# FINAL REPORT

**Project Contract n°:  SOE-CT98-2048**

**Project Title: CASE: Social exclusion as a multidimensional process.
Subcultural and formally assisted strategies of coping with and
avoiding social exclusion**

**Project coordinator:**

Institut für Rechts- und Kriminalsoziologie Wien

**Partners:**

Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe Universität Frankfurt
Institut für Sozialpädagogik und Erwachsenenbildung
Fachbereich Erziehungswissenschaften

Universität Leipzig
Institut für Soziologie

Universität Durham

Fondazione di Ricerca Instituto Carlo Cattaneo

Stockholms Universitet
Department of Criminology

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
Faculty of Law
Department of Legal Justice and Criminology

Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona
Faculdad de Derecho

**Starting date:  01.01.1999**

**Duration:  2 years**

**Date of issue of this report:  February 28, 2001**

Ian Taylor, our partner in this project, important contributor to it from the beginning - and for a number of us a long-time and good friend, has died in January 2001.
We are glad we have at least shared this project with him. We will keep the memory of his lively presence and his good ideas.

**Social exclusion as a multidimensional process. Subcultural and formally assisted strategies of coping with and avoiding social exclusion**

**Final Report:**

**Annex:**                                                             Annex page

# ABSTRACT

Social exclusion, understood as the denial of full participation in social life, its products and its regulation and development, is a set of structural positions in which people need special resources. Structural characteristics of an economy like social exclusion are answered by coping strategies aiming at getting out of and away from the status again. Welfare measures are one set of provisions against (permanent) exclusion.

Empirical research in eight European cities (Barcelona, Bologna, Vienna, Frankfurt/Main, Leipzig, Groningen, Leeds, Stockholm) produced a collection of (over 3.000) narratives about how different instances of social exclusion have been managed. Social exclusion is broken down into episodes with a multi-dimensional dynamic and a trajectory of coping with the problem. The resources needed and used for such coping are of special interest in analyses of this material.

Results are:
Reference to dimensions of an "implicit social contract" legitimises either indignation about situations of social exclusion or, in contrast, their normalisation. The most general principles behind indignation are: a/ having "earned" support, b/ being a "member", c/ deserving "solidarity". Normalisations are based on norms of non-entitlement: accepted status inferiority defined by state regulations (migrants, criminals) or market (achievement, demand) or fate/bad luck.

As to coping mechanisms there are fields like labour market or housing supply which are mostly determined by structural influences, where individual coping cannot consist in more than "make-do"solutions. There are other fields where collective coping can bring about institutional changes and, thus, something approaching long-term solutions.

Resources used can be grouped into a/ turning to the welfare state, b/ access resources, c/ mutual help/reciprocity resources, and d/ "getting together" resources. In cases where the problem is created by state discrimination, private welfare organisations are of special importance. Networks of association are particularly useful instruments of multi-purpose coping, but need institutional support. Successful coping involves entrepreneurial activities and an income mix from welfare, wage labour, family, networks and informal economy.

Conditionality and multi-functionality of welfare limit its usefulness and produce exclusions. At least some unconditional provision of material resources for all (minimum, "citizenship" income) is the basis for individualised coping strategies. Historical functions (like regulation of the labour market, inducement of discipline) added to welfare produce contradictions: provision of resources for coping with situations of social exclusion should be clearly isolated from these other functions.

Welfare policy, based on principles of avoiding exclusion by state regulations, of basic universality, of responsivity to the diversity of positions and demands and of special attention to network / community

associations, could be understood as efficient resource management for participation of all and on all levels.

## 1.    The Concept of Social Exclusion

For the purpose of this project "Social exclusion" is defined as continuous and gradual deficits of full participation in the social (including material as well as symbolic) resources produced, supplied and exploited in a society for making a living, organizing a life and taking part in the development of a (hopefully better) future.

Focussing on situations in life courses, episodes of (dimensional) social exclusion can be identified, which can be described and analysed as "natural histories" of a problem or conflict and its resolution and not as "development" of a person or group.

Internationally, the concept of *Social Exclusion* has been taken up most readily by those countries which are 'latecomers' in social policy and the development of a welfare state. It is part of their adaptation to EU thinking, arguing and planning. There is more reluctance from the 'old' welfare states (social-democratic as well as conservative-corporate ones, to use Esping-Andersen's categories), which adhere to the old concept of poverty, or - as in the case of Sweden - the concept of marginalisation. The important exception is Great Britain.

But on the whole national discussions seem to agree on the following advantages of the terminology of *Social Exclusion*:

- the multidimensionality of the concept
- the relational nature of *Social Exclusion* as compared to the distributional orientation of the traditional concept of 'poverty';
- its dynamic as opposed to the static nature of traditional concepts;
- the actor-orientation of the concept;
- the close connection of the concept of participation to exclusion/inclusion.

*Social Exclusion*, then, is a political concept with different connotations in different contexts. It can be used to advantage scientifically to incorporate the consensual characteristics mentioned above. *Exclusion*, in such an understanding, does not denote a person who is completely "out", but rather a situation in which full participation is denied on one or more dimensions.

## 2.    Aim of the project:

In the European tradition the institutions of social security and of the welfare state have the task of compensating risks and problems of poverty and social exclusion. There is criticism of these institutions from two sides: on the one hand by the way they are organised (in particular

by the insurance principle) these compensatory institutions formulate disciplinatory conditions (life-long regular wage-labour relations) which are repressive and cannot be fulfilled by increasing numbers; on the other hand these institutions become very expensive under conditions of massive unemployment and a high proportion of old-age pensioners. The traditional institutions of social security and the welfare state are under pressure and are being re-built. If this is to be more than a simple reduction of benefits and an increase in disciplinatory aspects, a new understanding of welfare is needed.

It is the expectation of this project that an understanding of the welfare state as the provision of resources needed in situations of social exclusion could give such an orientation. Information about the strategies people in such situations develop under present conditions should be helpful to indicate what the important resources are and how they should (and should not) be organised for optimal usefulness.

The project intends to identify the resources necessary to avert social exclusion in one or more dimensions. Knowledge about individual and collective strategies leading into positive or negative feedback and the resources needed for compensations is to be produced. The project aims to describe the strategies people threatened by exclusion find and try to apply themselves in their efforts not to let social exclusion "accumulate" and to extend to other areas and to stop vicious cycles of positive feedback between fields. It can be assumed that such strategies are useful or at least point to social, political and administrative conditions that keep them from being useful.

## 3.     Project Design and Methods

The method of the project to identify examples of such new forms of intervention and analysing the conditions under which they spring up and are successful was a comparative perspective focussing on coping strategies and politics on the local and subcultural level as well as that of different (national) welfare state regimes.

The empirical research took place in the framework of community studies. Stories were collected about episodes of social exclusion in narrative, respondent-centred interviews in communities. The interviews were documented by using code sheets (for person interviewed, for each episode) and by having the narratives re-told by the interviewer in a summary way.

To collect episodes of social exclusion two research sites were selected in every participating city. In general the areas chosen are disadvantaged parts of the cities, but nowhere the worst. Local conditions were explored through expert interviews, observations and statistical data. Contacts to organisations important in the communities and to welfare organisations in the widest sense were taken up. This was at the same time information gathering, preparation for

the dissemination of (preliminary) results and recruitment of interview partners who could be referred to us by these organisations.

For the data collection interviewers were recruited among students, social workers and locally. Some native speakers of important foreign languages could be recruited in most cases. The qualitative approach makes this research different from most other research on poverty and other forms of social exclusion. The concentration on events and their history also makes it different from other qualitative research (like the impressive example of Bourdieu et al., 1993) that mostly uses the person or the family / the household and their biographies as the unit of analysis. Instead this research concentrated on episodes of (impending) social exclusion and their narratives.

## 4.     The Data Base

The following numbers of interviews were conducted by the local research teams: The mean number is 160 interviews per research site, resulting in a total of 3.291 (on average 410) narratives of episodes of (experienced or impending) social exclusion. In almost all the places the predominant way to contact the respondents was the random walk avoiding agency filtering. The attempts to have balanced samples according to age, sex and nationality were moderately successful. Foreigners are under-represented in a few of the participating cities and female respondents are slightly over-represented on the whole.

## 5.     Main Results

The analysis and presentation of project results avoids "national reports", i.e. the presentation of results by cities or research sites. (It is our experience that such a structure tends to be repetitive and to make subsequent comparison difficult.) Instead analyses have been ordered by topics that are particularly relevant a/ according to the conceptual and theoretical approach and b/ in particular research locations. Topics have (in a first meeting with preliminary results, followed by closer data analyses and extensive web discussions of these results, followed by decisions agreed upon in a second meeting) been allocated to individual national teams. Parallel or contrasting supplementary materials and results were to be supplied for all relevant topics by the other teams. International comparisons, thus, concentrated on topics relevant (because of local importance or striking absence) in the cities included in a specific comparison.

This procedure determines the structure of the report.

It opens with *theoretical considerations* which specify the conceptual approach as originally outlined. They take account of theoretical developments brought about by the research experience and results. These developments go in the direction of broadening the conceptual field a/ into social psychology by introducing "belonging, trust and accessibility of resources" and b/ into political theory, i.e. a theory of democracy, by introducing levels and degrees of participation as the more general formulation of what "social exclusion" means politically. These approaches are to be taken up again and used in policy consideration deriving from the project.

A second block of results analyses the *form of presentation of episodes* of social exclusion in the narratives that were collected. "Indignation" and "acceptance" (down to resignation) is the first important polarity here. This includes references to the principles of legitimation people use for their claims to get and be able to use social and in particular welfare-state resources in situations of social exclusion. The three most general such principles we could identify are: a/ having "earned" support, b/ being a "member", c/ deserving "solidarity".

In contrast to this there are "normalised" forms of exclusion, i.e. types of non-participation that are just mentioned in passing or otherwise communicated but not elaborated upon. They are "de-thematicized". People live with them and take them more or less for granted. This again points to claims people could have, but do not seem to feel entitled to put up. Once more this approach allows to identify social norms of participation and entitlement. Not all of these are universal. It turns out that even in well-developed democracies there are norms of non-participation and non-entitlement, i.e. there is status inferiority, defined by state regulations (migrants, criminals), market (achievement, demand) and fate / bad luck.

A third, quantitatively the main block of results has the heading of "Copings and their Resources". Chapters are ordered according to resources: from utilising the welfare-state in different forms, also considering the provision of housing as a special case, through (subcultural) "patterns of association" and the striking absence of "community" in many locations, to the family as a resource and the meaning of work. Finally there are analyses of situations in which the legal status (foreigner, illegal immigrant) is the source of exclusion and in which a multiplicity of resources has to be mobilised. One of these refers specifically to the accumulated problems of foreign women. A general consideration of innovative and deviant coping strategies is added to this.

Some of the results were to be expected: e.g. that there are downward cycles of poverty or long-term situations of poverty, especially when housing problems are involved, often in cases of family break-down, sometimes connected to an overwhelming multiplicity of problems. On the other hand there are widespread neutralisations of situations of social exclusion: people take them for granted or have given up higher ambitions. There are social norms that can define a whole status group as "inferior" and not deserving better (immigrants, criminals) that is also discriminated by state regulations. And then there are also coping

strategies that can remedy a situation of social exclusion on an individual and household level. A wide range of such copings is described for different fields of resources.

There are fields (like labour market or housing supply) which are mostly determined by structural influences, where individual coping cannot mean more than finding "make-do" solutions. There are other fields (like forms of sqatting or institutional programs) where coping strategies can bring about something approaching long-term solutions. Private welfare organisations proved to be of special importance in cases where the problem is created by state discrimination in the first place. Networks of association in communities and neighbourhoods are a particularly useful instrument of multi-purpose coping, but need institutional support for stability. The most successful coping strategies involved entrepreneurial activities in putting together an income mix from all sources: welfare benefits, some wage labour, family, networks, if needs be some black market activities too.

Types of welfare orientations range between the taken-for-granted assumption that people "own" the welfare state and are entitled to its support in situations of social exclusion (Sweden, Netherlands) and reduced expectations, a reduced level of reproduction, reliance on family and entrepreneurial income mix (the "southern pattern"). In all cases there would be a preference for the relative autonomy of being in a position to make a living by wage labour, but the awareness that the labour market will not supply this any more, even after trying to acquire "better" qualifications, is spreading and getting accepted. Even though people adapt, this is still held against politics.


## 6.     Policy Implications

The main policy-relevant lesson to be learned from this research is the usefulness of the perspective: to look at situations of social exclusion in terms of the resources needed to overcome the risk makes us see difficulties as temporary and people as active. Situations in which no change seems possible and in which there is a vicious-circle downward dynamic, are the extreme, not the average case. Acquiescence to such perceived inevitability needs explaining.

Some of the implications of this perspective are: welfare is seen as a question not of security, but of participation; welfare as the availability of resources needed for coping with difficult situations (of social exclusion) demands a wide variety of such resources to be kept "in store"; access to resources should not be made conditional on prior economic and political well-behaving; welfare should not be mixed with educational and disciplinary aims.

In this perspective it becomes obvious that state regulations of access to territory and labour as well as commodity markets produce social exclusion. In addition there are paradoxical

effects in the mechanisms of the welfare-state itself, producing selectivity and, thus, again problems of exclusion. They are coped with by private and sometimes illegal means.

Questions of diversity need to be further developed. Demands for different resources and limitations to such diversity in present welfare-state conditions have to be discussed.

Problems of access as well as diversity point to the desirability of making "temporality" more of a focus in social-security thinking: tolerating temporary solutions, even if undesirable, and furthering passages from (or at least avoiding fixations into) such strategies could be a useful orientation.

A typology of resources, distinguishing welfare-state, access, reciprocity and getting-together resources summarises results as to the multitude of coping strategies encountered in the research.

We will not and cannot take this analysis of political consequences from our research to the level of detailed reform proposals. They would have to be developed by specialists in social security law. But we can indicate the general direction and over-all perspective that could – according to our results – orient such more concrete proposals.

1/ People do not accept charity easily. They do not want to be dependent. They would rather have a chance to "earn" a decent living – not necessarily by wage labour or forced work for the community, but by work (like reproduction work in the family) they see as needed and meaningful.

2/ Family is a resource in difficult situations, but quite often it is also the source of difficulties. Unless it is based in strong patriarchal / matriarchal ideologies (which cannot be re-instated after they have lost their material basis) and when instead it turns into an exchange relation, its character as resource becomes precarious. Its solidarity gets confined to short-time emergency support.

3/ Welfare compensations of situations of social exclusion are made difficult by their "conditionality" in three forms:

a/ The insurance principle constitutes a selectivity of benefits according to regular, full-time and life-long wage labour. Those who do not fit this pattern are excluded and relegated to social assistance. With the latest economic developments (flexibility, labour-power entrepreneur) an increasingly greater proportion of the labour force will not be in a position to meet these criteria.

b/ Following a principle of economizing, welfare benefits, which have always been made scarce and hard to get, are reduced and made conditional to means-testing and other forms of (bureaucratic) eligibility.

c/ According to a principle of multi-functionality welfare resources are organized under the assumption that they could at the same time function as regulations of the labour market, i.e. as incentives to accept wage labour. A clear separation of these functions might make things more manageable.

4/ Situations of social exclusion are best coped with by using a multiplicity of resources. Rules by which such combinations of sources of income (wage, welfare, family) are hindered are dysfunctional.

1–4/ can most easily be met by programmes of a minimum income, of a "citizenship income" or some such unconditional provision of basic material resources for all.

5/ Non-state welfare organizations and their provisions of resources are indispensable and the only hope where exclusion is organised by the state (non-nationals, criminals). In view of the above, ideas should be developed how it could be dispensed in other ways than as individual "gifts", but either as infrastructure to be used by all or in relations of mutuality, e.g. in programmes that allow setting up some business or finance some other project (renovation, building).

6/ Networks of association are a useful and powerful multi-purpose resource. To provide infrastructure for them might be a wise investment. This can be generalised to the principle to provide resources for locales and networks (instead of individuals) and for their development by participants.

7/ There is a lot of taking for granted of situations of exclusion. There is indignation over resources denied in accordance with (assumed) norms of what is due to a person and what legitimates rights and claims. But the more difficult the life situation is the more people are forced to concentrate on making do. Indignation is a very indirect motor of political initiatives only, if at all.

7a/ Often this taking for granted of exclusion seems to be connected with situations of weak health. Medical problems (particularly chronic ones) could be made an occasion for community-work types of social intervention more systematically than they are today.

8/ Obviously, provision of infrastructure either to avoid social exclusion or to cope with it is the better strategy than supporting individuals.

# THE ARGUMENT, THE OBJECTIVES, AND THE METHODOLOGY OF A PROJECT "SOCIAL EXCLUSION AS A MULTIDIMENSIONAL PROCESS. SUBCULTURAL AND FORMALLY ASSISTED STRATEGIES OF COPING WITH AND AVOIDING SOCIAL EXCLUSION" (CASE)

Helga Cremer-Schäfer (Frankfurt), Arno Pilgram (Wien), Heinz Steinert (Frankfurt/Wien), Ian Taylor (Durham) and Georg Vobruba (Leipzig)

## 1.        Conceptual and theoretical basis

There have in recent years been discussions and conceptual as well as theoretical developments on the basis of empirical research in the field of "social exclusion" in the disciplines of sociology, economy, political science and of criminology. In most European countries we can identify specific academic and political "exclusion discources". Due to different paradigms of scientific thinking and different traditions of social policy social exclusion remains a contested issue and concept (c.f. Silver 1994, Steinert 1999). But there are also converging results and tendencies (c.f. Littlewood/Herkommer 1999). The explication of theoretical perspective, concepts and research method is considering current understandings of social exclusion that are shared by the project and will work out the specific approach and concern looking on situations of social exclusion, on individual as competent actors and welfare state measures as resources coping with episodes of social exclusion.

## 1.1.    Exclusion and Inclusion as "complements"

Politics of economic and social transformation, resulting in "new" problems and a return of social cleavages ("split society"), reminds scientific debates that societies consist in one dimension of boundary-maintaining and therefore exclusionary mechanisms, which become more prominent in situations of increased struggle and competition. In criminology there is a long empirical and theoretical tradition analysing the link of exclusionary mechanisms and socio-economic development. It has been shown that there is a greater willingness to imprison and otherwise exclude people in times of austerity politics and that there is at the same time greater popular willingness to bring conflicts as "crimes" to official notice (cf. for a summary of the long empiricist tradition Zimring and Hawkins, 1991; or Hochstetler and Shover, 1997, Waquant 2000 as relatively recent examples; for the theoretical tradition going back to Rusche and Kirchheimer, 1939, Melossi and Pavarini, 1981; Steinert, 1981b, 1998; to Foucault, 1975, Treiber und Steinert, 1980). In labor market theory and research it has been shown that there are constant processes of "closure" of "clubs" in the struggle for market

positions that imply the exclusion of others. (Cf. Beck and Brater, 1978; Jordan, 1996.) There is a similar, administratively regulated process of closure with regard to welfare benefits intended to compensate for inaccessible wage-earnings.

The theoretical notion of social exclusion as a recurring element of "keeping social order" respectively a dimension and "trend" in the political economy of Post-Fordist society has initiated some changes of social problem and social policy research. The meaning of "social exclusion" is no longer identical with that of "poverty" and connected other "new" phenomena, e.g. "durable unemployment", "cumulative discrimination" due to ascriptive features (ethnicity, race, deviancy, gender) or "new" spatial concentration of multiple disadvantages. We can observe still a de-facto tendency to concentrate research on "poverty" as strong dimension of social exclusion, although the problem conceptualization is discussed in the literature (cf. e.g. Jacobs und Ringbeck, 1994; Kaufmann, 1995; Berghman, 1997; the contributions by Abrahamson and Room in Beck et al., 1997; Kronauer, 1997; Siebel, 1997). More and more social exclusion is used and turns out a suitable conceptualization of phenomena the social problem approach still described in categories and vocabularies of welfare bureaucracies (e.g. unemployed, poor, homeless, needy, without certified "official" qualifications). The new concept shifts attention from "results" to process and links it into a wider theory of society, institutions and the actual politics of socio-economic restructuring. Social exclusion is not longer understood as the opposite but as one condition and consequence of dominant forms of inclusion. The common notion of "integration" therefore implies a twofold processes.

1.2.    Social exclusion: A *dynamic* process with many *dimensions*.

A status of "being excluded" is stable only as a limiting case, but normally a situation of struggle with the threat of exclusion on one dimension in which resources from other dimensions (on which there is still participation) can be used for coping. There may be positive feedback cycles in which exclusion generalises from one dimension to the other, but there can also be negative ones in which one dimension of exclusion can be compensated by mobilising others.

We can illustrate this with examples of usually not noticed forms of social exclusion: Political exclusion is a feature of all national states due to the definition of citizenship by nationality. Economic social exclusion is a permanent feature of capitalist development due to its basic mechanism of competition which necessarily produces temporary obsolescence of productive capacities of all kinds. The institutions of the welfare state traditionally have been a politically induced negative feedback on economic exclusion: its consequences were to be compensated by state-organized measures of integration. The other way around economic integration has been the pre-condition for political integration for new applicants only; "born members" are

entitled to unconditional citizenship. There is the possibility to remain a non-citizen and be economically integrated. There is the possibility to be economically excluded and still be a citizen and as such to also have a minimum of economic guarantees.

Traditionally (i.e. after the installation of welfare-state measures since the end of the 19th c.) such compensatory, negative feedback seem to have prevented the worst in "normal" times. Problems arise with the development of positive feedback: when economic problems are answered by political exclusion (the case of Nazi Germany) instead of integration (the case of the New Deal in the US in this historical example of the "Great Depression"); when the economically excluded are also punished disproportionally (at present the case of the US); when the educationally disadvantaged are disproportionally excluded from the labour market; when economic exclusion implies cultural exclusion and or spatial separation, etc.

## 1.3.    Focussing situations and episodes of social exclusion

The theoretical and conceptual frame of the project takes a step further. We understand "social exclusion" as dynamic and multi-dimensional (and not as an all-or-nothing event and status) but propose, that this will be an new paradigm only if, for analytical as well as practical purposes, the process and the variety of dimensions are broken down into an array of situations of (possible) exclusion ("sectoral exclusions") to be described in their relations of positive or negative feedback. "Social exclusion" is the continuous and gradual exclusion from full participation in the social (including material as well as symbolic) resources produced, supplied and exploited in a society for making a living, organizing a life and taking part in the development of a (hopefully better) future.

Focussing on situations in life courses episodes of (dimensional) social exclusion can be identified, which can be described and analysed as "natural histories" of a problem or conflict and its resolution and not as "development" of a peculiar or strange person or group. In criminology the concept of "career" has led to seeing criminality as "normal" episodes in a biography that can be stabilised and amplified by certain outside reactions or neutralised by others. Following this lead a further consequence has been the analysis of crimes as conflicts that can be managed using informal or official resources (e.g. private compensation or police notice) and that mostly are managed by private means.

We can often observe that studies of (cumulative) effects or concentration of social exclusion are at least drifting in a personalization of processes and politics. Descriptions of effects or results of social exclusion easily turn over in negative, degrading and even moralistic characterizations of "excluded" groups. Referring to the term "underclass" we had a discussion and some sensitisation of this special problem of reification. And there have been also efforts making visible the competence of poor people: The "dynamic school" of research on poverty has shown that people do get out of situations of poverty and debts under certain

circumstances and use the resources of the welfare state if they see them as suitable for this. Nevertheless we still can find in exclusion discourse forms of personalization (e.g. discussing "self-exclusion" or illegal economies or new "cultures of poverty"). This (mis-)understanding can be avoided, if we choose as research unit an array of episodes of social exclusion. And it is the perspective of situations and episodes of social exclusion that constitutes a new frame of social policy research.

## 1.4.    Welfare state measures as possible resources coping with social exclusion

There are numerous studies in single different fields of "social exclusion", such as poverty, unemployment, different welfare institutions, crime and punishment, citizenship and foreigner status, to name the most important. There are few studies looking at the ways in which these different forms of exclusion combine for certain people - or in which positions in them they can compensate each other. Mostly the institutions of compensatory intervention are also specialised for such fields and do not see themselves as general resources used by people in their struggle to cope with possible or partial exclusion.

The institutions of the welfare state have the task of compensating risks and problems but at the same time exclude certain problems and persons with certain characteristics. In the management of crime there is the traditional twist of finding the person responsible and "guilty" and managing that person - which usually means exclusion in order to rehabilitate. Even with a well-functioning system of rehabilitation a category of persons who are "out of reach", the "incorrigibles", is produced, who have to be excluded. A similar process applies to labour-market regulation and its "objects", where e.g. the "long-time unemployed" are in the end made personally responsible for being "unemployable". The same can be shown in social work, especially with young people, where again a category of "hopeless cases" is always created even by the best of efforts at re-integration. As long as "integration" uses disciplinary technique and is realised as formation of individuals, we will find this forms of "internal separation". This becomes even more true and exacerbated under conditions of dearth and reduction of means. And therefore we have to overcome the notion of the "deficient" and in the end "dependent" welfare client. Instead of this figure we can analyse the exclusionary mechanisms built in a well-functioning and restructured welfare states.

