CONCEPTS AND STRATEGIES FOR COMBATING SOCIAL EXCLUSION

An overview

The Strategies and Tools against social Exclusion and Poverty global programme (STEP) of the International Labour Organization (ILO) is active in two interdependent thematic areas: the extension of social protection to the excluded and integrated approaches to social inclusion.

STEP supports the design and dissemination of innovative systems intended to extend social protection to excluded populations, particularly in the informal economy. It focuses in particular on systems based on the participation and organization of the excluded. STEP also contributes to strengthening links between these systems and other social protection mechanisms. In this way, STEP supports the establishment of coherent national social protection systems, based on the values of efficiency, equity and solidarity.

STEP's action in the field of social protection is placed in the broader framework of combating poverty and social exclusion. It gives special emphasis to improving understanding of the phenomena of social exclusion and to consolidating integrated approaches at the methodological level which endeavour to reduce this problem. STEP pays special attention to the relationship between the local and national levels, while at the same contributing to international activities and agenda.

STEP combines different types of activities: studies and research; the development of methodological tools and reference documents, training, the execution of field projects, technical assistance for the definition and implementation of policies and the development of networking between the various actors.

The programme's activities are carried out within the Social Security Policy and Development Branch of the ILO, and particularly its Global Campaign on Social Security and Coverage for All.

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An overview

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Preface

Social exclusion is a phenomenon of both the past and the present, and if nothing is done, it will also be one of the future. It affects millions of persons who struggle to survive in the hardest living and working conditions. Throughout history, the forms taken by exclusion have evolved, both with regard to their characteristics and the attitudes adopted towards them. Exclusion currently takes on different appearances on the various continents, and even within them, at the regional and national levels. But it affects everyone. Programmes and measures addressing its various aspects have also changed and are not the same in all four corners of the world. The actors involved do not play the same role in their desire to reduce and eradicate exclusion.

For all of the above reasons, it is important to gain a better knowledge of social exclusion. To see where the concept has come from, how its use has extended from its European origins and has crossed seas and continents to become increasingly widely used in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Exclusion is both visible and opaque, and it therefore has to be measured. It may also be useful to examine individual and collective positions and attitudes towards it. The whole range of actors, and particularly governments and public administrations, employers' and workers' organizations, as well as international institutions and networks, voluntary associations, the social economy, citizens' and community initiatives, are taking an interest, adopting positions and developing strategies to combat it. The great majority of them follow a number of guiding principles within which a distinction may be made between palliative, preventive and emancipatory strategies, although strategies which reproduce exclusion are also to be found.

Such is the basic content of the present publication, which also describes a diversity of experiences and examples, and is intended to provide added value to the international debate on social exclusion.

The International Labour Organization could not remain outside this debate and the consequences that derive from it. For this reason, to its historical concern for social justice, human rights, the improvement of working conditions and the extension of social protection, it has added a series of initiatives articulated around the concept of decent work.

As a precursor to these efforts, in January 1998 the Strategies and Tools against social Exclusion and Poverty programme (STEP) was established. STEP has supported the design and dissemination of innovative systems for the social protection of excluded populations, and more particularly for the informal economy, thereby strengthening mechanisms based on their participation and organization.

This work has begun to bear fruit through the establishment and development of mutual health and micro-insurance schemes.

Now the challenge is to achieve a better articulation between these forms of basic social protection at the community level and national policies for the extension of social protection. This is also the objective of the current Global Campaign on Social Security and Coverage for All, launched following the International Labour Conference in 2001.

This publication is part of these activities and is intended to feed into the Centre for Informatic Apprenticeship and Resources in Social Inclusion (CIARIS) for the support of local projects to combat exclusion. The ILO is thereby making an additional contribution, in coordination with the initiatives of other international agencies, governments, employers', workers' and other organizations, through which it hopes to help in the construction of a world that is less exclusive and more just.

Finally, tribute should be paid to the Government of Portugal for the contribution that it has made to the programme as a whole and to this publication.

Assane Diop,
Executive Director
Social Protection Sector

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Introduction

Millions of human beings the world over survive in conditions of poverty and social exclusion, and this is unlikely to change in the years to come. This grave situation affects the whole of humanity, which cannot and must not shut its eyes to it. While it lasts, we will all be somewhat impoverished and, in a certain manner, excluded.

This publication stems from the deeply held feeling that it can add its grain of sand to the analyses and reflections that are being carried out on social exclusion and that it can provoke a reaction, based on the conviction that it is possible to alleviate, improve and transform the situation of the men and women who are subjected to this condition. Although difficult and complex, the task is urgent and plausible. Without overlooking the importance of other dimensions of strategies to combat exclusion and promote inclusion, emphasis is placed on local action as a starting point, a necessary although insufficient condition for any intervention in this field.

As this overview shows, exclusion and poverty are concepts that are considered to be concomitant, overlapping and often complementary. Although the focus here is on the first of these concepts, a number of the considerations relating to exclusion are also valid in the case of poverty. The origin of the concept of exclusion is to be found in Europe, the continent on which it has been developed the furthest. It is for this reason that the starting point of this work and most of its analysis relate to Europe, and particularly the countries of Western Europe. However, where information and knowledge so permit, the overview also covers other continents. It has not been possible to include more references to Asia. Perhaps this will be done in a subsequent publication.

Exclusion is both a past and a current phenomenon and, if it is not remedied, will also be one of the future. Throughout history, it has developed in terms of both its characteristics and its conception. And while there is a certain common heritage with regard to its meaning, it cannot be denied that exclusion has different faces on different continents and, within them, in their respective regions and countries. The strategies and measures adopted to address it have also changed and differ in the four corners of the world. Nor do individuals, social movements, socio-economic actors or the different fields of public administration act in unison.

This publication is intended to address these issues by answering the following questions:

- Why and in what context does the concept of social exclusion appear, how does it differ from poverty and other concepts, and how has its use been extended?

- How does exclusion occur, what are its principal manifestations and how can it be analysed?
- What is the purpose of endeavouring to eradicate it and to integrate excluded groups, and what are the roles of the actors involved?
- What are the principal strategies intended to address it, with emphasis on local action and a set of basic principles?

For the purposes of this analysis, the present volume is divided into four chapters.

The first describes the itinerary by which the concept of exclusion emerged and how it responds to the circumstances arising out of the socio-economic changes of the 1970s. The term was to have a rapid influence on the policies and programmes developed in Europe, and gradually extended to other continents. However, its progressive and unequal acceptance must not be allowed to obscure other concepts, such as marginalization, poverty, deprivation, precariousness and vulnerability, which can also help in comprehending the underlying reality.

It is not by chance that international institutions and agencies, and primarily the ILO, but also the United Nations, UNESCO and the World Bank, European institutions (European Union, Council of Europe) and transnational networks of social and voluntary organizations are using the concept increasingly widely. Exclusion as a social product is becoming ever more visible, even though it is also becoming more opaque, among other reasons because of the difficulties of identifying its deep-rooted causes. This is not the place to describe these causes in great detail, but to situate exclusion as a phenomenon rooted at the heart of the structural organization of present-day society and the economy. Its political dimension is also important and must be addressed.

