programmes; this evaluation then should lead to the identification of strong and weak points in our knowledge of the problem and could perhaps already inform us on the ways in which to tackle the lacunae. Secondly, we should try to make an inventory of relevant ongoing research efforts outside the poverty programme and to stimulate co-operation and networking between researchers and institutes and between producers of research results and their - potential - users (included the poor themselves). By making use of existing resources and expertise, we can multiply the effects of the means reserved for research.

5° In short, the 'Social Research Unit' should act as:

- an 'observatory'
- a 'transfer table'
- a 'laboratory'

The research unit should try to avoid all meetings and exchanges that would not add to our knowledge of the subject matters. This means that

- the number of large and formal meetings early in the programme will be kept to a minimum;
- attention will go to small meetings of experts that are very well prepared, that have well-defined goals and the result of which thus can be clearly evaluated;
- only in a later stage, the (partial or complete) results of research efforts will be disseminated through organised efforts (larger meetings).

SOCIAL EXCLUSION AS A MULTILEVEL-MULTIDIMENSIONAL PROCESS

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Synopsis

Numerous studies have documented how social structures and changes affect institutional arrangements and processes, creating differential experiences among role occupants. Research on social exclusion has linked economic downturns, social stratification, and geographic segmentation to contraction and restructuring within industries and firms, and to layoffs, demotions, and other exclusionary job experiences of workers. The literature also finds that economic contraction and social stratification affect families in the form of divorce, separation and illnesses and deaths of family members. Few exclusion studies have simultaneously combined macro, meso, and micro levels of analysis, and few have precisely delineated micro forms and processes of exclusion. A model is presented linking economic downturns to occupational and domestic upsets, resulting in economic strains and low social support. Strains and low support in turn contribute to marginalization of life-style. The implications of the model for future research are briefly discussed.

Understanding the social distribution of misfortune is a major challenge in social exclusion research. It involves mapping over time multidimensional and multilevel conditions and processes which diminish the economic, social, and personal resources essential for the health and well-being of individuals. Numerous studies have documented the adverse effects of cyclical downward change in the economy. Industries contract, firms are downsized and restructured, and workers are either demoted, laid off, or confronted with new responsibilities and constraints. Stratification also shapes patterns of misfortune. Lower social strata by definition comprise positions and statuses with restricted access to resources (e.g. money, information) needed for avoiding or combatting adversities. Thus individuals having low socioeconomic status, tend to be more exposed and vulnerable to undesirable job, economic, and domestic events (Kessler, 1979; Pearlin & Lieberman, 1979). Economic segmentation also affects people's misfortunes. The more developed economic areas or sectors contain jobs with relatively high wages, good working conditions, chances of advancement and employment stability, whereas less developed areas or sectors are characterized by low-paying jobs, poor working conditions, few advancement opportunities, job instability and high turnover (Bosanquet & Doeringer, 1973; Kalleberg & Sorensen, 1979). Undesirable job and economic events are thus more likely in the less developed areas of the economy. The picture of differential misfortune is further complicated by the interaction between economic change, social stratification, and economic segmentation. Thus, downturns in an economy tend to be more disruptive within lower social strata and in less developed or declining economic sectors.

In addition to firms and workers, social exclusion processes affect families in various ways. Some of these processes are internal, arising within the family, whereas others are external, originating in outside circumstances. As Pearlin and Turner (1987) have pointed out, the multiple roles family members occupy are the channels through which the family becomes integrated with and influenced by other social institutions and arenas of social life. Disruptive occupational and economic events, such as job demotion, layoff, or bankruptcy of own business, can strain or break family relations (Ross & Sawhill, 1975), and, if conditions do not improve, even result in illnesses and deaths of family members. The negative influences on the family may stem from :

1. emotional distress originating in outside roles being brought into the family and transformed into family stresses.
2. incompatible responsibilities and demands between family and work, or
3. loss of outside social status affecting self-esteem and domestic authority of a family member and hence the functioning of the family (Pearlin & Turner, 1987).

The microconsequences of upsetting and exclusionary processes at the institutional (meso) level of families and workplaces have only recently been subjected to systematic investigation. Two exclusionary microaspects of interest to researchers have been economic strains and low social support, both of which are important contributors to poor mental and physical health. The effects of disruptive job events on economic strain are well established. People who have been fired, laid off, downgraded, or have quit their jobs because of illness, are less able to afford a suitable home or car, have more difficulties paying their bills, are less able to afford furniture, household equipment, and clothes that need to be replaced, do not have enough money for their leisure activities and are even unable to buy the kinds of food they and their family should have (Pearlin, Menaghan, Lieberman, & Mullan, 1981; Kong, Perrucci, & Perrucci, 1993).

Disruptive events within families may also independently affect economic strain. Studies have repeatedly documented that separation, divorce, and serious long-term illnesses of family members tend to be adversely related to family income and economic strains (e.g., Day & Bahr, 1986; Pearlin & Johnson, 1977; Strauss, Corbin, Fagerhaugh, Glaser, Maines, Suczek, & Wiener, 1984, p. 5).

As for social support, families are a key source, whether in terms of emotional, informational or tangible assistance. Members of stable equitable families receive more support than members of unstable inequitable ones (Pearlin, 1975), and the married tend to be more highly supported than the unmarried (Pearlin & Johnson, 1977; Pearlin et al., 1981, p. 354). Also, one family member may have ties to outside supporters from whom other members receive secondary benefits. Thus, disruptive family events can seriously undermine the total level of support a person receives from his social environment.

In addition to families, workplaces have been identified as important sources of social support. For example, studies of male workers find that emotional and task support from coworkers and supervisor reduces the negative effects of job stress on life satisfaction and psychological distress (House, 1980; LaRocco, House, & French, 1980). Workplaces may also indirectly contribute to supportiveness of non-work relationships. For example, individuals who are

successful at work and satisfied with their job appear to function better in their families and enjoy more supportive marriages (House, 1980). Consequently, studies find that disruptive job events can significantly undermine relationships not only with workmates, but also family members, and even non-relative friends (Atkinson, Liem, & Liem, 1986; Powell & Driscoll, 1986).

The two micro outcomes of social exclusion - economic strain and low social support - are also connected. Two contrasting hypotheses have been proposed to account for the connection. The support mobilization hypothesis maintains a positive relationship whereby stresses and strains activate social supports, whereas the support deterioration hypothesis posits that strains undermine supports, at least in the long run (Barrera, 1986; Vilhjalmsson, 1993). The limited research evidence available suggests support deterioration (Kong, Perrucci, & Perrucci, 1993); Mitchell & Moos, 1984 ; Vilhjalmsson, 1993). One reason may be that an individual needing support may overtax his or her supporters leading them to withdraw their subsequent support. Alternatively, since relatives and friends may themselves partly experience the same adverse circumstances, their supporting ability may already be undermined.

Finally, a model of social exclusion needs to consider the implications of economic strains and low social support for individual behaviour. Previous theoretical work and available research evidence suggests that economic deprivation contributes to life-style marginalization. According to Robert Merton's (1957) well known functional theory, a mismatch between the values and means of material success creates economic frustration leading to different forms of social deviance. Several other stratification based theories of deviance likewise link economic deprivation and delinquency (e.g. Cloward & Ohlin, 1960). There is also research evidence connecting ongoing life strains to health risk behaviours, such as heavy drinking and smoking (e.g. House, Strecher, Metzner, & Robbins, 1986; Peirce, Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1994). The strain-risk behaviour relationship has generally been interpreted as a stress coping mechanism. Supporting this interpretation, a study of the stress process by Cronkite and Moos (1984) found a significant association between alcohol use and an independent measure of avoidance coping for both men and women.

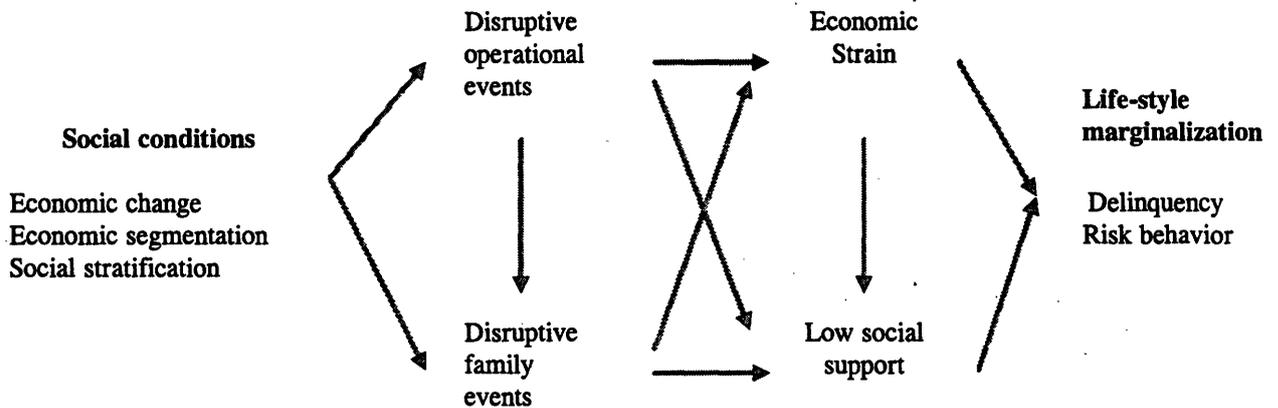
In addition to economic strain, low social support appears to contribute independently to marginalization of lifestyle. For example, low attachment or support from significant others is generally related to more adolescent delinquency (Hirschi, 1969). Inadequately supported individuals may lack external behavioral control or reinforcement (Wilson & Brownell, 1980), or have low self-esteem facilitating self-derogatory behaviour. Adolescent studies show that low parental support is related to more smoking and alcohol use, irregular meals, unhealthy diet and less exercise (Nutbeam, Aar, & Catford, 1989; Vilhjalmsson, 1994), and studies of adults show that low spouse support is related to more smoking and less physical exercise (Morgan, 1977; Dishman, 1982).

Modelling the exclusion process.

Based on the above literature review, a model of exclusion can be derived, linking economic change, economic segmentation, and social stratification to the distribution of disruptive

occupational and family events affecting economic strain and social support which in turn influence lifestyle (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 : Multilevel-multidimensional model of social exclusion



Although it is consistent with the literature, the model in Figure 1 has not been subject to systematic and thorough investigation. This is particularly true with regard to the micro and behavioral manifestations of exclusion. Furthermore, most studies of the exclusionary model depicted in Figure 1 are based on U.S. community samples. In an attempt to partially and tentatively evaluate the model, I use data from the first of two community surveys of 825 adult residents in the urban Reykjavik area of Iceland (Vilhjalmsson, 1993). The adjusted response rate of the survey was 72 percent, and the sample represented the population well sociodemographically (Vilhjalmsson, 1993). The survey data enables evaluation of the meso and micro aspects of exclusion depicted in Figure 1.

Occupational disruption included being fired, laid off, demoted, changing to a worse job, and losing ones business.

Family disruption was measured by divorce, separation, serious illness, and accident or death of a family member.

Economic strain was assessed in terms of difficulties paying bills and not having enough money to make ends meet.

Social support was measured as emotional, task, informational, and material supports accessible from spouse/cohabitant, relative, and friend.

Finally, live-style was assessed in terms of numerous health-related behaviours.

Turning to the results, the study finds that disruptive occupational events are significantly related to both economic strain and lower emotional and material supports. Also, occupational events are significantly related to disruptive family events. The latter are related to economic strains and lower emotional, task, and material supports. Both economic strains and low social support are in turn related to negative aspects of lifestyle, including smoking, irregular means, insufficient sleep, and low or no physical exercise.

This review and tentative assessment of critical aspects of the process of exclusion has noteworthy implications. There is a clear need for both careful cross-sectional as well as longitudinal cross-national studies of exclusion processes along the lines suggested in this paper. Such studies should both compare average levels of critical exclusion components between target groups and countries, and assess the existence and relative strength of relationships between these components from one target group or country to the other. This would enhance our understanding of specificities and communalities in levels and processes of exclusion.

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MODELLING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION. A "SMÖRGÅSBORD" OF RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES.

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An attempted definition of social exclusion.

Social exclusion is related to phenomena like poverty, unemployment, bad health and criminality. It is sometimes also related to low housing standards, isolation from friends, relatives and other members of society, and isolation from and disinterest in political and social processes.