There are three groups of welfare-state interventions that can roughly be distinguished:

a/ the system of social insurance, bound up with the status of wage labourer, which provides for the foreseeable problem-situations of (rehabilitable) accident / illness, (transitory) unemployment and old age;

b/ universally accessible social services for "normal" problems like family crises, (accepted) handicaps, juvenile disturbances from educational difficulties to delinquency, difficulties with vocational training;

c/ special social services for the poor and disadvantaged, mainly people variously excluded from the labour market and thus unable to earn entitlements for transfers and services of the first two kinds (this includes housewives with their traditionally only "derivative" entitlements in those cases where, for lack of the assumed original provider - as e.g. with the unmarried / deserted mother -, this "derivation" does not work).

This historically developed complicated system of state-regulated social welfare does not, in its logic, provide a universal infrastructure of basic provision with the necessary resources of reproduction for all, but constitutes a hierarchy of forms of integration and social exclusion (see also Pilgram und Steinert, 1980; Steinert, 1981a; Cremer-Schäfer und Steinert, 1998).

The highest form is income compensation in specified situations following the insurance principle; next come programmes of qualification and training and of allocation of labour to insure flexible adaptation to changing labour-market demands; training programmes for the "problem groups" of the labour market, people with qualifications not needed (any more) or not flexible enough - this is seen as a personal deficit; training programmes for the "disadvantaged", like variously "handicapped" and educationally relegated persons ("drop-outs") - again this is understood as personal deficits; subsidies for the employment of members of the "disadvantaged" and the "problem" categories; special work programmes for members of these two categories designed to produce goods and services otherwise not provided and at the same time train the workers; "Community service" ("Gemeinnützige Arbeit") as an alternative to punishment in programmes of "diversion" and at last as a duty for recipients of welfare transfers.

A similar "cascade" of forms of welfare measures starting from well-earned entitlements and ending with integration as punishment as shown for the labour market can be derived for other fields. Housing policies, for instance, start with subsidies for home ownership and the provision of public housing and, through the steps of providing (part of) the rent and "emergency shelters", end with "controlled living" for problem groups and stationary measures for the homeless. Similar steps can be found in youth policies for "normal" juveniles and those who are categorized as being in need of "special education" (which always has implied elements of punishment).

The contradictory element in welfare measures is the combination of (re-)integration and exclusion that becomes more exclusionary the further we go down the steps of the respective hierarchies. Problems are understood as transitory, bad luck and as not reflecting on the person on the upper end, as "personal deficits" and "personal responsibility" the further down we go. If the help given for the management of situations of exclusion is not successful, this is understood as an indicator of a "deficit" the person (not the attempted help) has. The person may "be not able" to take up help or "not willing" to accept some connected duties. If many such supports have been without "success", the "deficient" person is gradually excluded. There are measures of punishment which aim at social exclusion from the start, but have

historically been combined with measures of help and re-integration. Here it is particularly obvious how quickly such help, if it is not successful (on the terms of the helpers), turns into a justification for exclusion. As long as social work and more generally social policy is seen as a sort of moral education at least for the poor and disadvantaged, it has and justifies a lower end of social exclusion.

In the first half of the 1980s different forms of self-help, informal work and autonomous economic (as well as new ways of living) projects were in the focus of sociological interest. They were seen as possible alternatives inside the dominant economy or in its niches and as forerunners of more general future patterns (cf. Kraushaar, 1978; Huber, 1984; Gershuny and Pahl, 1980). In recent years interest seems to have moved away from these phenomena, which seems to be due to the fact that such forms of "alternative" enterprises have become everyday phenomena (and are not "loaded" politically any more). The "informal economy" is an accepted and undeniable fact and a necessary supplement to the formal one.

The dominant descriptions of social-policy problems have until recently been based on the notion of a "split society": two thirds "inside", one third "outside". There could be quantitative shifts, but qualitatively this constellation was seen as stable, making those "outside" permanent losers of society (see e.g. Leibfried & Tennstedt, 1985). This view has been challenged by newly available panel data sets, by an impressive progress in longitudinal data analysis (Rohwer, 1994) and - partly as a precondition, partly as a consequence - by an increased awareness of the time dimension of social phenomena in the social sciences. It has become clear that persons and their predicaments do by no means stay stable over an extended time, and particularly not in precarious positions (cf. Buhr, 1995; Sopp, 1994; Mutz et al., 1995; Leibfried, Leisering et al., 1996). It has to be assumed that people can mobilise informal resources that are not accounted for by the "official" view of welfare policy.

Feminist theory and research has convincingly made the similar point with regard to household ("reproduction") work which lies outside the wage-labour economy and is its necessary foundation.

In recent years the idea of structural, "non-path-dependent" social-policy reforms has been adopted by almost all relevant political forces (Hüther, 1992; Scharpf, 1995). It can be assumed that this will lead to new arrangements of social policies with the effect of new income mixes (cf. Abrahamson, 1994; Pioch, 1996; Kappel, 1996; Katz und Sachße, 1996; Vobruba, 1997).

There is evidence that the compensations that do work are those involving a high degree of activity by the persons concerned, like e.g. self-help groups, autonomous projects, the "informal economy" which is often illegal, but in most cases very "normal" and part of the everyday functioning of life, so that there are lessons to be learned from this use of resources (cf. e.g. Henry, 1978; Chambliss, 1978; Dutton, 1977).

Those insights have led to a conception of necessary social labour being mainly organized informally, of the once dominant wage-labour form being the exception rather than the rule. The "irregular" economy of subcultures of poverty and other forms of social exclusion can be seen as just another case of this quite "regular" non-wage-labour way of securing subsistence (cf. Preußer, 1989; Bremen, 1990; Walby, 1986, 1990; Jordan et al., 1992; Mächler et al., 1994; Edin and Lein, 1996). In this orientation people are seen as competent actors in a social environment. This includes economic and political institutions as well as a social environment of other persons as competitors as well as supporters.

The important question formulated for the research project was:
What are the resources necessary to avert social exclusion in one or more dimensions? Knowledge about the individual and collective strategies leading into positive or negative feedback and the resources needed for compensations is important because it can inform possible political interventions. These could, using such information, provide or generalise such useful resources for strategies the people threatened by exclusion try to apply themselves in their efforts not to let social exclusion "accumulate" and to extend to other areas and to stop vicious cycles of positive feedback between fields.
The method of the project to identify examples of such new forms of intervention and analysing the conditions under which they spring up and are successful was a comparative perspective focussing the coping strategies and politics on the local and subcultural level as well as that of different ("national") welfare state regimes.

1.5.    Comparing Welfare-state regimes

The countries included in this project cover the four types of social policy that can be distinguished in welfare-state research, four types of institutional environments for individual as well as collective action: ordered according to universalistic welfare (basic-supply) orientation vs. wage-labour (insurance) orientation and high vs. low level of support (cf. Nissen, 1990; Schmid, 1996; Vobruba, 1997a; Bonoli, 1997).

|  | universalistic | wage-labour oriented |
|---|---|---|
| high level | SE, NL | AT, DE |
| low level | GB | ES, IT |

Sweden and the Netherlands are of the welfare orientation / high level type, Great Britain is our example of the welfare orientation / low level type, Austria and Germany are typical examples of wage-labour orientation / high level and the southern countries Italy and Spain of

the wage-labour / low level type. An effort was, thus, undertaken to have examples of all four types included.

A second dimension considered in the inclusion of different countries is the type of recent welfare reform in reaction to European integration and processes of "globalisation" and on the basis of those different traditions. Processes of such reform have been initiated early and in a radical form in Great Britain and are, on that basis, being adapted and re-reformed at present; Sweden and the Netherlands have followed much more recently and cautiously and with remarkable labour-market success in the Netherlands. Reforms in Austria and Germany have been slow and steady and again had remarkably different rates of success in terms of unemployment rates. In Germany there are marked differences between old and new countries in background as well as present measures, so that a comparison of those two seems necessary and should be a very interesting case. In Italy and Spain the familial and informal-economy basis of social welfare has been particularly important (and has long been discussed) and may lose its effectiveness in present economic as well as welfare-reform developments. Unfortunately there is no clear-cut typology of reforms in this case, but there is enough difference to make comparisons on this dimension extremely interesting - and there is enough of a common denominator which, we assume, is the erosion of the "standard wage-labour" model (life-long, highly skilled, unionised work in one career occupation) in favour of a more "enterprising" type of work organization (on all levels) and (accordingly) of welfare. (Probably this "standard model of (male) labour power" has never been as dominant as we have been made to assume for a long time. Its accelerated retreat since the crisis of "Fordism" in the 1970/80s has become very evident now and is the main symptom to be experienced as the consequence of "globalisation". In the social sciences this has long been noticed and debated (cf. e.g. Mückenberger, 1985; Vobruba, 1990; Burdillat und Outin, 1995; Grimshaw and Rubery, 1997).

The regime of social exclusion as an accepted social mechanism has even in the latest phase of socio-economic restructuring seen counter-tendencies. Even when some forms of compensatory transfers of the welfare-state kind have been reduced and made less accessible, new forms of intervention have also been developed. Increasingly interventions of a less immediate and direct, but more abstract and indirect forms of compensatory mechanisms have been developed: state intervention has tended to take the form of offering arbitration and help with solving a conflict in the civil sphere instead of imposing a decision of its own and following it up with immediate material measures. What has been described as "retreat of the state" or simply "privatisation" or "unfettering of market forces" has in many cases meant a half-retreat and a semi-unfettering and should better be characterized as "regulation" instead of immediate state intervention, the introduction of a more abstract regime. The present phase is not one of a simple decrease of welfare provisions and interventions but one of a struggle

between levels (national to local) and of a more indirect and abstract form of intervention - one between direct plans and interventions and leaving things to the forces of the market.

Possible solutions in such cases have to find compromises between different claims, systems of rotation and sharing, reduction of harm and nuisance due to some use, etc.) Successful policies of prevention consist in conflict management and the provision of necessary resources to cope with the threat of social exclusion and to avoid it. Community work, the organisation self-help groups, networks and other non-market social resources, forms of empowerment and mediation are well-established prevention strategies. They also have a correspondence on the level of local administration, where such strategies usually need co-ordinated and project- and problem-oriented forms of co-operation of different agencies. Encouraging and supporting such "administrative net-working" may be one of the most important effects of prevention. (For European overviews of programmes of prevention cf. e.g. Graham and Bennett, 1995; Trenczek und Pfeiffer, 1996; Hebberecht and Sack, 1997.)

Interventions can be either direct and "imposed decisions" plus material supply or they can have the indirect form of "conflict management", "mediation", "arbitration", etc. Recent developments of welfare-state cut-backs and other reductions of direct state intervention can be seen as a general shift towards the latter form of regulation. From this perspective it is necessary to get information about the different situations of (possible) social exclusion and the different strategies people have to manage such situations with particular emphasis on the resources needed for successful strategies (setting in motion cycles of negative or stopping vicious cycles of positive feedback between fields or dimensions of exclusion). Research has to collect and analyse the "natural histories" of episodes of this kind with different outcomes and under different conditions of availability of social, (sub)cultural as well as institutionally organized resources.

The empirical as well as practical relevance of such research which compares different paths in processes of social exclusion under different conditions is greatly enhanced by the possibility of international comparisons. This way different institutional arrangements and forms of welfare-state can be compared in their effects on people's coping capacities in a number of problems of social exclusion. They can, in such comparisons, be analysed as resources offered to the population and differentially used by them. Comparative research into strategies and resources of managing situations of (possible) social exclusion can identify the usefulness of such institutionally supplied resources and thus evaluate programmes and regimes of intervention. It can also generate ideas for new programmes better fitted to the community and network resources and resulting strategies people apply in such situations.

We also know, of course, as competent social actors about some of the resources needed to compensate some of the exclusions: Money and social support are probably universal resources to compensate for most of the (partial) exclusions mentioned or to avoid them at all. But sociologically it is also clear that they and other resources are not just individual

"properties", but rather characteristics of the (local) social conditions. And in any case intervention usually cannot apply to the individual but only to the chances that can (or cannot) be used by individuals. Intervention can supply resources but cannot make people use them. (There is a strong tendency to blame individuals for not using chances they have been offered - but the more adequate interpretation is that, in relation to the aims and capacities of people, it was the wrong resources they were offered. This is one reason why we have to know the coping strategies people have and prefer, so that interventions will fit into them and not impose courses of action that do not.)

1.6.    Innovative aspects of the project summarised

Deriving from these developments in theoretical orientations the innovation in this project can be summarized as follows:

The project approaches the problem of social exclusion in a way by taking as its unit of analysis the episode of (impending) social exclusion and the strategies of coping with the threat. This can be applied to the whole range of such threats. This perspective does two policy-relevant things: it makes social exclusion be seen as a dynamic, contested occurrence (that can be averted and be compensated and need not necessarily escalate from one field to the next for a given person) and it draws policy attention away from the person and to the situation and the resources that can be utilised by persons. The consequence of this is the need for information on the "natural histories" of episodes of social exclusion and on the resources that can be mobilised in coping with exclusion. This includes the necessity of information on the social definition of such episodes, on how people view their lives as dynamic processes, too. In policy terms this approach does not aspire to (actively) integrating people but "only" to providing resources necessary that can be used by people in their attempts to find a place in society that suits their special wishes and circumstances.

What makes this particularly interesting in an international comparison, is the observable fact that such developments are actually taking place and are doing so under nationally still different traditions and circumstances. Countries can therefore learn from each other - if they know how social-policy programmes are used and can be used by people in their own strategies of making do or finding their way. International comparison is essential for using the approach to help develop new ideas and strategies on how to avoid social exclusion on a local level. This could, on the other hand, constitute a step towards a unified European social policy and towards solving the common European problem of social security being ineffective in that it leaves wide gaps in its net and produces its own forms of social exclusion.

The approach is general enough to allow analysis of the whole range of situations of (impending) social exclusion and their affinity to certain variables of the person - like gender or nationality or age or level of formal education. These should again be seen not only as the

characteristics to which some sort of discrimination applies, but also as resources and characteristics of a special, but not inherently subordinate social position (even if there should be discrimination).

## 2. Research design and methods

The research work of the CASE-Project is based on two methods. A procedure of international comparison and a methodology of collection and interpreting episodes of social exclusion had to be developed.

### 2.1. International comparison: a typological approach

The starting point are the national and local "definitions of the situations", i.e. the local conceptualisations of problems and the national discussions about them. What is striking in one country can be made the basis of inquiry in another country where problems are conceptualised differently. This way the national politics of economic transformation, the restructuring of welfare politics and the national "exclusion discourses" could be compared. The basis and the result of this methodology are typologies on different levels, not comparisons relying on and producing standardized and reductive conceptualisations. In methodological discussions in this field national "definitions of the problem" are discussed as a qualitative criterion in its own right.[1]

Taking "definitions of the situation" or "categorizations" and "vocabularies" as a starting point is an adequate approach because of its reflexivity. Comparisons between countries (but also other units) can use differences in concepts as well as results produced on their basis; and both can be related to the social contexts they are part of. If we analyse problems according to their situated, local "definition", the differences in understanding are already a key to policy differences. In a next step of research a list of dimensions to be used in comparisons can be drawn up, using all the dimensions that can be derived from national/local discussions (and asking why some dimensions are not used in some scientific and policy discussions). By such comparisons it was possible to describe typological positions of macro units (cf. the typology of countries used in the description of participants) and/or use extreme cases on single dimensions. The data used for typing welfare state regimes and communities range from

---

[1] Cf. the contributions by Kohl, Korpi, Spicker, Rainwater, Hauser and Neumann, in: Leibfried und Voges, 1992. Our experience with international comparisons (from the comparative study of "terrorism" in Steinert, 1984, to that of "control policies" using official statistics reported in Cremer-Schäfer et al., 1987; *Kriminalsoziologische Bibliografie* no. 60/1988 and Hanak und Pilgram, 1991) very clearly shows that the proper procedure has to respect and take seriously local / national discussions and ways of conceptualising the problem. This is also the result of research on poverty, cf. the national "report on poverty" for the FRG (Hauser, Cremer-Schäfer und Nouverté, 1981.)

official statistics and documents of political and professional discourses to research results and scientific discourses. A typological approach was also the rationale for comparing the data and the results of their interpretation in our own empirical research on episodes of social exclusion.

2.2.    The methodology of collecting and interpreting episodes of social exclusion

The empirical research took place in the framework of community studies. Stories were collected about episodes of social exclusion in narrative, respondent-centred interviews in communities. The interviews were documented by using code sheets (for person interviewed, for each episode) and by retelling the narratives by the interviewer in a summary way.

*The communities*

The kind of research adequate to our questions cannot use and does not have to use big national samples, but is more adequately based on local communities. To collect episodes of social exclusion in every city two research sites were selected. In general the areas chosen are disadvantaged parts of the cities, but nowhere the worst. Some have special characteristics like a pronounced conflict between traditional inhabitants and a "new" part of the population, often foreigners and poorer people, or being a run-down place that is being re-developed or having a special problem-group. The bulk is disadvantaged in an unspectacular way. So we got material for comparing all kinds of communities and life-situations (also the usually "invisible") and gain experience with possible measures against social exclusion in very diverse surroundings and conditions.[2]

*Episodes and narratives of social exclusion*

Collecting cases of social exclusion and their histories could for our comparative purposes only be done by collecting narratives of past occurrences. It is one of the draw-backs of much social-problems research that only cases involving an "official" agency are considered, because the sampling is done using those agencies or their categories and labels, that identify "problem-groups". The only way to get descriptions of those "unregistered" cases is to have people tell the stories of relevant past experiences. This is also an adequate way of doing it, exactly because it involves the transformation of such occurrences into narratives. By doing so retrospectively, people produce meaningful trajectories of actions triggered by a critical

---

[2] For descriptions of the research sites cf. Deliverable No 5 "International comparison of communities (research areas) studied. They are an important basis for defining "types" of communities and the types resources they represent and give access to.

occurrence, they turn a chain of events into a history that makes sense and expresses expectations concerning social interaction.

Researchers/interpreters do not have to impose meanings - as they would have to if, for instance, in a case of pure observation. And we also do not let official agencies impose their meanings on events. We get from interviewees categorized experiences as seen from the perspective of an immediate participant in retrospect.

The interviews done, were not understood as biographical explorations. They were interested in coping strategies, in "situated action" and "natural histories", therefore the interviews (and interviewer) should make it possible to tell and collect episodes of social action. The biographical context of each episode is one of the variables that characterise the episode. This understanding was helpful to make interviewers and respondents concentrate on the actual experiences and the actions and reactions taken in each situation. Narratives of processes and developments were needed to get beyond people's abstractions and general concepts of "problems" - even if they should be imbedded in more or less "stable states" of general disadvantage and misery. The orientation is towards situations in which full participation in the social goods is not reached, in which disadvantage in the sense of being deprived of what is the average standard of participation in a society has to be coped with, fought, changed or accepted. The research is interested in the strategies used for such manoeuvres and in the resources necessary for them.

Interviewees are asked as "participant observers" of such episodes. The part of the (well trained) interviewer was not only to communicate with the interviewees, but also to document the narrations. The material generated in this processes and interactions between interviewer and interviewee, and also between researchers and interviewer consists of transcripts ("retellings") of narratives by the interviewers as well as codings of them according to predetermined dimensions. The analysis of this material was done partly on a computational and statistical basis, but the essential part is based on interpretative, qualitative techniques.

The instruments and techniques were intensively discussed by the research teams. In several stages a shared perspectives of interpretation were developed, especially how to get valid information and how to manage comparison of (multiple) interpretations of the different research teams. Making sure of getting valid information by the interview and of finding verifiable and comparable interpretations in analysis of the documented narratives of differing episodes of social exclusion the teams used the technique of "analysis of working-alliances" (or an adaptation of this technique). [3]

The qualitative approach makes this research different from most other research on poverty and other forms of social exclusion. The concentration on events and their history also makes it different from other qualitative research (like the impressive example of Bourdieu et al.,

---

[3] derived from psycho-analytically oriented techniques of "culture analysis" as described by Alfred Lorenzer. (Cf. Lorenzer, 1986; König, 1994; Steinert, 1998.)

1993) that mostly uses the person or the family / the household and their biographies as the unit of analysis.

The following table gives an rough overviews about the interviews done by the local research teams. The mean number is 160 interviews per research site, resulting in a total of 3.291 (on average 410) narratives of episodes of (experienced or impending) social exclusion. In almost all the places the predominant way to contact the respondents was the random walk avoiding agency filtering. The attempts to have balanced samples according to age, sex and nationality were moderately successful. The table shows foreigners under-represented in a few of the participating cities and female respondents generally slightly over-represented.

Table: Overview of empirical work – interviews and episodes

| Number of | Interviews | random walk, no agency filter | women | Foreigners, non-natives | Episodes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Barcelona | 140 | 76 | 90 | 21 | 287 |
| Bologna | 150 | 75 | 72 | 38 | 500 |
| Durham | 200 | 180 | 120 | 0* | 600 |
| Frankfurt | 152 | 90 | 99 | 54 | 308 |
| Groningen | 143 | 103 | 99 | 21 | 427 |
| Leipzig | 162 | 111 | 89 | 7 | 405 |
| Stockholm | 131 | 79 | 68 | 39 | 272 |
| Vienna | 203 | 151 | 103 | 52 | 492 |

* 65 interviewees were non-whites (45 of Asian, 20 of Afro-Caribian origin)

# Literature

Abrahamson, Peter (1994) 'Integrating the excluded: Policies against poverty and exclusion in Denmark', in: H. C. Rasmussen and M. A. Pijl (eds.) *Some Reflections on Social Development in Europe*. A Contribution to the UN Social Summit. 1994.

Beck, Ulrich, und Michael Brater (1978) *Berufliche Arbeitsteilung und soziale Ungleichheit: Eine gesellschaftlich-historische Theorie der Berufe*. Frankfurt: Campus.

Beck, Wolfgang, et al. (1997) (eds.) *The Social Quality of Europe*. The Hague: Kluwer.

Berghman, Jos (1997) 'Das Wiederaufleben der Armut und der Kampf gegen Ausgrenzung: Eine neue Herausforderung für die soziale Sicherheit', in: *Internationale Revue für Soziale Sicherheit* 1/1997.

Bonoli, Giuliano (1997) 'Classifying welfare states: A two-dimensional approach', in: *Journal of Social Policy* 26(3) (July 97).

Bourdieu, Pierre et al. (1995) *La misère du monde*. deutsch: Konstanz: UVK, 1997.

Bremen, Klaus (1990) 'Partizipation und Selbstorganisation von Armen', in: Diether Döring et al. (Hg.) *Armut im Wohlstand*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Buhr, Petra (1995) *Dynamik von Armut*. Opladen: Westdt. Verlag.

Burdillat, Martine, und Jean-Luc Outin (1995) 'Die Interaktion von Beschäftigung, Arbeit und sozialer Sicherung', in: *Zeitschrift für Sozialreform* 41(11-12).

Chambliss, William J. (1978) *On the Take: From Petty Crooks to Presidents*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Commission of the European Communities (1992) Poverty 3: *Social Partners and Social Exclusion*. Brussels.

Cremer-Schäfer, Helga, Roswitha Hancke, Inge Morawetz, Arno Pilgram und Heinz Steinert (1987) *Ökonomische, politische und Kriminalisierungsstrategien: Zur Geschichte der Kriminalnormgenese und -anwendung.* Frankfurt/Main (Projektbericht an die DFG).

Cremer-Schäfer, Helga, and Heinz Steinert (1998) *Straflust und Repression. Zur Kritik der populistischen Kriminologie.* Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot

Ditton, Jason (1977) *Part-Time Crime: An Ethnography of Fiddling & Pilferage*. London: Macmillan.

Edin, Kathryn, and Laura Lein (1996) 'Work, welfare, and single mothers' economic survival strategies', in: *American Sociological Review* 61 (Feb 96).

Foucault, Michel (1975) Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison. Paris: Gallimard.

Gershuny, Jonathan, and Robert Pahl (1980) 'Britain in the decade of the three economies', in: *New Society*, Jan. 1980.

Graham, John, and Trevor Bennett (1995) *Crime Prevention Strategies in Europe and North America.* Helsinki: European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control.

Grimshaw, Damian, and Jill Rubery (1997) 'Workforce heterogeneity and unemployment benefit: The need for policy re-assessment in the European Union', in: *Journal of European Social Policy* 7(4).

Hanak, Gerhard, und Arno Pilgram (1991) *Der andere Sicherheitsbericht: Ergänzungen zum Bericht der Bundesregierung.* Wien.

Hauser, Richard, Helga Cremer-Schäfer und Udo Nouvertné (1981) *Armut, Niedrigeinkommen und Unterversorgung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Bestandsaufnahme und sozialpolitische Perspektiven.* Frankfurt: Campus.

Hebberecht, Patrick und Fritz Sack (1997) (Hg.) *La prevention de la delinquance en Europe: Nouvelles stratégies.* Paris: L'Harmattan.

Henry, Stuart (1978) *The Hidden Economy: The Context and Control of Borderline Crime.* Oxford: Martin Robertson.

Hochstetler, Andrew L., and Neal Shover (1997) 'Street crime. labor surplus, and criminal punishment, 1980-1990', in: *Social Problems* 44(3): 358-68.

Huber, Joseph (1984) *Die zwei Gesichter der Arbeit.* Frankfurt: Fischer.

Hüther, Michael (1992) 'Zum aktuellen Integrationsbedarf in der deutschen Steuer- und Sozialpolitik', in: *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft* Bd. 42, Heft 2.

Jacobs, Herbert, und Anna Ringbeck (1994) *Hilfen zur Überwindung von Sozialhilfebedürftigkeit.* Schriftenreihe des Bundesministeriums für Familie und Senioren, Band 31. Stuttgart.