The second chapter focuses on the characterization of exclusion and on the common and differential features of its manifestations at the individual, group, social and spatial levels. The difficulties involved in measuring and analysing the phenomenon are examined, and a number of methodological clues are given to further progress in this respect.

The third chapter covers the multiplicity of strategies adopted by all the actors involved. The role of the various actors is examined and a typology of the different strategies is proposed, illustrating their heterogeneous nature in terms of time and space. In this way, the main arguments are reviewed concerning the inevitability of exclusion, or its denial, its disappearance as a function of economic development, the dichotomy between the national and local levels, and between social and economic aspects.

Finally, a number of strategic principles are developed in support of efforts to combat exclusion, with an analysis of their strengths and weaknesses: the local dimension, partnership, participation, integration and global action appear to have passed the acid test of implementation in many countries. A number of open-ended conclusions are then proposed which recall the itinerary followed and set out certain challenges and tasks for the future.

This is a conceptual and strategic overview of social exclusion. It does not therefore include statistical or quantitative analysis of the current situation of this phenomenon, nor does it specifically address such variables related to personal identity as race, ethnic origin, age or gender, although a multitude of examples and experiences are provided, together with a full bibliography to allow readers to pursue the subject further.

This document is part of the Centre for Informatic Apprenticeship and Resources in Social Inclusion (CIARIS) – http://ciaris.ilo.org. CIARIS is a tool produced by the ILO's Strategies and Tools against Social Exclusion and Poverty programme.

Chapter 1.
Social exclusion:
The concept and the reality

1.1. A changing context and the emergence of the concept

All the experts agree that the publication of *Les exclus* by René Lenoir in 1974 was a milestone in the emergence of social exclusion as a concept. But, as often happens, Lenoir was not aware at the time of the use that would subsequently be made of the term and he employed it merely to raise the alarm at the inability of an expanding economy to include certain physically, mentally or socially disabled groups. His main concern was his estimate that one in ten inhabitants of France were being left aside by the country's economic and social development.

It is important to retain from this first work the concept of being left aside, on the *margin*, and the fact that its publication in some way marked a *turning point* in the post-war boom years in Western economies (1945-1975), heralding a new phase which began at that same moment with the so-called oil crisis.

But it would be wrong to imagine that the reality captured by this concept does not have a long history behind it. Taking the term in its literal sense, there can be no doubt that social exclusion and excluded groups have been around for as long as men and women have lived in communities and have wished to give a meaning to community life. Ostracism in Athens, proscription in Rome, the lower castes in India, the many forms taken by slavery, exile and banishment, the existence of ghettos and excommunication are (merely?) historical manifestations of the manner in which every society has rejected undesirables, strangers or the *prisoners of want*, in the words of an old song. This was done to make a *distinction* and a *separation* in Europe between insiders and outsiders, those whose status accorded them full rights and others with a lower status or no rights at all. These forms of exclusion were not recognized as such, but were characteristic of the prevailing social or religious order and were therefore considered morally acceptable. Moreover, they fulfilled an economic, social, cultural and political function by allowing sins and vices to be redeemed through charity, while at the same time discouraging and deterring excesses and deviant forms of behaviour. They therefore acted as a selective stimulus to those abiding by the prevailing rules and values. Women, who constitute at least half of the population, were particularly affected.

This type of exclusion has by no means disappeared from the face of the earth and the rise in racism, fundamentalism and the penalization of otherness continue to be manifest, alongside the more indirect processes of urban separation and differentiation, certain selective mechanisms of production and consumption, social stratification, stigmatization and the culpabilization of the most vulnerable groups. But it also has to be acknowledged that the moral, social and political acceptability of exclusion has diminished. The revolutions of the eighteenth century, the protest movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which asserted civil, political and social rights, the process of decolonization and the movement towards a more egalitarian and less exclusive society have not been in vain.

During the course of these centuries, and after the so-called *grand renfermement* (Foucault, 1963), the clearest manifestation of exclusion, namely social problems in Europe, was not related so much to pauperism as to the wretched living and working conditions of wage-earners entering the industrial world and settling in large cities. Old charitable mechanisms and systems, together with national and local poor laws, which denied beneficiaries certain civil rights in exchange for assistance, were refashioned and adapted to market forces. Inclusion in work became the main reference, and those who were excluded from it swelled the ranks of the most vulnerable. In the Europe of the nineteenth century, the sick, the mad, the disabled, orphans and nomads constituted a population adrift, for whom concern was expressed by a few lone voices, as well as through civil and ecclesiastical philanthropy.

In parallel, European colonization of other continents accentuated the process of exclusion worldwide. Colonized peoples lose the power to decide upon their own destiny, and often the right to live in accordance with their cultures and beliefs. They are also excluded from the benefits to be derived from the exploitation of their natural resources, which go to the old continent and into the hands of local oligarchies. All of this accentuates the impoverishment of living conditions in the countries concerned.

When, in this context, Bismarck's Germany established the first compulsory public insurance schemes at the end of the nineteenth century, and in so doing started putting social rights into practice, this was an innovation in global terms. Different approaches to social protection emerged in Western Europe and Scandinavia, and were extended and generalized after the Second World War based on Beveridge's proposals in the United Kingdom. This opened the way to a new era in which the Keynesian model of the so-called welfare state covered the main needs and risks of the population in the principal European countries. At the same time, this process was accompanied by a previously unheralded period of economic growth based on the notion of an abundance of low-cost materials obtained in large part by the industrialized world from the developing countries. There was practically no unemployment, and where it occurred its low rates were attributable to frictional unemployment and the restructuring of certain industrial sectors. The vast majority of the European population were assured of high levels of consumption and material well-being through their work and were protected from the

cradle to the grave against such contingencies as ill health, employment accidents, old age and unemployment, as well as benefiting from education, assistance and, in some cases, housing. Protection was even extended to certain groups irrespective of their employment status and to those living below a specific subsistence level. The introduction of minimum income schemes constituted the final stone in this edifice. Trade unions and employers' organizations reached agreement with the State on the redistribution of the wealth created. The progress made in terms of civil, political and social rights was remarkable, with few groups not enjoying them in full. The debate was focused on the *integration* of the working class into this system, with poverty coming to be *residual* and characteristic of those *outside* the system or not fully within it, such as persons living in certain suburbs or rural areas, immigrants and various scarcely *socialized* or *deviant* groups. This was a society in which mobility and vertical and horizontal solidarity appeared uncontested. Poverty was pushed into corners, *concealed* and left to the care of public assistance systems or private civil or ecclesiastical charitable associations. Exceptional were the voices raised against poverty in Europe and the United States, although in the latter they gave rise in the post-war years to the *war* on poverty. Exclusion, where it existed, was *remote* and *hidden* in institutions of reclusion. This was also to a certain extent true of Eastern European countries, where work was the principal means of obtaining income, as well as political and social recognition, and where dissidence (both cultural and political) was quashed and hidden.