One might say that social exclusion is characterized by:

- a state of isolation from other members of society,
- deviations in behaviour,
- a lack of control,
- a state of long duration.

Perspectives on social exclusion.

Studies of social exclusion may take different perspectives. Most common are probably studies with an individual perspective, which attempt to determine the characteristics of socially excluded as compared to socially integrated, or to put it differently to study the risk factors of becoming socially excluded. Causes of social exclusion are either found in the characteristics and the behaviour of individuals or in events and forces to which an individual are exposed but usually does not fully control.

Another perspective is the macro perspective. Much of the problems related to poverty and unemployment can be mitigated in a society with high economic growth. But rapid economic growth may also involve processes which lead to an increased inequality in incomes and welfare and thus to social exclusion. Although economic growth might be a prime target for policy to cope with the current economic and social problems of Europe the conditions of growth might be of importance for understanding social exclusion. If the growth process increases the risk of social exclusion for certain groups of society we have a policy problem in cushioning these groups from the consequences of growth, and to do it in such a way that the growth process itself is not hold back too much.

A third perspective on the problems of social exclusion is thus the policy perspective. There are various types of policies which are of interest. Already mentioned are policies which promote economic growth but in such a way that the problems of increased inequality and social exclusion are minimized. These are policies which decrease the risk of becoming socially excluded. There is also a need for policies which mitigate the burden of those who have already become socially excluded. The system of social security to a large extent satisfies these needs. There are, however, design issues of the social security system related to the incentives to claim social security and to leave the system and return to normal life without needing the benefits. Finally there is a need for policy measures which take people out of their state of social exclusion and reintegrate them into a normal society. These are policies which, for instance, give people incentives to look for normal jobs in the market, perhaps after a period of retraining, and policies which rehabilitate people who have suffered from sickness or work injuries to a normal (working) life, and policies which bring people out of addiction to drugs.

Approaches to research about social exclusion

These three perspectives suggest different approaches to research about social exclusion.

Social exclusion is sometimes linked to external events which have the character of disasters or accidents like, for instance, war, sickness and layoffs from work. Another scenario is related to religious and ethical differences and conflicts. Discrimination is a third mechanism which can result in social exclusion.

However, everyone who experience one of these events, are exposed to ethnic conflicts or discriminated against, for instance, in the labour market, does not become socially excluded. There are selection mechanisms working, the outcome of which depends on the event as such and the ability of an individual to cope with the situation. Individual differences in coping may have many explanations, but the economic and social background is likely to be important. Those who have been brought up in a disadvantaged environment with respect to health and safety, under poor circumstances with few opportunities to invest in human capital and in good health are more likely to become exposed to events which might bring people into social exclusion and perhaps less well equipped to cope with situations of stress and thus more likely to become disintegrated from a normal life.

The process of social exclusion is in most cases gradual. All unemployed, for instance, are not socially excluded. Not until the unemployment has been of such a long duration that the family economy is ruined and there are very few degrees of freedom left, that the unemployed has become so discouraged about finding a new job that he no longer looks for one, and that the mental stress of not finding a job and not being able to live a normal life gives rise to relational problems inside and outside the family and to health problems, then we could talk about social exclusion. However, very long spells of unemployment do not lead to social exclusion with probability one. For instance, a wealthy person can afford to be unemployed for long periods, an unemployed family member might enjoy the support from other family members, economically, socially and mentally, to cope with the situation and not become disintegrated from normal life. An unemployed might also consciously chose to remain unemployed. The unemployment benefits might be so generous and the preferences for leisure so dominating that there are very little incentives to leave the state of

unemployed. In a sense a person who behaves in this way could be considered socially excluded because one might argue that this behaviour is uncommon and deviates from what most people think is normal, but it is not obvious that it is a social problem of the same dignity as in the case of a frustrated individual who wants a job but cannot find one. The issue then is rather whether the tax payers will allow this behaviour at their expense.

Social exclusion is also related to the norms which are accepted in society. If being unemployed, taking an early retirement or enjoying the benefits of social relief carry a stigma, then these states are more likely to lead to social exclusion than in a society where these states are accepted as normal and where it is considered a social right to get the benefits from unemployment *insurance* or social security *insurance*. These states are also less likely to become stigmatizing if the shares of unemployed, on early retirement and on welfare are high.

Research in an individual perspective will thus have to identify the events which might lead to exclusion and to study how they interact with personal and environmental factors. Depending on the situation it is likely that the influence of more than one factor is needed to bring a person into the state of social exclusion. The data needed will not only include individual observations on behaviour and characteristics but also observations about the environment and about relations to other people. Given that the process of becoming socially excluded is time consuming, data should be longitudinal and ideally they should be event history data which would make possible analysis of entries into and exits out of states that precede the state of social exclusion as well as entries to and exits from this state as such.

One important result from this research will become the identification and measurement of risk factors as well as their relative timing and the strength and duration of their effects. A somewhat higher level of ambition would be to understand and model the causal processes which lead to social exclusion. Economists are used to see people's behaviour as the result of an optimization of their welfare or utility. Given that social exclusion is a undesirable state which in most cases gives disutility to an individual it might look paradoxical to use this paradigm. However, if one introduces uncertainty and erroneous perceptions about the constraints subject to which utility is maximized as well as uncertainty about the consequences of one's decisions, then it is possible at least partly to explain social exclusion as an unfortunate result of an unsuccessful attempt to maximize welfare! Research would then have to concentrate on the nature of intertemporal (budget) constraints and on people's perception of these constraints and, to borrow an expression from another field, on people's risk management. Such an approach certainly does not exclude alternative explanations like, for instance, discrimination and addiction.

Individual data have been used to compute various welfare indicators and indicators of social exclusion. These are useful to monitor aggregate changes (changes in frequencies) over time and across countries, to the extent these measures are comparable. In principle one might think of using variations in the time dimension and country differences to explain changes and differences in these indicators. Experiences from similar research efforts in other areas suggest, however, that it is difficult to obtain meaningful and reliable results from aggregate indicators only (See for instance, Agell et al(1994), Atkinson(1995) and Klevmarken(1994)). The most promising approach to understanding the mechanisms behind social exclusion is most certainly to use micro data, also in cross country comparisons. This approach permits the combination of micro and macro measures which will facilitate an understanding of how general changes in society, in particular changes in the macro economy, influence individual behaviour.

There is a vast literature on economic growth. Much is theoretical work building on highly stylized economies and using aggregate concepts. Most empirical studies also use aggregate measures. There is an increasing literature on the effects of schooling and other investments in human capital on growth, about entrepreneurship and management, and about the diffusion of new technology. In the last few decades the relations between the public sector and economic growth, if any, has also been much discussed. It is claimed that the incentives of public programs and the tax wedges that arise when the public sector is financed moderate growth. The empirical case for this is, however, not convincingly strong (Agell et al(1994), Atkinson(1995), Klevmarken(1994)).

There is also a more general issue about the relations between inequality, incentives and economic growth. To what extent are wage differences, income inequalities and differences in consumption opportunities necessary and useful in producing the right incentives for work and entrepreneurship and thus also for economic growth? There is also the reversed issue: Does economic growth tend to increase inequalities in welfare? These issues have been on the research agenda at least since Keynes(1936) and they have recently got renewed interest. If increased inequality increases the risk of social exclusion and there is a positive correlation between inequality and growth, then there is also a trade off between social exclusion and growth. However, the interrelation between social exclusion and growth might be an even more complex one. For instance, the speed of the growth process might adversely influence social exclusion. Rapid growth is synonymous with the introduction of new technology, the demand for new human capital and flexibility in the combination of the productive resources. Human capital is ageing fast, old production units go out of business and new start. There is a rapid restructuring of the economy. All this implies that part of the labour force will find it difficult to adjust and run an increasing risk of exclusion from the labour market. One obvious indicator of this process is the increasing number of work injuries and early retirements.

Research about growth and social exclusion will obviously have to combine studies at the macro and policy level with studies at the micro level. There is a need for studies both of detailed parts of the process and of the whole structure. One vehicle to achieve an integration of models for the growth process and the issues of inequality and social exclusion is a micro simulation model. Such a model could, for instance, be used to study how various growth scenarios influence inequality and social exclusion, and how various policy measures affect social exclusion.

Tentative conclusions

Social exclusion is an area which can fruitfully be approach with different aims and methodologies and within several academic disciplines. But in the multidisciplinary approach lies the difficulty to get very different views to support each other in order to reach a consensus.

Both theoretical and empirical research is needed. We should demand more theorizing about the causes of social exclusion and about the processes which lead to social exclusion. Empirical research should emphasize the interaction of risk factors, the timing and spacing (dynamics) of the processes of social exclusion and the relations between economic growth, integration and social exclusion.

The empirical basis for research should primarily be longitudinal micro data, if possible of event history type. They should be collected in such a way that they permit cross country comparisons.

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INEQUALITY INCOME DISTRIBUTION AND REAL ECONOMY¹

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This paper exposes some utilities from the theoretical frame exposed in "Evolution of Income Inequality in Spain. Period 1981-1991" enclosed in the papers of Bath Seminar. After, in section II, the possibility of explaining differences in inequality through of economic variables is faced.

SECTION I

Amoroso (1925) associated α parameter of Gamma density with inequality measure in income distribution. Maximum likelihood estimates of gamma parameters may be derived from a random sample drawn from a population of family income per year. Their maximum likelihood estimates $\bar{\alpha}, \bar{\lambda}$ may figured out solving:

$$\bar{\lambda} = \frac{\bar{\alpha}}{\bar{x}}$$

$$\ln \bar{\alpha} - \frac{\Gamma'(\bar{\alpha})}{\Gamma(\bar{\alpha})} = \ln\left(\frac{\bar{x}}{\bar{\lambda}}\right)$$

As $\bar{\alpha}, \bar{\lambda}$ are maximum likelihood estimates, they are optimum asymptotically normal, that is:

$$\begin{pmatrix} \bar{\alpha} \\ \bar{\lambda} \end{pmatrix} \approx N \left[\begin{pmatrix} \alpha \\ \lambda \end{pmatrix}, \begin{pmatrix} \frac{\alpha}{n(t\alpha-1)} & \frac{\lambda}{n(t\alpha-1)} \\ \frac{\lambda}{n(t\alpha-1)} & \frac{t\lambda^2}{n(t\alpha-1)} \end{pmatrix} \right]$$

with

$$t = \frac{d^2}{d\alpha^2} \ln \Gamma(\alpha)$$

¹This is a part of a wider project in which are working J.M.Bachero, S.Mancho, C.Rojo, F.Ruiz and myself.

Solving the system needs estimate \tilde{x} . To do that we proposed²:

$$\tilde{x} = \left(\prod_{i=1}^I c_i \right)^{\frac{n_i}{N}}$$

with

$$c_i = x_{ii} + k(\bar{x}_i - x_{ii}) \quad 0 \leq k \leq 1$$

subject to

$$L \leq IG \leq U$$

I = number of groups in the grouped data (deciles).

n_i = number of families in "i" group.

N = sample size

x_{ij} = lower income for "i" group.

x_{mi} = mean value for "i" group.

IG = Gini index

L, U = lower and upper bounds of Gastwirth

In table 1 appears the $\bar{\alpha}, \bar{\lambda}$ values for different areas in Spain obtained from the Family Budgets Survey of 1980-81 and 1990-91.