Jordan, Bill (1996) *A Theory of Poverty and Social Exclusion.* Cambridge: Blackwell.

Jordan, Bill, et al. (1992) *Trapped in Poverty? Labour Market Decisions in Low-Income Households.* London: Routledge.

Kappel, Robert (1996) 'Informalität als Normalität', in: *Comparativ* 6(4).

Katz, Michael, und Christoph Sachße (1996) (eds*.) The Mixed Economy of Social Welfare.* Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Kaufmann, Otto (1995) 'Das Problem der Exklusion: Unstete Arbeit und soziale Sicherung', in: *Zeitschrift für Sozialreform* 41(11-12).

König, Hans-Dieter (1993) 'Die Methode der tiefenhermeneutischen Kultursoziologie', in: Thomas Jung und Stefan Müller-Doohm (Hg.) *"Wirklichkeit" im Deutungsprozeß: Verstehen und Methoden in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften.* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp. pp. 190-222.

Kraushaar, Wolfgang (1978) *Autonomie oder Getto? Kontroversen über die Alternativbewegung.* Frankfurt: Verlag Neue Kritik.

Kronauer, Martin (1997) '"Soziale Ausgrenzung" und "Underclass": Über neue Formen der gesellschaftlichen Spaltung', in: *Leviathan* 25(1): 28-49.

Leibfried, Stephan, Lutz Leisering et al. (1996) *Zeit der Armut.* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Leibfried, Stephan, Florian Tennstedt (1985) *Politik und Armut und die Spaltung des Sozialstaats.* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Leibfried, Stephan, und Wolfgang Voges (1992) (Hg.) *Armut im modernen Wohlfahrtsstaat.* SH 32, Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Littlewood, Paul and Sebastian Herkommer (1999) 'Identifying Social Exclusion. Some problems of meaning. in: Littlewood , Paul et.al. (Eds.) *Social Exclusion in Europe. Problems and Paradigms.* Aldershot: Ashgate, pp 1-21

Lorenzer, Alfred (1986) (Hg.) *Kultur-Analysen*. Frankfurt/Main.

Mächler, Thomas, et al. (1994) *Selbsthilfe wirtschaftlich Schwacher*. Wien: Haupt.

Melossi, Dario, and Massimo Pavarini (1981) *The Prison and the Factory: Origins of the Penitentiary System*. London: Macmillan.

Mückenberger, Ulrich (1985) 'Die Krise des Normalarbeitsverhältnisses', in*: Zeitschrift für Sozialreform* 31(7-8).

Mutz, Gerd, et al. (1995) *Diskontinuierliche Erwerbsverläufe*. Opladen: Leske & Budrich.

Nissen, Sylke (1990) 'Zwischen lohnarbeitszentrierter Sozialpolitik und sozialer Grundsiche-rung: Sozialpolitische Reformvorschläge in der parteipolitischen Diskussion', in: Georg Vobruba (Hg.) *Strukturwandel der Sozialpolitik*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Pilgram, Arno, und Heinz Steinert (1980) 'Abschrecken und Disziplinieren: Über die bürokratische Zurichtung der Probleme durch Strafrecht und Sozialrecht', in: Klaus Lüderssen und Fritz Sack (Hg.) Seminar: Abweichendes Verhalten. Bd. IV. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp. 149-80.

Pioch, Roswitha (1996) Basic income: Social policy after full employment', in: Angus Erskine (ed.) *Changing Europe: Some Aspects of Identity, Conflict and Social Justice*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Preußer, Norbert (1989) *Not macht erfinderisch*. München : AG SPAK.

Rohwer, Götz (1994) *Kontingente Lebensverläufe: Soziologische und statistische Aspekte ihrer Beschreibung und Erklärung*. Bremen: Habilschrift.

Room, Graham (1995) (ed.) *Beyond the Threshold: The Measurement and Analysis of Social Exclusion*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Rusche, Georg und Otto Kirchheimer (1939) *Punishment and Social Structure*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Scharpf, Fritz (1995) 'Subventionierte Niedriglohn-Beschäftigung statt bezahlter Arbeitslosigkeit', in: *Zeitschrift für Sozialreform* 41(2).

Schmid, Josef (1996) *Wohlfahrtsstaaten im internationalen Vergleich*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Siebel, Walter (1997) 'Armut oder Ausgrenzung? Vorsichtiger Versuch einer begrifflichen Eingrenzung der soziale Ausgrenzung', in: *Leviathan* 25(1): 67-75.

Silver, Hilary (1994) ‚Social exclusion and social solidarity: three paradigms. *International Labour Review.* 133 (5-6): 531-578

Sopp, Peter (1994) 'Das Ende der Zwei-Drittel-Gesellschaft? Zur Einkommensstabilität in Westdeutschland', in: Michael Zwick (Hg.) *Einmal arm - immer arm?* Frankfurt.

Steinert, Heinz (1981a) 'Staatliche Kontrollpolitik oder wohlfahrtsstaatliche Ordnungsleistungen?', in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 6: 4-12.

Steinert, Heinz (1981b) 'Dringliche Aufforderung, an der Studie von Rusche und Kirchheimer weiterzuarbeiten', Nachwort in: Georg Rusche und Otto Kirchheimer (1981) *Sozialstruktur und Strafvollzug* (Neuauflage). Frankfurt: Europäische Verlagsanstalt. 314-41.

Steinert, Heinz (1984) 'Sozialstrukturelle Bedingungen des "linken Terrorismus" der 70er Jahre. Aufgrund eines Vergleichs der Entwicklungen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, in Italien, in Frankreich und den Niederlanden' (unter Mitarbeit von Henner Hess, Susanne Karstedt-Henke, Martin Moerings, Dieter Paas und Sebastian Scheerer), in: Fritz Sack und Heinz Steinert (1984) *Protest und Reaktion*. Analysen zum Terrorismus Band 4/II. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. pp. 387-603.

Steinert, Heinz (1998) (Hg.) *Zur Kritik der empirischen Sozialforschung: Ein Methoden-Grundkurs*. Frankfurt/Main.

Steinert, Heinz (1999) (Ed.) *State of Social Policy. Literature reports from Sweden, England, Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain. CASE Project papers # 2 (2 vol.)* Wien (Institut für Rechts- und Kriminalsoziologie).

Treiber, Hubert, und Heinz Steinert (1980) *Die Fabrikation des zuverlässigen Menschen: Über die "Wahlverwandtschaft" von Kloster- und Fabriksdisziplin*. München: Heinz Moos Verlag.

Trenczek, Thomas, und Hartmut Pfeiffer (1996) (Hg.) *Kommunale Kriminalprävention: Paradigmenwechsel und Wiederentdeckung alter Weisheiten*. Bonn: Forum Verlag.

Vobruba, Georg (1990) 'Lohnarbeitszentrierte Sozialpolitik in der Krise der Lohnarbeit', in: Vobruba (Hg.) *Strukturwandel der Sozialpolitik*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Vobruba, Georg (1997) 'Income mixes: Eine Spekulation über die langfristige Entwicklung materieller Existenzsicherheit', in: Vobruba *Autonomiegewinne*. Wien: Passagen.

Vobruba, Georg (1997a) 'Social policy for Europe', in: Beck et al., 1997.

Walby, Sylvia (1986) *Patriarchy at Work: Patriarchal and Capitalist Relations in Employment*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Waquant, Loic (2000) 'The new "peculiar institution": On the prison as surrogate ghetto.' *Theoretical Criminology* 4 (3), Special Issue on 'New Social Studies of the Prison': 377-389

Zimring, Franklin E., and Gordon Hawkins (1991) *The Scale of Imprisonment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Heinz Steinert (Wien, Frankfurt) on the basis of author summaries

## 1.    INTRODUCTION

This analysis and presentation of project results avoids "national reports", i.e. the presentation of results by cities or research sites. (It is our experience that such a structure tends to be repetitive and to make subsequent comparison difficult.) Instead we have ordered analyses by topics that are particularly relevant a/ according to our conceptual and theoretical approach and b/ in particular research locations. We have (in a first meeting with preliminary results, followed by closer data analyses and extensive web discussions of these results, followed by decisions agreed upon in a second meeting) allocated topics to individual national teams and discussed their results. Parallel or contrasting supplementary materials and results were to be supplied for all relevant topics by the other teams. International comparisons, thus, concentrated on topics relevant (because of local importance or striking absence) in the cities included in a specific comparison.

This procedure determines the structure of the following report.

It opens with *theoretical considerations* which specify the conceptual approach as originally outlined. They take account of theoretical developments brought about by the research experience and results. These developments go in the direction of broadening the conceptual field a/ into social psychology by introducing "belonging, trust and accessibility of resources" and b/ into political theory, i.e. a theory of democracy, by introducing levels and degrees of participation as the more general formulation of what "social exclusion" means politically. These approaches are to be taken up again and used in policy consideration deriving from the project.

A second block of results analyses the *form of presentation of episodes* of social exclusion in the narratives that were collected. "Indignation" and "acceptance" (down to resignation) is the first important polarity here. This includes references to the principles of legitimation people use for their claims to get and be able to use social and in particular welfare-state resources in situations of social exclusion. The three most general such principles we could identify are: a/ having "earned" support, b/ being a "member", c/ deserving "solidarity".

In contrast to this there are "normalised" forms of exclusion, i.e. types of non-participation that are just mentioned in passing or otherwise communicated but not elaborated upon. They are "de-thematicized". People live with them and take them more or less for granted. This again points to claims people could have, but do not seem to feel entitled to put up. Once more this approach allows to identify social norms of participation and entitlement. Not all of these are universal. It turns out that even in well-developed democracies there are norms of

non-participation and non-entitlement, i.e. there is status inferiority, defined by state regulations (migrants, criminals), market (achievement, demand) and fate / bad luck.

A third, quantitatively the main block of results has the heading of "Copings and their Resources". Chapters are ordered according to resources: from utilising the welfare-state in different forms, also considering the provision of housing as a special case, through (subcultural) "patterns of association" and the striking absence of "community" in many locations, to the family as a resource and the meaning of work. Finally there are analyses of situations in which the legal status (foreigner, illegal immigrant) is the source of exclusion and in which a multiplicity of resources has to be mobilised. One of these refers specifically to the accumulated problems of foreign women. A general consideration of innovative and deviant coping strategies is added to this.

Some of the results were to be expected: e.g. that there are downward cycles of poverty or long-term situations of poverty, especially when housing problems are involved, often in cases of family break-down, sometimes connected to an overwhelming multiplicity of problems. On the other hand there are widespread neutralisations of situations of social exclusion: people take them for granted or have given up higher ambitions. There are social norms that can define a whole status group as "inferior" and not deserving better (immigrants, criminals) that is also discriminated by state regulations. And then there are also coping strategies that can remedy a situation of social exclusion on an individual and household level. A wide range of such copings is described for different fields of resources.

There are fields (like labour market or housing supply) which are mostly determined by structural influences, where individual coping cannot mean more than finding "make-do" solutions. There are other fields (like forms of sqatting or institutional programs) where coping strategies can bring about something approaching long-term solutions. Private welfare organisations proved to be of special importance in cases where the problem is created by state discrimination in the first place. Networks of association in communities and neighbourhoods are a particularly useful instrument of multi-purpose coping, but need institutional support for stability. The most successful coping strategies involved entrepreneurial activities in putting together an income mix from all sources: welfare benefits, some wage labour, family, networks, if needs be some black market activities too.

Types of welfare orientations range between the taken-for-granted assumption that people "own" the welfare state and are entitled to its support in situations of social exclusion (Sweden, Netherlands) and reduced expectations, a reduced level of reproduction, reliance on family and entrepreneurial income mix (the "southern pattern"). In all cases there would be a preference for the relative autonomy of being in a position to make a living by wage labour, but the awareness that the labour market will not supply this any more, even after trying to acquire "better" qualifications, is spreading and getting accepted. Even though people adapt, this is still held against politics.

# 2. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL MATTERS

## 2.1. Towards understanding situations of social exclusion

In this chapter we outline a theoretical framework that enables the specificity of the local context to emerge in the processes of inclusion and exclusion. In this way the multi-level and multi-dimensional qualities of social exclusion are given due attention. This has the advantage of addressing the ways in which actors use resources to overcome exclusion in local contexts and specific situations. Furthermore, by understanding situations of exclusion we can address the social contexts of coping, and the resources needed to overcome exclusion in particular situations. Although coping can be seen as an individual accomplishment, it is socially embedded. Types of individual coping are in that way related to social discourses and can be transformed into types of social practice which could form the starting point for social movements and processes of empowerment.

In this international research project we collected 'natural histories' (narratives, social accounts, episodes) of instances of (impending) social exclusion and ways to address these. A preliminary comparison based on the nation state and site reports showed the diversity of national and local welfare arrangements and local problems encountered in the selected sites.

The framework of the processes of belonging, trust and access provides a perspective with which to understand the social dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. It does not preclude an analysis of important issues such as citizenship, (un)employment, levels of subsistence etc., but it forms the basis for understanding the ongoing processes through which actors can participate in various social and cultural forms to one degree or another. Furthermore this framework encompasses the ways in which identity, institutions, space, and culture are constitutive of participation in social and cultural formations. Using this as a basis we discuss the ways in which coping strategies can be understood as scripts of action enabling actors (trying) to transform their situation.

Central in this chapter are the notions of belonging, trust and accessibility to social resource structures. In the same vein as social exclusion is a dynamic multi-level and multi-dimensional process, we see the constitution of belonging, trust and accessibility as a dynamic, multi-level and multi-dimensional processes. The actuality of distributional and relational concerns of social exclusion such as income and citizenship, for example, is embedded within complex social and cultural formations through which they attain meaning for actors in different social situations. By addressing these processes belonging and basic

trust can be understood through the social dynamics of inclusion / exclusion, in which availability and access to resource structures can be seen as tipping points.

Belonging, trust and accessibility of resource structures (and the ensuing social control structures) can be analyzed at three levels: the individual, the social (neighborhood, group or network) and the societal level. Although these levels can influence each other in several ways, running from top-down to bottom-up, one can state that the structural or systemic level creates, in a general sense, the conditions that give form and content to the life-world and individual life courses. At the same time the various levels can have a kind of semi-autonomy, their own producing and reproducing potentialities. The degrees of semi-autonomy and reciprocity of and between the levels are not fixed but depend on the dominant forces in the state (politics), the market (economy) and the cultural-symbolic system.

If the organising principles of belonging, trust and accessibility come under stress, are attacked or denied, they have malign effects on the ability of people in coping. So the positioning of actors, their life chances, aspirations, mobility trajectories and resource structures, based on the different discourse-based 'translations' of these principles can shed light on how to evaluate different ways of coping. Actors have the tendency to make problems concrete phenomena, thereby ignoring the more fundamental or distant causes that are also harder to tackle. However, there is the classical theorem that if actors define situations as real, they are real in their consequences: actors can blame themselves when 'innocent' or attribute the blame on others or external structural forces when they are themselves 'responsible' in some way. In our dealing with the narratives the starting point is the 'good reasons' actors - as reflexive actors - give for the situations they are situated in and for their effort to do something about it. Our approach is therefore an action-oriented sociological one rather than a psychological one.

Without first understanding the ways in which actors achieve and perceive any sense of belonging, trust and accessibility means that any analysis of distributional or relational issues regarding social exclusion are built on a priori assumptions, which are often straightforwardly understood through, for example, income distribution and citizenship. Secondly, there is a need to address the nature of agency. Actors have a reflexive understanding of their situation. The respondents interviewed were generally creative in addressing their situation, and they were critical of their situation.

However, in general terms, actors' reflexivity is framed within their respective life-worlds, which affects the ways in which difficult situations are perceived and interpreted. This, in turn, can lead to courses of action that can be counterproductive such as denial, over-reaction, mis-identification and the fallacy of misplaced concreteness. There also are constraints on human creativity, many of which are imposed on actors through the actions of institutions, and through the characteristics of particular social and cultural forms such as work and education that have within them inclusionary and exclusionary practices. Our main concern is

to provide a framework that addresses the relationship between exclusion / inclusion, place and biography as they materialise in a range of specific situations of inclusion / exclusion.

In order to overcome the burdens of 'not-belonging', distrust and feelings of being 'shut-out', actors devise a variety of coping strategies to ameliorate the conditions or consequences of exclusionary processes for their own well-being or the common good. This means that the structural level can be seen as part of the problem (a causal attribution) but will hardly be referred to in the more pragmatic coping strategies to deal with difficult situations. Consequently it seems that the coping strategies actors develop and use are directed to what the actors perceive to be the *immediate* cause(s) of their difficult situation. Reflexivity as used here means that actors are capable of creating new forms of order and ontological security within the constraints of existing opportunity structures regarding material, institutional, and cultural resources.

In many ways institutions develop from various social processes, and they hold within them conceptual ideas, folk beliefs, lay theories, values and interests that are prevalent in society. Institutional roles and practices must therefore be understood in the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion as they interact with actors. The ways in which production, participation and the articulation of meaning are organised in social forms and thus given symbolic form through institutions is significant to the ways in which actors experience any sense of affinity and trust with institutions in relation to social situations.

The contexts of coping are constituted at two levels, the broader context of the general welfare regime of the nation state and the local, more specific context of community. Contexts also differ in regard to the dimensions of belonging, trust and accessibility of resource structures. Considering the relationship between levels of exclusion and varieties of coping strategies, exclusion can be defined as the social denial of the opportunity for actors to transform their situation. Thus exclusion means the denial of the necessary resources with which actors transform their social situation to create situations of sufficiency whereby actors, both individually and collectively, can live meaningful and participatory social lives.

Coping strategies can be understood as scripts of action undertaken by actors in order to transform a difficult situation, whether this is changing the situation for the better, re-establishing a former position, containing it, or falling into more difficulties. Coping strategies are formed in sets of relationships that define a type of situation that is exclusionary at one level or another. Both agency and institutions need to be explored in relation to the production, meaning and use of what we term 'cultural resources'.

Cultural resources are constitutive of coping strategies, and the term refers to any material, conceptual and communicational resource structure that enables actors to gain information about their situation so that they can make sense of it. The availability and access to appropriate material resources is a fundamental aspect in the ways in which situations are understood and defined, and furthermore these resources contribute to the actor's capacity to

act within a situational framework. Cultural resources are therefore socially constructed out of knowledgeability and discourse, materiality, social relations and networks, and the institutional and spatial organisation of a locale. Access to information, material resources and social support is an important factor that enables actors to transform their situation. The lack of any of the above produces severe constraints on the type of transformation work and action that can be undertaken. This results in varying situations of exclusion as actors are denied the opportunity to produce and participate in a meaningful way within their life course, their community and wider society.

Coping strategies as scripts of action are reflexively and indexically constructed by actors through the identification of available and relevant resources that enable and provide for a transformation of the situation. These factors interact within frameworks of exclusion and coping, producing degrees of severity and cumulative aspects of social exclusion. This dynamic threatens the quality of life and well-being of individuals, the management of households and the stability and social cohesion of localities and neighbourhoods, which can also be categorised according to the domain-related consequences. These can be:

- material / economic (lack of income, debts, housing / rent problems);
- social (lack of belonging / social isolation, lack of trust / alienation);
- legal (no full citizenship rights, problems of third country nationals, imprisonment);
- cultural / symbolic (loss of belonging, status, stigmatisation as second class citizens);
- body-and-mind problems (illness, disability and mental health problems);
- life-chance consequences for oneself and dependents (care of children, parents);
- mobility chances (lack of educational and labour market opportunities);
- spatial (concentration of problems in specific areas, physical and economic decline of local infrastructure, disorganisation and fragmentation, ethnic tensions);
- psychological (emotional threats on selfhood and social identity, damaged identity);
- developmental (disruption in biography, limited social and cultural participation as citizen)

What our material studies highlight, is that the ability to manage situations of exclusion is largely dependent on the package of resources that actors have at hand. In the comparative analysis it is shown that the interlinking of national welfare regimes and local institutional arrangements matters in creating feelings of belonging and basic trust and in providing resource structures to overcome situations of exclusion.

## 2.2.    Participation and Social Exclusion

*Levels of participation*

"Social exclusion" is, in an adequately broad sense, to be understood as *being deprived of aspects of full social participation* in different fields and with different consequences for other

fields. Participation, in turn, has discernible levels: the most basic level being the ability to reproduce a person's own life on a daily basis, the highest level determining and bringing about the future, better state of society. Participation in the basic case means nothing more than having access to the means of survival (food, shelter, clothing) that are socially produced. Participation in the highest case means access to the means for new inventions (experience, education, free experimentation, autonomous production) and for their generalization (the market and the public and the debates about possible and desirable futures of society). In between there is enhanced reproduction, security of individual reproduction over the life-cycle, after that autonomy of production on a scale of social importance of the product and participation in the regulation of production and reproduction on a scale of increasing generality (measured by number of people for whom these conditions are relevant).

*Table 1: Levels of participation and correlated resources*

| aims | primary resources | secondary resources |
|---|---|---|
| individual survival | means of survival (food, shelter, clothing) | skills and opportunities of acquisition and use |
| enhanced personal and familial reproduction | means of (self) education; partner(s), social network; means to support family | infrastructure of education; network opportunity (overload); for family formation and support |
| security of means of survival and enhanced reproduction | rights, insurances; connections, social network; personal labour power and its qualifications | surplus income to invest; cultivation of social relations; cultivation of labour power |
| organisation of and influence on infrastructure of production and reproduction | regime of domination: politics and administration in relation to lower levels | means of domination; capacity and skills to take part in politics |
| autonomy of production of local, national, wider relevance | access to means of production *through entrepreneurial activity *through rights of labour | entrepreneurial skills; labour organization |
| take part in development of forces of production | infrastructure for inventions; access to market and public; feedback into lower levels | means of cultivating experience; of public debate |

In a society like ours all this is organised through market and state and thus at least in important parts competitively. This competition in markets and in power-play in the political / administrative arena can have the form of "occupying" a position / resource (to the exclusion of its use by others) or the more complicated form of "defending" against the aims and

strategies of others, which must be kept from succeeding. If aims collide we must be able to keep others from realising theirs.

All this constitutes a secondary arena of aims and resources necessary to reach them: "secondary resources" that function parallel and as pre-requisites to the immediately instrumental ones. It is not sufficient to have certain qualifications, we must also be able to "sell" them. If there are "citizen rights" we must be able to claim them. If some resources are (made) "scarce" we must be able to defend our use of them against competitors. (The assumption is that the lack of such secondary resources forces people into resignation and "normalisation" of problematic situations.)

*Security and participation*

The different levels of participation also constitute levels of urgency with which the respective aims must be reached. There is only limited leeway for availability of means of survival and this aim is also a permanent one for the whole life-cycle. On the second level personal growth and social network can be thinned out and postponed at least for a time, loss and change in them can be managed and are even a regular feature. "Security", as the third level indicates, applies mainly to these lower-level aims and can be done without for long times. Over the life-cycle there seems to be a decided shift from high-risk, adventurous, exploratory, "self-expending" preferences in younger years (not in childhood, which seems to be highly "conservative" and dependent on stability of supply and support) to stronger "security" orientations with increasing age. The three higher levels, in contrast, need "freedom" and the chance to take a risk (including the imposition of such risks on others). In a completely "traditional" society the two top ones would be completely absent, even unthinkable.

The whole table can be divided into two halves which are correlated to positions of submission and domination, respectively. The lower classes are confined to the first three levels, only the dominant classes can take those for granted and proceed to aims on the upper levels. Democracy would mean that there are mechanisms of participation on the higher levels for all, including the lowest classes.

There are at least two irregularities in this correlation of class position and levels and resources of participation that should be mentioned:

"Strangers" are often not admitted to the level of "security", but have to show entrepreneurial efforts for bare individual survival. The typical immigrant has to be (and is) prepared to find his hard way in exactly by such "low-level entrepreneurship". If he is young (and a single male) this corresponds to his life-cycle orientation.

There is, on the other hand, a lot of "security" orientation on the level of organisation of production, for which the state is instrumentalised. The state can even be seen as the sum of

the organisations and apparatuses that make domination and gainful production "secure". This "high-level security" is called "economic policy", its funding by taxes is taken for granted and is *not* seen and discussed as transfer between different social positions.

Historically, there are three models of providing such "security":

- universal state provision of resources (financed by taxes),
- obligatory insurance (financed by payments of the active labour-force),
- market provision of resources (to be bought individually).

They each have their own pre-conditions for eligibility: being accepted as a member of the state unit, as a member of the insurance solidarity unit or as a market participant, i.e. citizenship, earlier payment, money or some other medium of exchange. Those who do not, by their own characteristics, fulfill the respective conditions, would need different compensations: simulation of citizenship, simulation of earlier wage-labour and the financial contributions to the insurance deriving from it, simulation of income. This is what welfare states actually do: they provide a simulation of income by welfare payments and support-payments for e.g. rent, heating; they provide a simulation of wage-labour and its entitlements by including the family (within limits) or some periods of (non-wage) housework. There is even some simulation of citizenship by e.g. making refugees eligible for some welfare benefits.

In the form that has historically developed the one extreme of the welfare state is the "labour official" ("Arbeiter-Beamter") realised in the communist states: universal employment by the state, therefore universal social security participation - as far as it is granted by the state. The price is an obligation to work, state regulation of job placement, accordingly state regulation of education and training, relative scarcity of consumer goods, high social integration in place of living as well as work, on the whole small-town type social control and a resulting "dictatorship of the philistines".