During those same decades, in the then so-called Third World countries, a glimmer of hope opened up through rapid political decolonization and the spirit of the Bandung Conference, which gathered together the main non-aligned countries and mapped out an autonomous path of political neutrality in the Cold War and of economic development, with the aim of ending their isolation from the global scene. But in most cases these hopes gradually came to nothing. Among other reasons, this was because the two blocs did not allow the creation of a space of active neutrality and obliged countries to be aligned with one or other of them. Secondly, the real terms of trade meant that the economies of countries in the South became increasingly dependent and impoverished, with any expectations of rapid and independent economic and social development vanishing. Thirdly, the bureaucracies and oligarchies that dominated many of these countries were not interested in promoting local resources and indigenous economies. Finally, bilateral, trilateral and regional relations broke down, giving way to conflict and war. In addition, in many of these countries, the periods of political and cultural tolerance were brief and were quickly replaced by single-party systems, military dictatorships and forms of government that were more or less despotic, denying the people any rights and thereby increasing their political and institutional isolation.

The growing division of the world into two political and military blocs was accompanied by increased bipolarization between a series of countries that could find no way out of their peripheral situation and a Western world in which, through the labour market, social security and social institutions, such as the family, school and

the health system, the great majority of the population were included in the welfare state and the affluent society.

But this situation was to change. In 1968, the events in various countries, including France, Mexico and Czechoslovakia, foreshadowed certain ideological and cultural changes that were to affect the forms taken by exclusion and the responses to it. Yet it was the sudden increase in oil prices that signalled a new era in which poverty and social exclusion were to re-emerge and take their place once again on the social agenda.

Indeed, the economic crisis that unfurled in the 1970s shook the system to its foundations. It was no longer possible to count on economic growth with full employment based on cheap and abundant raw materials and energy. The latter became more expensive and awareness rose of the shortage of natural resources. Basic industry was no longer considered to be the key sector for development. Industrial restructuring and the relocation and decentralization of production were the order of the day. As a result, large groups of industrial workers lost their jobs. Moreover, they found it difficult to keep up with the introduction of new technologies, which also had the effect of increasing the importance of capital in investment and in the final product, to the detriment of labour. The labour market was transformed, with the expulsion of the weakest groups, who found it more difficult than before to gain access to employment. The old spectre of unemployment reappeared and climbed to high rates among groups which had hitherto believed themselves protected and remote from this type of risk.

At the same time, and leaving aside the debate over the legitimacy and feasibility of the welfare state, the attacks levelled from various sides, but mostly of a neo-liberal stamp, resulted in the adoption of policies and measures that undermined some of the achievements of the welfare state, and particularly public social protection systems. These restrictions did not affect all countries alike, but did serve to reveal the perverse effects of certain social policies and the gaps in social security systems through which thousands of individuals were falling into more precarious situations. They also showed the need to reform social security financing mechanisms and the services and benefits provided, with a view to avoiding public deficits and ensuring long-term sustainability by changing the relationship between the public and private sectors and by seeking new compromises between citizens and the State. In short, by finding a different articulation between the State and society.

Society was also shaken by these processes, with the destabilization of wage employment being compounded by changes in the family unit, the isolation of many individuals, the increasing difficulties faced by social institutions and the unravelling of social networks and solidarity. This was particularly evident in the major cities of the principal European countries, where higher levels of diversification and freedom were offset by the greater prevalence of risk and a lower level of social cohesion.

The fall of the Berlin Wall led to great hopes on both sides of the disappearance of the two blocs and the emergence of the conditions for renewed economic, social and political development. However, recent serious events at the beginning

of the new millennium have marked a qualitative jump in the problem of social exclusion. The fanaticism and fundamentalism of both *the attackers* and *the attacked* are placing humanity in its entirety in the grip of Manichaeism, a simplistic distinction between good and evil, which can only increase exclusion (of the others). It is becoming increasingly necessary and urgent to overcome this situation, from the domestic to the international levels.

All of the above is leading to changes in the terms and concepts which had been used in the past to denote and describe poverty and social exclusion by opening up a debate about their meaning and their use in the formulation of intervention strategies. It is in this context, and in this debate, that the concept of social exclusion has been taking on greater importance.

1.2. A question of terminology?

By designating the circumstances and reality in which human beings exist, words allow them to be understood and discussed. However, they also hold out many traps which mask and disguise what they are describing. When terms are used to denote concepts that have many meanings, such as poverty and exclusion, the complexity increases further. It is therefore important to try to delimit their meaning and scope, starting with the term *poverty*, which historically preceded that of *social exclusion*.

The word *poverty* is derived from poor which, as in other European languages, has its origins in the Latin adjective *pauper-eris*. In the case of Spanish, its 1,044 entries in the Historical Foundation of the Royal Spanish Academy have been used to study its various functions and meanings (Casado, 1990a). In 37 per cent of cases, the word *poor* is used as a noun to identify individuals lacking material assets. In 13 per cent of the examples, the noun form of *poor* is used in contrast to *rich*, and in 4 per cent of cases both terms are associated, *the rich and the poor*, showing the value of this antithesis as a generalization, leading in turn to the universality of the wealth-poverty variable as an element of social characterization. Although in this case the term *poor* covers all those who are not rich, when used in isolation it serves to designate a much smaller group. In 39 per cent of cases, the word *poor* is employed as an immediate attribute, giving it a sense of compassion, being used more often to denote scarcity, or lack of value or pretention, than in a disparaging sense. Its use is becoming more common with reference to geopolitical entities, such as poor peoples, regions or countries. When *poor* is used as a complement with a verb, it is usually accompanied by the verb *to be*, with the expression *to be poor* encompassing both a structural characteristic and a temporary state. Finally, it is used in expressions such as the voluntary poor, the poor in spirit or evangelical poverty, as well as compassionate (and at times sardonic) expressions such as *poor you* and *poor me*.

Synthesizing all these meanings, it can be seen that the word *poor* refers to three types of deficiencies: *having little*, *being of little worth* or *having little luck*. These deficiencies may be structural (the state of being in poverty), more temporary, exclusive (not being rich), chosen or pretend (playing the victim).

No such exercise can be undertaken for the term *exclusion*, among other reasons because its use is relatively recent. Lenoir has already been cited, but reference should also be made to Secretan who, in 1959, gave the concept a meaning close to that of voluntary or chosen poverty, in the sense of auto-exclusion for ethical or religious reasons. In addition, mention should be made of Klanfer who in 1965, from the perspective of a movement of assistance to the Fourth World, associated the concept with the survivors of pre-industrial society. But these are exceptions, whereas the use of the concept of poverty, with its related policies and the social attitudes towards it, as many historians have shown, and most recently Gieremek (1987), Sassier (1990) and Castel (1995), has a long history with its origins in the Middle Ages.

It is not intended in these pages to summarize this history, but only to remark that this was where such words as indigence, precarity, destitution, deprivation and marginalization acquired their meanings, sometimes equivalent to, sometimes parallel to and sometimes remote from that of poverty.