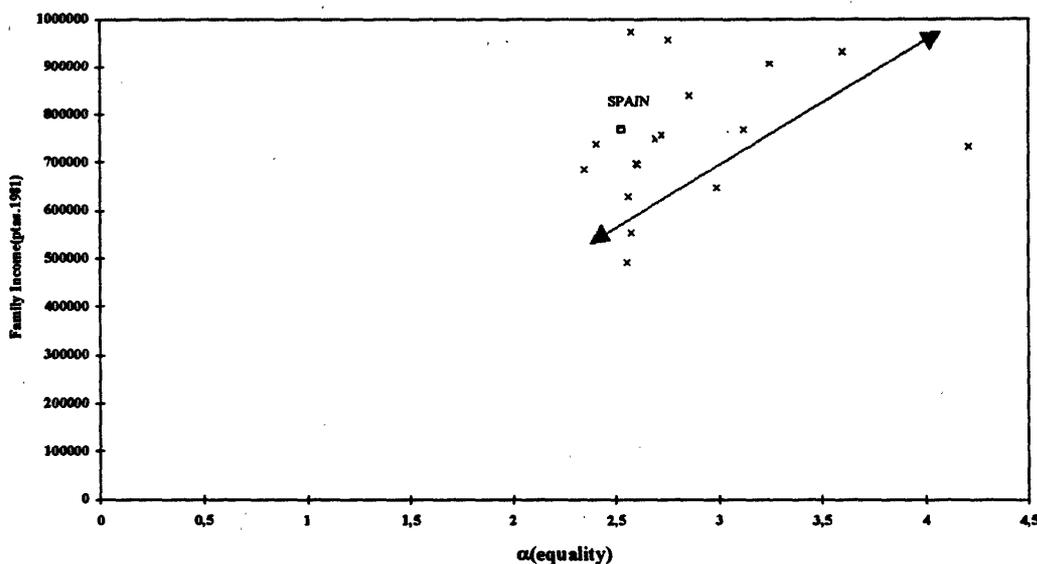
²Salem and Mount employed as c_i the group midpoints and alternatively the group mean. Even the group midpoints provide the accomplishment of Gastwirth bounds well enough, however did not verify the goodness-fit test of Kolmogorov-Smirnov (Camilo Dagum 1991)

TABLE 1

| | 1981 | | | 1991 | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|------------|----------------------|-------------|------------|----------------------|-----------|----------|
| | Lower bound | Gini Index | Upper bound α | Lower bound | Gini Index | Upper bound α | | |
| ALAVA | 0,2767929 | 0,2809377 | 0,2824246 | 3,739314 | 0,2631759 | 0,2662635 | 0,2683668 | 4,192298 |
| ALBACETE | 0,3113483 | 0,312321 | 0,3170742 | 2,97585 | 0,3307169 | 0,3334136 | 0,3369092 | 2,579329 |
| ALICANTE | 0,3195447 | 0,3226213 | 0,3260141 | 2,77248 | 0,3096074 | 0,3126147 | 0,3152918 | 2,969774 |
| ALMERIA | 0,3724298 | 0,3781022 | 0,379446 | 1,944567 | 0,3234079 | 0,3271646 | 0,3300247 | 2,688833 |
| AVILA | 0,36716 | 0,3704682 | 0,373204 | 2,037787 | 0,3193962 | 0,322266 | 0,3251065 | 2,779169 |
| BADAJOS | 0,329325 | 0,3305845 | 0,3361391 | 2,628135 | 0,3284134 | 0,3318081 | 0,3348334 | 2,606873 |
| BALEARES | 0,3256947 | 0,3270933 | 0,3322442 | 2,69012 | 0,3103567 | 0,3130279 | 0,3159541 | 2,961251 |
| BARNA | 0,2982054 | 0,2993845 | 0,3037716 | 3,261673 | 0,3206989 | 0,3242584 | 0,3274315 | 2,741933 |
| BURGOS | 0,3303225 | 0,3311437 | 0,3367206 | 2,618391 | 0,3296274 | 0,333147 | 0,3376076 | 2,583875 |
| CACERES | 0,3415666 | 0,3485373 | 0,3491712 | 2,33806 | 0,3227059 | 0,3259327 | 0,3296979 | 2,711165 |
| CADIZ | 0,3061804 | 0,3083876 | 0,3117874 | 3,059044 | 0,3384014 | 0,3415254 | 0,3450981 | 2,445982 |
| CASTELLO | 0,2950357 | 0,2954376 | 0,3010946 | 3,356339 | 0,2895589 | 0,2923242 | 0,2950736 | 3,433907 |
| C.REAL | 0,3431934 | 0,3440505 | 0,3498525 | 2,40637 | 0,3154148 | 0,3179072 | 0,3214379 | 2,8631 |
| CORDOBA | 0,3247232 | 0,3254888 | 0,3311621 | 2,719278 | 0,3127304 | 0,3158976 | 0,3189861 | 2,902974 |
| CORUÑA | 0,3185881 | 0,3197471 | 0,3245532 | 2,827252 | 0,3175505 | 0,3212339 | 0,3243775 | 2,798733 |
| CUENCA | 0,3896078 | 0,3896879 | 0,3966966 | 1,812315 | 0,4150095 | 0,4197326 | 0,424841 | 1,513959 |
| GERONA | 0,3011306 | 0,3030499 | 0,3071546 | 3,17687 | 0,2853065 | 0,2895072 | 0,2911292 | 3,506047 |
| GRANADA | 0,3471795 | 0,3510974 | 0,3543628 | 2,300224 | 0,3358099 | 0,3389495 | 0,3426111 | 2,487294 |
| GUADLJRA | 0,3164008 | 0,3187516 | 0,3223245 | 2,846572 | 0,329622 | 0,3325709 | 0,3363053 | 2,593736 |
| GUIPUZCO | 0,2692588 | 0,2706679 | 0,275227 | 4,048618 | 0,2893916 | 0,2934066 | 0,2947485 | 3,406588 |
| HUELVA | 0,3531289 | 0,3571934 | 0,3598525 | 2,21326 | 0,2962634 | 0,2996397 | 0,3024832 | 3,255674 |
| HUESCA | 0,3714103 | 0,3730443 | 0,379215 | 2,005743 | 0,3040042 | 0,3064265 | 0,3097547 | 3,101594 |
| JAEN | 0,3403858 | 0,3425325 | 0,346604 | 2,430079 | 0,2939338 | 0,2975359 | 0,2992699 | 3,305686 |
| LEON | 0,3386675 | 0,3418157 | 0,3451686 | 2,441383 | 0,3018256 | 0,3045462 | 0,3081181 | 3,143251 |
| LERIDA | 0,2804174 | 0,282594 | 0,286077 | 3,692798 | 0,305547 | 0,3088939 | 0,311385 | 3,048084 |
| RIOJA | 0,2643063 | 0,2657327 | 0,2692714 | 4,210086 | 0,3261788 | 0,3299415 | 0,3324639 | 2,639407 |
| LUGO | 0,3283382 | 0,3309523 | 0,334465 | 2,62172 | 0,3039519 | 0,3066098 | 0,3097296 | 3,097669 |
| MADRID | 0,3295418 | 0,3335646 | 0,336231 | 2,576759 | 0,3040957 | 0,3069109 | 0,310088 | 3,091083 |
| MALAGA | 0,3229667 | 0,3250421 | 0,329988 | 2,727475 | 0,3235789 | 0,3272676 | 0,3298842 | 2,686978 |
| MURCIA | 0,3099705 | 0,3116895 | 0,316374 | 2,988982 | 0,3333445 | 0,3361489 | 0,339921 | 2,533287 |
| NAVARRA | 0,3215401 | 0,3236176 | 0,3281824 | 2,753834 | 0,2690661 | 0,2719814 | 0,2744288 | 4,007126 |
| ORENSE | 0,3314873 | 0,3359128 | 0,3385177 | 2,537214 | 0,3508935 | 0,3544206 | 0,3584379 | 2,252281 |
| ASTURIAS | 0,3045449 | 0,3054485 | 0,3106549 | 3,123255 | 0,2778002 | 0,2810928 | 0,2835347 | 3,735138 |
| PALENCIA | 0,3289146 | 0,3308466 | 0,3352742 | 2,623561 | 0,2981263 | 0,3009861 | 0,3033412 | 3,224276 |
| PALMAS | 0,328342 | 0,3283674 | 0,3352498 | 2,667272 | 0,33219 | 0,3355409 | 0,3386961 | 2,54342 |
| PONTVDR | 0,3084061 | 0,3106203 | 0,314504 | 3,011397 | 0,2665662 | 0,2701688 | 0,2718223 | 4,064549 |
| SALMNCA | 0,3448685 | 0,3473368 | 0,3516353 | 2,356083 | 0,3450879 | 0,3482019 | 0,3521722 | 2,343079 |
| STA.CRUIZ | 0,3262342 | 0,3275647 | 0,3328184 | 2,681635 | 0,3272254 | 0,3309429 | 0,3340281 | 2,621886 |
| CANTABRIA | 0,3136488 | 0,3182033 | 0,3208971 | 2,857289 | 0,2764995 | 0,2803327 | 0,2813169 | 3,756584 |
| SEGOVIA | 0,3386519 | 0,3442516 | 0,3456075 | 2,403255 | 0,3119121 | 0,3148936 | 0,3176372 | 2,923118 |
| SEVILLA | 0,3214087 | 0,3214791 | 0,327947 | 2,794068 | 0,3287385 | 0,3323995 | 0,3356936 | 2,596681 |
| SORIA | 0,3517972 | 0,3553306 | 0,358425 | 2,239378 | 0,3171281 | 0,3200667 | 0,323113 | 2,821093 |
| TARRGNA | 0,3099861 | 0,3124929 | 0,3160425 | 2,972292 | 0,3174203 | 0,3204684 | 0,3235475 | 2,813363 |
| TERUEL | 0,3165188 | 0,3181027 | 0,3227236 | 2,859257 | 0,3102488 | 0,3130954 | 0,3168351 | 2,959859 |
| TOLEDO | 0,3149041 | 0,3168655 | 0,3211911 | 2,883674 | 0,3006012 | 0,3035872 | 0,3064521 | 3,164802 |
| VALENCIA | 0,3269507 | 0,334389 | 0,3336633 | 2,562773 | 0,3002942 | 0,3037093 | 0,3063233 | 3,162044 |
| VALLDLID | 0,2817069 | 0,286665 | 0,2876105 | 3,581219 | 0,3208166 | 0,3241753 | 0,327381 | 2,743473 |
| VIZCAYA | 0,2953018 | 0,2980454 | 0,3017147 | 3,293308 | 0,3141435 | 0,3175426 | 0,3207391 | 2,870279 |
| ZAMORA | 0,3492363 | 0,3576072 | 0,357104 | 2,207513 | 0,3268889 | 0,3300058 | 0,3339479 | 2,638275 |
| ZARAGOZA | 0,3260024 | 0,3279299 | 0,3325079 | 2,675087 | 0,3055773 | 0,3094009 | 0,3114572 | 3,037242 |
| ESPAÑA | 0,3352494 | 0,3362176 | 0,3420447 | 2,532145 | 0,3233654 | 0,3266262 | 0,3298925 | 2,698564 |

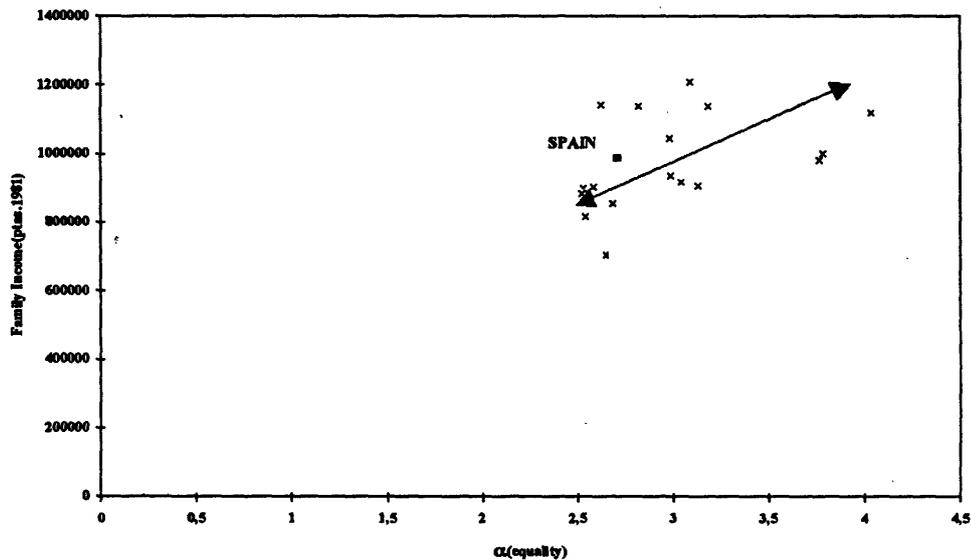
From values of α -parameter and average income is possible to built a set of diagrams which let us watch easily changes in inequality. All the figures that follows represent equality versus family income. Even equality is represented trough α -parameter of Gamma distribution, it would be possible to use other equality measure.

Figure 1. Spain(1980).