This was just the unpleasant caricature of what "social security" has meant from its historical beginning as paternalist welfare in factory settlement and labour camp: discipline. It is the amalgam of social security and obligatory insurance (dependent on a regular wage-labour career) that has produced this - and quite intentionally so: welfare measures have been used to produce reliable, disciplined, stable work forces - the more overtly the further we go back historically into the early phases of industrialisation. The other way around this means that only those who are willing and in a position to live this disciplined life and working career are fully part of social-security provisions.

### *"Labour officials", "labour-power entrepreneurs" and the conflict of welfare models*

With the advent of the "work morale" of the "labour-power entrepreneur" the contradictions of the traditional model of social security become exacerbated. Its fit is in question on the

system as well as on the individual level. Increased numbers of persons entitled to unemployment and old-age benefits from their past contributions make for a *crisis of financing* the insurance system. Increased numbers of people who will, by getting no chance to lead the disciplined life of an uninterrupted work career, not get adequate entitlements for their future security make for a *crisis of legitimation* of the insurance system. Great parts of the economy demand the labour-power entrepreneur. Many workers not only have to but also want to live a more flexible life in which wage-labour is not the center but a mere means to an end. The new "entrepreneurial" work-morale can also be and is understood as one of "autonomy and participation".

There are, then, convergent developments that produce a sector of the economy in which the labour-power entrepreneur and the correlated active way of securing welfare provisions will be predominant. There is, on the other hand, a traditional sector in which the disciplined labour relations and their "security" are and will stay in force. It may grow relatively smaller but it is certainly sizeable. Welfare policy will have to take both forms into account. And it will have to manage the conflicting demands coming from these two sectors - without unduly neglecting one side.

In terms of social structure the entrepreneurial approach to one's own labour power is to be found at the two ends of the spectrum: forced upon those who cannot get into stable employment and / or cannot make a living out of what is offered in such jobs - actively sought for by others who see extra chances in being active, flexible and risk-loving. The risk of social exclusion of some sort is certainly not the same in these different positions. And there is the position of transition from the "secure" sector into the entrepreneurial part of the economy - especially difficult if it is seen as a downward slope. Here the special problem could be that there still are in this position heavy demands for the old type of being provided for and that there may be a lack of the relevant skills - the two together are very likely to lead into resentment, a feeling of being betrayed and a limited possibility of active moves.

In any case, the new "work morale" has made us aware that welfare can be seen as a resource in active strategies of organising one's life and of handling difficult situations. The model of "security" being the result of well-behaved discipline, a "benefit" "granted" after an orderly course of duties faithfully fulfilled, is certainly not the only and not the standard one (and probably never was in reality, beyond the wishes and demands of some).

The two contrasting orientations: "security" versus "participation / autonomy", may be opposed, but they do not exclude each other - they co-exist in different parts of society, in different positions of the social hierarchy, and they can also change for individuals between different life-cycle or career phases. Traditional thinking in terms of "security" is not the only possibility of conceptualising welfare and the welfare state. "Participation" is the more general principle, "security" is a special case, historically and logically. The aim is universal *provision of the resources for participation* on all levels.

### 3. THE PRESENTATION OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION: FORMS AND NORMS

### 3.1. Coping with social exclusion between acceptance and indignation

The CASE project defined social exclusion as a situation in which people lack full participation in social goods of all kinds. Different dimensions of social exclusion were named (labour market, subsistence, housing ...). But often these experiences are not presented as being difficult. Social exclusion is taken for granted in different ways: There are respondents who do not think that social exclusion is worth fighting against. Since it will change in the foreseeable future they can stand it. There are other interviewees who accept a situation of social exclusion as a consequence of their own actions and activities or as part of everyone's life. Acceptance does not mean resignation: these interviewees rather try to make the best out of a difficult situation. Often they accept their situation because former coping strategies failed or they lack resources. Other interviewees present social exclusion as unavoidable - like a stroke of fate that is beyond social agents' responsibility. These respondents are in danger of becoming resigned to their situation. All these people do not complain about unreasonable demands or insufficient resources to manage their living. This needs to be explained.

On the other hand there are episodes in which situations of social exclusion are defined as unbearable - even if there are only few such episodes. An evaluation of situations as "unfair" or "unjust" refers to social norms of participation which legitimate such indignation and informs us about perceived entitlements to minimum living conditions and resources.

Developing a frame for the interpretation of our material we use Barrington Moore's phenomenology of what he calls a "sense of injustice" and "moral indignation" (Moore 1982). Injustice is not just a "word", but a complex interpretation of how social relations should be. The "sense of injustice" is based on an assumed "social contract" that defines who is entitled to what rights in exchange for which duties fulfilled. "Moral indignation" claims and scandalises a breach of this assumed "contract" by the other side. Most research on injustice focuses on collective forms of indignation. Our material focuses on individual or private forms of indignation and "scandalising" concepts. The comparison with material from other project cities highlights the general circumstances and recurring elements of situations that produce or give occasion to express a "sense of injustice".

*Having earned social security - the German case*

We can hardly say that our interviewees are morally outraged. It's a rather "smooth" or reluctant way in which our interviewees express a sense of injustice. When one of the Turkish women says that she has to manage her life and adds: "What else shall I do?", it does not sound like indignation. But her words imply a sense of injustice. She knows that it could be better. For several reasons she accepts this injustice. One reason is lack of knowledge about how the insurance system works. Those who are better informed express a more explicit sense of injustice. The subject of indignation is the proportionality of contributions to the insurance system and claims. The respondents quoted express their feeling that they do not get what they deserve.

Complaints and indignation are most explicitly expressed in the context of opportunities for getting access to the labour market. But these interviewees do not refer to a right to work. They rather demand that official sources should make it possible for them to work in order to be independent. These interviewees do not like to depend on someone (the family, a husband or wife) nor on something (the welfare system in general or an office in particular). From their point of view the best way of being independent is wage labour. If respondents refer to their capability or willingness to work and feel "entitled" because they have done (hard) jobs, they articulate an element of what they see as the "social contract": a person, and especially a man, is entitled to a chance to earn a living - having at least seriously tried to do so should be honoured.

One of the most important conditions and resources to initiate individual strategies or forms of collective action to change an "unfair" or "unjust" situation is the position of a person or group in the social structure. People feel "entitled" to something, because they belong to the respectable part of society, because they are useful, are being demanded, needed, taken advantage of or even exploited. This makes it easier to develop and communicate that the "other side" also has some obligations and responsibility.

The way respondents give reasons for being indignant clearly shows that the capitalist mode of production, mass market, democratic control, welfare state give some structural and ideological support and opportunities to develop private and collective moral indignation. There are strong affinities to the ideas of mutual obligations and reciprocity, the principle of proportionality and balance of interests, the idea of property rights, of social responsibility. The other side of this support is the phenomenon of dispossession of moral indignation and - as Moore calls it - of "expropriation of moral outrage". Developed capitalism, rule of law, democracy, social reforms, welfare state may create a great "demand" for less poverty, less sufferings, less domination. But it is the social institutions that have "occupied" the forms and remedies to "supply" that demand for negotiating and changing social contract.

Therefore, in our material we found a/ some new "modernised" types of situations producing moral indignation, b/ a mix of "old" and "new" principles, serving as reference points of

popular criticism, and c/ ambiguous "contemporary" resources to negotiate the social contract. The central themes are:

- avoiding amplifications of being excluded, people are forced to be "successful" in their social role as clients or labour, also as family members or neighbours or entrepreneurs. A lot has to be done to cope with social exclusion, especially if the situation lasts for a long period;

- the ambiguous side effects having explicit contracts, law and order, accountable entitlement, bureaucracy and experts that claim to and have the power to give the legitimate, the correct, the lawful and therefore proper and suitable "definition of the situation". We find a lot of criticism of "bureaucracy" and incompetent professionals;

- private responsibility for securing subsistence and reproduction of labour. Since families live under conditions which render them unable to achieve the standard of "gender contract" (e.g. gendered division of labour is often not possible because two incomes are necessary) (re-)privatisation contradicts the everyday life.

*Comparison with other welfare state systems*

Most German interviewees feel "entitled", because they have given something (labour, goods, services, obedience) and because they have been useful, demanded or needed. Other respondents (especially foreigners) lack knowledge about how the social welfare system in general and the insurance system scheme in particular works. These "misunderstandings" - like the idea that entitlements are based on work and not on monetary contributions to the social insurance scheme - cause (high) social risks. We have also seen that German respondents think of the welfare state in terms of an administrative machinery that is in such a great distance to them that it is difficult to make use of it. In this last part of the chapter we want to add a comparison with material from two other project cities (Stockholm and Bologna). This comparison tries to make clear that how people refer to resources made available by the welfare state is not just an individual matter - these strategies of presentation, rather, are based on hegemonial discourses, institutional practices and cultural patterns of interpretation.

*Being a member of a welfare-state society - the Swedish case*

Compared to Germany in Sweden the welfare structures are more a fundamental part of everyday life. Stockholm respondents seem to have learned to relate to the welfare structures long before getting into troubles. The welfare structures are a taken-for-granted part of life. But expecting great things of the system creates a breeding ground for indignation when these expectations are not borne out in practice. Interviewees are not just saying that they are

members of the welfare state. Rather, they seem to define the welfare state belonging to them. There is generous ascription of societal responsibility for situations of social exclusion.

People feel sure to get help because they are citizens in a well-developed welfare state. One reason for being able to give this account is that the Swedish welfare state has stressed the importance of social rights (the right to a job, a domicile, an income, an education) and the right to a decent standard of living (this is even expressed in Swedish social law, that in case people need social assistance they have a right as to have the same standard of living as other low income households in their home-town community). The idea behind this is not that the state makes provisions for the existence of the people, but rather that the state makes provisions for the people to be able to provide for themselves. In case people can't provide for themselves, the state will help (the social allowance is an example of that). In this sense social exclusion is considered to be a situation that can be surmounted. And there is a demand that social exclusion should not be more than an episode in people's life.

### *The principle of solidarity - the Italian case*

The Bologna material highlights another kind of situation that gives occasion to express a "sense of injustice". It is exclusion from the sphere of citizens' rights (in the widest sense). Two groups of interviewees can be distinguished: On the one hand there are those interviewees who consider themselves to all intents and purposes to be *citizens* of Bologna - because they were born in Bologna and / or have been resident here for several generations, because they come from other small towns in the Region or have immigrated from the South and been resident in the city for years, or, as an extreme hypothesis, simply because they are citizens of Italy. On the other hand there are those interviewees who recognise themselves as, and are looked upon as, *foreigners* with regard to the city.

In many interviews with "citizens" indignation is directly connected with the reaffirmation of the social rights to which every citizen is entitled. Especially when it comes to health problems this reference is made. In these interviews we note an explicit indignant reference to the exploitative nature of the relationship between the public administration and family support networks in the Italian context. Besides the accusation of exploitation by the State at the expense of the family interviewees also emphasise how this attitude of indifference contrasts with what is provided in the most abstract and cogent form of contract between state and citizens - the Constitution. The accusation is not limited to the quality of the direct relationship with the rigidity of the officials at the health department. Certainly, a series of delays may be explained by a certain inertia and inefficiency in the departments. But once again people identify the level of general definition of he rules which regulate access by citizens to free medical services as the problem.

Whereas in many Frankfurt interviews professionals and their practices are subject of indignation, the Bologna sample implies a more or less political type of indignation. What is under discussion is the rationality of the rules, and not so much the administrative procedures themselves or the efforts of individual employees; the rules are based on an unclear definition of technical and administrative responsibilities in the decision-making process, which leads to delays and continual *impasses*. Indignation is addressed to authorities and the political class.

But the Bologna material also includes interviews in which indignation that is based on political assumptions turns into resentment. This seems to happen if people are in competition with each other regarding available resources. In this context we found a populist discourse on immigrants. They are made responsible for the deterioration of the quarter. The interviewees seem to say that one should take this development seriously. It sounds as if measures should be taken to guarantee the safety of *all* inhabitants. But one can easily recognise that such measures are claimed in the interest of a specific group of inhabitants. Old inhabitants claim (lost) control over City's public spaces.

This kind of account and reference to a populist discourse is not only widespread in Italy. Also in Germany it is common to refer to a discourse implying that feelings of fear and menace should be answered by measures that focus on the control of those who are supposed to cause such feelings. And like in the Italian example it is common to define foreigners as dangerous groups. Instead of describing circumstances and conditions that cause the situation of immigrants, their way of living is used to legitimate restrictive policies.

The resentment expressed by Italian interviewees is connected with the feeling of being abandoned or betrayed by the public institutions. According to interviewees the social contract between citizens and city government policies involves a number of obligations. Interviewees think that an adequate standard of personal safety for all the city's inhabitants should be guaranteed. The subsequent feeling of indignation is transformed into accusations leveled at the political class. A central component of the sense of indignation relates to the betrayal of the trust which citizens had accorded their political class. This class is the descendant of a political-administrative tradition which had made close attention to the needs of citizens a distinctive element of the reputation for good management which characterises the City of Bologna and the Emilia-Romagna Region as a whole. The political-administrative class in Bologna has, in the past few years, gradually withdrawn from this pact, thus breaking a tacit agreement on which the governability of the city had been based for decades. Italian interviewees (who are missing a public sphere) used the interview to communicate their disillusion.

In the Italian as in the German material acceptance of social exclusion seems to be typical for immigrants. Even though they are discriminated in the job market there is only a limited incidence of an indignant reaction which makes explicit reference to wrongs suffered by immigrants in their capacity as immigrants. Immigrants are defining their position or situation

in the Marxist terms of a pure labour force at the disposal of the employer, with no kind of medium- to long-term guarantees, and often just survival wages. This situation is seen as a kind of "normal" and "natural" fate of immigrants. As a logical consequence, the self-perception as a "second-class citizen" is accepted as valid from the operative standpoint; it is normal, and therefore continually reconfirmed.

A final aspect which is worth emphasising with regard to the reactions of indignation on the part of immigrants concerns the claim which often appears in accounts given by "good" immigrants, that they do everything to respect the laws of the country accepting them. Their indignation focuses on an unjust comparison with "bad" immigrants. They are defining themselves as "victims" of an stereotypical racist image. The language and the categories employed to describe the "bad" immigrants are exactly the same as those which permeate the hegemonic discussion. This way they are not only reaffirming the image of illegal immigrants but at the same time of all immigrants.

### 3.2. "Normalised exclusion"

In many interviews we find situations and processes of exclusion that can be deduced from the information in the "code sheet person", but are not mentioned during the interview or did not result in an "episode". Certain states or experiences of exclusion are quite self-evident, normal or "natural" to the persons or groups concerned, or even are or have become quite acceptable to them - especially when compared to other kinds of difficulties they have to deal with.

Some examples from the Vienna material:

- Restricted access to the labour market seems to be an almost ubiquitous phenomenon that - although with rather different practical and economic consequences - affects broad segments of the labour force, especially those with no special and demanded qualifications. Nevertheless, the topic is hardly mentioned in our interviews - and when it comes up, it is presented by the relatively well-educated respondents.

- Especially Turkish migrants (most of the respondents in this sub-sample being male) hardly ever talk about their position within the Vienna labour market, about the fact that their access is restricted for various reasons, especially low qualification, to the unskilled occupations (construction work, subordinate jobs in restaurants, catering) and about the ensuing low income.

- In most interviews with migrants deficits in cultural integration, difficulties arising from linguistic incompetence etc. are completely left out. (Two alternative interpretations: that counts as normal / natural; there are no real ambitions or aspirations with regard to cultural integration.)

- In most interviews with respondents that have some experience with the police, with criminal courts, prison sentences and so on, these experiences, as well as the preceding interpersonal conflicts or catastrophes that lead up to their arrest, conviction etc., are reported tersely and with reserve. Respondents do not talk about experiences of exclusion due to the state and its institutions, they do not mention any significant restrictions of their personal liberties or opportunities or about hard times they had to go through. Even episodes of homelessness are presented in a matter-of-fact-way, as being nothing very special, or nothing really deplorable. Significant and extreme situations of exclusion are presented as something you get used to and which comes not really surprising, considering the circumstances.

### *Unsatisfactory accounts of unsatisfactory living: Confused problems and / or presentations - status trouble - fears and worries about the future*

There are narratives that do not focus on an identifiable problem of social exclusion, but rather present general complaints about the hardships of life. Such narratives (better: accounts, statements) complain about rather trivial problems and annoyances of urban life and environment, about moderately significant nuisances when dealing with the city administration, property management or with various agencies and authorities. At the same time respondents' dissatisfaction becomes clearly visible in the way they talk about their aims and frustrations. These narratives deal with general or diffuse experiences of dissatisfaction and status trouble.

When they are expressed by elder (and / or female; and / or lower middle class) respondents in an altogether stable and "protected" situation without any severe factual problems of exclusion, they are complaints about being denied recognition and / or a way of living according to their (middle class) aspirations and ambitions.

Other narratives belonging to this class are mainly about fears and worries concerning the future (for example: the workplace, children's future prospects, the housing market etc.) First of all, what appears irritating with these narratives and flows of reasoning is the fact that they are not (or not necessarily) about "real" occurrences, past or present. Instead, respondents talk about fears and worries that are mainly linked to their own or their family's future prospects and they tend to paint a rather gloomy picture of these.

We suggest that at least some of these accounts and presentations can be read as references to fundamental status trouble that is experienced but cannot be named adequately. This inability results from the fact that there is no clear, available and presentable social norm to which the problem could be attached in a convincing way. That is: the respondent is affected by a (more than just superficial) problem of status and recognition - but considering his / her situation and his / her social position there are no factual or moral claims that could be derived from

accepted and acknowledged social norms - and consequently he / she can do no better than mention some of the symptoms linked to his or her problem.

To give an example: The respondent has obvious problems of recognition and / or appreciation, but anticipates and actually shares the social norm according to which status and recognition in contemporary market societies is awarded roughly in keeping with the subject's merit, competence and so on. Therefore claiming adequate status or recognition (which cannot be achieved directly or indirectly through one's actual performance) makes little sense. There is a lack of or discrepancy between social norms to which people could refer to legitimate personal claims for recognition they still have.

The empirical material collected in Vienna reveals the following patterns of "normalization":

1. Reasons for non-perception of social exclusion:

The situation represents

- a kind of exclusion that is not even perceived as such against the respondent's social and cultural background, i.e. it is implicitly taken for granted (structural aspect of social exclusion)

- an aspect of exclusion that cannot be changed (in the respondent's view) - that has to be taken as inalterable, imposed from above - for instance some sorts of legal exclusion, health problems etc.

- a kind of problem that is not really perceived as such, since there are clear and simple routine ways of coping in the respective society / community / setting.

2. Reasons for individual acceptance of the "status quo":

Aspects of social exclusion are accepted or put up with

- because at a certain stage of life it seems not worth making an effort to change them (for instance trying to get certificates, qualifications, a better job);

- because there is no real demand for improvement of one's living arrangements or for more inclusion / participation on the side of the subject;

- because the subject feels responsible for a certain aspect of exclusion, which is regarded a (legitimate, evident, to be expected) consequence of his / her own actions, decisions and choices (for instance criminal sanctions / imprisonment, migration, deviant ways of living).

3. Reasons implied in the mode of presentation:

Aspects of exclusion are not presented

- because they refer to a norm or standard of inclusion / exclusion that is regarded or supposed as generally accepted and essentially / basically shared by the respondent. Therefore the respective aspect of exclusion cannot easily be presented as a subject for moral indignation or irritation - for instance the imposition / assignment of occupational status, and of income differences according to market mechanisms and the norm of individual responsibility;

- because they offend against a (sub)culturally grounded way of presentation, for instance implying the risk of losing one's face.

Conversely: What kind of exclusionary experiences are selected for presentation?

1. Reasons of social and sub-cultural perception and acceptance:

- deficits that exceed the generally accepted standards or norms of exclusion / inclusion; they represent a deviation from the standards of the welfare-state as generally accepted (and are therefore perceived as suited for being presented as a moral scandal);

- deficits that exceed the level of exclusion that is subjectively perceived as acceptable, because they came unexpected and go beyond what is expected in the subculture.

2. Reasons pertaining to the individual life situation and to coping:

- aspects that are perceived as open for and in need of change, and where adequate coping strategies are called for and already envisaged;

- aspects that came as a consequence of actions that were not foreseeable and where there is no individual accountability.

In summary, the normalising mode of presentation (or non-articulation) can be explained by the following factors:

- Difficulties are (no more) perceived as such, if there is a clear and simple solution to the problem in the respective society and available resources and remedies appear extremely self-evident to the concerned subjects (for instance turning to welfare state agencies and receiving support in certain situations of distress, depending on the family when lacking income etc.)

- Normalization of an aspect of exclusion or its complete omission occurs because it is a topic or an aspect of exclusion that allows no (active) coping, where coping is not feasible or where the respondent cannot think of any kind of coping, so: why talk about it - much or at all?

- Or the other way round: The normalising mode of presenting aspects of social exclusion as something unalterable, quite ordinary and nothing to get excited (or depressed) about is chosen because it allows for doing nothing and leaving things the way they are (exonerating explanation).

- In general there are (sub)cultural and social norms that do or do not allow the presentation of a situation of social exclusion: In addition to and in specification of the general norms named above ("earned", "member", "solidarity"), these are norms of

-- status inferiority, accepted especially by migrants;

-- status aspirations that cannot be supported by special credentials and merits;

-- (lacking) achievement which makes social exclusion one's own fault;

-- the market as a mechanism of allocation that cannot be questioned even if the result is seen as irrational and unjust;

-- fatalism in the face of difficulties that are "nobody's fault" or responsibility, just "bad luck".

# 4. COPINGS AND THEIR RESOURCES

## 4.1. Utilising the welfare state - the welfare-work-family mix of resources

*"On whom do we rely?" The welfare state as (un)reliable resource*

This chapter aims to illuminate how coping strategies, as well as the definition of a situation, are closely related to the social policy context in which these processes take place. We will describe how situations, as well as their social surrounding are defined and perceived in the Swedish and the Spanish material respectively in terms of available resources and possibilities or limitations in activating those resources to cope with different kinds of social difficulties. What do respondents in these national contexts take into account in defining and handling a situation of perceived social vulnerability? Which institutions, persons or networks do they mainly rely on to deal with their situation? And what are the coping strategies they apply to face their problems?

The Swedish case was chosen to get a representation of a profound welfare state, with a social policy that puts its focus on collective solutions, and the Spanish case was chosen to get a representation of a context where the limitations of public or collective solutions create a need at the individual level to use private or non-state solutions to cope with social difficulties.

*The Swedish case*

The Swedish welfare state is based on an ideology that emphasises universalism, inclusivity, equality, social rights and an interventionist labour market policy. The basis of the welfare policy is a tax system in which all taxpayers contribute, for the good of all, according to capacity, and in which funds are distributed with the objective of leveling out differences in people's life conditions according to the principle of an egalitarian society. The universality of welfare policy means that social policy measures apply to all and not just to the poor. The whole population is covered on an individual basis by a uniform system, irrespective of occupation and, in many cases, regardless of whether the individual is gainfully employed or not. Inclusivity is a similar idea to that of universality but with the emphasis on the fact that no vulnerable groups are to be left outside the structures of the welfare state. Finally, keeping people in employment is one of the welfare state's primary concerns. Through measures such as job centers, retraining and relocation allowances, the state contributes to providing the Swedish labour market with the necessary labour power, whilst at the same time holding down the level of unemployment.

During the 1990s, Sweden experienced an economic crisis that placed the Swedish welfare system under considerable strain. Negative economic growth and crises in the area of public

sector finance were followed by cuts in social insurance's and benefit payments as well as a string of tax increases (nevertheless, the universal features of social insurance remain unchanged and political decisions taken over the course of the last few years have led to the restoration of benefit levels in certain areas however). This period also witnessed a comprehensive public debate on the possibilities and limitations facing the welfare state in the future. Criticisms of the welfare state were already becoming audible during the second half of the 1980s but it continued during the 1990s, and as the economic crisis developed the character of the public debate about Swedish social policy shifted. From having been seen as a national symbol, the welfare state has come to be considered more and more as a hotbed of problems.

Nevertheless, an empirical examination of attitudes held by the Swedish public towards the welfare state, has stated that since the 1970s no trace can be found of any ongoing, comprehensive erosion in support for welfare policy. Rather, there appears to be strong support for a continuance of the high levels of resources devoted to welfare policy measures, for continued collective financing of such policy and for the maintenance of a strong state and local authority presence at the level of implementation. At the same time however, this fundamental support is combined with rather poor public support for the administration of welfare policy and an extensive distrust in relation to abuses of the welfare system. Analysis of developments in public opinion over time seems to indicate an increased questioning of a state, which has sometimes assumed a responsibility to bring up the Swedish population to be responsible and right-living citizens.

Thus, despite the fact that both the economic and ideological situation surrounding the Swedish welfare state have changed particularly over the course of the last ten years, the dominant attitude still appears to be that the welfare system should remain in one form or another and should continue to constitute the backbone of Swedish society into the future. And still the profound welfare structures remain as a reality in Swedish society that people must relate to, and that constitutes a fundamental and essential part of the framework within which the daily lives of the Swedish population are played out.