It is also worth mentioning that in the nineteenth century the interpretation of *deprivation* portrayed it as being a result of the failure of people's efforts to survive. This led firstly, as in the case of British authors such as Booth (1889 and 1892) and Rowntree (1901; Stitt and Grant, 1993), to the establishment of a subsistence food minimum expressed in biological and physiological terms and, consequently, to emphasis being placed on inequality in the ownership of the means of production and the distribution of the wealth produced. These two interpretations later re-emerged to a certain extent as *absolute poverty* and *relative poverty*. The former denotes, as recalled by Milano (1988), a minimum standard of living that is similar in any country and at any time. It is usually measured by the minimum number of calories required, which is in practice expressed in terms of the food items containing them. This is the process that has been followed in the United States since 1965 and that serves, calculated in terms of prices, to identify the minimum threshold of income under which an individual is considered to be poor. In the same decade, the Planning Commission of India fixed this minimum level at 2,250 calories a day, with other studies setting it at 2,150 in Pakistan and 2,122 in Bangladesh (Milano, 1992). But both the type and the list of food items, which are chosen according to the consumption patterns of non-poor families, as well as the calculation of price indices, bring the notion of absolute poverty closer to that of relative poverty. Moreover, individuals in the industrialized countries who do not have the minimum subsistence income nevertheless live under conditions in which they cannot die of hunger, which is far from being the case in the countries of the South. It is for this reason that the notion of absolute poverty has been described as being more appropriate to define the situation in these latter countries.

Townsend (1979 and 1993), in his analysis of poverty in Great Britain and at the international level, based on the concept of *deprivation*, established a list of goods and services which are not only necessary, but are related to society's standard of living. In his controversy with Amartya Sen (1985 and 1992), who considered to be poor not only those persons who have less than others, but also those who do not have the minimum resources for subsistence, the English sociologist replied that such a position tends to diminish the importance of non-food-related needs, not only in rich countries, but particularly in those of the Third World. In any event, the crisis that commenced in the 1970s meant that, even in the industrialized countries, hundreds of thousands of people had to look for new means of survival.

As noted above, new phenomena began to emerge in that decade which required new concepts for their identification. *The marginalized* and *the new poor* were the two terms most commonly used in Europe. In the case of the former, it has been suggested that it has its origins in the English terms *margin* and *marginal*, and entered the Romance languages later. Vincent (1979) situates the use of these terms in France in 1972 and 1973 to designate groups of half-bohemian classless youngsters who rejected social acceptance and periodically participated in post-May 1968 disturbances. From the adjective *marginal*, a noun developed to qualify a group known as *the marginalized*, and finally the process of *marginalization*, covering individuals who are subject to it, as well as those who seek it. The latter tend to be persons who are well removed from the centre of society, but who are still in the picture. They constitute an uncomfortable fringe which encompasses those leaving cities to live in communities, students in protest and emerging rebels, or in short, all those who do not accept the prevailing values and customs and who, in certain cases, are seeking some type of alternative (Castel, 1996). These terms are therefore used in part to discredit such movements under the pretext that they are not representative and their non-conformity distances them from the centre. In countries such as Italy, Spain, Portugal and Ireland, however, the word *marginalization* is still used to describe the process by which certain groups are temporarily (young jobseekers) or more drastically (travellers, gypsies, etc.) distanced from the centre. In this sense, the *marginalized* are at an intermediate and to a certain extent transient stage between integration and longer-term exclusion.

In Latin America, the concept of marginalization emerged in the 1950s to designate those who had come to live in *favelas*, slums or shanty towns following massive migrations to the big cities (Stavenhagen, 1970). But in contrast with what was happening in Europe, these groups did not choose their marginalization and are not in practice marginal groups, constituting as they do a growing majority of the population. They have never been part of the central formal economy and have no expectations in the short term of being able to join the prevailing cultural, social and economic groups. They are a consequence of increasing internal and external dependence and are swelling the ranks of the *informal sector*, a concept that was developed by the International Labour Office in the 1970s. Indeed, to a certain

extent, subsequent re-evaluation of this concept of the informal sector has displaced that of marginalization (Fassin, 1996), which has come to be used disparagingly to denote *drop-outs*. Even so, it should be recalled that in Latin America and Europe, as in the rest of the world, the insertion of notes in the *margin* of a text is intended to enrich it.

At the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, those living on the fringe disappeared from the newspapers and from public concern, even though categories were emerging who were the victims of the economic crisis and, in particular, of the restructuring of the labour market. This happened to groups who would never previously have thought that they might find themselves in a precarious situation. Perhaps the most representative victims of those who came to be called the *new poor* were the skilled workers who lost their jobs because of industrial restructuring and technological change. These included certain small-scale employers, traders, artisans and professionals who were unable to adapt; individuals, and particularly women, who could not find employment or lost their jobs because of their family responsibilities; and people whose debts were beyond their means. These were not non-conformists, persons unsuited to work or without social relations, but individuals whose difficulties were related to their employment and income. The term the *new poor* found a certain echo in Spain (Candel, 1988), the United Kingdom (Room, 1990), France (Paugam, 1991) and Italy (Saraceno, 1990), and was even debated at the international level, but did not achieve widespread acceptance.

Indeed, the notion of the new poor was the object of bitter criticism by those who saw a political purpose behind it, diverting attention from long-term structural poverty, based on the more or less neo-liberal pretext of a return to individual charitable initiatives. Although quickly replaced by the concept of exclusion, it should not be forgotten that it had the merit of drawing attention to the new characteristics of the social situation in Western Europe in the 1980s.

1.3. The meaning and use of the term social exclusion

Over and above these semantic and terminological considerations, it is now necessary to examine the meaning and use of the term *social exclusion*.

Firstly, it is important to warn against the use and abuse of a concept that has been qualified as a catch-all expression, a corner shop offering something of everything, a buzz word that can be used on any occasion, or as being like chewing gum in the sense that it can be stretched at will. It has even been described as having become so trivialized that it is saturated with meanings, non-meanings and misunderstandings (Freünd, in the introduction to Xiberras, 1996). But it must have some merits, because 20 years ago almost no one used it, yet now it is on everyone's lips,

from the highest-ranking international officials to the lowliest experts on local projects in Northern Europe, the South American jungle, the furthermost Pacific islands and the African desert.

Secondly, its use alongside that of poverty and other related terms also makes it necessary to define it and delimit it. This is inherently hazardous, as it is still a moving concept, and thus nebulous, equivocal, polyvalent and polymorphous. In view of the risks involved in endeavouring to act as an authority on the subject, it is therefore necessary to adopt a step-by-step approach, based on its differentiation from other terms through a sort of triangulation process.

Social exclusion. Why and what for?

In the first place, it should perhaps be pointed out that exclusion is related to the dissatisfaction or unease felt by individuals who are faced with situations in which they cannot achieve their objectives for themselves or their loved ones. From this perspective, exclusion tends to have a certain subjective content based on material facts. It should also be recalled that exclusion from certain dominant fashions, customs and ideas may have a positive side for some individuals, groups or communities, thereby reinforcing their internal cohesion. In other cases, voluntary exclusion may be a prerequisite for the stimulation of artistic or intellectual creativity, or a more philosophical or religious life of reflection.

> Is this not the case of certain sections of the gypsy population, excluded and persecuted for centuries, who have reaffirmed their identity by distancing themselves from some of the values of non-gypsy society (such as the obsession with work and the lack of respect for the elderly)?