Actually all we are trying to do is simplify the problem in two magnitudes: some kind of poorness and equality measure. Figures that follows let us show how is possible to do some quick comparisons between different collectives. Then is possible to watch differences between different areas in Spain (figures 1,2).

Figure 2. Spain (1990).



Watching simultaneously is possible to conclude (figure 3) that Spain as a whole has more level of income, more equality and less differences between regions.

Similarly, it is possible to watch movements of different areas (figure 4). While Spain as a whole moves to more equality, some regions could move in different way or in the same way quicker.

Compare country smaller areas structure and position is possible too (figure 5). The three areas of Aragón are very similar. Community of Valencia is in an intermediate position in Spain while Cataluña is higher. Galicia has more inequality than Spain as a whole.

Last three figures (figures 6,7,8) displays how is possible to compare movements in equality-income level of different areas. Andalucía moves as Spain moves. Castilla y León improves its spatial differences in equality-income level, while Castilla-La Mancha increase its spatial differences.

Figure 3. Changes in Spain (1980-1990).

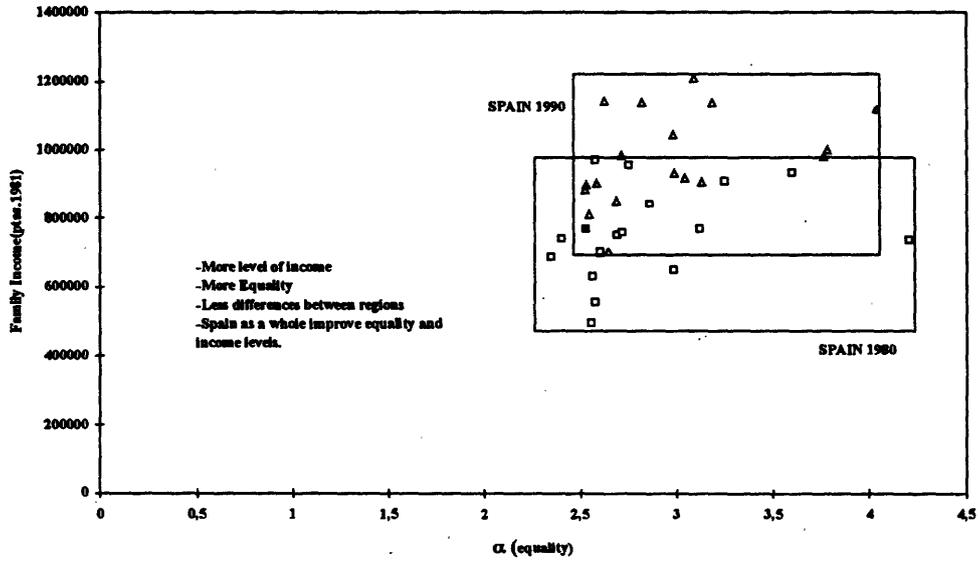


Figure 4. Changes in Spain 1980-1990.
(Different areas).

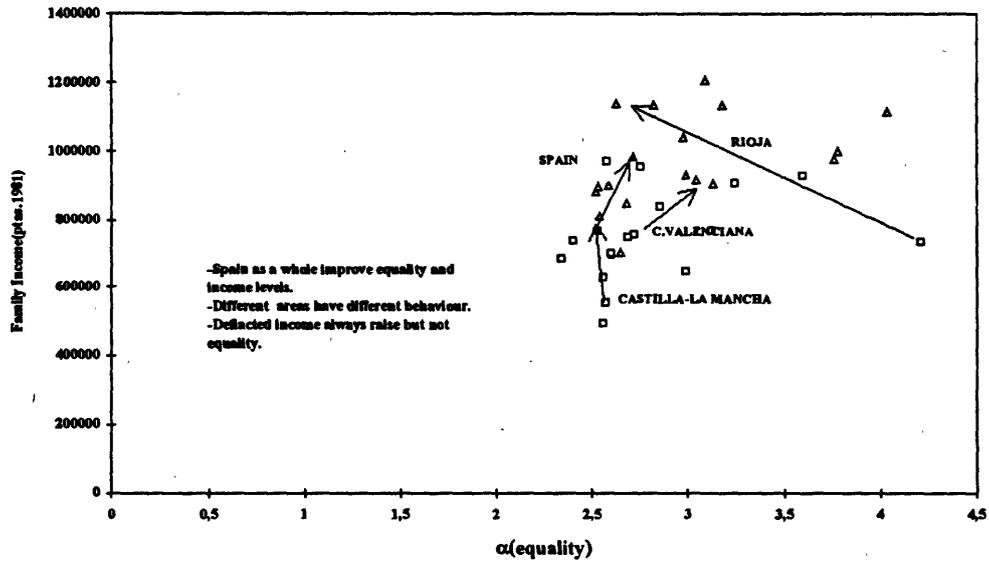


Figure 5. Spain-smaller areas 1990.

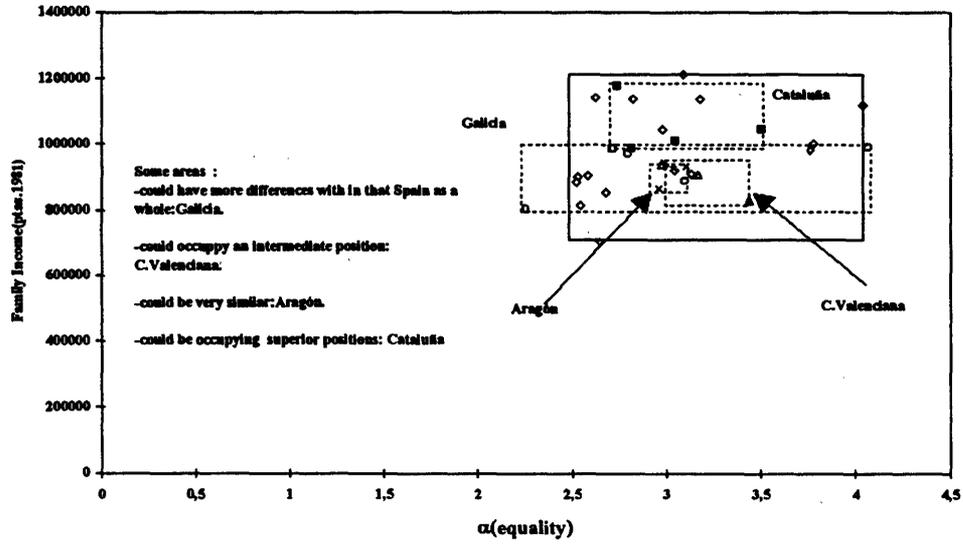


Figure 6. Spain-smaller areas. Changes 1980-1990 (1).

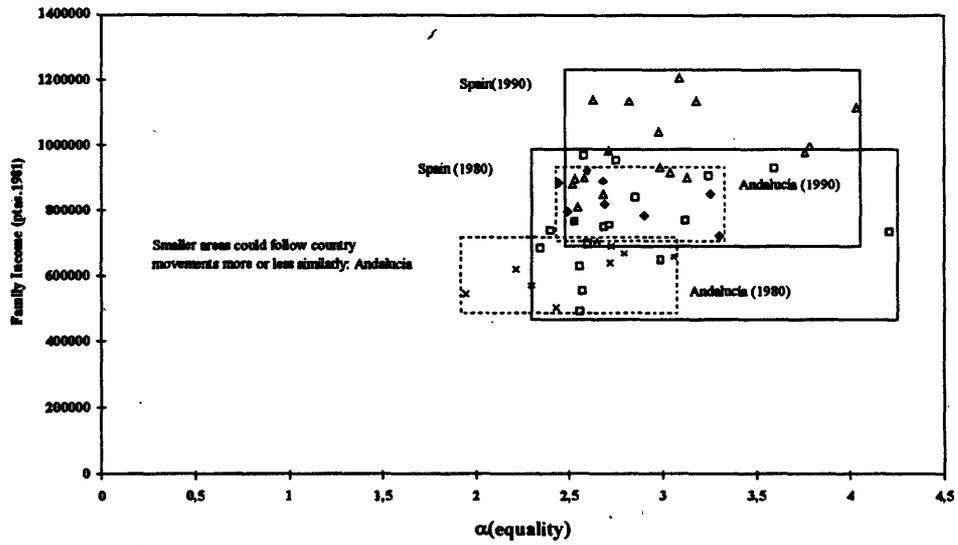


Figure 7. Spain-smaller areas. Changes 1980-1990(2).

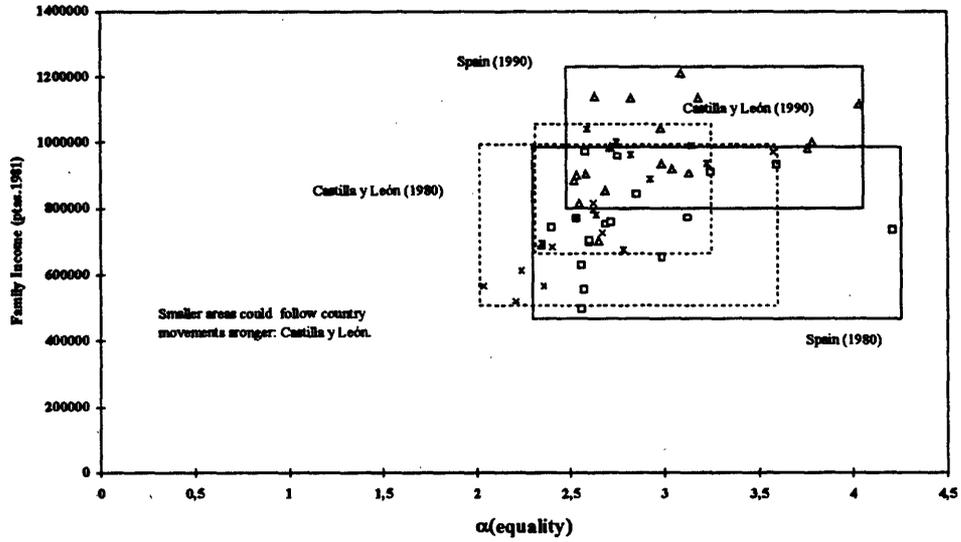
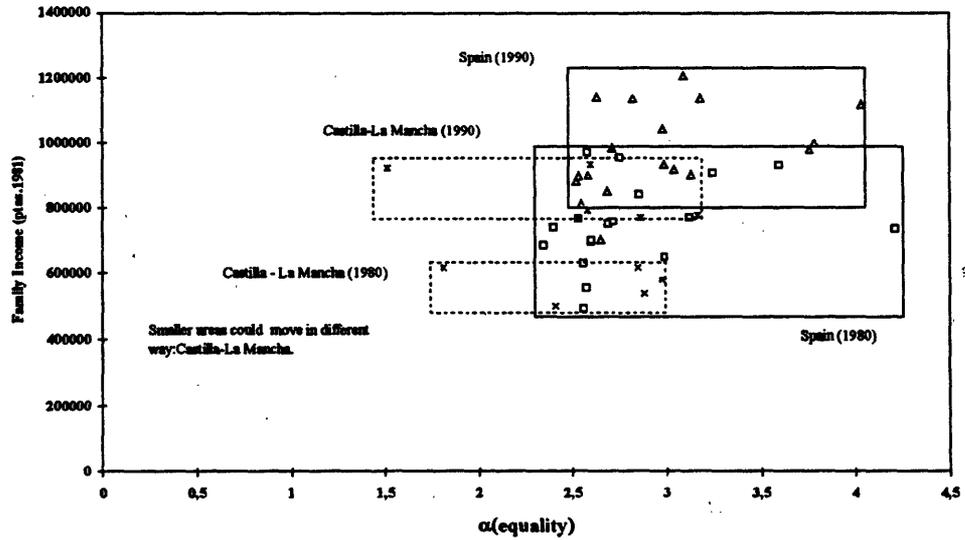


Figure 8. Spain-smaller areas. Changes 1980-1990 (3).