Against the background of the empirical CASE material, the impression also emerges that the welfare structures appear to constitute a starting point as well as a framework in terms of which the majority of the Swedish interview subjects describe and perceive the difficulties, resources and coping strategies that they talk about. The Swedish interview material as a whole clearly indicates that people have learnt to define and deal with problems in their lives in accordance with the framework provided by the structures and dominant values of the Swedish welfare ideology. The majority of the interview subjects give the impression of having expectations in relation to the welfare system; they count on the availability and accessibility of public resources and actively apply for them or get help in applying for them in concrete situations of coping. A majority of the interview subjects has in fact dealt with the

various problems that they describe, and where coping has been possible, by means of accessing public resources (financial benefits, services, support programs etc). However, the interview material also point to patterns of ambivalence, mistrust and arbitrariness in relation to concrete experience of the welfare system. Some interviewees describe meetings with what appears to them as a rigid and inflexible social welfare system, which does not take the client's concrete circumstances into account. Others describe feelings of having been controlled, called into question or suspected by the administrators of certain social welfare measures. Several interview subjects also communicate expressions that could be interpreted as a need to defend them selves against a kind of societal discourse, implying that they are not really "deserving" welfare clients, but rather work shy individuals with no desire to cope with the situation them selves.

*The Spanish case*

The Spanish welfare system, on the other hand, is inspired by the "Bismarckian model" which implies that access to benefits depend on prior labour market insertion. Today, however, this is a hybrid social protection system since it has extended its mechanisms by adding non-contributory and assistance benefits. Thereby, at present, the Spanish welfare system is based on a dual system of protection. Access to benefits mainly requires having contributed before but a complementary social assistance system has been built. This is targeted to that part of the population unable to ensure a minimum livelihood due to either a precarious labour market insertion or unemployment.

The Spanish welfare system is deeply subsidiary and it takes for granted that the family is the main agent of protection so there are few possibilities to maintain a level of welfare, incomes or benefits (in a need situation), without reliance on the family. This system of protection is in contradiction with the current social and economic structures: high unemployment, flexibility and precariousness in the labour market. Therefore, nowadays the framework that shaped the welfare system, seem to be broken, and it is intensifying the vulnerability of certain social groups, which become more threatened by risks of social exclusion processes. In addition to these contradictions, which the Spanish welfare state must face, there are certain intrinsic problems in its welfare system. First, it offers an incomplete universalization since some groups are neither covered by the contributory system nor by the non-contributory system. Second, the Spanish welfare system is solely based on monetary policies. Monetary benefits are not accompanied with active measures that could promote the social integration of individuals as well as their participation into society. Moreover, the monetary benefits offered are quite low. And finally, the Spanish welfare system has two significant gaps, the lack of effectiveness to tackle severe poverty and the lack of family benefits.

As already noted, in recent years the Spanish system of social protection has been characterised by a process of expansion and, at the same time, by the 'assistentialisation' of its social policy. This means that there has been a complementing of the system of contributory benefit on the basis of new, non-contributory assistance directed at sectors of the population that were previously unprotected. This is important for that part of the population who do not have access to state benefits requiring contributions, or to those who are in some way excluded from the labour market.

It is therefore not surprising that state benefits become one of the main sources of income through which interviewees in the Spanish material face their difficulties. Requesting such benefits plays an important role in their survival strategies. In some cases, use is made of contributory benefits as a mean of coping with a situation of insufficient income, and in other cases, interviewees gain access to non-contributory or assistance benefit. In fact, due to the disadvantaged situation experienced by the majority of the interviewees within the work and socio-economic ambits, the group using non-contributory or assistance benefit as a resource by which to cope with their difficulties is larger than the group having access to state benefit through contributory means (such benefits are always of a greater quantity).

Financial assistance from the State is not exclusively in terms of benefit payment; it may also take the form of specific and temporary help through which the State assumes the debts or costs that the individual affected cannot meet. Such help, administered through the Social Service centers, take the form of various grants, meal tickets for public dining centers, public payment of rent. Some of the interviewees have activated the request for such help. These are measures that, bearing in mind the low quantity of many of the interviewees' benefits and the conditions of access that exclude a good number of the interviewees from benefiting, in effect become a complementary resource to survival in a social condition of need. Evidently, such resources cannot do away with the condition of need experienced, rather they simply facilitate the payment of certain debts or other expenses that the person affected cannot cover (their children's schooling, rent for accommodation, daily food expenses, transport…). Therefore, financial assistance from the State becomes an important resource for the interviewees in facing their difficulties of subsistence, health or exclusion from work. But not all interviewees are able to make use of such resources even though their financial situation may be highly precarious.

Analysing the respondents' experiences we find that the way in which the use of state benefit as a source of obtaining income needs to be interpreted in the light of it being a resource subject to the fulfilling of a series of requisites. That is, the formal requirements that specifically regulate each type of benefit act as a mechanism excluding specific social groups' right of access to receiving such assistance.

The possibility of resolving the financial consequences of the different episodes of social exclusion through state benefit payments also depends upon the generosity (that is, the

quantity) of the payment in question. In the Spanish context, welfare benefits (not depending on previous contributions) are low and do not enable receivers to overcome their financial difficulty. That is, they do not solve the problem of relative poverty.

This gives rise to two consequences. On the one hand, interviewees receiving such benefits need to apply other, additional strategies to obtain an income. But this is precisely one of the causes why those affected, with the exception of only a limited number of cases, cannot break the chain of dependency on the resources offered by Social Services. They will continue to request financial assistance from official institutions (rent, payments for the healthcare of a family member, school grants etc) in order to cope with new difficulties that worsen the situation of monetary hardship.

Due to the filters imposed by the Welfare State in administering access to the system of benefits and as a result of the low payments offered by the welfare programmes, the poor have to activate private (non-state) strategies that facilitate the obtaining of financial resources complementing or substituting state resources. Fundamentally, these private routes are activated through the following means: the family, relations of reciprocity within the social network, local associations and institutions, belonging to the Third Sector offering resources and services to the local community, and various practices of an informal or illegal character. These are the private means through which interviewees obtain resources (not only financial but also social support, work, professional help…) that allow them to compensate for the limitations and shortages of the Spanish Welfare State.

*Comparison*

The socio-political frameworks of Sweden and Spain as well as the ways in which interviewees in these different contexts define and handle situations of social difficulties differ quite markedly. In the Swedish context the welfare structures seem to create that moral and cognitive framework in which a situation is defined and in which resources are mobilised to cope with the situation. Most naturally, and quite as we expected it to be, interviewees rely on, and actively apply for, public assistance in case of a situation which they define as difficult and beyond the limits of what they themselves expect to be able to (and perhaps wish to) handle without access to welfare assistance. The ideology of a welfare state that emphasised universalism, inclusivity and equality, and is based on the element of social rights, is clearly visible in the form and content of the Swedish interview material. In the Spanish context however, welfare benefits of the non-contributory kind seem to function more as a charity rather than a legislated right to rely on in case of subsistence problems. In this context the interviewees seem to be expected to drain every other possible resource to cope with a difficult financial situation, and even though they fail to secure their subsistence by other means, they still cannot count on the assistance of the welfare programs.

*Resources, coping strategies and processes / definitions of social exclusion*

The case of Bologna makes it particularly obvious that the decisive focus must be the composition of the coping strategies activated by socially excluded persons. The interactions have to be analysed which can be identified between the philosophy of welfare policies at the local level, the amount and type of resources provided by public welfare agencies, the weight and importance of the non-profit sector as a key player in welfare policies and the role played by social support network in building up original resources, mediating access to public-private resources and perceptions and definitions of situations of exclusion.

The background to this are the characteristics of the national / local welfare policies in Italy (as one example of the "southern" type of welfare state):

- historical weakness of the central government and a traditionally weakness of its social security system;

- high level of fragmentation and context dependency of interventions which are strictly connected to local conditions of distribution;

- rejection of social responsibility for some patterns of exclusion, which are defined as individual / family problems (something similar to what occurs with unemployment policies)

- importance of intermediate relations between an individual in need of help and the institutional response, often primary social groups (household, relatives, friendship and support networks, etc.);

- growing importance is also given to private social institutions, which attempt to deal with serious cases of exclusion through the supply of services, replacing public intervention.

The situation in Bologna, on the one hand, is better, on average, than in other Italian cities, on the other hand some of the above mentioned structural characteristics of the Italian welfare regime have been pushed forward here: welfare policies in Bologna rely on a very close interaction between social projects, interventions and measures directly managed by the municipality and those which get public funds but are managed by the non-profit sector's welfare agencies (cooperatives and volunteer associations).

Having introduced these general characteristics, we then outline, in the second paragraph, a provisional schema in order to analyse structuring stages of exclusion and coping strategies as mediated by both welfare agencies and social networks.

In the first place, there are the formal requirements which define access to the services offered by the social services.

Secondly, starting from the stories collected, the actual negotiation practices must be taken into account which characterise the relationship between social workers and their charges, which introduces quite a wide range of informal arrangements into the regulation of access to welfare resources.

A third level of attention relates to a form of selectivity operating on the basis of the circulation of information regarding available resources. This information may deal with:

- the existence of a service;
- the image which the service has, once its existence has been identified;
- the relevance which the service is perceived to have to the individuals' problems;
- the social value of this resource, or of the fact that access to it is available, as determined within the communication network within which the needy individuals interact.

Conceptual as well as empirical analyses make it quite clear that welfare-state resources are very necessary, but that their actual use is mediated by many influences. The spread of information about them in the relevant population is highly problematic. Associations and networks have a decisive role.

In all main problem areas analysed (work, housing, family / social relationships) there are complex interconnections between different fields and their characteristics as potential problems and potential resources. Some of these are the familiar positive-feedback cycles, in which problems escalate. (The case of ex-prisoners seems to be especially difficult here, in that legal / state and social / private discriminations feed on each other and make a way out extremely difficult.) In the successful examples we find complex coping strategies, relying both on public and "private" resources. The conditions conducive for success in coping are

- a low level of demand, reproduction on a minimum level;
- virtuoso use of public and private social services;
- willingness to do low-paid, mostly irregular work, often on the edge of illegality or beyond;
- family / partner support;
- a social network that puts up demands as well as support.

Low-level reproduction that can gradually lead out of situations of extreme deprivation is best organised in a welfare-work-family mix, i.e. using all available sources of income and reproduction. The dynamic aspect of coping is very evident in this material: both exclusion and coping with it are gradual processes of trial and error, of learning, of building up resources and participation. In this process changing self-definitions people give about themselves and their problematic experiences are of some importance.

The pattern of the welfare-work-family mix is much in evidence in the case of legal and illegal immigrants. Even the latter have traditionally had a realistic chance to find a place in the low-level (and low-income) economy, which is a start. This pattern is in the process of changing in the direction of the "northern" pattern - for internal migrants too. Special consideration is given to the situation of female immigrants who are in danger of being confined to the family part of the mix and thus staying dependent.

*Comparative housing policies*

The provision of adequate housing is a problem area that is mainly determined by market and political decisions. Also there are hardly any regulations that could effect a fast change of the local situation. Since this is an area of high economic interests, public policy is caught between the demands of private investors and the housing needs of different classes of the population – among them the weakest.

A comparison between Bologna, Barcelona, Frankfurt and Groningen makes it very clear that the main determinants of the situation are to be found in economic and policy developments. A tight housing market, once developed, is apt to stay like this for a long time. Processes of gentrification, servicing the needs of the well-to-do, often lead to an expulsion of poverty populations from formerly cheap (and run-down) living quarters. There seems to be a general tendency of communities to reduce or at least not increase their involvement in building relatively cheap public housing and to rely on the market instead. In compensation they may invest in the provision of centers for the homeless and other parts of the poverty population, sometimes also for new immigrants – and in some cases to complement this with politics of getting the homeless and poor off the streets at least in the inner city.

Due to these strong material interests and economic determinations of conditions in the field the possibilities of active coping strategies are confined to three groups:

- measures of "make do" in situations of (often prolonged) crisis;
- measures of (legally supported or other) resistance against personal eviction, neglect of the property or over-pricing;
- collective and political measures against speculation, new projects, gentrifications.

Social services are mainly active in the first group of problems by providing emergency shelter that may become a long-lasting provisorium. Very often the conditions there are not conducive to staying longer than is absolutely necessary - the fact that this still happens is a strong indicator of an otherwise hopeless situation.

The individual and "creative" solutions in this field often have the character of measures of despair - like a family sleeping in the car or spending nights on the street. The best "autonomous" solutions are squattings of different kinds. In the case of neglected and publicly owned houses (or houses that can be bought by a private charity) this may even develop into a more or less permanent and not completely unsatisfactory solution - the creation of new cheap housing.

This again is an interesting institutional coping strategy: flats owned by private welfare organizations that do not have the constraints of "official" housing and can sublet in "risky" cases. Private ownership for rent and profit and state or communal ownership have different restrictions of taking in and keeping poor people. Both lead to their own forms of social

exclusion. Private welfare is a possibility in this field - as in others where the problem arises out of state mis-regulation down to explicit state discrimination.

Measures of resistance depend on the ability to use legal competence, which is in many cases quite well organized in tenants' associations. Grassroots collective and political measures in the field of housing are rare occurrences at least today. Their long-term effectiveness is doubtful.

On the whole the field of housing policies shows a specific connection between economic policies, welfare policy and opportunities for individual coping: it is dominated quite one-sidedly by forces of market and politics far beyond the reach of local actors who suffer from their consequences. Welfare policies are indispensable but mostly have the character of providing "make-do" solutions. There are a few coping strategies specific to the field: squatting, legal defenses, collective local movements.

## 4.2. The Usefulness and Widespread Absence of Community

*Community, subculture, secondary association as a resource: the case of patterns of association to counter aspects of social exclusion*

This chapter argues that specific constellations of actors can emerge in response to situations of exclusion. The nature of such a response can vary but there are certain factors that seem to be present for a collective reaction to occur, and which give the nature of that collective action its specific characteristics. These factors include a fight for and / or a defense of common interests, a recognition and validation of a referent identity, a collective struggle for resources to ensure a reasonable life, and the collective will to have a voice heard. Some of these factors seem to have connotations of community in, for example, the recognition of common interests and in the formation of identity. There are also some hints of a possible multi-cultural inflection of cultural mores, which in so doing challenges the powerful discourses of dominant values and norms in society. This, of course, is suggestive of some type of sub-cultural response by particular marginal groups of a wider society. Furthermore, although patterns of association involve recognition of a common interest in a similar way to an interest group / secondary association, the patterns of association involve more than engaging in political action; they involve social and cultural support too. In our studies in Leeds and Newton Aycliffe in the North of England we found that the actual situation exclusion produced distinctive patterns of association in a given locale at a particular time that was different from concepts of community, sub-culture and secondary association.

The argument is derived totally from the data that emerged from our fieldwork in England. The research in Austria, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain and Sweden did not find any specific collective forms of action to counter exclusion.

The examples from the UK suggest that some aspects of the emerging patterns of association involve sets of relationships that differ in some way from community, subculture and secondary associations. The activities that have emerged from the research in Leeds and Newton Aycliffe draw on an inter-subjective awareness of a set of actors who are experiencing similar situations. The nature of the relationships are in a sense instrumental in that they have been formed to help each actor to cope with a particular type of situation, and the collective recognition of a common situation resulted in particular patterns of association to cope with and respond to the situation. The formation, however, of those patterns of association was also symbolic for its members in that it generated relationships that were meaningful in a variety of ways for each participant.

It would be hard to define these patterns of association as a community because they result from particular sets of situations that were often more specific than wider community issues. These associative patterns also cannot be understood as counter- or sub-cultural because the actors often strove to become included in mainstream society, wider cultural mores, and in the greater public sphere. Although a characteristic of the patterns of association we found in the UK involved what could be termed political action it was nonetheless not the type of action that correlates directly with the concept of secondary association. There was a degree of political engagement to establish rights and resources for those in particular situations of exclusion by those involved, but this was mainly at the local level. In the next section there are descriptions of two 'successful' patterns of association to counter exclusion, and one example of what we have termed transient networks of association.

*Three examples of patterns of association that address exclusion in the UK*

The research in the UK found two notable examples of the formation of 'patterns of association', which were constructive in overcoming exclusion. The research identified one example of counter-productive association in that they often resulted in individuals and group becoming more excluded. The two 'successful' examples are
- the 'disabled' in Newton Aycliffe, Co. Durham;
- the Asian women in Harehills in Leeds.
The example of association leading to more exclusion is
- the 'dispossessed' white ex-working class in the 'ungovernable space' of Gipton, Leeds

*1. The 'disabled' in Newton Aycliffe*
The situation of the 'disabled in Aycliffe' is one in which those who are 'disabled' understand exclusion as being 'invisible', and as being seen as 'dependent'. Their idea of inclusion was based on their own concept of 'independence'. Independence for them is the ability to be able to live as an 'able-bodied' person, this means being independent in the home, having access to

public space, and to have their voice heard. Employment, as such, did not figure in their aspirations. The ways in which they achieved these aspirations was through collective action in the formation of a local access group, and through local political activity.

The strategy for success started when a local man and woman, both disabled, got married 10 years ago, and they wanted a house in Newton Aycliffe in which they could live. However, houses equipped for disabled people were not available in Aycliffe, and they had to wait one year before they got housed. This prompted the man to become a local councilor, and to form a 'access' group for local actors who were / are disabled. By forming a collective with a strong political local leader the group produced houses throughout Aycliffe equipped for the needs of disabled people. The group was also active in the development of The Pioneering Care Centre, which has many facilities for the disabled, and they have negotiated access to public space by getting ramps and so on to public buildings, buses, pavements and so on. The work of the group was also enabled disabled actors to be more aware of the benefits they are entitled to, and it made them more visible in the community. For the actors who were disabled in one way or another the group provided support in various ways, which included the formation of friendships, and the development of mentoring skills

This is an example of a successful coping strategy based on patterns of association. The ingredient for success in Aycliffe was collective action with political representation. The factors that defined the association include a meeting place (the Pioneering Care Centre), a local actor who had experienced being excluded through disability who organized a collective group and became a local councilor to lobby for the rights of disabled people. In his words 'its easier to achieve things collectively than individually'. The formation of this pattern of association fundamentally provided actors with social support, which enabled them to improve their lives, and live in a more creative and inclusive way. It is also a pattern of association that has sustained itself over ten years, and still is growing.


*2. Asian Women in Leeds*

Another example of patterns of association in the UK was the pattern of association of Asian Women in Harehills. In general the women are situated between the boundaries of Eastern and Western culture on several dimensions, namely language, gender and family roles, access to education, work, and a social life outside of the home. The particular types of exclusion that the women involves a configuration of arriving in the host country, therefore being an 'outsider' and alien to the local culture. They were also entering into a new family as a wife, which may also involve living in a joint household, and the problematic of negotiating family relationships. They often cannot speak the native language, and therefore they rely on family members, which subsequently imprisons them in the home leading to feelings of isolation and powerlessness. The women face barriers to learning the language, which includes having to persuade the new family to let them leave the house to learn the language. They also have to

learn to develop social relationships outside of the home, and to gain qualifications for work, which requires them to build their confidence and self-esteem.

This example highlights many of the factors that contribute to patterns of association to counter exclusion. To summarize there was a meeting place in a locale, namely the Milun Centre. A strong woman who was an astute political actor was active in recognizing the needs of Asian women in Harehills, and she had the knowledge and ability to set a centre, as well as being able to oversee its continuing development. The centre is linked to structured opportunity in the locale, as well as having links to wider city opportunities. The centre grew from the local situation and was developed by 'local' actors. The centre has a strong identity, which has the respect of both the Asian communities and the white community. This identity is based on the meaning of Milun - 'getting together' - and it is this meaning - the social support that the Asian women give each other that characterizes this pattern of association, and what makes it successful in countering exclusion. As with the disability example, this pattern of association has sustained itself over ten years, and is still developing to meet the needs of Asian women.


3. Types of *association of the dispossessed ex working class* in an 'ungovernable space' are very different from the previous two examples. In this case associations are forged out of the isolation of those living in the area of Gipton in Leeds, and they are 'counter-productive' in that they result in individuals becoming more and more excluded from mainstream social and cultural forms. The residents of the area are predominantly dispossessed ex working class. The associations that are formed out of isolated individuals who do not have access to structured opportunities and forged though the need to survive in an area where unemployment is high, where there are no local amenities, and there is extreme poverty. In this situation the local residents have formed their own social order based on crime, violence and disorder. The patterns of social order or more accurately, the networks of transient association in Gipton are structured around organizing local crime, and affiliations for the supply and use of drug and alcohol. Family abuse, sex to gain friendships forms another type of association that involves young women and girls.

The examples are not patterns of association to counter exclusion; instead they are better understood as transient networks of association to survive. As the data shows these networks are not structured in the same way as the other two examples. Instead networks are formed based on violence to conduct the business of crime, to supply drugs and alcohol to help individuals to survive, and to develop friendships that are abusive. These types of association are volatile and transient, they are counter-productive because they often lead to individuals becoming more excluded not only from mainstream social forms, but also from their peers. An alternative way of life has emerged with its own values and norms. Survival depends on crime, abuse and benefits, and residents don't feel that they can have aspirations to any

mainstream goals. They understand their situation as hopeless in many ways, and they have developed a response to their exclusion that helps them to survive through transient networks that provide moments of respite, but moments that have high costs, and ones that do not hold any guarantees. They have lost trust in social relations generally, but in particular they distrust any type of formal intervention, they feel let down, and often the type of intervention on offer is inappropriate to their situation. Their experience of formal intervention is one that suppresses controls and punishes them, and one that doesn't understand their situation. They do not form patterns of association to counter exclusion, instead that form transient networks for momentary respite, which tends to lead them to further exclusions.

*Conclusion: The characteristics of Patterns of Association*

We found that the patterns of association often formed around common interests and needs which were producing particular situations of exclusion. Often the situation of exclusion involved certain prejudices or perceptions of identities that deemed those identities to be outside of mainstream culture and the formation of association was a way of claiming identity and the right for a voice. We also found that location was important in a very particular sense in that the patterns of association consisted of three interrelated sets of action. At one level it involved appropriating certain spaces in locales as meeting places. At another level they developed particular relationships with institutions in a locality to manage their situation. Thirdly, although their relationship with the location varied in history and significance, common practice of patterns of association involved defining and creating the meaning of their location in its ability to help them to cope with exclusion. In other words the location was exploited as a resource to help them to counter exclusion as well as acting as a constraint. We also found that the patterns of association involved particular types of interactions. One particular dynamic was the way in which patterns of association formed organizations and the crystallization of these organizations produced a variety of interactions. These interactions typically included a local political dimension, a 'bidding for funds' dimension, a managerial dimension, an educative dimension, and a supportive and companionship dimension.

The key factors of interests and needs, location, and interactions emerged though a time span that involved the initial recognition of a need that required some form of collective action. Importantly, that recognition materialised from local grounded experience with local actors articulating their needs. This points to another dimension of patterns of association, which is that they emerge from local actors who are experiencing particular situations of exclusion. The examples we found in the UK the time span from the initial recognition of the problem to achieving some measure of 'success' was ten years. Due to the latter dynamic the association held meaning for the actors concerned because it was and still is relevant to their needs, and it had been and still was instrumental in producing resources to help them to cope. The association therefore had a function as well as holding symbolic meaning for its participants.

The patterns of association evolved through a variety of actors with different skills, which included managerial, administrative, political, educational, and support type skills. Another characteristic of these types of associations is the relationships they form with institutions in wider society, in particular local political institutions such as the City Council or the Borough Council.

Patterns of association to counter exclusion involve a sense of common need and identity and the organization of that inter-subjective awareness. The form of that association requires a meeting place and sets of relationships so that the needs of the actors involved can be met in one way or another. It can now be seen that patterns of association differ from the mobilization of community, from sub-cultural responses, and from secondary associations. In part they can be understood as a response to the late modern experience of a fragmented public sphere, the retrenchment of welfare, and a liberalised market economy in that they are based on a shared sense of being excluded without recourse to any existing institutionalised representation. However, the patterns of association that have been successful in securing resources for excluded groups are the ones, ironically, whose members have been excluded in western modernity such as ethnic minority women and those defined as being disabled. The group that was not successful, in conventional terms, was the group that had lost its traditional forms of representation and participation, namely the dispossessed white ex-working-class group. This group no longer had recourse to representation through Trade Unions or class based politics. The evidence from the UK would suggest that the contemporary forms of collective action to counter exclusion are to found from groups that are marginalised due to ethnicity, disability and gender pointing to the multi-dimensionality of social exclusion. The response by these groups in contemporary social life is patterns of association.

### *Innovative coping strategies and local social resources*

There are strong inter-connections between individual, network and "officially" organised coping strategies. Especially in more developed welfare states citizens are 'socialised' into knowledgeable actors who normally know to which agencies they have to turn and how to deal with the demands as (deserving) welfare clients. In the Netherlands, for example, there is an amalgam of a responsive government, responsible organisations in fostering solidarity and pragmatic assistance and a lot of volunteers giving time and energy to the common good. In general the Netherlands can be seen as an inclusive society in which the national welfare regime and local welfare arrangements are supportive to a climate in which trust and belonging are normal features for its citizens. At the local level a dense and flourishing social infrastructure is functioning aiming at including citizens living in hardship and deprivation who are threatened to fall out of society.

Networks and their connections to institutions of the welfare state, especially to social work, can have the effect of initialising "official" programmes of an innovative nature. They can, this way, contribute to developing the welfare resources available on a local level. And the welfare system can be very responsive to such initiatives, can even be out to initiate and at least seek them out in order to support them. There seems to be a difference between traditions to be either distrustful of initiatives from below, to see them as indicators of what problems should be tackled with what resources or to instrumentalise them as less costly alternatives to welfare and community-work programmes.