At the same time, it cannot be denied that most people can claim to have been excluded from something (Estivill, 1998a). For those who read the Bible, the first to be excluded were surely Adam and Eve, followed by Cain. But today we are certainly not in paradise, nor do the sins of our forefathers call for similar punishment. Nor for that matter is fratricide, as practised by Cain, now common. But it may perhaps be useful to retain the deeper meaning of *the role of transgression in generating exclusion*. Any society, group or even individual establishes and maintains rules that are more or less explicit, and in so doing creates a basis for differentiation, whether or not they do so logically, between the categories of I/we and you/they. There can therefore be no exclusion without inclusion. In generic terms, they both allow a sense of belonging and self-identification in relation to others. Self-definition also involves defining otherness. And the narrower the self-definition, the more exclusive it is. Applied to societies as a whole, this means that the stricter and more closed they are, the more they exclude. The process is both real and symbolic. The concept can therefore be enriched through sociology, psychology and anthropology. For this reason, references may also be sought in theories about organic linkages, 'anomie' and deviation, as propounded by the classical exponents of social sciences, such as

Durkheim, Simmel, Tonnies and Max Weber, as well as the Chicago school, which already in the 1930s highlighted the factors of aggregation and segregation in large cities in relation to the social cohesion of immigrants.

Individuals, groups and communities can shut themselves off, building ever higher walls, by affirming their values in an authoritarian and dogmatic fashion, which may in turn lead to the *expulsion* of those who do not accept them or who are not recognized. History is full of cases in which religious, ideological, political, cultural and ethnic motives have given rise to successive processes of exclusion, the ultimate manifestations of which are the destruction of others and genocide.

Another possibility is to create *closed spaces* for certain groups that are remote and cut off from the community, with *special rules*, and always with a lower status.

> All forms of apartheid, particularly as practised in South Africa until relatively recently, are examples of this kind of exclusion. Their origins are largely to be found in colonial policies in Asia, Africa and North and South America, when indigenous people and native inhabitants were given a territory (Amerindian reservations) and/or an institutional function at the lowest levels of the social hierarchy.

These historical examples should not be allowed to obscure the characteristics of the current widespread phenomenon of exclusion, in which both the paths of stigmatization (Goffman, 1963) and interaction between society and excluded populations are more fluid, more complex and sometimes less clear. For example, society tends to consider these groups as being guilty/responsible for their exclusion and blames them for their conduct and their lack of commitment to the social pact. As for the excluded, they either try to find a way out through their own networks of relations or, if they so decide, they can fight against the circumstances of their exclusion and criticize society for its lack of recognition. It is here that *ruptures* are to be found in symbolic links, with the potential for conflict in the respective social attitudes, compounded by the growth of individualism and individualization, and leading to the isolation of individuals, as well as the multiplicity and heterogeneity of prevailing values. This in turn adds to difficulties, on the one hand, of collective cohesion and, on the other, in relation to the feeling by individuals that they are integrated and belong to a single identity.

The unravelling of existing social networks and the increased levels of social fragmentation (Mingione, 1993) are therefore compounded by the heterogeneity of central values and images, the difficulty of establishing other nuclei for groups and for purposes of identification, and of developing transversal collective responses that overcome successive ruptures and distances. *This would appear to be the basis of social exclusion*. It can be seen at the individual level (*the micro-level*) in relations between single persons, in those between individuals and intermediate groups and institutions (*the meso-level*), and in turn in those with society as a whole (*the macro-level*).

The question should be raised at this point as to the extent to which this vision is applicable in the countries of the South, where family, neighbourhood, local origin, the local or tribal community and related symbolic systems are still so strong. The answer can be neither definite nor homogeneous in view of the plurality of situations, although it may be suggested that even in these countries traditional society is also under attack, subjected as it is to images and values developed in urban centres, and to a certain extent in the West, and in view of the many obstacles that hamper the reconstitution of new internal relations which are not dependent on the market economy or established powers. These countries may even be said to be increasingly vulnerable to these phenomena, except in the case of very isolated or closed communities. But this does not mean that they accept such models uncritically and that they do not take their own models with them wherever they go (internal and external migration).

In any case, it is important not to fall into the trap of believing in an idyllic picture of harmonious societies. Exclusion would appear to be a consequence not only of Western influences, but also to have its origins in the specific structures and rules of these countries, the individual and collective transgression of which may be severely penalized. But what truly characterizes exclusion in these countries is lack of access to a great many material goods, to social, educational and health services, to social protection and to participation in the decisions on which their people's lives depend.

Clearly, this conception of social exclusion *stricto sensu* is inseparable from political and economic exclusion. The various types of exclusion are often cumulative, while in other cases they supplement each other or run in parallel, and in certain cases their interrelationship may tend to focus attention on one form of exclusion rather than another.

The publication by Gore and Figueiredo (1997), an outcome of the Policy Forum on Social Exclusion held by the ILO's International Institute for Labour Studies, shows the concern of the great majority of authors from the South (India, Peru, Thailand) and from transitional countries (Russian Federation) regarding *the political dimension of exclusion*. In the ILO's contribution to the World Summit for Social Development in 1995 (Rodgers, 1995), the focus was on this same concern with reference to other countries (Mexico, Yemen) and continents. This means that the concept of exclusion in its political dimension strikes stronger chords in those countries. Without falling into the trap of being too Euro-centric, it has to be recognized that civil, political and social freedoms are more frequently limited in those countries than in Western Europe, even if the history of the latter is far from exemplary.

The concept of *political exclusion* leads on to the issue of the rights of citizens, access to and enjoyment of these rights and the multiple barriers associated with them. In the case of Western countries, a distinction is normally made between three stages in the development of such rights (Marshall, 1964). The first consisted of the definition of civil rights (personal freedom, the right to property and freedom

of movement), the second involved political rights (the rights of assembly, association, free speech and participation) and the third was related to social rights (social protection, integration). Even though this progression is open to criticism (in Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain, they were quashed by periods of dictatorship, even though a proportion of the three types of rights had been attained and, after all, history is full of cases of regression), it is nevertheless useful to differentiate the concept of exclusion and to situate citizenship in terms of political development and relations with the State. It should be recalled that the emergence of many rights in law is the result of the claims put forward by social and citizens' movements, which refused to accept political exclusion. This is the case, for example, of the women's movements which have and continue to fight for more equal treatment in the various regions of the world, including Europe. In practice, it should be noted that in welfare states there has been a transition from rights and freedoms to rights and duties, obliging the public authorities to guarantee and cover a broad range of risks and needs. Similarly, many social, health, education, urban and labour policies have also been selective, or in other words favourable to some and prejudicial to others. They have had perverse effects and have contributed to inequality, which can lead to exclusion. And if this has happened in Western Europe, what can be said of the countries of Eastern Europe, where an allegedly egalitarian system often masked the oppression of many national and ethnic minorities, where during the current phase of transition there are still cases of the dramatic exclusion of certain groups (including gypsies, children, the elderly and people in rural areas) and where many difficulties are being encountered in giving substance to rights in general?

In the countries of the South, political exclusion has long been part of everyday life. Not only because of the frequency of dictatorships or the monopolization of channels of influence by ethnic or religious groups, factions or local oligarchies, but also and in particular because many post-colonial States have been imposed and have been unable to free themselves from the weight of their colonial past. Following independence, this has been a factor that has either slowed down or accentuated political exclusion. In such conditions, the concepts of citizenship and political rights, although notable efforts have been made in recent years, are far from being fully established, or even from being widely accepted and achievable.