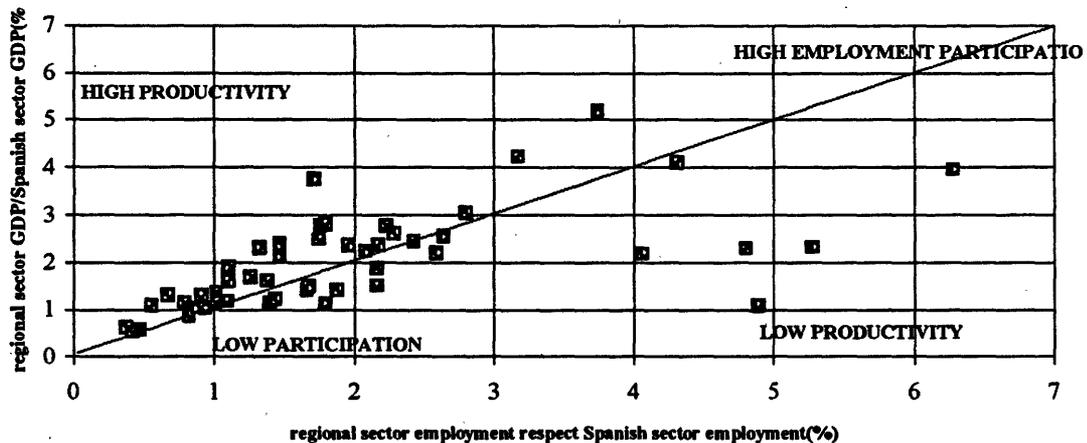
SECTION II

In this section we try to reply if there is some relation between inequality levels and real economic variables related to economic structure of the area. Variables are referred to 1980. The analysis is planned in two stages. Firstly, real economic variables significantly correlated with inequality are selected. Secondly, an optimum set in order to explain inequality by a linear model are detected for the Spanish areas mentioned in table 1. Techniques used are correlation and stepwise regression analysis.

II.1. VARIABLES TO BE CONSIDERED³

In order to explain income distribution researches usually consider variables such as: GDP, price index, unemployment and unemployment rate, (Salem y Mount, 1974. Thurow 1970), analyzing the relationships with inequality in a temporal context. This paper will try to find relations between economic variables from spatial data by a cross-section analysis.

Figure 9. Agriculture.

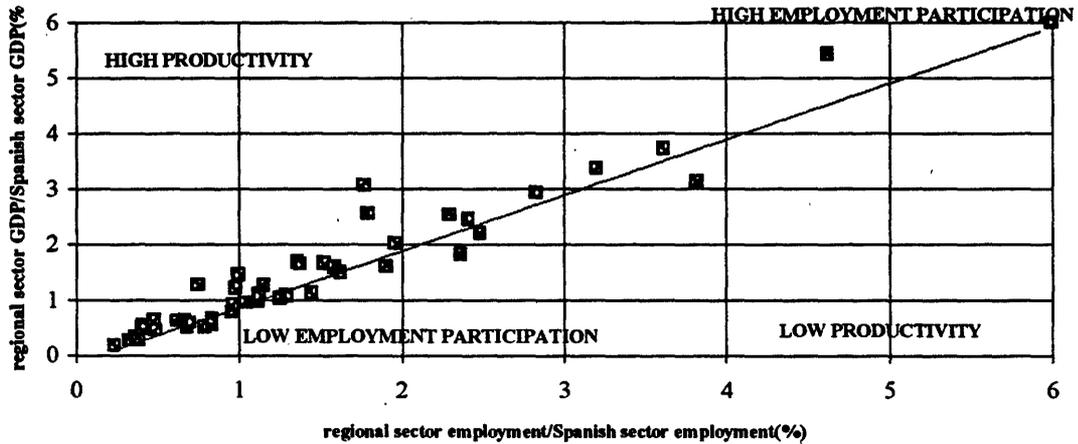


Choosing variables to differentiate the economies of different territories are complex. Therefore the necessary homogeneity of the data and their availability turns it more difficult.

Index of Gini is a very general accepted measure of inequality. Values of index of Gini as appears in table 1 will be used for the explained variable.

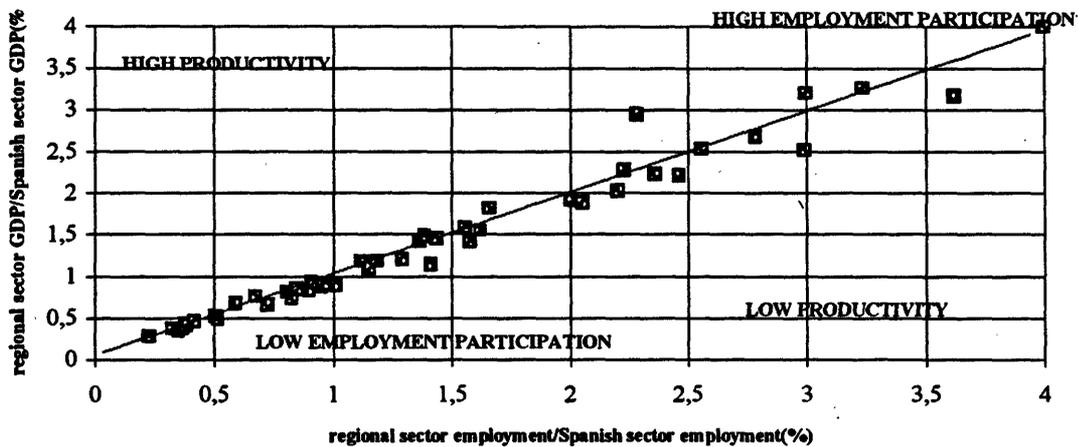
³Sources used have been: National Income, BBV. Labor Force Survey, INE. Budget Family Survey, INE.

Figure 10. Industry.



Most of family income comes from wages salary that is why is convenient to have in account variables related with working population and unemployment. It could be expected that regions with higher unemployment rate would have more level of inequality. In the same way higher working population rate would let us expect a better inequality level, obviously *ceteris paribus*.

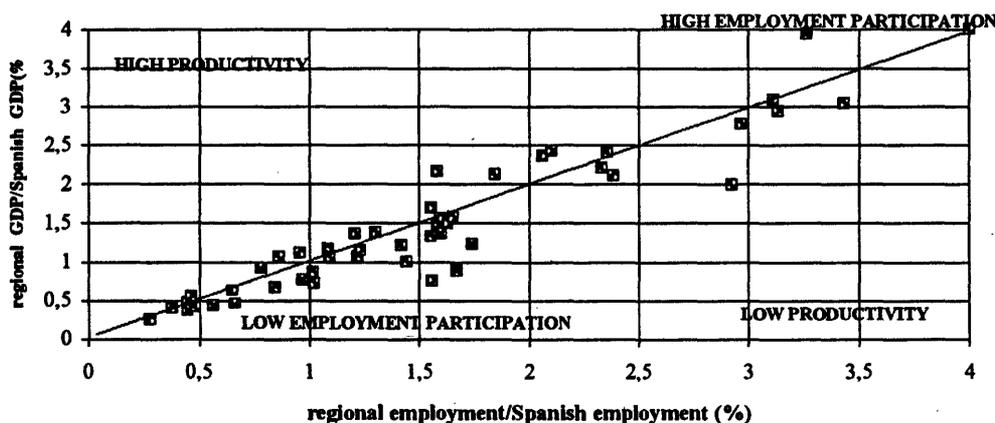
Figure 11. Services.



Some differences are expected in wages from agriculture, industry or service so that employment by main sectors of economic activity would be interesting.

It could be expected that the more productivity the more wage is, that's why some measure of region productivity by sectors are necessary.

Figure 12. Total GDP.



Figures 9 to 12 exhibit that agriculture has the highest differences in productivity, followed by industry and services. Could be expected that regions with higher level of employed population in sectors with more productivity would have more families with higher income, then better equality level.

Arguments beforehand exposed lead us to the following variables:

1.- Total working population and sector working population:

- % respect to the total working population in the area: ACTAG (agriculture), ACTIN (industry), ACTSE (services).
- % respect to the total working population in Spain: ACTPROAG (agriculture), ACTPROIN (industry), ACTPROSE (services), ACTPROTO (total).

2.- Total and sector employed population:

- % respect to the total employed in the area: OCUAG (agriculture), OCUIN (industry), OCUSE (services).
- % respect to the total employed in Spain: OCUPROAG (agriculture), OCUPROIN (industry), OCUPROSE (services), OCUPROTO (total).

- 3.- Total GDP and sector GDP for every region.
 - Sector GDP per head of working population: PIBACTAG (agriculture), PIBACTIN (industry), PIBACTSE (services), PIBACTTO (total).
 - Sector GDP per head of working population: PIBOCUAG, PIBOCUIN, PIBOCUSE, PIBOCUTO.
- 4.- Working population rate.
- 5.- Unemployment rate.
- 6.- Explained variable will be the inequality level measured through Gini's index figured out from data of Family Budget Survey (INE).

II.2. SELECTING VARIABLES

Previously to estimate the models have been figured out the coefficient of correlation between variables above mentioned and index of Gini. Table 2 displays the variables correlated significantly with Index of Gini or its logarithm while table 3 exposes the correlation between the logarithmic transformed variables and the Index of Gini or its logarithm⁴.

TABLE 2. Correlation with original variables

| Correlation: | IGINI | ln IGINI |
|--------------|----------|----------|
| ACTAG | .5441** | .5371** |
| ACTIN | -.6407** | -.6467** |
| OCUAG | .5459** | .5409** |
| OCUIN | -.6574** | -.6680** |
| PIBTOACT | -.4072* | -.4197** |
| PIBTOOCU | -.4352** | -.4422** |
| TASACT | -.4375** | -.4339** |

a.- ACTPROIN and OCUPROIN are significant when transformed in logarithms.

b.- TASACT increase lightly its coefficient of correlation with inequality.

c.- Rest of variables have a coefficient of correlation lightly smaller when transformed by logarithm.

⁴1% significant values are denoted with *.

** denotes 1% significant values.

TABLE 3. Correlation with logarithmic variables

| Correlation | ln IGINI | IGINI |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| ACTPROIN* | -.4393** | -.4560** |
| ACTAG | .4503** | .4546** |
| ACTIN | -.6207** | -.6175** |
| OCUAG | .4588** | .4622** |
| OCUPROIN* | -.4800** | -.4943** |
| OCUIN | -.6250** | -.6176** |
| PIBTOACT | -.3874* | -.3747* |
| PIBTOOCU | -.4107* | -.4034* |
| TASACT | -.4511** | -.4547** |

*Bold variables was not significant when considered in original way

A more conscious contemplation of tables 2 and 3 let us sustain the following:

1.- Highest correlation with inequality has been found for industry employment and working population variables (OCUIN, ACTIN).

2.- Both working population and employment are significantly correlated when related to agriculture or industrial sectors. When logarithmic transform are considered becomes significant the percentage of the industry regional employment (or industry regional working population) respect to the country employment (or working country population). Anyway these new significant variables have a smaller coefficient of correlation (.45) than the other forms of industrial employment variables (.65).

3.- The more agricultural employment the more inequality is, whether working population or employment is considered.

4.- Contrasting with the above consequence more employment in industrial sector would be associated with better equality level. Again is not relevant to consider working or employment population.

5.- Points 3 and 4 exposed beforehand do not necessarily lead to conclude that agriculture societies are more unequal that industrial. The main argument would be that agriculture productivity is smaller that productivity in other economic sectors and at the same time it would be more difficult to increase in development countries, that's why the more agriculture employment would cause more differences between those which work in agricultural sector of the others with job in other sectors. In other words, agriculture for development countries could be a cake and the more people the smaller piece is, then more differences between agricultural and other sector earnings per head.

6.- There is not big difference in correlation between inequality and productivity per head in working age or productivity per employed head, PIBTOACT and PIBTOOCU respectively, however PIBTOACT's correlation is lightly smaller as expected.

7.- Working population rate, not the unemployment rate, has significant correlation with inequality. The more working population rate the less inequality is. This outcome is expected but its amazing that unemployment rate would not be significant correlated with inequality.

Those who are in working age, have a job, some kind of social protection salary or their owns. People who have a job are those with relevant earnings. Consequently, it could be expected that unemployment rate would be associated with inequality in the way that the more unemployment rate the more inequality is under ceteris paribus constraint.

Explanation for this fact could be found in no legal forms of job market. That is, economies with a large population who works in this way will measure better the employment rate by working population rate.

II.3. MODELS

The correlation analysis before exposed let us select the variables which are significant correlated with inequality and watch the sense of their correlation. This variables are ranked by their coefficient of correlation value as follows:

TABLE 4. Significant variables ranked by correlation with inequality

negatively correlated

OCUIN

ACTIN

OCUPROIN⁵

TASACT

ACTPROIN⁶

PIBTOOCU

PIBTOACT

positively correlated

OCUAG

ACTAG

⁵Only the transformed by logarithm.