In the Dutch material there are episodes in which problems were neighbourhood related. In order to redress collectively experienced neighbourhood problems, threatening the quality of public life and social cohesion, organisations of residents must be built to strengthen efforts, preferably in a comprehensive way. An important condition to involve citizens is related to the belonging and trust which are paramount for the social fabric of localities. To realise a common involvement with neighbourhood problems people should have at their disposal neighbourhood resource structures. In order to create continuity for local self-organisation groups they should be allowed to have the responsibility for self-management of resources and when needed professional support and training.


*Local experiences and urban settings: perceptions of social exclusion*


The data from the research sites, most of them being "disadvantaged" or obvious "problem areas" by conventional standards of urban planning and policy, reveal a remarkable degree of residents' satisfaction with the neighbourhood. Usually between 50 and 75 per cent of respondents in the local samples say they are satisfied with their neighbourhood and actually like to live there - a result that points to very different views on and understandings of urban areas: Urban planning and policy basically refer to official statistical figures (on housing, infrastructure, composition of the local population, concentration of certain "official" and acknowledged social problems in the neighbourhood etc.) and apply general (mainly middle class) standards to concrete local communities. These criteria do not necessary correspond to the demands and perceptions of local residents. They frequently seem to underestimate the positive and "normal" features of the environment as well as the social fabric and the local opportunity structures that are important for (some, many) residents of the respective neighbourhood. A rather critical and disapproving attitude towards their neighbourhood and their surrounding, perceived as a considerable source and cause of trouble or even social exclusion, a darkening of future prospects etc., frequently linked to the wish to move to another neighbourhood - is only shared by a minority of residents.

A large portion of the material contains no direct reference to the spatial or "community" aspect of the respective problems. Episodes of difficulties and experiences of (impending)

exclusion are frequently presented without any clear reference to locale or their being experienced in a concrete neighbourhood or setting. That seems to imply 1/ that mechanisms of exclusion frequently operate (or are understood to operate) on a non-local (intermediate or even macro) level (market forces, legal regulations etc.), and 2/ that a broad range of difficulties and problems are perceived as "personal" or individual problems without any clear connection to the features of the neighbourhood where they are experienced.

In summary, we can say that subcultures (and "alternative", "informal" coping strategies as their correlate) in a strict sense are largely absent in several research sites (for instance Vienna, Leipzig, Frankfurt, and with some modification: Stockholm) - at least subcultural formations and networks do not appear as significant local social resources that are mobilised to cope with situations of difficulty or social exclusion. On the other hand there is some evidence on subcultural associations, patterns of associations, neighbourhood networks etc., especially in the material from Barcelona, Leeds, Newton-Aycliffe and Bologna, referring mainly to subcultural patterns of association based on ethnicity or informal neighbourhood support networks (especially: the research site of Roquetes Verdum, Barcelona).

The difference is also reflected in the data on coping strategies: For some cities and research sites turning to institutional support and mobilising the available resources of the welfare state obviously is the dominant and routine pattern of coping, while falling back on and mobilising the social and economic resources of private organizations and informal support networks is of minor (or even marginal) importance (especially: Vienna, Leipzig, Frankfurt/M., Stockholm). In other cities and sites (Raval, Roquetes Verdum, Bologna, Leeds, Newton-Aycliffe) there is a more balanced distribution of coping. There informally assisted ways of coping and avoiding social exclusion obviously serve as an important complement to the institutional framework of the welfare state and are regularly used by the local population.

Nevertheless some portions of the qualitative material reflect the impact of recent general socio-economic transformations (de-industrialization, restructuring of trans-national and regional economies, flexibilisation and tertiarisation of the labour market, fragmentation of local communities due to migration and changing patterns of segregation, tendencies of polarization and increased segregation in cities, etc.). One of several effects of these macro-trends trickling down to the level of local communities can be seen in traditional working class neighbourhoods undergoing significant change, regarding the composition of their population as well as dominant life styles and the crumbling of "collective identities": Some of these inner city neighbourhoods are subject to processes of gentrification (as is the case in Frankfurt's Southern Eastend). Others just lose their former contours and turn into mixed low income neighbourhoods, accommodating mainly households, groups and strata of the urban population that share little in common, except for having to live on low income and without any realistic prospects of improving their situation in the near future.

In the second case we find agglomerations of e.g. un-employed, working poor with low qualification, families with two or more children depending on one (sub)average income, single parents, retired people living on low pensions, others depending on welfare benefits because of health problems and / or restricted access to the labour market. These groups have very little in common and do not share a "culture". That also may explain why research in the neighbourhoods has produced comparatively little evidence on any conventional (working class) subcultural associations and support networks (in particular Oosterparkwijk in Groningen, the Northern Railway Quarter in Vienna, or Stockholm's Bagarmossen). Instead we find individuals and households mainly depending on institutional support from welfare state agencies and / or personal resources that can be and in fact are mobilised in the family / household.

Of course the data do contain some evidence on local subcultural networks and associations, mainly based on ethnicity. But at least in some cities and sites the coping patterns of immigrants and the indigenous population are not so different (especially Vienna, Stockholm, Frankfurt). To rely on subcultural support cannot be seen as a typical or ubiquitous way of immigrants' coping with distress and problems of subsistence. The empirical material points to considerable "individualization" among some groups of immigrants in some cities, resulting in social isolation - and being confined to the (core) family and the members of the household. Other examples (especially Rinkeby, Stockholm) indicate that subcultural associations are important for managing a situation of not (yet) being admitted to (Swedish) mainstream society, but do not provide any relevant resources that would allow to overcome "living at the margin" (of the city as well as of society).

The data also contain some interesting accounts on perceptions of neighbourhood change, neighbourhood tensions, neighbourhood disputes and other local problems related to social control (and its shortcomings) - although, as stated above, only a minor fraction of the material is about "neighbourhood issues" and difficulties that are perceived as direct consequences of living in a certain (disadvantaged) environment. In quite a number of instances neighbourhood change and deterioration is perceived as a consequence of immigration - and in many sites immigration is seen as the main factor (or one of the most important factors) affecting the local community and its accustomed ways.

In the special case of the British research sites, Leeds and Newton-Aycliffe, issues of neighbourhood decline are seen as an immediate consequence of processes related to the restructuring of the economy in the region (de-industrialization resulting in unemployment resulting in deterioration of housing estates and phenomena of disorder in public space). This kind of macro-approach is also shared by the long-term residents in Frankfurt's Sossenheim, where tensions in the neighbourhood are attributed to the city administration's housing policy, assigning large numbers of residents to the local authority housing estates, thereby putting considerable strain on the local community. Another instructive example for policy-impact on

"difficult social relations" in the local community and neighbourhoods comes from Bologna: there existing tensions and conflicts are reported to arise from a type of housing policy that results in a mix of "high risk" and "vulnerable" groups of the population in some settings. Some special groups are held responsible for disorder and unsafety, fear of crime: immigrants, drug users / dealers. We find a rather similar pattern in Barcelona, where residents of Raval point to the increase in delinquency, due to immigrants in the neighbourhood.

The material from Groningen, especially the Vinkhuizen neighbourhood, contains some evidence of neighbourhood trouble resulting from deficits in both informal and formal control with regard to children and youths causing disorder, vandalism. This is said to result in unpleasant situations and dynamics and some (vulnerable) groups in the local community feeling intimidated. The complaint is that the whole range of competent agencies were reluctant to intervene.

At the same time there are other research sites where issues of neighbourhood disorder and unsafety are largely or completely absent. This suggests that there are disadvantaged or problem areas where "difficulties" of the local population are hardly or not at all connected to issues of neighbourhood deterioration, the presence of "outsiders" and "troublemakers" and its impact on perceptions of disorder and "fear of crime". This relates especially to Leipzig, but also Frankfurt - and with some modification: to Vienna, where disorder problems are relevant, but without being linked to the insecurity and fear of crime-topic.

## 4.3. (Ab)using the family

In Frankfurt, nearly half of the interviewees said that they would rely on their family in a difficult situation. Especially the family of origin is seen as an important resource. In many interviews this picture of the supportive function of family members is based on experiences. Family support appears not just in terms of money, but more often in terms of other means of subsistence (unpaid work, emotional support). All this interviewees implicitly point to an advantage of this resource: Whereas most other resources or benefits are only granted if people are entitled to them, or if they satisfy special conditions and are able to prove their need, family members can be approached without such reasoning. In the family the ideal is unconditional reciprocity.

But the family is not only a resource. The Frankfurt sample also includes a number of episodes in which people account for exclusion by family relations. In 52 episodes (17% of all episodes) situations of social exclusion are due to family matters. (Only exclusion for legal reasons is mentioned more often - 53 episodes. Social exclusion for labour market reasons is mentioned in 48 episodes.) For example, interviewees are excluded from other social relations or unable to take on a paid job for family reasons (child care, care for elderly or handicapped

family members). Interviewees are poor because they lost former family support or they are poor because they have to support family members. Families have problems to find appropriate housing and they have troubles with neighbours because of their children's behaviour. In other words: there is a flip side to the family system as a mode of social provision and protection.

The same contradiction - the family as a resource on the one hand and social exclusion that is caused by family matters on the other hand - is observed in all project sites. Here we concentrate on material from Germany, Italy and Spain.

Even though the family is an important resource in many of the narratives collected in Barcelona, there are others in which the family acquires a double role in relation to the processes of exclusion: it may also be a factor that originates the process. Family conflict, its de-structuring, tensions between members of the same family … all of these aspects appear as principal causes from which episodes of difficulties arise, placing the interviewees in a situation of social disadvantage. In such cases, a fracture occurs in the role of the family as a means of financial resources and emotional support. This fracture can also manifest itself in episodes of divorce, expulsion from the family home or the de-structuring of relationships between the members of the family nucleus.

Such episodes generate a series of negative consequences in other vital dimensions, they can create cumulative and counter-productive effects and provoke vulnerability and lack of social integration. The problems deriving from family relations can cause episodes in which there is loss of financial resources, leading to great difficulties in guaranteeing survival; they may also cause the loss of accommodation, necessitating additional income in order to obtain new housing; or problems of health and welfare that bring on feelings of solitude, abandonment and social isolation; as well as precipitating evasive and drug-dependent behaviour, such as alcoholism.

But at the same time the family appears in its role as the 'shock absorber' of social risks. Within the Spanish context, the family system is the principal agent of protection, of support and of the provision of resources (social, economic, cultural, educational, relational). The family is one of the main resources to cope especially with the most basic problems of life.

Also in Italy the family has always been seen as the primary network upon which the individual can rely and an irreplaceable point for the satisfaction of needs, as well as the preferred route into society for its members. The family remains one of the most important values, even among the young generation. The Italian sample highlights that the family is still the first place where people in need look for material and moral support, even if alternative resources - especially resources provided by public welfare agencies - are available.

There are many cases in the Bologna sample where some members of both the family of origin and the family of destination (wife relative to husband and vice versa, husband and wife relative to their children) perform functions of care and prolonged periods of support

from complex situations of dependence (resulting from illnesses, psychological problems and unsafe conduct). Although the family often functions in this way, there are many other cases, especially when there is a complex combination of discomfiting factors, where the expectation of care and responsibility on the part of the family members, and the sense of duty that they feel, can produce dependency, vulnerability and lack of self-identity. In most cases, problematic family relationships add to an already difficult situation. They are not, therefore, except in a few cases, the primary reason for social exclusion, but they are combined with other causes. Sometimes an expectation of support by the family, which is disregarded, has a negative effect, since it delays recourse to the public facilities.

*Provider households versus generalisation of wage labour*
In the Spanish as well as in the Italian sample there are narratives of persons who are "forced" to cohabit with the extended family. In Bologna, people (mostly male, 40-50 years old) return to their parents' home (or one of the parents) because they have difficulties in finding affordable housing, because they lost their job or they broke up with their wife or girlfriend. The central reason for moving back to parents' home is lack of income. Especially in the Spanish sample moving back home goes together with another coping strategy: Social exclusion from means of subsistence is answered by the 'maximisation' of the nuclear family's resources. In order to guarantee survival and reproduction of all family members income is redistributed. In this way, income that is often insufficient and unstable, or the low income from state benefit, can be compensated by accumulation and shared use.

From Barcelona interviews we get the impression that reference to the family of origin is to a high degree self-evident. Often people do not try to inform themselves about resources made available by the state (e.g. social assistance benefit) when getting into difficult situations. Benefits are so low that people do not expect that they can live on them. It is taken for granted that the family is the main agent of support although it does not always work. There are examples in which these situations imply feelings of dependency. But relying on the family of origin is not perceived in its dimension of loss of status. From the way how Spanish interviewees talk about being forced to move back home to their family of origin we get the impression that they easily accept this - even if it is not very comfortable.

We get narratives of a return to the parents' household in situation of social exclusion also in Frankfurt. But there are some differences: Firstly, there are very few such cases. Two or three generations under one roof are rare in an urban setting. One reason for this may be a different living culture. But the main reason seems to be that there is a lack of flats that are big enough to house extended families. Besides, if people live in a rented flat they are not allowed to let more people live in it than are mentioned in their lease. Another difference concerns the way how people speak about dependence on members of the family of origin. Many German respondents point out that living with their parents is only the second choice. This attitude

seems to be one reason why German interviewees are better informed about resources that are not based on informality and particularism than the Spanish and the Italian interviewees. On this background it can also be understood why German respondents complain about insufficient resources made available by the welfare state. For example, there are interviewees who applied for a flat because they could not bear to live with their parents. They complained about the time they had to wait before they got a flat through the housing office.

The main difference to the Spanish and the Italian sample is, that it is not a usual practice to redistribute income in the extended family for a longer period. German interviewees said that family members help each other if they can afford to. But especially support in terms of money is not granted for a considerable time. In most cases it is just granted to bridge situations of crisis. Whereas in the Spanish and the Italian interviews provider households appear to be self-evident, in Germany there is a remarkable tendency to a generalisation of wage labour. It is expected from people that they either earn an income or found a family of their own in order to be supported by the spouse. It is not expected from a labourer to sustain and support several generations. In a great many episodes this demand (being employed and thus being able to be on one's own) turns into a burden because it cannot be fulfilled.

*Limits of "familiarism"*

In general, we might say that gender-based division of labour is still a common social practice of our interviewees. It is still the main basis of the gender contract. "Familiarism" is based on this contract. And it is within this context that contradictions become most obvious.

On the one hand, there are interviews that highlight what it means for men to live under conditions that render them unable to achieve the still existing standard of the "gender contract". In the Italian sample there are men who were abandoned by their families (wife and / or children) because they have lost their jobs and could not re-enter the job market. The gradual thinning out of their social relationships characterises a process that typically ends in the state of homelessness, in their original city of residence or in another town. Most of them do not have any relationship with their family members, because of their desperate condition and the negative perception they have of their existence. On the other hand, all three samples contain interviews in which women talk about the limits of "familiarism". German as well as Spanish and Italian women talk about break-ups and its consequences.

In the Italian sample there are break-ups that are not directly related to economic causes, but which generate economic problems, especially when one of the members was previously dependent on the other or when there were shared assets. This is the case of those who, due to separation / divorce, lose their home, their job and the assets that were held jointly. This is a relatively new phenomenon, which social workers refer to as "the new poverty": for various reasons, it is particularly troubling. In the first place, the subject's age and the lack of a job history make entering the job market quite difficult. Secondly, finding low-cost housing is

also unlikely, because the social services are not prepared to assist subjects with these characteristics, different from the needy adults they are accustomed to seeing. This is another example of selective access to welfare benefits, in a situation which, by definition, involves a weakening of the informal support system, with a high probability of a worsening in living conditions, in both economic and psychological terms.

The interesting point is, that in all three samples there are women who had such experiences and who complain about "insufficient patriarchs" (men do not earn enough money to feed a family, they spend too much money, they mistreat or abuse them), but nevertheless seem to prefer to depend on a man than on the state. One reason for this is that in the context of the gender contract resources are made available in a less bureaucratic way. Depending on the man, a woman can avoid using the welfare system and its inherent bureaucracy.

In Germany, another limit of "familiarism" appeared in interviews with foreigners. Reference to family members seems to be self-evident for people living in exile. These interviewees are used to manage their life together with all other family members. By talking about the help system of the family they make it clear that they are proud of being able to solve problems without institutional help. But the problem is that foreigners often depend on strategies that are based on reciprocity, informality and particularism and do not have the choice to refer to other resources. In this case limits of coping with social exclusion occurred. This concerns foreigners who are living illegally in Germany. People who lack any social rights completely depend on informal practices. Reference to officials or claim of resources made available by the state may lead to deportation. Material resources made available by family members are often the only resources securing subsistence. In this situation family support does not appear as a guarantee for making one's life. Situations can turn into life catastrophes. In other words: if family members are the only and exclusive resource available, this can cause social exclusion in its consequences.

## 4.4. The meaning of work and experiences of disqualification

People work to make a living. In market societies one needs paid work to earn an income, to provide for a family, to secure some "quality" of life and to take up opportunities for an independent, "autonomous" life. It is well known and confirmed by the material of the study, that paid work is of vital significance to normalise outsider-careers, e.g. those of ex-prisoners or ex-addicts. On the basis of an income there are prospects to regulate other disasters, e.g. debts (often resulting from working on one's own). The interviewees of the study take this instrumental orientation of "work-for-living" as the "natural order of things".

Usually "unemployment" is produced for a purpose: by down-sizing staff, closing up enterprises, privatisation of state enterprises, cutting budgets of non-profit organisations and clearing the labour market from low skilled jobs. In the perspective of interviewees the

making of "redundant labour" is mostly described as a process that just happens. Some interviewees express indignation, others resignation and sadness, due to situations defined as "dead end". Indignant forms of presentations are particularly communicated by respondents in Aycliff and Leeds. Disqualification is seen in terms of "political" categories and labels: people are denied to participate in the job market because of gender, age, ethnicity, "over-qualification" or because of lacking finances to qualify.

The case studies show that every-day competence can be exploited in the process of economic transformation and flexibilisation of labour. Becoming a "flexible" and "entrepreneurial" labour power is a "successful" strategy of reorganising participation in the job market. - But fitting the requirements of flexible labour also resulted in "no win-situations" for some social agents. The different results are not due to the coping strategies but more to "opportunity structures".

The material study uses several case studies. Some go well and interviewees could manage to participate in the job market again. Others go bad, despite active coping and becoming a labour-power entrepreneur.

One case study served as the model of "successful" coping and its conditions. The corresponding interview focused on the situation of "losing a good job" and the art of balancing labour power interests and the demands to be met by flexible labour. The interviewee (41 years old) represents the best case of social security "fordist" labour could achieve. During the time of unemployment this "high level social security" (unemployment benefit and unemployment assistance) could be used as a "basic income". Combining this with "multiple resources", "entrepreneurial strategies" and situational, "pragmatic" coping, long-term unemployment (5 years) came to an end. The interviewee got a temporary job (financed by "ABM" job creation measures). He accepted a considerably lower income, because he was interested in the job. But there was also a pragmatic reason: at the age of 41 he had to become an "insider" again or the labour market will be closed forever. This first case-study showed clearly, that reorganising participation is based on "high level social security" and on "multiple qualifications".

A second case study shows that even active and "entrepreneurial" strategies cannot take effect, if there are no jobs available in the first labour market or if access to publicly funded "transitional labour markets" is coupled with entitlements to social security benefits. For "newcomers" and those who have accepted precarious jobs, the gateways to a regular job are blocked. The woman who told her experiences in the interview has a university degree and working-experiences in precarious jobs. Her strategies were "entrepreneurial" and she had many resources, but could not get stable work, because she was not entitled to get a job financed by a job creation measure.

This situation is caused by a specific structural ineffectiveness of employment promotion measures and transitional, "second" labour markets. Financed by the employment agency

(and unemployment insurance system) these measures are designed to bridge phases of employment. People who had never got a "regular" job and no obligation or opportunity to take part in the social insurance system are excluded from the publicly financed "second labour market". For people who have to organise their first non-precarious employment this constitutes a paradox situation.

Comparing the narratives on work and disqualification in Federal Republic (old and new Federal Territories) and in Great Britain we got some insights into the limits of the politics of flexibilisation. The case-studies deal with a specific "rationality trap" for actors due to the belief that training and retraining, qualifications and life-long education will, at least in the long run, end up in a "win-situation". On the level of individual rationality there are limits to organise a whole life-course in training courses and outside paid work and labour market. Due to the competition of qualified and flexible labour only a "happy few" will have some "winnings" of autonomy.

Even if there is no official objective of reducing the labour force, not all people that "really want to work", are needed. For people living in the new territories of Federal Republic this is not only experienced as being "superfluous", but alternately felt as being exploited and devalued. The third case-study represents this up and down, being inside and outside. The experiences told by a woman from Leipzig give an impression how a strong labour-orientation is interwoven in a process of being cooled out.

The political promise and the belief of people living in the new territories of the Federal Republic was: "if you work hard to fit in, you will get a better life". The experience is: "even if you work hard to fit in, some are singled out, some left behind by fitter ones, some will be declassified and blocked up, some will be totally redundant as workers and persons".

The stories and episodes on work and disqualification of "rusty labour" told in Great Britain deal with experiences that the route from training and education into a (better) workplace is not that straight-forward as propagated by politics over years and pretended by employers. After years of neo-liberal politics it seems "natural" now, that in order to get work or a better job one has to be in a "shape" that is actually needed and profitable. The case study from Leeds and Aycliff show that the advice to qualify and to "invest" in one's own labour power (and at one's own costs) turns out to be a game of chance. Some interviewees define the situation as a manoeuvre that turns out to be deceit, if you really test it. One interviewee, who qualified for years, but could not get a job, defines this situation as a "no-win-situation".

The last two case studies gave an impression of the situation and strategies of family members who have to provide and care for (three and more) children. One story was told by a single father who has to drop his job (as a carpenter) to take care of and provide for his children and another by a female worker who first had to manage a double workload for 20 years to earn a living for the family (with four children) and then to cope with unemployment and financial shortage. Both stories show that families need "enhanced welfare provisions" (and not only a

"minimum income") to bridge the situation of being out of (low) paid work. Both respondents are "active copers". The single father presents himself as fascinatingly "resourceful" in the field of informal work and networks; the female worker needs very little official support to "empower" herself. She was capable to re-organise her life and a new work-career on her own. But both respondents are pushed into a "deviant status", particularly by the social assistance office.

One is entitled to (or can make use of) social assistance, if a family is "needy", without any resources. This sets a trap for people using social assistance as a resource (as basic income) to re-organise participation in the labour market. The special "poverty trap" set up here can be experienced in two forms: 1/ Claimants are obliged to exhaust all financial reserves of the family, including resources put aside for the future (e.g. a life insurance or money saved for the education of the children). To get the label "needy", they have to "impoverish" themselves. 2/ It is (nearly) not allowed to supplement social assistance; so social assistance cannot be used as part of an "income mix". To avoid "poverty traps" and to cope in a reasonable way one has to make risky "evasive actions". In the case of the single father (and many others) this was informal work and "illegal" income mixes. The female worker was not only confronted with a "poverty trap", but also with discriminatory practices of the officials. The harassment resulted in illness and a breakdown. Paradoxically (but in line with the logic of welfare institutions) owning an accepted "stigma" (e.g. a psychical disease or being "difficult to place in the labour market") improves her chances to get support (time and training course).

"Small differences" in politics could lighten the burdens. For example, access to job creation measures can be made easier by decoupling entitlements from those for unemployment benefits and the condition of long-term unemployment. Legalising income mixes to avoid "poverty traps" due to low social transfers could be another possibility.

*Subsistence*

Distinguishing carefully we find many sources of subsistence between wage labour and immediate subsistence work (gardening, fishing, household work in general), between entrepreneurial activity and being kept by a family or partner, between activities in the informal economy and welfare-state transfers. Economic problems usually mean that there is a shortage of monetary income and not enough time or skills for other types of organizing subsistence.

The coping strategies we find are centered around cutting down on expenses – sometimes compensated by immediate subsistence work. Welfare benefits are an indispensable means of such compensation, so are private charities. The family as a system of economic support becomes less important in more developed welfare states. Such help is used but remains

temporary. Neighbourhood and community are important for a sense of belonging, but rarely for immediate financial support.

## 4.5.  Legal Exclusion and Social Exclusion

### On 'Legal' and 'Illegal' Migrants

The concept of legal citizenship comprising legal residence and legal opportunity for earning a living is a core concept of exclusion. Having no citizenship of the respective country constitutes legally legitimated exclusion from a variety of social, civil and political rights and aggravates the material and social marginalization of migrants (from non-EC-countries). Although the basic conception of national cizitenship is shared by all EC-countries (and not only by them), there exist differences in the extent of concommitant legal exclusion between the countries, e.g. in terms of voting rights or of eligibility to social rights.

Particularily, 'illegal' migrants, i.e. persons who have not succeeded in obtaining a residence and / or a working permit and try to make a living under conditions of being defined as illegal, or migrants who were denied renewal of their temporary residence or work permit and thus have become 'illegalised', are faced with multiple aspects of social exclusion. In a society with a democratic constitution, 'being illegal' (together with being convicted and imprisoned) is regarded the only legitimate reason for being excluded from other civil and social rights and entitlements.