This is undoubtedly the reason why, in these countries, the notion of political exclusion has its corollary in the real absence of participation by the majority of the population in institutional mechanisms, even though in many of them there is active involvement in communities and networks at the local level. But they also share many of these circumstances with the most developed countries, where the representation deficit of real society in politics is not only wide, but is also tending to increase, despite the shift from the interventionist State to the State as an activator (or, in a broader sense, the so-called *État animateur*, as proposed by Donzelot, 1994). This leads, on the one hand, to concern with regard to governability and, on the other, to the growing influence of civil society, the dynamism of local, grass-roots and community groups, social and voluntary organizations and the renewed strength

of the social economy (Defourny and Develtere, 2000), which are to be found worldwide (Anheier and Salamon, 1998). This new dynamic allows them not only to play their traditional role as defenders of the interests of their members, providers of services and channels for advocacy (Beveridge, 1948), but also to become focal points for social participation and the struggle against all types of exclusion.

> Health micro-insurance schemes (mutual health schemes) are initiatives designed to respond to the financial difficulties encountered in paying for health services through a system of sharing and mutualizing risks. In some cases, it has been noted that members of such schemes have been able to claim certain rights in health centres, thereby overcoming the fears and difficulties that may arise in their connection. Micro-insurance schemes therefore not only serve to finance certain forms of health care, but also help to overcome barriers, such as the conditions established by health centres for the provision of care.

Despite the importance of both the social and the political dimensions, it should not be forgotten that the concept of exclusion has its origins in and develops through *economic exclusion*. Indeed, it was to identify the consequences of the changes occurring in Western economies that the concept came into being and into widespread use. This means that other terms and concepts somehow proved less useful to describe and, in the final analysis, to explain what was happening.

Exclusion is not a concept born of economic theory (Gazier, 1996), which finds it difficult to offer an explanation for the confluence of processes that separate individuals, groups and territories from centres of production and consumption. Moreover, the central economic paradigm, based on the notion of scarcity, leads it to address the issue in terms of poverty/wealth and equality/inequality in the ownership and use of the goods produced. From this point of view, the excluded are either just mouths to feed, a dead weight or the good-for-nothings of the nineteenth century, the residues of development, the suffering of the world (Bourdieu, 1993), the underclass identified by North American authors of the 1960s and 1970s (Wilson, 1987), or the losers removed from the economic scene, all of whom are difficult to place in the categories identified by economic analysis.

But the economic dimension of the phenomenon cannot be denied and the contributions made by this approach are also useful.

One of these contributions is the emphasis that is placed on the vertical structure of classes, which compete on the basis of their respective positions in relation to production, as opposed to a horizontal structure which instead contrasts insiders and outsiders in the labour market. The former have a job, the latter do not. This approach, which is related to that of the dual labour market, and which may be extended to those who enjoy the benefits of the protective State and those who do not, offers the advantage of bringing out the real and growing opposition between wage-earners and the unemployed, between the open and underground economies, between the formal and informal sectors, and between the actors on both sides. But

the dichotomy of this analysis remains inadequate, as the frontiers between the two sides are increasingly mobile and difficult to establish.

The economic aspect of exclusion is divisive, but also consecutive and cumulative. For example, by crossing employment and social protection, the following typology may be proposed:

- those with both a job and social protection;
- those with no job, but with social protection (those receiving unemployed benefit, pensioners, the disabled);
- those with a job, but no social protection (the underground economy, the informal sector); and
- those with neither a job nor social protection.

If the variables crossed are wage employment and social links, then a schema of four situations also emerges, which is basically the one used by Castel and his followers (deaffiliation/affiliation, vulnerability/lack of vulnerability). However, the difficulty arises from the fact that what is being attempted is not only to establish typologies, but also to describe a process of expulsion that is at the very heart of society and the economy, and which separates individuals both gradually and abruptly.

In this regard, reference has to be made to the relocation of industry, the segmentation of the labour market and the differences to which these give rise in terms and conditions of employment (permanent, temporary, precarious, seasonal and informal employment), the diversity of access to consumer goods, technology and economic, social, educational, health and cultural services, and finally urban and spatial segregation. It is therefore necessary to link exclusion to the system of production, which generates precarious employment and a new kind of unemployment that may be described as the unemployment of the excluded (Whul, 1992). Standard labour and social policies are unable to remedy this type of exclusion, which prevents an increasing number of people from having access to commodities that are commonly available to their fellow citizens.

It is important to recall (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1995) that the distribution of resources and the wealth accumulated is unequal, based on the balance of power, the capacity of the various groups to exert corporate pressure and/or engage in advocacy, the establishment of political priorities and the targeting of policies. Economic growth may therefore be a necessary precondition to prevent, alleviate and combat exclusion, but it is not sufficient in itself, and it may even be argued that certain types of economic growth can give rise to exclusion when its benefits are monopolized by specific groups. It also has a spatial dimension, as a particular neighbourhood, area, district, region or country often does not participate in such growth, gradually being left out of and below the spatial hierarchy and the international distribution of labour. Unrenovated historic town centres, degraded slums, suburbs, old industrial zones, rural and isolated regions and countries are

progressively left aside and abandoned to their fate, thereby constituting focal points of spatial economic exclusion. In such cases, their populations find it very difficult to escape from these spaces/circuits of exclusion, except for the most active, who can resort to emigration.

> Emigration is a good example of a change in the situation of individuals that is dependent on their context. Those who are able to migrate are not usually those who are the most excluded or poorest in a certain area, but those who have received some training, have skills that they use in their own country and very often have links with previous migrants (migration networks). Nevertheless, from an international perspective and from the viewpoint of the host country, they are considered to be poor and often excluded. When they arrive, they are very likely to be in a precarious situation (in relation to the living standards of the host country) and are almost certain to be excluded, as they do not know its language, customs, relational mechanisms and cultural codes.

One of the difficulties of this sort of analysis is that the internationalization of exchanges, accompanied to a certain extent by the clouding of centres of economic power and so-called globalization (Sousa Santos, 2001), means that it is becoming increasingly difficult to identify the location of such centres, even though their effects can be seen in practice. Moreover, since knowledge is a source of power, the introduction of new technologies, and particularly information technology, is leading to another type of exclusion from a world that offers a virtual image of inclusion to those who have a computer and use the Internet, even though cultural exclusion is progressing at the same time (the dominance of certain languages, cultural and consumption patterns).

Social exclusion may therefore be understood as an accumulation of confluent processes with successive ruptures arising from the heart of the economy, politics and society, which gradually distances and places persons, groups, communities and territories in a position of inferiority in relation to centres of power, resources and prevailing values.

This first outline of a definition, which has its origins in European experience, but which can be applied to other countries, still has to be compared and enriched by the forms taken by social exclusion on other continents. As it is probable that citizens' rights are not respected in countries in which much of the population is at the subsistence level, or where they do not have access to many services, where such exist, it may then be suggested that definitions should be established that give greater emphasis to these situations of social exclusion. It is therefore accepted that there is a need for comparison and adaptation of the concept to other realities.

1.4. Exclusion and poverty: The extension of their use

This section examines the relationship between the concepts of exclusion and poverty, together with the reasons why in recent times the use of the former has become more widespread, and the extent to which the concept of exclusion is applicable beyond Western Europe.