⁶Only the transformed by logarithm.

As could be expected the correlation values are not too high, actually they moves between 0,4 and 0,66, which means an explained variance of inequality between 16% and 43%. In order to get a better explained variance level of inequality have been built a set of models taking only in account the significant variables which are not redundant and rejecting the others. So OCUAG is chosen between ACTAG and OCUAG, the same with OCUIN, OCUPROIN and PIB-TOOCU. TASACT is selected too.

Models considered are linear, semi-logarithmic for the explained variable, double-logarithmic and semi-logarithmic for exogenous variables. Results are displayed⁷ in tables 5 to 8, respectively.

Conclusions

1.- As can be observed only one model in each set reaches an explained variance of the inequality more than 50%, this model incorporates OCUIN and TASACT, that is, the percentage of industrial regional employment respect to the total regional employment and the regional working population rate.

2.- All models incorporates TASACT (regional working population rate) as second in variable.

3.- The smaller correlation is for the first in variable the more correlation adds by the second in variable, which means that TASACT shares more common information about inequality with OCUIN. This information is less with OCUAG, OCUPROIN and PIBTOOCU but the unshared information is significant to explain inequality.

4.- Anyway, even model incorporates three variables the best set of variables to explain inequality would have OCUIN and TASACT, and the best specification for the model would be the semilogarithmic model for index of Gini. that is:

$$\ln \text{IGINI} = -0,805893 + 0,005210 \cdot \text{OCUIN} - 0,004979 \cdot \text{TASACT}$$

| | | |
|------------|---------------|------------|
| (0,058477) | (8,93302 E-4) | (0,001731) |
|------------|---------------|------------|

⁷First row= order in which variable is in the model(coefficient of correlation up to this variable is in)
 Second row= regression coefficient
 Third row= standard error

5.- Double logarithmic model provides a measured of elasticity. Table 4.7 exhibits the elasticity of IGINI with respect to the variables included in the model. The second column displays the change in the Index of Gini by a change of 1% in the corresponding variable. For this approach the value of IGINI considered is 0,3 (usual value for different areas in Spain in 1980).

TABLE 9. Elasticity of index of Gini

| | Elasticity | Changes in the Index of Gini ⁸ |
|---------------------|------------|---|
| TASACT ⁹ | -0,2023 | -0,0006 |
| PIBTOOCU | -0,1750 | -0,0005 |
| OCUIN | -0,1459 | -0,0004 |
| OCUAG | 0,0425 | 0,0001 |
| OCUPROIN | -0,0319 | -0,00009 |

As expected the maximum variation would be produced by TASACT, but this variation is less than the Gastwirth's bounds (0,007 for Spain in 1980), that's why it sounds too difficult improve global equality by taking actions on this variables. In fact if we would get close the index of Gini of the land of Cuenca (the more inequality¹⁰) and the land of Rioja (the more equality¹¹) it would be necessary to increase the working population rate about 185% or higher if other different variable is used. The consequence of this reasoning is simple. Action on this kind of variables can help to get closer territories not very different but convergence between areas with large differences in inequality will require actions deeper in the values structure of society in order to affect the pattern of distribution of earnings.

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⁸Value considered for Index of GINI is 0,3.

⁹Value for the model with higher coefficient of correlation.

¹⁰Index of Gini for land of Cuenca in 1980 was ,3896.

¹¹Index of Gini for land of Rioja in 1980 was ,2643.

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TABLE 5
MODELS IGINI= $\Sigma\alpha_i X_i$

| Constant | OCUIN | OCUAG | PIBTOOCU | TASACT | R | Explained variance |
|------------------------|----------------------------|--|--|---|---------|--------------------|
| | 1 (0,65742) | | | 2 (0,72017) | 0,72017 | 51,84 |
| 0,428102 (0,018963) | -0,001638 (2,89682 E-4) | | | -0,001631 5,61450 E-4 | | |
| 0,371363 (0,020209) | | 1 (0,54588) 0,001085 (2,17003 E-4) | | 2 (0,68711) -0,002255 (5,72559 E-4) | 0,68711 | 47,20 |
| 0,467756 (0,026071) | | | 2 (0,63466) -4,70404 E-5 (1,15320 E-5) | 1 (0,43746) -0,002498 (6,09479 E-4) | 0,63466 | 40,32 |

TABLE 6
 MODELS $\ln IGINI = \sum \alpha_i X_i$

| Constant | OCUIN | OCUAG | PIBTOOCU | TASACT | R | Explained variance |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|--|--|--|---------|--------------------|
| | 1 (0,66802) | | | 2 (0,7274) | 0,7274 | 52,85 |
| -0,805893 (0,058477) | -0,005210 (8,93302 E-4) | | | -0,004979 (0,001731) | | |
| -0,983585 (0,063498) | | 1 (0,54085) 0,003351 (6,81846 E-4) | | 2 (0,68108) -0,006973 (0,001799) | 0,68108 | 46,30 |
| -0,680881 (0,081064) | | | 1 (0,44224) -1,48845 E-4 (3,58569 E-5) | 2 (0,63722) -0,007734 0,001895 | 0,63722 | 40,58 |

TABLE 7
 MODELS $\ln IGINI = \sum \alpha_i \ln X_i$

| Constant | OCUIN | OCUAG | OCUPROIN | PIBTOOCU | TASACT | R | Explai varian |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------|------------------|
| | 1(0,62498) | | | | 2(0,71598) | 0,71598 | -50,4 |
| 0,068853 (0,210743) | -0,145938 (0,026729) | | | | -0,202399 (0,0588999) | | |
| 1,103731 (0,398397) | | | 1(0,47999) 4(0,64015) | 3(0,65264) -0,175046 (0,043187) | 2(0,55248) -0,281527 (0,064243) | 0,64015 | 40,9 |
| -0,526707 (0,255030) | | 1(0,45877) 0,042564 (0,013681) | | | 2(0,58268) -0,210183 (0,069359) | 0,58268 | 33,9 |
| -0,522492 (0,266904) | | | 1(0,47999) -0,031996 (0,012197) | | 2(0,55248) -0,172394 (0,076614) | 0,55248 | 30,5 |

TABLE 8
MODELS $IGINI = \sum c_j \ln X_j$

| Constant | OCUIN | OCUAG | OCUPROIN | PIBTOOCU | TASACT | R | Explained variance |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|---------|--------------------|
| | 1(0,61756) | | | | 2(0,71197) | 0,71197 | 50,69 |
| | -0,046121 | | | | -0,065836 | | |
| | (0,008623) | | | | (0,019034) | | |
| 1,036254 | | | 1(0,49432) | 3(0,65441) | 2(0,56366) | 0,63782 | 40,70 |
| (0,128102) | | | 4(0,63782) | -0,055286 | -0,090838 | | |
| | | | | (0,013887) | (0,020657) | | |
| 0,517080 | | | 1(0,49432) | | 2(0,56366) | 0,56366 | 31,80 |
| (0,084833) | | | -0,010717 | | -0,054743 | | |
| | | | (0,003877) | | (0,024351) | | |
| 0,519172 | | 1(0,46217) | | | 2(0,58716) | 0,58716 | 34,46 |
| (0,081471) | | 0,013751 | | | -0,067963 | | |
| | | (0,004371) | | | (0,022157) | | |

LESSONS FROM THE UNDERCLASS DEBATE

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Abstract

This paper argues that there are close similarities between the research on social exclusion and social integration in Europe, now proposed under the Fourth Framework Programme, and an earlier largely American debate about the so-called underclass. The experience of the latter provides some lessons for the methodology of the former. In particular it suggests that the most useful studies will be those which either create, or undertake secondary analysis of, large-scale data sets; gathered from an appropriately targeted rather than a general population; containing as much longitudinal information as possible; analysed by means of standard multivariate techniques. Earlier controversy surrounding alternative methods for combining multiple social indicators into a single index suggests that composite indices are of limited explanatory value although they may help in the construction of a useful sampling frame for researchers. Critical case-studies, if undertaken, should be identified by prior quantitative analysis.

Introduction

The Targeted Socio-Economic Research Programme has defined 'Research on Social Exclusion and Social Integration in Europe' as one of its three main themes. The documentation for the Programme makes it clear that, across all member countries of the European Union, social exclusion is emerging as a major issue. Exclusion is said progressively to marginalise individuals, leading to economic deprivation, as well as social and cultural disadvantage. At the level of societies, this process may foster disintegration and fragmentation of social relations, hence social disorder (TSRP 1995: 16).

The related research agenda has been defined in broad terms, to allow for crossnational variation in the forms of exclusion, its causes and consequences. Nevertheless, certain key themes and issues stand out in the Workprogramme, either because of their prominence in the existing social science literature or their importance for developing social policy.

These are, first, that exclusion is seen as a diverse phenomenon: economic, social, cultural, spatial and political aspects are all identified (TSRP 1995: 16). Second, because of its multidimensionality, social exclusion may be associated with a potentially long list of factors, including unemployment, underemployment, poverty, value systems, gender, ethnicity,

education and training, household structures, citizenship, migration, lifestyle and life-cycle (TSRP 1995: 16). Third, these (and other) social characteristics may well be systematically interrelated, and in ways which make the interlinkages central to the generation of social exclusion and integration (TSRP 1995: 16-17). Fourth, there is an emphasis on crossnational comparison aimed at distinguishing those forms and causes of social exclusion which are country-specific from those that are crossnationally similar, in recognition of the fact that social policy will have to be tailored to the specificity (or generality) of the problems (TSRP 1995: 17-18). Finally, it is recognised that social exclusion should be viewed in longitudinal perspective, if the causal mechanisms - or 'pathways to exclusion and integration' - are to be understood (TSRP 1995: 16, 17).

In sum, the Workprogramme points to a multivariate and longitudinal analysis of the causes and consequences of social exclusion broadly defined, viewed in crossnational comparative perspective. This is a complex programme of research. Fortunately, however, there have been previous attempts to address this agenda. I will here consider only one of these; namely, the well-documented debate about the developing underclass, particularly in America and Britain. Although controversy about the underclass is still unresolved - indeed the discussion has recently been renewed by the appearance of Herrnstein and Murray's (1995) account of intelligence and class structure in the United States - it is clear that there are lessons to be learned for future studies of social exclusion from the experience of this earlier research.

Social Exclusion - The Underclass Debate

Discussion of an underclass in advanced societies stems from a predominantly American literature which addresses two phenomena that are argued to be related; namely, high levels of youth unemployment, and an increasing proportion of single-parent households. The black population is disproportionately affected by both joblessness and single parenthood. The term itself suggests a group which is in some sense outside the mainstream of society - but there is little or no agreement about the nature and source of its exclusion.

One interpretation, advanced by writers such as Murray (1984), is that overly-generous welfare provision promotes dependency, the breakup of the nuclear family household, and socialisation into a counter-culture which devalues work and encourages criminality. An alternative view, proffered by Glasgow (1980) and others, emphasises the failure of the economy to provide equal opportunities for secure employment, and the consequent destabilisation of the male-breadwinner role. Murray locates the source of exclusion in the attitudes and behaviour of the underclass itself whereas Glasgow points to the structured inequality that disadvantages particular groups in society.

The precise nature both of the structural disadvantages and cultural attributes in question are themselves a matter of dispute. One disagreement is about whether the problems of the disadvantaged black population originate in their colour or their class position. Early in his work, Wilson (1978: 1) makes reference to 'a vast underclass of black proletarians - that massive population at the very bottom of the social class ladder, plagued by poor education and low-paying, unstable jobs'. This depicts the underclass as a black phenomenon, defined in

terms of vulnerability in the labour market, and without reference to behavioral or attitudinal factors. However, in a later study he writes about 'individuals who lack training and skills and either experience long-term unemployment or are not members of the labour force, individuals who are engaged in street crime and other forms of aberrant behaviour, and families that experience long term spells of poverty and/or welfare dependency' (Wilson 1987: 8). In other words, unstable unemployment has become absence of employment; there is now no explicit reference to race; and, furthermore, the definition has been expanded to include criminality and welfare dependence - thus acknowledging that the socially undesirable attributes of underclass life that are central causes in Murray's account can in fact follow as consequences in Wilson's essentially structural approach.