The first part of this study presents examples (mainly) on 'illegal' labour migrants in Austria and will illustrate the various aspects of exclusion that people lacking legal status are confronted with - also the kinds of inclusionary arrangements they manage to establish in spite of legal exclusion.

In contrast to the issue of illegality, the Swedish study deals with migrants who are not exlcuded by law but are nevertheless being factually and socially excluded. Sweden represents the interesting case of a country that has almost no 'illegal' migrants. This is due to a policy of not hindering inclusion of migrants by law once they are accepted as immigrants, also providing formal access to the labour market. The background is that Sweden has no ‚guest worker' policy but relies on controlled immigration.

Finally, a comparing comment aims at describing the types of relations between the legal and the social dimension of exclusion / inclusion that were found in the empirical material on (ir)regular migrants in Italy and Spain.

In contrast to Austria the Swedish society and the official immigration policy has the claim and offers accessibility to the legal or formal prerequisites for inclusion and equal treatment of immigrants in the host country. Moreover the tight nets of welfare institutions support the newcomers with housing, social assistance, vocational and language training. Nevertheless,

there appears to exist an invisible but strong barrier to 'get in' the society and to become accepted as a part of the Swedish society. Exclusion is especially found in the sector of economy and labour market, the part of society that is organised by the principle of competition and private decision and not by political regulations. The remarkable finding in the Swedish material is that exclusion from or limitated access of immigrants to the labour market is not due to a lack of vocational qualification, but rather due to the high standards expected from the work force with regard to culture and social behaviour that immigrants are not able to fulfill. This also explains the high importance of language qualifications - not managing the Swedish language perfectly becomes a deficit, because it is perceived as a sign of deficient cultural integration and lacking internalisation of the 'Swedish values'.

In the case of the (mostly Polish) illegal migrants in Austria social inclusion takes place through participation in (informal) work and in the (small) sector of the black labour market to which access is made possible by networks of people who speak the language of the newcomers. Although the irregular workers lack entitlements and social provisions, they are - in contrast to the migrants of the Swedish material - at least able to earn their own maintenance which is an important base for self-confidence and hope for managing the future successfully. The existence of an irregular economic sector - appearently absent in Sweden due to tight regulations, comprehensive control and the lack of an 'illegal' work force - makes some (of course very modest and limited) inclusionary arrangements for the (Polish) labour migrants in Vienna possible. But since this sector is not legal, inclusion and networks linked to it remain separated from the 'official' society and do not spread out into other spheres of social life and society. Inclusion is restricted to one dimension; exclusion from Austrian society prevails concerning language, culture, social life and politics.

In examples from other materials, especially from the 'Southern countries', we find a third pattern: legally excluded but socially included in a more comprehensive way. Here we find not only participation in the irregular ecomonic sector, but also social inclusion in the migration country in terms of language, culture and politics. Again this refers to specific national conditions, the provisions of the (migration) laws and their administration in practice as well as the conditions of the labour market / economy with regard to irregularity being the essential ones. The existence of an informal sector in the 'Southern countries', which is an economic factor and therefore tolerated or at least not strictly controlled, opens chances to make a living even 'without documents'. Besides, the specific immigration and control policy (including political efforts to regularize illegal migrants repeatedly) in Italy and Spain gives immigrants 'without documents' the opportunity to settle down and to participate in the migration society to a considerable extent (e.g. including school attendence of the children in spite of the illegal status).

In summary, inclusion by law, being granted civil rights, is a necessary preconditon for full participation, but does not provide factual inclusion in the society - as could be demonstrated

in the Swedish material on migrants. On the other hand social inclusion can found in spite of legal exclusion, at least up to a certain point by participation in the black labour market, or even to a considerable extent in terms of cultural, social or even institutional participation. In fact the Honduran women living illegally in Barcelona (which is one example from the Spanish material), appear to be socially included more fully than some of the migrants with Swedish cizitenship interviewed in Stockholm.

### *Double difficulties - female and foreigner*

The women's stories produce a distinct set of situations that Asian women face in Harehills. These situations reflect the ways in which Asian women's exclusion is produced by their subordinate position of being both a woman and a member of an ethnic minority group. The situations can be understood and termed in the following ways: 1) arriving in England, 2) entering a new family, 3) not being able to speak English, 4) gaining qualifications, 5) building friendships and networks. These situations can be understood as *'routes'* which Asian women travel in order to become included in economic, social and cultural life. Each situation is experienced as being excluded in some way from both local and wider social life. Interestingly, however, each situation of exclusion involved coping-strategies, which enabled the women not only to manage that particular situation, but often also formed a basis for her to become included in other social formations. For example, once the women had learnt the language, many went on to gaining qualifications, and then entered the workplace in one form or another. In the other cases where, for instance, women were isolated due to ill-health and separation from their spouse, they formed new networks that helped them to 'make the most of their situation'.

The Milun Centre was, and is, a significant factor in the ways in which the women coped in Harehills. The centre provides sets of resources including language and other skill-based courses, it fosters self-confidence and raises aspirations. It is also a source of emotional and practical support through the friendships and networks that were formed between the members of the centre. Furthermore, the links that the centre had with Further and Higher Education establishments, with the City Council and with public and private sector employers meant that the centre also facilitated the inclusion of women in the broader economic and social life of Leeds. These links are supported and sustained by the relatively buoyant local economy and by the prediction of a rise in female employment. However, as some of the stories showed, the opportunities can be somewhat limited for woman, and Asian women in particular, due to discrimination in the workplace, and due to subordinate position of women in Muslim culture. Nonetheless, as the women narrators told they coped in various ways, and took various routes, to forge lives that were meaningful for them. Women became included in the workplace, in education, in workshops, and in local social life, and those who were

severely constrained found companionship in their lives. It might be reasonable to conclude that, providing Asian women have resources to build inclusive lives, they can contribute in numerous ways in economic, political and social life.

# CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS:
## WELFARE POLICIES AS RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Christa Pelikan, Arno Pilgram, Heinz Steinert (Wien) and
Georg Vobruba (Leipzig)

The main policy-relevant lesson to be learned from this research is the usefulness of the perspective: to look at situations of social exclusion in terms of the resources needed to overcome the risk makes us see difficulties as temporary and people as active. Situations in which no change seems possible and in which there is a vicious-circle downward dynamic, are the extreme, not the average case. Acquiescence to such perceived inevitability needs explaining.

Some important implications of this perspective are: welfare is seen as a question not of security, but of participation; welfare as the availability of resources needed for coping with difficult situations (of social exclusion) demands a wide variety of such resources to be kept "in store"; access to resources should not be made conditional on prior economic and political well-behaving; welfare should not be mixed with educational and disciplinary aims.

In what follows policy conclusions are drawn from

- the fact that in many instances state regulations do not provide resources for coping, but on the contrary produce certain forms of social exclusion and difficulties with certain forms of coping in the first place;
- questions of diversity in demands for (different) resources and of the limitations to such diversity in present welfare-state conditions.

In a next part of this chapter a typology of resources is set out and discussed.

Finally, a list of principles that could, according to our results, orient welfare-policy thinking, is given.


## 1.      The politics of participation and security

There seems to be an easy popular consensus that social inclusion is conditional: we have rights on condition of fulfilling our duties. Which means: If we don't fulfill our duties we get excluded. This is an understanding following the model of the social contract - with the pre-supposition that there is an external, extra-social existence out of which we join the contract, with the assumption that we have a choice to join or stay outside, with the assumption too that there is some administrator of the contract (shall we call him "the sovereign"?) who decides who will be allowed in, be allowed to stay in or be excluded. All of these are assumptions that follow from the model but do not conform to the reality of society and state. We have no

choice but are born into a society and even a state, there is no contract but a non-negotiable net of institutions in which we live and we cannot leave society, not even the state except with extreme effort and costs (all we can do is change states). The duties we are made to fulfill do not guarantee inclusion. There is no contract - the contract is a fiction we try to use for our claims which we sometimes put up since we have been made to live according to "duties" anyway.[4]

The model we use in this research is different: Members of a social formation have differential access to the resources of participating in the life of society - from mere survival to being able to change the institutions. The extreme of being completely excluded means to be dead. But there is a wide variety of modes and degrees of participation which imply complementary degrees of exclusion. And there is some choice between them. This is particularly true in the present post-Fordist, "globalised" mode of production with its tendency to turn us into "labour-power entrepreneurs". We are forced to find a personal way of participating. This includes the possibility to take part in a minimal way: by reducing needs. It also includes the possibility and the necessity to see arrangements found as temporary: conditions may change and our needs may change. Our participation may be reduced in one stage of life and career, it may be higher and qualitatively different in another.

The model we use in this research is dynamic. There are active strategies of handling and using the conditions we encounter, there is learning and modification, there are new starts and there are fixations we cannot get out of, there is activism and there is resignation, there are chances and there is inevitability. Positive feedback cycles (deprivation leads into more deprivation, wealth of all kinds leads to more wealth) are possible and perhaps even frequent, but not without alternative. Since participation is multi-dimensional, so are the resources to be used on each dimension and therefore there can be compensations between them. In the same way the needs for participation can vary between stages in life: Kids have a strong need to be included in an intimate circle of social life, but do not reach out beyond that. In youth we experiment with possible ways of living in the given society and begin to strongly want to change its institutions. This may come back later again when we measure society by whether it will provide a good, a better life for the next generation, while in between we may have been busy finding some security and intimacy in a small circle once more. The tasks and aspirations develop in stages.[5]

---

[4] This does not mean that the terminology of "social contract" is not useful in social theory as well as used in social life. The concept of an "implicit social contract" as suggested by Barrington Moore, 1978, can be used to characterise phases of social and economic development and their respective sets of "work morale" - what people accept as their "duties" and expect as their "rights", and what they feel entitled to demand and to feel moral indignation about; in its adapted version it can be defined as a set of expectations defining the place of the social actors in the social fabric, vis-à-vis its economic and power structures, its agencies and institutions and their expression in space. As such it is shaped and 'produced' by the social actors as well as mirrored and reproduced by them. And it is used by them in setting up demands, for instance for "justice". (Cf. Steinert, 1981, 1991; Cremer-Schäfer und Steinert, 1991, 1998.)

[5] The model of such stages developed by the psychoanalyst and social psychologist Erik H. Erikson in his book "Childhood and Society" is still the most differentiated, well-founded and useful.

And they are different between social positions. There is no universal claim to one unitary standard, rather there are qualitatively different assumptions about what it means to be "included", about what it means to participate in a satisfactory form. This does not mean that there would not be an awareness of discrimination, but usually the demands derived from this are not to live like the most privileged do, rather to have better conditions and easier access to what is necessary in the position one has and knows. (This can easily be seen in what most people who surprisingly hit the jackpot in some lottery do with the money: pay their debts, do one small luxury thing, usually an extended vacation, and then carry on like they did before.)

There also is a keen awareness of the costs of social inclusion. Historically social insurance and welfare policy have developed parallel to a capital need for a civilised and educated labour force, for discipline in labour. It was of greatest concern first to patriarchal factory owners, then to the patriarchal state to secure a steady and qualified labour force, which also is a reliable mass of easily governable "subjects". This has been institutionalised in the insurance principle and in the "minimum welfare" principle (welfare is to be lower than the least that can be earned by wage labour). Their function is quite clear: to make people offer their labour power on the market. These principles are being undermined by present conditions: There is no need for more labour and there is no steady career of wage-labour and insurance people could rely on.

Our model of a state that does not guarantee welfare at a price of discipline but rather provides infrastructure for different strategies of organising a life answers to this changed socio-economic situation: It is not for the state to press people into a wage labour that is not offered in sufficient amount and quality. Since there is also an incentive for the state to get out of providing expensive benefits, a welfare policy organised around the provision of infrastructure for coping with diverse difficulties actively that arise out of different ways of life can be attractive for both sides.

Welfare systems have to accommodate very different needs and claims. There is no one and unitary social logic of providing necessary welfare, rather there are at least two such logics:

The logic of "security" is one of social insurance, which demands that the fair price of labour include insurance against the risks of wage-labour - accidents, illness, invalidity, old age, unemployment. Since the price paid as wage is meant to cover the cost of reproduction of the labour-power it must also be a family-income: reproduction of the wage-labourer needs a whole household including housewife/mother and kids. In the logic of "security" the price of wage-labour has to include this extended reproduction of a complete household. Benefits are a question of entitlements - and for some participants of entitlements earned by someone else: a husband and father.

The logic of "participation" is one of access to necessary resources for leading the life that a person wants to live and for managing the situations of possible social exclusion. This is not in the first place a question of entitlements. It is the point of a social formation and its state to

provide (for all) the means of survival and beyond that the means of the good life according to the standards of the society in question. The problem is: how are the proper resources supplied in sufficient amount - and how are they made available when and where needed? The unit for which provisions have to be made is not persons, but situations. The aim is to provide the resources and access to them for all possible difficult situations (if they cannot be completely avoided).

Both logics have their contradictions and limitations.

Those of the logic of insurance are well-known and much discussed at present:

The logic of insurance is in contradiction with individualism in the first place, and when the family-unit dissolves this becomes even more pronounced for those (female) individuals who have not earned the insurance entitlements on their own.

The logic of insurance also has a sad tendency to turn into social control and more specifically: into a duty to take on wage labour. From the very onset of welfare regulations in the 19th century they were coupled to the desired "discipline" of industrial labour, especially in the "closed institution" of the early factory settlement.[6] It could be said that welfare politics are part of a broader politics of reproduction of labour power and, in that framework, have the function to make sure there is a sufficient supply of properly qualified labour - qualified in the sense of being (technically) able and (morally) willing to do the work demanded for the wages offered. Welfare policy has always been plagued by this dual and contradictory demand: support and control at the same time.

What dominates a lot of political discussions in the field is not really a contradiction: the "crisis of the welfare state" is a simple limitation of financing benefits out of current contributions if the age composition changes or if there is high unemployment. Often this comparatively simple difficulty is dramatised into a "conflict of generations". The proposed short-term - and also somewhat short-sighted - solutions are a longer working life, reduced old-age pensions and reduced unemployment benefits. The real contradictions deriving from a dissolution of stable household units - families - and of well-ordered wage-labour and thus insurance careers are rarely even touched in these politics.

The basic contradiction of the resource and participation logic lies in what has been called "secondary resources": not all persons are in a position to utilise resources due to a lack of other means necessary. This would mean that some minimal level of participation must have been reached universally in order to make the next steps of participation possible for all. This must probably be done by the state and cannot be left to insurance or markets. Even if the resource and participation logic is impersonal in that the first concern is to supply universal

---

[6] This increasing demand for discipline in the way of life and in the organisation of the life-cycle is one of the classic themes of sociology. Max Weber's description of the increasing "rationality" of life, work and administration is probably the most well-known and consequential. More recently Michel Foucault has described this in a terminology of "discipline". For the importance and the mediating character of the "total institution" (from monastery to factory settlement) cf Treiber & Steinert, 1981.

resources to be utilised by whoever needs them, there is the (secondary) problem of allocation: how do resources and those who need them at a certain point "find" each other? Again a certain level of activity and of active mastery of social life is a pre-supposition for the utilisation of welfare resources.

Another contradiction lies in unintended consequences of some supply, like e.g. rent subsidies are simply absorbed by the housing market through higher prices; or some resources (e.g. a nursery school) are simply not provided if the demand stays numerically small (even though individually high). Such examples point to the necessity of finding well-considered non-dogmatic solutions in each field of resources to be supplied. Market solutions may simply not be feasible in some cases - the direct and universal provision of resources by the state may in some fields be necessary. But this basic provision can certainly (and probably should) consist in a sum of money (technically a negative income tax) to be spent for resources offered by markets - in terms of choice of a way of living the universal medium of money is unsurpassed in a capitalist economy.

The basic policy orientation, then, deriving from the approach used in this project is in tune with much of recent theorising and research, in particular with what has become known as the "dynamic" view of poverty, with theoretical and practical considerations of "empowerment" and with a reflexive reading of the "social exclusion" literature. It re-considers current debates and problems discussed in the field of welfare politics in a new perspective:

1/ identify problematic *situations*, not people;

2/ identify possible solutions to the problem and the resources needed for them;

3/ analyse possible policies of supplying such resources;

4/ analyse problems of access to them.


## 2. The welfare state as a source of troubles and an obstacle to coping strategies

People perceive the welfare state in an ambivalent way: One the one hand they use it as a resource, on the other they are confronted with it as a source of problems. What kind of troubles emerge from the welfare state?

The most obvious problems arise from the fact that the national welfare state limits and guards membership in its solidarity. There is an explicit gradation of access even to its territory and in consequence to its resources from full citizenship to being a foreigner or even an "illegal" foreigner.[7] Some rights and resources are also denied and even taken away from

---

[7] Although only a small number of people manages to enter illegally and to participate illegally in the country's economy, this is still an important case: it represents the "victory" of economic inclusion over political exclusion. In Germany it is estimated that there are 6-700.000 "labour tourists" per year working in Germany for up to three months on a tourist visa. (SVR - Sachverständigenrat zur Begutachtung der gesamtwirtschaftlichen Entwicklung, 2000/2001: 154)

persons categorised as "criminal" or "not fully accountable" (due to a number of possible reasons). In these cases it is the state that does the excluding. Only sometimes and with different success does it provide ways of "re-socialisation" from such a status to full citizenship.

Beyond that first "territorial" border the national welfare state sets and guards borders of access to the (wage-)labour market as well as to the market for the production and circulation of goods (entrepreneurship). In short: state regulations limit and select access to all sources of an income/of subsistence: wages, gains and profits from entrepreneurial activities, transfer in a network of solidarity (e.g. the family), welfare and social assistance transfers. In this selectivity the national welfare state is also a source of social exclusion: it denies full participation in the resources available.

Even though the citizenship and the market-access rules are the most consequential and figure prominently as sources of problems and of limits to coping, in what follows we concentrate on the contradictions inherent in the welfare system itself.

The labour market and the welfare state are by no means equally usable sources of income. There is a clear order of tasks in all capitalist market societies: in a systemic perspective, regulating the labour market has first priority, from the people's point of view there is the requirement to try to make one's living by participating in the labour market before turning to the welfare state. National welfare states protect the systemic priority of the labour market in different ways and by several rules. All these rules have in common that they are obstacles to accessing welfare payments, hence intentionally created troubles.

Nowhere is there free choice between living on wages or from welfare payments. Labour markets are protected either by rules securing a difference in amount between wages and welfare payments or by particular conditions that have to be fulfilled for legal access to payments or by both.

It is in particular the type of "wage-labour centered welfare states" (Vobruba 1990) that causes problems. They make access to welfare payments conditional on participation in the labour market in standard wage labour. This relationship results in a particular selectivity. It includes (protects) people in present or prior standard work, and it excludes other people. Up to a certain point this selectivity plus the resulting troubles are simply a welfare state intention - they are the reverse side of the medal that the welfare state has to protect the labour market.

But since the last one or two decades things have changed. With the end of full employment (Vobruba 2000) and the increasing frequency of non-standard work, wage-labour centered welfare states become more and more selective. Low wages lead to social assistance payments below the poverty line, interrupted work-biographies cause unacceptably low pensions, a growing non-take-up rate caused (at least partly) by administrative harassment and stigma (van Oorschot 1991; Blomberg, Petersson 1999). By now such exclusionary effects of wage-labour centered welfare states are far from fulfilling any useful function for

the labour market. They simply represent troubles caused by a growing discrepancy between the welfare states and the reality of the labour markets.

This type of problem is closely related to another one: troubles caused by administrative failure. The main problem in this respect is the delayed recognition of people's legal claims, thus forcing people to bridge a certain time by relying to social assistance. Although such "waiting cases" (Leisering, Leibfried 1999: 71f.) are caused by the welfare state, they do not represent a systematic malfunction of welfare states but just a solvable administrative problem. But there can be no disputing the fact that at least for some people considerable difficulties and irritations derive from such organisational slack.

In contrast to this, the "poverty trap" is widely seen and discussed as a systematic problem. The poverty trap is understood as caused by a problematic incentive structure at the interface between the labour market and the system of social security. If the levels of (lowest) wages and of welfare payments are close to each other, entering the labour market and working for wages means losing social assistance, hence almost the same amount of money. The underlying assumption is that people in fact act according to this incentive structure: They (try to) stay within social assistance. And what is more, as a result of this, they dequalify and diminish their chances of any later financial promotion within work. As a result, the problematic incentive structure turns out to be a trap. In the short run it is rational to stay in it, but in the long run it is self-damaging.

What is the validity of this widely used argument?

Indeed, almost all welfare states show this problematic incentive structure. Without stepping into a discussion whether social assistance is too high or wages are too low, one has to admit that in many cases changing from welfare to work does not really pay. At least for one-breadwinner families with children, the difference between social assistance and average wages (for low-qualified work) are small. But surprisingly people do not behave according to the poverty trap-hypothesis.

Longitudinal data from different countries show:

- Contrary to the prediction of the "poverty trap"-hypothesis, the average period for which people remain within social assistance is low.

- Contrary to the prediction that the period within social assistance increases as the difference between social payments and wages decreases, low-paid breadwinners in families with children are among the first to leave social assistance.

- Contrary to the prediction that generous welfare states create a large number of people staying in social assistance permanently, hence in "welfare dependency", the empirical findings from Germany, the Netherlands and the USA show: "There is not much evidence of a permanent 'welfare class' in any of these countries." (Goodin et al. 1999: 1338) The persistence of welfare dependency in the US is slightly higher than in Germany.

To summarize: In fact, the welfare state is not only a resource for coping with exclusion, but also a source of exclusions people in their turn have to cope with. But so far the political discussion of these troubles is somewhat lop-sided. The most important troubles are still hardly recognized whilst the most prominently discussed paradox, the "poverty trap", hardly causes any problem.


## 3.     The Diversity of Participation

The perhaps most interesting characteristic that distinguishes the "participation" from the "security" understanding of welfare is *diversity*. Thinking in terms of "security" easily implies shielding all persons from all possible risks in all possible positions of society. There is an in-built dynamic of escalation of "security": one risk eliminated makes us see the next and wanting this eliminated too – seeing other persons have a certain "security" makes us demand it too. "Security" is insatiable and universalising. An orientation at "participation" and its resources, on the other hand, implies that different situations need different resources, that there must be a wide array of them, but not everyone needs to "have" them (all). Rather they should be available when the need arises. This orientation stresses the diversity of resources to be made available.

Next to *differential access to the means of reproduction* as discussed above we have to consider *differential resources needed in different situations* according to social position. Since we deal with the low levels of standard of living here it is not so much grave social inequality that is to be treated, but rather the shifts and changes of problems and resources needed over the life-cycle and other different social positions.

Politically, social-exclusion research – similar to social-problems approaches – has a tendency to concentrate on deficits in participation. A list of stages of participation as presented above could, under this premise, easily be read as a list of consecutive deficits to be overcome until we reach the "highest" level of participation. In contrast to this, we see it as one of the virtues of a well-functioning democratic society that active participation can be held at a minimum at least for a time and in certain stages of the life-cycle and certain social situations – without the risk of complete exclusion. It is pre-democratic political regimes and in particular dictatorships that mobilise their subjects all the time and force them to "participate" ("forced inclusion"). The same consideration holds for economic participation: a well-organised economy would allow a choice of participation and non-participation according to the situation of the individual concerned. A society of individuals – the claim and promise of Western enlightened bourgeois thinking – would be organised for diversity, an important part

of which is "temporality", the possibility to change and not be held to earlier decisions indefinitely.

Under this general premise it is again a "security" approach to welfare that makes for uniformity, in particular in combination with an insurance principle. "Participation" thinking, in contrast, is very well suited to allow for diversity. Asking for resources to be provided automatically leads into the question of "resources for which solutions to what problems".

In what follows we give a list of important differences in resources needed according to social and life-cycle positions as derived from our empirical data.

After the basic territorial access to the wage-labour market that is still, at least by men, seen as the primary source of income for subsistence, there is the obstacle of "no demand at all" and "no demand for the specific qualification". The reverse side of this is "demands too high for what I can do", particularly in view of other duties I have to fulfil (house-work) or in view of the age and health situation.

Participation varies with

- stage in life cycle (degree of independence from care and of freedom from caring duties in the context family reproduction), which by age/education and health relate to

- work capacities (to be able to offer properly qualified labour power or to supply demanded goods or services).

When made available according to universal and general rules of eligibility resources are often held back from some situation or supplied although they do not really meet the need in the situation they are supposed to alleviate. Not only are basic resources supplied conditionally only (to those who fulfil the requirements), but there are also obstacles set up against the provision and organisation of alternative resources by and for the non- or less eligible.

Independent of their insufficiency and/or undesirability from an "official" or a "standard" point of view, resources become more important and attractive if other means are not readily available. In this respect, since the regular economy means one of licensed, privileged and often over-worked participants only, the "informal economy" plays a particularly important part. The split or differentiation of labour markets profits from and also provides solutions for various situations. The most prominent is the situation of illegal immigrants, for whom black markets form the only opportunity; but it is also the young labour-power entrepreneur or the welfare client relying on an "income-mix", who welcome additional free-market resources.

There are few problems, at least for a limited time, as long as secondary resources like health services, family and other social allowances are not reserved for (at least former) participants of the first and formal economy or for complete abstainers from informal economic activities.

For a specific social position, mostly for young, active men with no family to support on the one hand, persons in difficult situations and little prospect in today's demanding labour market on the other, the informal economy (with all its insecurities) can be an attractive (and

unavoidable) field to make a living - for a time. (Often enough the tax and the social security payments evaded are not worth the trouble of collecting, but could rather be seen as re-socialisation support given by the state.) Since income from the informal economy tends to be insufficient and irregular and since there is no security net in case of e.g. illness, private charity networks and resources turn out to be a resource needed to flank the informal economy.