Exclusion and poverty are certainly not equivalents. It is possible to be poor but not excluded and, similarly, not all the excluded are poor, even though all the surveys and research show the existence of a broad area in which the poor and the excluded coincide.

> According to Amnesty International, there are 70 countries in which homosexuals of both genders are persecuted. In many of these countries, they are tried, imprisoned and penalized. It may be supposed that some at least of them have higher incomes and more wealth than their fellow citizens. They are therefore an example of persons who are excluded but not poor.

> In numerous countries of the South, many individuals live in situations of great deprivation, but contribute to collective works, are helped by their relatives and neighbours and, if they reach old age, are respected and their advice heeded in the same way as other elderly persons. They are therefore an example of poor people who are not excluded from their community. However, if their community is far from a major city, with very limited resources and a subsistence economy, and its values are looked down upon by the dominant urban society, it may then be said that they suffer from both poverty and exclusion.

The concepts of poverty and exclusion are relative terms, as those affected by one or the other are identified as being poor or excluded according to a number of images and standards which define the material well-being and the degree of hierarchical division in each society at any given period (Paugam, 1996). In a way, they are the reverse of the social coin, its hidden face (Hiernaux, 1981). In this sense, those who are affected are the opposite of the archetypical models of success (Gaulejac and Taboada, 1994) in a society ruled by competition, fashion, the mass media and information technology. But it is important not to be limited to substantialist, typological and static conceptions of poverty and exclusion, and to realize that they both share the dimension of a process, that the causes of both of them are to be found in central structures and that they are both cumulative and multi-dimensional.

They are not synonymous, but complementary terms. They require rigorous and interpenetrative use, so as to avoid the risk of opting exclusively for one and throwing out the other, which would result in a diminished capacity for description, analysis and intervention.

In any event, the question, which is not merely rhetorical, of why the two terms exist and why one of them, exclusion, seems to be prevailing over the other in Europe, is still meaningful.

Hypotheses (some of them ambivalent) as to why the concept of poverty is not so widely used as before in Western Europe include the following:

a) it used to be the historical reference for most charitable and individual attitudes and interventions;

b) it was often considered only as a lack of means and was limited to economic considerations, and specifically to income;

c) it was wished to give it a contextual and transient meaning, while at the same time reflecting an unchanging situation;

d) it has been rejected because it refers to a past which was believed to have been resolved, the continued presence of which is bothersome and not easily admitted;

e) its opposite is wealth, which raises the issue of the distribution of the latter;

f) its visibility conflicts with the tenets of the mass media, certain constitutional principles and optimistic assessments of the ineluctably positive effects of economic development;

g) its quantification, which is subject to methodological debates, leans towards identification rather than understanding, management rather than change, and when it attains high volumes it discourages politicians and gives rise to scepticism in relation to remedial measures, as captured in the saying that there have always been poor people, and always will be.

In contrast, the concept of exclusion has been progressively adopted, to a certain extent because:

a) it is a new concept, which may appear to be a conceptual and terminological innovation and which has helped to revive a debate that appeared to be relatively exhausted;

b) there is a desire to go beyond notions such as deprivation, destitution and penury, which vividly recall the suffering and despair of those concerned;

c) it has allowed a new interpretation which takes more clearly into account structural, multi-dimensional and dynamic characteristics;

d) it is more explanatory of the new situation that arose as a result of the crisis in the 1970s and the awareness of the need to include concepts such as periphery, rupture and stigmatization;

e) it gives a more accurate idea of the process: exclusion is both the cause and the outcome: if poverty is a photograph, exclusion is a film;

f) its polyvalence and fluidity mean that, on the one hand, it can serve as a response to the need to take into account its political dimension, while at the same time being more acceptable to politicians;

g) it is also less stigmatic than poverty, and therefore more acceptable to public opinion and to those primarily affected;

h) its opposite is inclusion, and in this regard it masks to a certain extent the issue of inequality, while antonyms such as insertion, integration and incorporation have also helped to extend the concept of exclusion;

i) the difficulties relating to its quantification and operationalization mean that it can be discussed without too much commitment;

j) there seems to be little sense in combating wealth (even if there might be in combating a certain pattern of its distribution), whereas combating exclusion and striving for an inclusive society does not provoke any special fears, and is acceptable to a broad range of political positions;

k) everyone can identify with it, as everyone is undoubtedly excluded from something or someone.

Nevertheless, both the definition of poverty and its social images have been changing and the analysis and debates of the 1990s show that a dynamic, multidimensional, structural and even political concept is gradually gaining currency (Alcock, 1993). This view of poverty is widely accepted in international organizations and is being increasingly used by operators in the field. But this has not hampered the progression of the concept of social exclusion, which has occurred through a number of stages and channels that are reviewed below.

Bearing in mind the above, there are grounds for wondering to what extent social exclusion is a French problem, and only by extension an issue in Western Europe. Some authors have tried to respond to this question. Ion (1995) begins by pointing out that the adoption of the concept by the European Union, admittedly under the auspices of a mainly French-oriented General Directorate (DGV), is an indication of its diffusion beyond France. In addition, he warns that words change their meaning when they cross borders, that the term *insertion* does not exist in German or Swedish and that, in any case, the problems of the labour market and social cohesion are evoked in different terms in other European Union countries. For example, in the Mediterranean European countries (Estivill, 2000a), the picture should focus more strongly on the persistence of family and social networks, the importance of the underground economy, the capacity to alleviate unemployment through intermediate entities and local and regional policies, the lower level of stigmatization of the unemployed, who in Greece and the south of Italy, Spain and Portugal are well integrated into systems of clientalism or belong to age-old labour and social systems (such as seasonal employment and precarious work). Moreover, welfare states are less developed and more fragmented in these countries and to a certain extent play a secondary role to the church which, as in Ireland, has dominated social matters (Ferrera, 1996). This explains why the French Republican tradition and the central role of the State, which do not exist in the above countries or those of the North, are shaken when social cohesion breaks

down, as they are based on the assumption that there are only free and equal citizens, without traditional bonds, and that the broad mechanisms of socialization (school, health systems, etc.) are breaking down. Exclusion therefore appears to be the new face of social problems in France. In contrast, the organization and management of the labour market, which in Germany are based on the close involvement of employers in training and tripartite co-management, and in the Scandinavian countries on social dialogue, mean that exclusion is not perceived in precisely the same terms as in the French *exception*. The same applies in the United Kingdom, where social and political integration tends to be perceived on the basis of the country's different components and communities. Even in a neighbouring country such as Belgium, there are dissimilarities (Yépez del Castillo, 1994) resulting from the logic of its social pillars, its progressive federalization and its distinct urban structure.

Another strand of differentiation relates to the prevalence of the Protestant culture in certain central and northern European Union countries. In view of their work ethic, there is little need to either reward compliance with the duty to work or to penalize any failure in this regard, thereby explaining the absence of a right to integration in their minimum income schemes (Guibentif and Bouget, 1997) and their conception of individual commitment to the community. From this point of view, exclusion is not such a dramatic obstacle, unless it is considered to act as a barrier to so-called civic and national solidarity.