Although discussion about the nature and extent of underclass membership has been most fully developed in the United States, the issues have also been debated at length in Britain, and no less acrimoniously. Some observers suggest that the American experience is being recreated on this side of the Atlantic.

For example, in a more recent work, Murray (1990) has argued that the difference between the United States and Britain is simply that the United States 'reached the future first'. Using metaphors of social pathology, he suggests that an underclass defined by illegitimacy, violent crime and drop-out from the labour force is growing, and will continue to do so because there is a generation of children being brought up to live in the same way. Runciman (1990: 381, 388) also seems to see Britain's future in the American present. He argues that the underclass in Britain embraces 'those who are excluded from the labour market entirely, whether through debt, disability or a lack of any minimal skill in consequence of which they are permanently consigned to the category of the long-term unemployed'. Note that this is not a group of workers disadvantaged within the labour market. It is, rather, those members of society 'whose roles place them more or less permanently at the economic level where benefits are paid by the state to those unable to participate in the labour market at all'. Many of these individuals are members of ethnic minorities, and many are women (particularly single mothers), but it is their long-term unemployment and therefore welfare dependency (rather than ethnicity or gender as such) that defines their membership of the underclass.

Runciman also believes that the lifestyle and values of these people are distinct from those of the wider society. By contrast, Gallie (1988, 1994) has explored the potential for cultural cohesion and collective self-awareness as defining characteristics of the supposed British underclass, and concluded that the non-standard employment patterns and long-term unemployment of the 1980s may have provided a structural basis for a distinctive underclass, but that there is no real evidence for its cultural underpinning. This is consistent with the findings from of the attitude research undertaken by Heath (1992).

Three general conclusions can be drawn from this literature. The first is that this earlier research reflects contrasting approaches to the phenomenon of social exclusion. Either the underclass was characterised as being excluded from civil society on account of its extreme deprivation (due to poverty or lack of employment); or, alternatively, it was seen as being at variance with mainstream behaviour and attitudes (as testified to by the prevalence of voluntary joblessness, welfare dependency, unwed parenting, juvenile delinquency and crime generally).

Possible links to ethnicity and residence in 'extreme poverty areas' were merely variations on this basic theme. Dispute then turned on the causality that was deemed to prevail between structural location, individual behaviour, and social attitudes (see Auletta 1982: 50, 253, 265-8 and Gans 1993).

Secondly (and relatedly), in practice most commentators associated the underclass with either extreme poverty or long-term unemployment, although there was no consensus about how these circumstances arise. As Aponte (1990: 132) puts it, 'on the one hand, there are those that see self-defeating attitudes and behaviour - as in the long-discredited "culture of poverty" thesis - as the primary cause of poverty. On the other, there are those that argue that we must look to the structure of opportunities for the explanation of poverty and the often accompanying pathologies'.

Finally, these unresolved disputes about causality notwithstanding, it was widely (though not universally) held that the underclass shared in a distinctive subculture of cynicism, resignation and despair. As Aponte suggests, some drew parallels between this particular 'culture of fatalism' and earlier apparently similar sociological constructs, such as the 'culture of poverty' (much discussed in the United States during the 1960s) and the 'dependency culture' transmitted by so-called cycles of deprivation (a focus of controversy in Britain in the 1970s). Others argued that the debate about the underclass was distinguished by its explicit concern with the relationship between racism and poverty. In both cases, however, the overwhelming impression conveyed by the literature was of an underclass culture comprising largely negative traits which included apathy, defeatism, indifference towards the institutions of civil society, and possible rejection of the prevailing social norms and values (see, for example, Saunders 1990: 122-4 and Stafford and Ladner 1990: 138-40).

Five Principles of Research Strategy

It is not my purpose here either to review the extensive literature on the underclass or to attempt an authoritative definition of this seemingly elusive sociological subject. My point is simply that, in researching social exclusion in Europe, we might wish to build on the foundations erected by our American colleagues (if only by avoiding some of their errors). They too were attempting a multivariate analysis of the causal relationships between a variety of structural, behavioral and attitudinal variables, said in some way to be associated with (as either preconditions for or consequences of) social exclusion. The experience of this earlier debate suggests the following five (interrelated) lessons for research strategy.

First, it is important to follow Robert Merton's advice and 'establish the phenomenon to be explained'; or, in other words, identify the social scientific problem of interest, and then define it clearly. Research into the underclass was hampered from the outset by lack of consensus, not only about the causes or consequences of its emergence, but also about its very existence. Since the criteria of membership were so opaque, there was no agreement about what would constitute relevant evidence, even of a problem worthy of investigation. Some researchers denied the phenomenon itself, others disagreed about whether it was longstanding or a novel development,

and many felt that the issues could adequately be addressed within the analytical frameworks provided by the established literatures on poverty and unemployment.

The lesson here would seem to be that, before a further round of data collection is initiated, the explanandum itself needs to be clearly defined. If the object is to map and explain a specific condition to be called 'social exclusion' then how is this to be defined in advance? If however (and I suspect this is the case), the research is intended to embrace a more general interest in the relationships between a long list of familiar social science topics and variables (unemployment, training, value change and so forth), then this should be acknowledged clearly at the outset - otherwise there is a danger of re-running irresolvable disputes about the degree to which particular social groups are or are not 'socially excluded'.

Either way, we should recognise that a substantial body of good and relevant research on social exclusion already exists, and this will allow us to start by looking at established empirical regularities which need to be further examined and explained.

Second, further large-scale data collection is crucial, but will be of limited value unless social surveys are specifically designed to maximise the sample of eligible subjects. Researchers who examined the issues surrounding the underclass by secondary analysis of large-scale data sets were constantly frustrated by the fact that the variables of interest (single-parenthood, membership of an ethnic minority, long-term unemployment, or whatever) defined very small sub-samples of the population in the available surveys. The multivariate analysis was therefore constrained by the numbers of cases available for inspection. National random samples are of limited value in this context: too many respondents are 'wasted' through ineligibility. Only targeted surveys will yield sufficient numbers for anything other than the most simple analysis.

The sort of multivariate study that is envisaged in the Workprogramme likewise depends upon large numbers of cases in order to fill the many cells in the tables. Sampling frames are therefore of paramount importance and may vary across member countries depending upon, for example, access to official records of unemployment and training. One possibility is geographic sampling. 'Underclass areas' in the United States were said to be those with relatively high proportions of high school dropouts, prime aged males not working regularly, households with children headed by females, and welfare dependents (see Ricketts and Sawhill 1988). In the case of social exclusion, one might envisage a similar sampling frame, comprising neighbourhoods in which these and other such characteristics of interest are to the fore.

My third conclusion is that surveys should contain substantial longitudinal elements. Simple cross-sectional surveys could only ever address the issues of who were or were not in poverty, were excluded from or participated in civil society, and did or did not exhibit the effects of fatalism. These studies shed little light on the pathways in and out of the so-called underclass. Researchers found it very difficult, therefore, to answer questions about how long people remained in the underclass, what proportion of its current membership were trapped there, and who was most likely to benefit from the various social policy initiatives.

The same consideration applies in the study of social exclusion more generally. If genuine longitudinal data cannot be created or are not available, then pseudo-longitudinal material

should be substituted, in the form of (for example) labour-market histories or other more general life-histories. Fortunately, the Workprogramme places considerable emphasis upon the study of processes, and this is reassuring. Furthermore, longitudinal data and analyses will tend (rightly in my view) to discourage attempts to identify an exclusion borderline or boundary, analogous to a poverty threshold. These sorts of demarcation lines tend to detract from the study of how people flow into and out of the various exclusionary statuses. They also tend to exaggerate the differences (which are often marginal) between those placed below the line, in the exclusionary condition, and those defined as being just above it. This is not only poor social science but also leads to ineffective social policy (witness the history of the various 'poverty traps' created by some welfare regimes).

Fourthly, and most importantly, if the causes and consequences of the multidimensional phenomenon of social exclusion are to be identified, then the construction of an overall 'index of exclusion' would seem to be of limited value - beyond, that is, providing a convenient sampling frame for subsequent researchers. The current availability of a range of techniques for multivariate analysis renders these sorts of composite indices increasingly obsolete. If relevant data are collected about unemployment, values, ethnicity, income, welfare dependency and such like, from a sufficiently large sample, then the causal relationships between these characteristics can properly be treated as an empirical issue via the family of regression and other statistical techniques. Causal modelling, rather than definitional fiat, should be the criterion by which social exclusion is determined. The connections between structural location, behaviour, and attitudes are a matter for empirical investigation: we simply do not need to decide, a priori, how many of the various social attributes should be compounded before some putative condition of 'social exclusion' is established.

In any case, the technical problems of combining multiple indicators of exclusion into a meaningful single index are considerable, and familiar from similar exercises with regard to (for example) social deprivation (see Department of the Environment 1995). To mention only the most obvious, indicators may be closely correlated, although reflecting quite different processes; weighting, ranking, and collapsing of indicators is inevitably contentious, since these can all be done in many different ways (involving expert opinion, Z-scores, factor analysis, cluster analysis and so on); and, finally, the causal analysis is undermined by the ecological problems inherent in the final index (most obviously in the attempt to explain individual behaviour by reference to aggregated, usually district-level, data). Moreover, different scales are invariably created to cover the degree, extent and intensity of the condition of interest, so that problems of interpreting the scores still remain. The further problems involved in standardising indicators across countries simply underline the technical difficulties of creating meaningful composite indices. Of course, politicians like to see league tables which rank local areas or regions in terms of a single index score purporting to reflect the degree of deprivation (or exclusion), because such tables seem to provide a firm basis for public spending (and one which is easily understood). However, whether they are good social science is quite another matter, and it is hard to see how such an exercise could shed much light on the 'pathways to social exclusion and integration'.

Finally, it is perhaps also worth noting that small-scale ethnographic work is not a panacea for solving the methodological problems involved in studying social exclusion. The

Workprogramme envisages that 'historical comparative community studies of real life conditions, experience and views of the concerned social group will be of great value' (TSRP 1995: 17). The history of the underclass debate suggests that this will be true only if the various ethnographic studies actually address the problems of reliability and validity posed explicitly by large-scale quantitative analysis.

'Thick description' in and of itself does not generate precise causal narratives. If detailed interviews are carried out with (say) forty unemployed husbands in Liverpool, then one has no means of knowing whether any apparent effects of exclusion are peculiar to males, to married people, to the unemployed, to Liverpool, or to the North-West of England. If one is also interested in the relationship between unemployment and single-parenthood, ethnicity, poverty and lifestyle, then small-scale case-studies (no matter how historically or contextually sensitive) are simply not going to 'add value to the existing pool of knowledge' (TSRP 1995: 3). We already know that, at least some of the time and in some places, these things tend to go together - but only an appropriate quantitative analysis can tell us precisely how and how often they are likely to be associated. If such analysis identifies a numerically or theoretically interesting group - for example a statistical outlier or core of long-term excluded - then that is the point at which a critical case-study becomes appropriate and useful. The ethnographic work should therefore follow the surveys - rather than precede or accompany them.

In sum, the experience of the underclass debate suggests that particular encouragement should be given to the creation or secondary analysis of large-scale data sets (and the larger the better); gathered from an appropriately targeted rather than a general population; containing as much longitudinal information as possible; analysed by means of the standard multivariate techniques. These data should address some established empirical regularities in need of further explanation. Earlier controversy surrounding alternative methods for combining social indicators into a single index suggests that such exercises are of limited value and tend to generate sampling frames rather than explanations. Ethnographic work will be of value in resolving the important causal and policy issues surrounding social exclusion only if it is appropriately targeted.

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THE MEASUREMENT AND ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION - OUTLINE OF A POSSIBLE STATISTICAL PROGRAMME

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 In June 1994 a seminar was held at the University of Bath (UK), under the auspices of DG V of the European Commission and the UK Department of Social Security¹, concerned with the *Measurement and Analysis of Social Exclusion*. The seminar raised a number of possible implications for the statistical data which should be collected at national and EU levels. In the aftermath to the seminar, further discussions took place between the seminar organiser and statisticians within Eurostat, in order to spell out these implications in more detail. This working paper is the result.