It can be argued that an acceptance of coping with irregular and substandard resources would deepen the split of society. Yet if high level participation, citizenship, regular and qualified full-time employment, stable families and high degrees of freedom resulting from accumulated economic and social capital cannot be reached by all, or if the costs and side-effects of full integration are seen as excessive, then policy concern with regulation of and even support for the elaboration of informal economies may be an option.

Such regulation will be particularly mindful of the temporality of these coping strategies and of their fit for certain life situations. New needs that come with a changed situation will make an arrangement obsolete that may have worked earlier. Taking the possibility of change and even growth seriously opens the option to tolerate "irregular" phases in-between. Regulation, thus, will also concentrate on the status passages, on moving on from one way of making a living and coping with problems to a new arrangement. It is not necessary to assume that one way of organising participation will stay the same for all time. A type of social security that depends on making the "right" decisions very early in life and sticking to them until old age - even if economic conditions would allow such life-long discipline - is not in tune with the differences between the ages and phases in the life of a person. If "flexibility" is the catch-word of the new economy then the model of social security should be as flexible as the demands to be met by labour.

The orientation towards diversity that can be derived from this research would mean an organisation of social security that is open to changes and developments in the person's situation. It would avoid long-term fixations and the possibility of early "mistakes" that back-fire many years later. It would not prevent the use of precarious and (from a "higher" or long-term point of view) undesirable resources, but see to it that this is a temporary solution only. It would open up possibilities instead of restricting the field of options.

## 4.      Resources for coping: using, transforming and producing them

The pivot element in the understanding of social security presented here are the resources used to cope with situations of (possible) social exclusion. In what follows a typology of resources is presented that has been derived from the empirical findings in this project.

By a simple categorisation according to the agency providing them (between state and self-organisation) resources can be ordered in four groups:

1/ welfare state resources;

2/ resources of access: getting information, advice and support from various state, municipal and private/confessional organisations;

3/ resources of mutual help and reciprocity in the family, the neighbourhood, and other networks;

4/ 'getting together' resources: grass-roots and self-help organisations.

## 4.1.    Routines: Turning to the welfare state

Turning to the welfare state is the most common routine strategy of coping with long-term or temporary exclusion from the means of subsistence, from 'enhanced reproduction' and from some security of the means of subsistence/survival and enhanced reproduction. This mode of exclusion (from the first three levels of social participation according to our categorisation) is also the prevalent topic addressed in the episodes told by respondents in the majority of the project's research sites. (Exceptions are the British research sites and Groningen; they will be treated below.)

Whenever access to the primary mode of subsistence, namely wage labour, is barred or terminated, various means of income compensation, either as part of the social security system or of subsidiary social assistance (or a mixture of both) are mobilized. Having a claim to income compensation, whenever you drop out of gainful employment, is taken for granted in all participant countries; it is indeed an indispensable ingredient of the 'Implicit Social Contract' in these societies.

Things become more complicated and also more differentiated between research sites where *social assistance*, the third tier of welfare state provision, comes into view. The gaps of provision in Italy and in Spain, especially in the field of family and child benefits, cast their shadow on respondents' perceptions, and contribute to shaping the special Southern European pattern of coping strategies.

But we also find a lot in common. Stories of social exclusion that is attributed to the malfunction and systematic failures of this system have been found in Stockholm, as well as in Barcelona, in Vienna, Frankfurt, and in Bologna.

Even in a well-organised welfare-state like Sweden severe disappointment is experienced by respondents turning to social assistance. The sentence *"I felt I had a right to it, after all I'd paid my taxes"* was heard repeatedly. The exercise of discretion by the clerks and/or social workers in the respective agencies, the request to provide proof of one's neediness and the demand for exhaustion of other means of subsistence runs contrary to these expectations and the understanding of the Implicit Social Contract of a 'still inclusive' welfare state.

Similar complaints about the opaqueness of the eligibility criteria for social assistance and about unfair and arbitrary treatment can be found nearly everywhere, independent from welfare-state model. Also in Barcelona (as the other extreme of welfare-state models) there are complaints about the unpredictability of decisions made by social assistance personnel whenever an appeal is made to them. Though a considerable number of the respondents tried in fact to get access to Spain's Minimum Income Scheme (PIRMI), some respondents abstained from doing so at the outset, and quite a few felt confused and frustrated when confronted with eligibility requirements that remain opaque or appear outright unfair, unjust and at odds with a morale of personal and family relations and obligations.

*4.2.    Resources of access*

Especially with regard to Social Assistance as a welfare provision, the availability of sound information on access and eligibility is an important prerequisite for mobilising this kind of welfare state benefits and services. The (secondary) resource of getting information, counsel and advice is addressed by many respondents in most of the research sites.

The activity and the kind of service provided by these intermediate agencies - mostly and predominantly of the information and advise giving type - are high in demand and very often highly appreciated. This applies especially to those remaining 'neutral' and abstaining from exerting any pedagogical or disciplining influence and pressure.

Other municipal, community or private agencies go beyond mere information and advice-giving. Again this type of access resource flourishes everywhere.

Examples are the 'Women's Project', in Rinkeby, Stockholm; in Vienna it is the "Alte Trafik" ("Old Tobacconist's"), or a few similar meeting points that serve the purpose of dispensing information, offering leisure activities or simply an opportunity for gossiping; in Bologna it is a meeting place organised by the City Council and dedicated mainly to the elderly.

In Barcelona as in Groningen we have ample evidence of agencies of the 'societal middle field'. We find a strong presence of vertical and horizontal interlinking of formal and informal organisations, operating in the field of support and re-insertion.

Some of the programmes encountered, especially in Groningen (but also the Women's Centre in Rinkeby) do reach beyond offering individual support. The common effort of people sharing the same situation of exclusion and deprivation brings about a transformation of resources. We will talk about the strategies of 'getting together' and their empowering effect below.

95

*4.3.    Mutual help/reciprocity in the family, the neighbourhood, and other networks*

Mutual help and patterns of reciprocity might also be regarded as an intermediate kind of resource and correspondingly as an "in-between" coping strategy. But there is an additional and specific quality to it. It constitutes a very traditional, even ancient mode of coping with all types of situations of need, scarcity and distress.

Families, nuclear and extended families, generate and mirror intricate patterns of obligations and support, of dependency and belonging. Mutuality is part of its functional principles. The same holds for traditional neighbourhood structures.

The strongest examples were found in Barcelona's Raval and Roquêtes-Verdum districts. Quite often parents, children, or other relatives help to feed and house other family members, sometimes for quite long periods, they provide child-care and give the young ones the opportunity to gain qualifications and to overcome temporary joblessness. In the other cities more of the ambivalence of binding obligations and the inconvenience of remaining dependent on family members, children or parents, surfaces.

In Barcelona neighbourhood relationships of mutual help also prove vital in times of need and poverty. Somebody living nearby will be there to prevent the most pressing immediate need. This character of helping on the spot and immediately only is another characteristic of these informal networks of reciprocal relationships apart from the family. Mutuality weaves networks that are simultaneously firm and loose, enduring but not continuous; they have indeed a high degree of elasticity.

In some cases mutuality pertains to community service and assistance centres where people offer help and can conversely draw on the help of others in times of need. These new modes of mutuality could be understood as a way to preserve and also to transform the functions and the achievements of the old institutions and networks of reciprocal relationships, in other words: have them suspended, preserved, but also transformed or transcended.

*4.4.    'Getting together' resources*

Turning to resources beyond those provided by state welfare, by private agencies of various kinds, and the resources based on bonds of mutuality, even more differences and less commonalities between research sites become apparent. For the sake of a meaningful comparison that offers additional insight into the dynamics of coping with (impending) social exclusion and its expression in space, i.e. within a concrete socio-economic context, we distinguish two main types of social constellations. These types, or groupings that have emerged from the data are:

*"Bottom-up" states (with a tradition of autonomous social organisation)*

1/ England and the Netherlands - with strong welfare state traditions at the same time;

2/ Italy and Spain - characterised by a late take-off of and therefore weak welfare state, by familialism and corporatism/clientelism.

*"Top-down" societies (with a tradition of central provision)*

1/ Austria and Germany - with a history of subjects ('subordinates') of a centralised bureaucratic rule;

2/ Sweden (and the Netherlands) - with a tradition of democratic participation (centralised state welfarism in Sweden, corporatist welfarism in the Netherlands).[8]

In relation to strategies of coping, the characteristic of "bottom-up" states is the potential for community action, for marshalling strength for active self-help and for initiating and building modes and organisations of collective coping.

The social conditions that are responsible for a collective effort to tackle situations of social exclusion can be seen in the British and the Groningen cases.

There is:

- the requirement of a shared or common experience of social exclusion,
- the need for an active person taking the initiative and seeing things through,
- the important pre-condition of succeeding to enlist help and material support from an official state or municipal agency.

In Frankfurt, Leipzig and Vienna we find the research sites, where these strategies of getting together are widely absent. These are also the cities in countries with a political history of a "society of subordinates" (Untertanen-Gesellschaft), ready to submit to what is ordered from above, and to wait for what is given from above. Welfare is dispensed from above and it is claimed from the respective agencies.

The other subtype listed above, societies with a tradition of democratic participation, that developed into centralised state 'welfarism', is in our research represented by the case of Sweden. There, turning to the welfare state implies realising a citizen's legitimate claim and not, as might hold at least to some degree for Frankfurt, Vienna (and Leipzig), the request of a potential recipient of benefits. Accordingly, the coping strategies consist in the first instance in turning to the institutions of the welfare state

It is no coincidence that the other impressive examples of the development and the effectiveness of a collective effort come from the Southern European research sites.

Bologna's 'La Strada' initiative is a comprehensive project that emerged in its present shape from social work with ex-convicts and a (newspaper-producing) self-help group of the homeless, abides to the kind of preconditions delineated above: All the important 'ingredients' made out in the account from the UK are there again, albeit somewhat modified:

* an initiative taken by a group - with trade union links and traditions;

---

[8] The case of the Netherlands remains difficult to categorize. There are some features that justify placing them with England, or preferably in-between the two types listed.

* a variety of activities that offer an opportunity to go on and to create new resources;
* links to official institutions - the City Council and European Union programmes.


## 5.    Summary

We will not and cannot take this analysis of political consequences from our research to the level of detailed reform proposals. They would have to be developed by specialists in social security law. But we can indicate the general direction and over-all perspective that could – according to our results – orient such more concrete proposals towards the actual strategies people use to cope with social exclusion.

1/ People do not accept charity easily. They do not want to be dependent. They would rather have a chance to "earn" a decent living – not necessarily by wage labour or forced work for the community, but by work (like reproduction work in the family) they see as needed and meaningful.

2/ Family is a resource in difficult situations, but quite often it is also the source of difficulties. Unless it is based in strong patriarchal / matriarchal ideologies (which cannot be re-instated after they have lost their material basis) and when instead it turns into an exchange relation, its character as resource becomes precarious. Its solidarity gets confined to short-time emergency support.

3/ Welfare compensations of situations of social exclusion are made difficult by their "conditionality" in three forms:

a/ The insurance principle constitutes a selectivity of benefits according to regular, full-time and life-long wage labour. Those who do not fit this pattern are excluded and relegated to social assistance. With the latest economic developments (flexibility, labour-power entrepreneur) an increasingly greater proportion of the labour force will not be in a position to meet these criteria.

b/ Following a principle of economizing, welfare benefits, which have always been made scarce and hard to get, are reduced and made conditional to means-testing and other forms of (bureaucratic) eligibility.

c/ According to a principle of multi-functionality welfare resources are organized under the assumption that they could at the same time function as regulations of the labour market, i.e. as incentives to accept wage labour. A clear separation of these functions might make things more manageable.

4/ Situations of social exclusion are best coped with by using a multiplicity of resources. Rules by which such combinations of sources of income (wage, welfare, family) are hindered are dysfunctional.

1–4/ can most easily be met by programmes of a minimum income, of a "citizenship income" or some such unconditional provision of basic material resources for all.

5/ Non-state welfare organizations and their provisions of resources are indispensable and the only hope where exclusion is organised by the state (non-nationals, criminals). In view of the above, ideas should be developed how it could be dispensed in other ways than as individual "gifts", but either as infrastructure to be used by all or in relations of mutuality, e.g. in programmes that allow setting up some business or finance some other project (renovation, building).

6/ Networks of association are a useful and powerful multi-purpose resource. To provide infrastructure for them might be a wise investment. This can be generalized to the principle to provide resources for locales and networks (instead of individuals) and for their development by participants.

7/ There is a lot of taking for granted of situations of exclusion. There is indignation over resources denied in accordance with (assumed) norms of what is due to a person and what legitimates rights and claims. But the more difficult the life situation is the more people are forced to concentrate on making do. Indignation is a very indirect motor of political initiatives only, if at all.

7a/ Often this taking for granted of exclusion seems to be connected with situations of weak health. Medical problems (particularly chronic ones) could be made an occasion for community-work types of social intervention more systematically than they are today.

8/ Obviously, provision of infrastructure first to avoid social exclusion, secondly, if this fails, to cope with it, is the better strategy than supporting individuals.

# References

Cremer-Schäfer, Helga, and Heinz Steinert 1991. Herrschaftsverhältnisse, Politik mit der Moral und moralisch legitimierter Ausschluss: Strafe als Darstellung von Arbeitsmoral. In: Kriminologisches Journal, Vol. 23

Cremer-Schäfer, Helga, and Heinz Steinert (1998). *Straflust und Repression. Zur Kritik der populistischen Kriminologie.* Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot

Erikson, Erik H. 1950. Childhood and Society. New York: Norton

Goodin et.al. 1999. The Real Worlds of Welfare Capitalism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Leisering, Lutz, Stephan Leibfried 1999. Time and Poverty in Western Welfare States: United Germany in Perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Moore, Barrington 1978. Injustice. The Social Basis of Obedience and Revolt. White Plains: Sharpe

SVR 2000/2001. Jahresgutachten des Sachverständigenrates zur Begutachtung der gesamtwirtschaftlichen Situation. Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 14/4792.

Steinert, Heinz 1981. Widersprüche, Kapitalstrategien und Widerstand oder: Warum ich den Begriff „Soziale Probleme" nicht mehr hören kann. Versuch eines theoretischen Rahmens für die Analyse der politischen Ökonomie sozialer Bewegungen und „Sozialer Probleme". In. Kriminalsoziologische Bibliographie. Vol. 8, No. 32/33

Steinert, Heinz 1991. „Is there justice? No – just us!" "Justice" as an attempt to control domination and the problem of state-organized pain infliction. In: Israel Law Review. Vol 25. No. 3/4

Treiber, Hubert, und Heinz Steinert 1980. Die Fabrikation des zuverlässigen Menschen: Über die "Wahlverwandtschaft" von Kloster- und Fabriksdisziplin. München: Heinz Moos Verlag

Van Oorschot, Wim 1991. Non-take-up of Social Security Benefits in Europe. In: Journal of European Social Policy. Vol.1, No.1

Vobruba, Georg 1990. Lohnarbeitszentrierte Sozialpolitik in der Krise der Lohnarbeit. In: Georg Vobruba (ed.), Strukturwandel der Sozialpolitik. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp

Vobruba, Georg 2000. Actors in Processes of Inclusion and Exclusion: Towards a Dynamic Approach. In: Social Policy & Administration, Vol. 34, No. 4

# DISSEMINATION OF RESULTS
Arno Pilgram (Wien)

In a framework of action research dissemination of results is high ranking and accompanies the process of research. The CASE-project, though, does not fully fit into the theory and practice of action research. The project can be defined first and foremost as empirical research into the actions of competent actors, presented by them in narratives about episodes of social exclusion experienced and coped with. This kind of research can be called *exemplary action research* in contrast to *pragmatic action research*, where the active intervention in human activities commissioned by "authorities" is paramount.[9] Exemplary action research is basic research into person-bound knowledge, that can be transformed into social and discursive knowledge within a locality and taken as a starting-point for building up empowerment. In this way exemplary action research has a dual emancipatory goal: to increase the competence of actors involved and to produce exemplary knowledge which can be used in circumstances comparable to those in which the research was conducted.[10]

The peculiar format and design of the CASE-study, carried out in two delimited districts at a time in each participating city, demanded more than distanced urban research. From the outset it called for presence and intervention into the communities of the research sites. Official social agencies had to be approached and informed about the project at least because one part of the interviewees should have been experienced welfare clients (or clients of education or security programmes). The institutional perception of the site and population under study in itself provided significant information on social problems and coping resources but were also to be confronted with the interviewees' sense of predominant problems, relevant social networks, remedy agents, and autonomous strategies. Our respondents' views were considered as feed-back on the adequacy of agencies' interventions relative to specific needs and resources in the population, on non-take up as well as on acceptance and use of services.

The aim of the feedback was twofold. First to disseminate the (sometimes creative) learning processes of competent actors within specific contexts, not the evaluation or criticising (the effectiveness) of welfare programmes, institutional provisions or political agendas. Second to

---

[9] See: Coenen, Harry, Towards a closer definition of action research, in: B. Boog et. al. (eds.), Theory and Practice of Action Research. With Special Reference to the Netherlands. Tilburg (Tilburg University Press) 1996, 1-12

[10] The role of researchers is modest: they do not figure prominently in the process of social intervention. Social scientists have to promote reflexivity among the actors and recipients of social intervention by helping them to reflect on existential issues like fostering feelings of belonging and trust and the provision and access of resource structures. Social scientists are no 'therapists' or programme designers, but can give more (inductive) insight into problems people face and the role of informal and formal support structures to cope with them. Action oriented research implies social criticism and social critique. The search for grand narratives will be replaced by more local, small-scale theories fitted to specific problems and specific situations. See: Denzin, Norman K., Lincoln, Yvonne S., Introduction. Entering the field of qualitative research, in: N.K. Denzin, Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), Handbook of Qualitative Research, Thousand Oaks (Sage) 1994, 1-17

give insight in the blockades and shortcomings of existing resource structures over which people have, as consumers and clients, mostly no say. In giving voice to their experiences we hope to stimulate responsive behaviours of the moral gate-keepers and power-holders to start conjoined efforts to redress situations of social exclusion. This is known to be a dynamic process of all kinds of measures in a layered constellation of interests of different actors with their specific rationality as suggested in a comprehensive multi-actor approach.

To use the CASE research results for the purpose of international comparison, exchange and transfer of practices as well as for the purpose of local reporting on exclusion from social participation it was required to simultaneously work on two different levels. Despite the scientific and theoretical interest in different conditions for naming and blaming, or for "normalising" social exclusion, for attributing responsibility, for the accessibility of resources, for innovative coping, and so on, and in addition to extensive communication on those topics between the CASE-partners, local/national research reports also had to be done. It was evident that to be able to raise interest in translocal and -national debates was dependent on prior local feedback of results. This fact determined the sequence of activities that already happened or are planned to disseminate the findings of the project.

1/ local feedback of local findings (bottom-up, starting with informal community leaders, community workers of all kinds, local administrators and politicians and ending up with city-headquarters),
2/ (bilateral) local feedback of results of translocal/national comparison,
3/ translocal/national and European dissemination of results.

---

1/ Local feedback-events of local findings (executed, already organized or planned):

*Vienna (Institut für Rechts- und Kriminalsoziologie)*: 2 half-day seminars, arranged by the district office of the "Gebietsbetreuung Leopoldstadt" (an agency that deals with problems of urban renewal and development), one with social workers from public and private agencies and social activists and researchers, one with politicians and officials from the district and city level participating (taking place after city council elections). The slogan of the meeting is "'Being citizen' in Leopodstadt", referring to patterns of participation independent from the legal status.
*Frankfurt (Institut für Sozialpädagogik und Erwachsenenbildung, J. W. Goethe - Universität Frankfurt)*: Panel discussion with selected protagonists from selfhelp- and neighbourhood-organizations acting as advisers and mediators to public offices. Various consultations with

the "Quartier-Manager" (area manager) who was newly installed by a government and state program to support neglected and deteriorating city quarters.

*Groningen (Department of Legal Justice and Criminology, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)*: Presentation of national report to the relevant neighbourhood-related organisations and associations.

Articles for the local magazines/papers and interviews on local radio and TV on the common understanding of neighbourhood-problems to foster "contextual capital".

*Durham (University)*: Presentations to policy makers and practitioners, to Leeds City Council and Newton Aycliffe Borough Council, to members (staff, volunteers and users) of the Milun Centre, Technorth, Thomas Danby College, and community groups in Harehills, Chapeltown and Gipton; in Newton Aycliffe to members of the Disability Access Group, the Learning Shop, and the Job Centre.

*Stockholm (Department of Criminology, Stockholms Universitet)*: Seminar with interested personnel at the borough council administration in the two research areas and personnel from the citizens office in Rinkeby.

*Bologna (Fondazione di Ricerca Instituto Carlo Cattaneo)*: Two meetings: a one day workshop devoted to the presentation to and discussion of a first draft of the local report with people supporting the fieldwork (from both public and non profit welfare agencies) with the addition of researchers from Istituto Cattaneo; a more formal and institutional presentation of the final report later this year.

*Barcelona (Faculdad de Derecho, Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona)*: Meetings with the Social Services and with agencies of social assistance working in both areas (Raval and Roquetes-Verdum): "IRES", Institute for Social Reinsertion, "APIP", Association for the Promotion and Professional Insertion, "Caritas", "Fundació Escó", "Servei Quatre Vents", "Centre Arrels", "Associació Can Xatarra", "Obra Mercedària", "Fundació Prisba" (all of them are agencies offering help, services and social assistance to the inhabitants of the areas), "Casal d'Infants del Raval", "Casal de Joves de Roquetes", "Associació per a Joves del Raval" (agencies for youth), "Coordinadora Ton i Guida" (a group of diferent associations of Roquetes, created and directed by its inhabitants), "Esplai Grup Muntanyés" (an agency of youth and children of the area of Verdum), "Oficina per a la No Discriminació" (a public agency that work against discrimination and infringement of citizenship rights), "Associació d'Ajuda Mútua d'Immigrants a Catalunya" (a self-help group of immigrants).

Rather unfavorable conditions for the interchange with local bodies were found in areas that have been repeatedly subjected to empirical research (e.g. Stockholm, Groningen) or in case of doubts about the client-centered approach of the project (e.g. with some welfare agencies in Frankfurt). Regretted lack of social surveys (e.g. in Vienna) or some struggle and competition between agencies constitited more favorable conditions. It is noticeable that in case of

consciously managed area development (like in Vienna, Frankfurt, Stockholm) as well as with grass-root-movements the information from the project seemed to be more wellcomed.

2/ Local feedback-events of results of translocal/national comparison (already organized):

Vienna: Lecture of Durham partner Bridgette Wessels on: "Community, subculture, secondary association as a resource: the case of patterns of association to counter aspects of social exclusion", sponsored by the Planning Department of the Vienna City administration. Frankfurt: Lecture of Vienna partner Inge Karazman-Morawetz on: "Legal Exclusion and Social Exclusion. On 'legal' and 'illegal' Migrants in Vienna, Stockholm and Barcelona"

3/ Further national/international and European dissemination of results (executed, already organized or planned):

*Vienna*: Edition of Project-Papers Vol. I (Politics against Social Exclusion) and Vol. II ½ (State of Social Policy. Literature Reports from Sweden, England, Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain) and of the Jahrbuch für Rechts- und Kriminalsoziologie (Sozialer Ausschluss. Begriffe, Praktiken und Gegenwehr)
Too optimistic about funding by the Austrian Ministry for Science and Research - which has financed the Opening Conference of the CASE-project and the editing and printing of CASE-deliverables - an international concluding conference has been planned to take place again in Vienna, but unfortunately had to be cancelled because of unexpected budget cuts.
Co-ordination of final publication.
*Frankfurt*: Design and maintenance of the CASE-Project-Homepage.
*Durham*: Presentation foreseen in academic conferences including the British Sociological Association; seminars in Universities such as the Social Exclusion Research Unit at the London School of Economics;
Academic publications planned:
'Becoming visible': disability and negotiating inclusion in everyday life.
Transformational spaces in processes of inclusion: the case of Asian Women in Leeds.
Understanding meaning in processes of inclusion and exclusion: further concepts in Social Exclusion.
European trajectories of inclusion and exclusion: welfare, economic and everyday life.
Situations of exclusion: Typologies of exclusion and types of coping strategies. It is also envisaged that some dissemination of CASE material can be achieved though more popular

publications such as The Yorkshire Post, Leeds City Council Magazine, The Northern Echo, Co. Durham News

*Stockholm*: Article for the periodical "Socionomen".

*Barcelona*: Participation in to congresses to explain and exchange project-results:

"III Jornades de Serveis Socials d'Atenció Primària" (III Congress of Social Services) focused on Welfare and Social Exclusion;

"Els Joves a Roquetes" (The youth in Roquetes), a congress based on a "paticipation-methodology" that aimed to analyse the problems of youth in the area with the participation of different social actors like politicians, neighbours, social workers, youth, professionals of the schools, business professionals etc.

The publication of a book on social exclusion (an edited version of what is now the Annex to the Final Report) will certainly set in motion a new round of feedback in scientific and political circles. An internet publication will precede the printed form. Reactions to these and other publications from the project cannot be predicted, but will be taken up and answered when they occur.