1.2 The policy interest in statistical activities on social exclusion comes, at EU level, from both DG V, including the Social Fund, and DG XII (Framework IV). For example, they may be relevant to the monitoring of Social Fund activities and the allocation of EU resources. In addition, it is evident that national governments have a strong interest in developing a more coherent and policy-relevant framework for statistical work in this area.

1.3 Much information is already being collected at national and EU level. However, not all of the data which are relevant to the analysis and monitoring of social exclusion are yet being sufficiently exploited. The first step should be to remedy this. The gaps that remain should then be filled, something which could require the collection of new data.

1.4 As well as the data sources for which Eurostat is itself responsible, it is important to make full use of data sources available at national level. It is moreover necessary to distinguish between what might be possible in the short, medium and long-term: using existing data sources, extending them, and creating new ones. Finally, the more detailed elaboration of a possible statistical programme will depend upon a continuing discussion between the producers and users of such statistics, with the users (especially, but not exclusively, in the EU institutions) clarifying their needs and the producers clarifying the sorts of data that it is feasible to gather.

¹ The general report on this seminar is attached as an Annex. The full proceedings are expected to be published during 1995.

1.5 Eurostat could play a key role in ensuring improved data availability: in part through the surveys for which it is at present responsible, in part, perhaps, through eventual new surveys; in part by negotiation and discussion with national statistical institutes as to the data which they should collect; in part by its more general role in setting standards for statistical work.

1.6 The implementation of an eventual gap-filling statistical programme could therefore be through a variety of approaches: deeper analysis of existing data; inclusion of additional questions or modules to existing Eurostat household surveys; and agreements with national statistical institutes for the incorporation of harmonised indicators in their household surveys. The implementation phase might begin with discussions through appropriate Eurostat Working Groups.

2. *EXTENSION FROM FINANCIAL MEASURES TO MULTIPLE DISADVANTAGE*

2.1 The Bath seminar confirmed the concern of researchers and policy-makers with multi-dimensional disadvantage, rather than with financial indicators alone. Two points are at issue here: first, that financial indicators such as low income are insufficiently reliable as proxies for general hardship; second, that it is important for policy and for explanatory purposes to disentangle different elements of hardship and to identify their interrelationships. Nevertheless, the key importance of financial resources in triggering and perpetuating social exclusion should be recognised, since a whole range of deprivations and hardships are associated with lack of such resources: even in regard to financial disadvantage, therefore, efforts to improve the statistical data are required.

2.2 There appear as yet to be no unique, formal definitions of social exclusion which would command general assent. This should not, however, delay attempts at operationalisation in terms of a subset of characteristic domains and indicators on which there is consensus (including, for example, education, employment, working environment, health, housing, social participation, as well as command over goods and services). The general approach should be to proceed from these *domains* (e.g. command over goods and services) to *sub-domains* (e.g. income), to *indicators* (e.g. 50% of average equivalised disposable income), to an examination of *data availability* and then to the development of a *statistical programme* to fill gaps. The *data availability* criterion would not be satisfied unless the statistics on each indicator were such as to allow thresholds or norms (e.g. overcrowded accommodation, chronic ill-health) to be distinguished (even if the determination of norms had to be based on subjective, arbitrary value-judgements). At each stage in this approach, account would of course be taken of the domains, sub-domains and indicators which are already being used by the statistical communities in the individual member states, in order as far as possible to build upon what is already being done.

2.3 Reviews might be commissioned of the available research literature, and inventories of the indicators currently in use in the various member states, to help in the task of selecting domains, sub-domains and indicators, and the identification of appropriate thresholds. These reviews would not of course confine themselves to those studies which are already known to DG V and Eurostat. Expert working groups could be used for this purpose.

2.4 It would be important to ensure some cross-referencing between the various domains, lest they be investigated in isolation from each other. However, there is no presumption that this statistical work would lead to the elaboration of composite or synthetic indicators of social exclusion.

2.5 In the context of Eurostat's current work on social indicators, domains have already been identified and a draft list of indicators is in preparation. It would be possible to build on this framework, with refinements and extensions in order to cater for the additional requirements of social exclusion and labour market exclusion. The outcome could be an articulated conceptual system of indicators to meet a variety of needs. Further emphasis is however required for indicators of access to various services, (e.g. health, personal social services, justice, social assistance benefits). The notion of access (economic, physical, etc) and the relevant empirical data will require further clarification before it can be operationalised.

2.6 The European Community Household Panel will be a key source for the measurement of social exclusion. It will of course have limitations, for example in terms of sample size, response rate, accuracy of respondents' recollections and the range of questions which the survey poses. Nevertheless, it has some major potential strengths, for example in exploring correlations between different sorts of disadvantage and in suggesting possible causal relationships. To the extent that the ECHP, in its present form, does not cover the full range of requirements, questions and modules should be considered for addition to it on a rotational basis over a period of years, particularly to obtain information on service utilisation. A similar method might be used with other surveys at EU level, if and as they are introduced.

2.7 Despite the use of such modules, household surveys may still not adequately cover the responsiveness of institutions to the alleviation of social exclusion. Thus the role and validity of administrative data in shedding light on the interaction between the government agency and the citizen should receive the fullest possible consideration. ESSPROS,² developed further to cover data on persons, provides a ready lever for seeking such administrative data. Moreover, because of the inherent limitation of administrative information in fully capturing the complete pool of needy, their full potential might only be realisable through micro-linkage with household

2

Data on social protection come from administrative sources in the Member States and have been harmonized according to Eurostat's ESSPROS methodology (European System of Integrated Social Protection Statistics). Data concern both receipts and expenditure of social protection. Benefit expenditure can be broken down by function and by type of benefit. The function is the area within which it becomes necessary to exercise protection of individuals and households. A dozen functions are defined, such as old age, disability, sickness, family. The data produced by the MISSOC network of the EU may also be relevant.

survey data. But technical and confidentiality obstacles, together with the complexity of rule-based microsimulation in assessing social assistance utilisation, would suggest that these areas should first be studied through small-scale experimental pilots.

2.8 Some of the most seriously socially excluded populations are excluded also from the administrative and survey statistical network (although the population censuses may not be too defective in their coverage). Thus, novel supplementary statistical instruments, including the possible exploitation of non-official sources, may require further consideration.

2.9 For some users it may be possible to give priority to a few indicators in particular, depending on the specific policy purpose of the user concerned. And of course, in the short term, before some of the present data gaps can be remedied, different users will find themselves having to make pragmatic use of such indicators as are available for their purposes

3. *EXTENSION FROM A STATIC TO A DYNAMIC ANALYSIS*

3.1 The Bath seminar confirmed the shift of emphasis from a static to a dynamic analysis. It is not enough to count the numbers and describe the characteristics of the socially excluded; it is also necessary to understand and monitor the *process* of social exclusion and to identify the factors which can trigger entry or exit from situations of exclusion.

3.2 Assets (not just financial) representing past investments are crucial to understanding vulnerability to exclusion. So are the processes by which such resources are eroded.

3.3 There are a number of national panel surveys which provide insights into these dynamics. They are however somewhat heterogeneous. Currently, whatever the limitations, there is no alternative to the ECHP for obtaining comparable data on such dynamics, including those events, for example changes in labour market status, in family structures and hence generally in incomes, which trigger a downward spiral into the abyss of social exclusion or which enable ascent and social re-insertion. Information of this sort would be of interest not only to the EU institutions, but also to national policy-makers, as they seek to interpret their own policies and social trends in relation to developments in other EU countries; and it would represent a specific added value of the ECPH as far as those national policy-makers are concerned.

3.4 This suggests that a priority should be to nurture, and even enhance, the ECHP over a long period of years in order to be able to generate, *inter alia*, unambiguous profiles of social exclusion probabilities and trajectories. This work will also act as a catalyst in promoting greater homogeneity and comparability among the various national panels which the ECHP will complement but not replace. Indeed, this

convergence under the influence of the ECHP is already to some extent apparent.

3.5 The statistical programme might also include supplementary longitudinal administrative files for studying the financial dependency of those who are trapped on one benefit or another; or for providing a sampling frame for surveys into their behaviour and other aspects of their living conditions.

3.6 Among the factors which can trigger entry or exit from situations of exclusion are, course, the welfare benefits and services provided by the public authorities. Again, therefore, administrative data which shed light on the interaction between the government agency and the citizen should receive the fullest possible consideration (cf para 2.7 above), if these dynamics of social exclusion are to be monitored.

4. *EXTENSION FROM THE INDIVIDUAL OR HOUSEHOLD TO THE LOCAL COMMUNITY IN ITS SPATIAL DIMENSION*

4.1 The Bath seminar confirmed a shift of emphasis from the individual and household to the local community in its spatial dimension. This has two implications as far as a statistical programme is concerned.

4.2 First, the vulnerability of an individual or household to social exclusion depends in part on the local community resources on which that individual or household can draw. Deprivation is caused not only by lack of personal resources but also by insufficient or unsatisfactory community facilities, such as dilapidated schools, remotely sited shops, poor public transport networks and so on; indeed, such an environment tends to reinforce and perpetuate household poverty. Household surveys and panel studies need to include questions on the availability or non-availability of these local community resources, if we are to understand the differential vulnerability of different individuals and households to social exclusion and disadvantage. The addition of such questions to the ECHP might be possible: the precise content of such questions remains to be explored.

4.3 Second, in combatting social exclusion policy-makers must consider what actions they will take to invest in these local community resources, complementing action targeted on particular individuals and households. In many countries, poverty alleviation measures include pinpointed resource allocation to particularly run-down localities, such as derelict inner urban city centres or areas of industrial decline. Both the Regional Fund and the Social Fund have a geographical dimension. As far as a statistical programme is concerned, the need is to ensure that policy-makers have the indicators which they need in order to identify those local communities where investments of this sort may be particularly effective.

4.4 There is of course the danger in spatial analysis of committing the ecological fallacy (i.e. assuming any simple relationship between indicators of disadvantaged areas and disadvantaged persons). This danger could itself be tested by proceeding from the smallest spatial unit and progressively aggregating and methodological

studies should be conducted to this end.

4.5 A model of such spatial analysis was provided at the Bath Seminar by Professor Robson, using UK census data. His analysis demonstrated, first, how census data could be used to identify local communities at the level of enumeration districts (ED) which have high concentrations of disadvantaged households. Second, by making comparisons with the 1981 census data, Robson was able to show the changes in the national map of such local disadvantage³The ED level is appropriate as the basic analytic building-brick in order to circumvent the risks of incurring the ecological fallacy and in order to ensure more precise targeted resource allocation, with a minimum of leakage. It would be possible to extend this type of analysis to other EU countries, using a common methodology.

4.6 Robson uses data drawn from household responses to the census. His data therefore refer to attributes of households, even if he then compares localities by reference to the proportions of households who are seriously lacking in certain of these attributes. They do not refer to the unsatisfactory community facilities (dilapidated schools, remotely sited shops, poor public transport networks and so on) referred to in paragraph 4.2 above. Nor can they, within the confines of the questions which are currently posed by censuses. Accordingly, it will be necessary to match spatial analysis of this sort with independent data on community resources. But, unless some form of common geo-referencing is available, EDs would have to be aggregated to conform to suitable administrative boundaries to permit merging or matching with independent data of this sort.

4.7 Further specific studies in the spatial arena would be required on the choice of relevant census indicators⁴, their robustness, appropriate spatial level for both statistical analysis and policy interventions, cartographic aspects, the key types of community resources that characterise social exclusion, the kinds of questions that could be added to the ECHP without overburdening it or compromising its longitudinal value, and the techniques by which data on community resources could be grafted on to a census-based poverty map. As with other research areas, the initial approach might best be through small-scale, exploratory pilots on one or two countries, followed by Working Group deliberations in a step-by-step progression.

4.8 Here as with other elements of the statistical programme, further dialogue between policy-makers - including EU policy-makers - and statisticians will be needed in order to identify the geographical units that it would be appropriate to use, depending on the policy purpose.

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⁴It is worth noting that the next census recommendations will be drafted in collaboration between Eurostat and the UN.

5. CONCLUSION

5.1 This working paper has identified a number of ways in which the discussions in Bath could now be taken forward in a programme of statistical work. These do not involve first achieving a well-defined consensus on the definition of social exclusion. Rather, they represent a set of modest and pragmatic next steps, building upon the elements of agreement which do appear to have been reached. However, the test at each stage must be their relevance to the preoccupations of policy-makers and researchers.

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