Going beyond the French case, it should be noted that the concept of exclusion has infiltrated, penetrated and become accepted in Southern, Northern and Eastern Europe (Hills, Le Grand and Piachaud, 2002), and is currently making its entry into Latin America and Africa, although perhaps not to the same extent in Asia. It is even beginning to make an appearance in North America (Barry, 1998), mostly through the influence of French-speaking Canada (Gauthier, 1995), where it is used to describe the extreme forms of a process of marginalization within the community and in relation, in some cases, to the situation of indigenous populations (Jaccoud, 1995).

To what extent is this transcontinental diffusion merely another Euro-centric cultural export? To what degree is the concept of exclusion used to disguise the more urgent and dramatic problems that are occurring in those countries outside the central circuits? And is the concept applicable outside Europe?

Caution and possibly scepticism are not only to be found outside Europe, as significant criticisms of the use of the term exclusion have also been made on the old continent (Messu, 1993). Reference has been made to: (1) the heterogeneity of its use, which means that it can refer to a variety of situations and be used to achieve political consensus, as well as contradictory meanings, while at the same time avoiding the examination of borderline situations of exclusion and analysis of the causes and processes that give rise to it; (2) the difficulty of making generalizations in relation to points and stages of rupture, and of identifying and combining the various confluent processes and giving them a practical meaning; and (3) its

possible effect in diverting attention from the most extreme cases of penury and of precarious individual and collective situations.

A second reflection consists of the observation that when this concept has been applied in research, practical programmes or operational projects, it appears to have offered added value, not only to the understanding of the phenomena (Rodgers, Gore and Figueiredo, 1995), but also to the resulting strategies (Develtere, 2002).

The third argument has two aspects. On the one hand, it has been claimed that Europe may be seeing its economy become more Latin American, with the shift from a productive to a market society (Touraine, 1992), and that both Latin America and some parts of Asia and Africa were formed in modern times on a colonial basis, which excluded indigenous populations and pre-capitalist systems of production. On the other hand, increased economic, social and cultural interaction at the global level is bringing closer realities that previously seemed very distant. In practice, the crisis of the 1970s profoundly affected not only Europe, but all the other continents as well. Inequalities were aggravated and poverty deepened in all of them, and they all implemented fairly drastic adjustment policies without, in most cases, adopting compensatory social measures (Gaudier, 1993).

The fourth response is that, if the above approach to social exclusion is used, in view of the emphasis that it places on the articulation of political, social, economic and spatial dimensions, it could also be applied in developing countries, where a more pluridimensional analysis tends to be made of a reality that is also more mobile and inorganic, and less compartmentalized than in Western Europe.

The fifth emphasizes that all countries are faced with similar challenges, such as creating the conditions for long-term sustainable economic and social development, reinforcing social capital (Putnam, 1993), respecting their natural and cultural heritage, intensifying democratic and participatory mechanisms, and extending social protection, thereby developing more tolerant and fairer societies. There is also increasing awareness that the world is becoming globalized and that certain universal human rights may, to a certain extent, be becoming a point of reference that goes beyond individual States. In this sense, the use of the term exclusion and its opposites, such as integration, inclusion and insertion, could be of global application. This does not mean, of course, that practical strategies have to be homogeneous everywhere.

Finally, transferring the concept of exclusion from the North to the South (de Haan, 1998) means putting it to the test, assessing its capacity to encompass different realities and, at the same time, proving that its multidimensional, methodological and structural attributes and its complementary aspects (participation, incorporation, globality, partnership, etc) can be converted into useful and valid strategies.

1.5. Acceptance in European and international bodies

No one doubts that the origins of the concept are to be found in the Latin countries of Europe, nor does there appear to be any doubt that it was in the framework of the *European Union's* social policies that it received a first and considerable boost. However, it should not be forgotten that, as in the case of so many other concepts, the thousands of individuals and groups who experience and share it, or who try to combat it, have also contributed to the birth of the concept and its development in its successive forms.

In reviewing the history of its rise (Estivill, 1998b; Bruto da Costa, 1998), it is necessary once again to return to the 1970s and to refer to the decision by the European Council of 21 January 1974 to adopt the first Social Action Programme, in recognition of a certain social function that goes beyond the action of Member States, and based in the programmes of the European Social Fund. In 1975, the first European anti-poverty programme was launched. It consisted of the development of a multiplicity of micro-projects and the preparation of poverty overviews for each country. But its most important effect was the debate to which it gave rise with regard to its definition and extension (Commission of the European Communities, 1981). Just after the launch of the programme, the Council adopted what has become the classic definition of poverty: "*The poor shall be taken to mean persons, families and groups of persons whose resources (material, cultural and social) are so limited as to exclude them from the minimum acceptable way of life in the Member State in which they live.*"

It was as a result of the pressure of the Irish Presidency that the obstacles which had emerged between the end of the first programme (1980) and the beginning of the second (1985) were overcome. In preparation for the latter programme, the Council adopted at its session of 19 December 1984 a second definition, stating that persons shall be regarded as poor "*whose disposable income is less than half the average equivalent per capita income in their country*".

The first definition places emphasis on the lack of resources, but is broader in content and recognizes that poverty can affect groups and families. However, it makes quantification and comparability more difficult by introducing the idea of a *minimum acceptable way of life*, which is difficult to determine. It also introduced the notion of exclusion, which was quoted in a Commission document in 1988 and received official endorsement from the Council of Ministers in September 1989. The second anti-poverty programme (1985-1989) (Hartman, 1990) financed: (1) 91 projects for specific target populations, as well as 29 in Spain and Portugal following their entry into Community in 1986; (2) the coordination, evaluation and visibility centre, based in the ISG (*Institut für Sozialforschnung und Gesellschaftspolitik*) in Cologne; and (3) comparative research into the various definitions and measures of poverty (legal, income-related, subjective) (Deleeck, van den Bosch and de

Lathouwer, 1992). The second programme incorporated concepts such as marginalization, insecurity, relative and absolute poverty and deprivation, and it emphasized that poverty was a phenomenon that affected all the countries of the European Union (*Service social dans le monde*, 1992).

The second definition, which has its origins in the British tradition, leads to the concept of relative poverty. It has the merit of being measurable, quantifiable and geographically comparable, and is related to income distribution. But it is a better indicator of income inequality than of actual situations of poverty, does not distinguish extreme poverty and is difficult to apply to agricultural economies and areas in which the informal and underground economy and non-monetary exchanges are important. Moreover, it does not include other social, cultural and political aspects which affect poverty.

The third anti-poverty programme, glorying in the somewhat esoteric title of the Community Action Programme concerning the Economic and Social Integration of the Economically and Socially Less Privileged Groups in Society, but popularly known as Poverty III, was developed between 1989 and 1994 and included 41 model actions and 12 innovatory measures. The former were designed on a geographical basis and were allocated significant resources, applying the principles of multi-dimensionality, participation and partnership, while the latter were intended to continue with targeted interventions for specific groups. The Commission was closely involved in the programme, which was managed by a central unit and 12 research and development units supporting local projects and acting as a link with the Commission. It also financed research and established the European Observatory on National Policies to Combat Social Exclusion (1991-1994). The concept came into increasingly common use as the programme progressed (Estivill, 1998b).

In the Catalan-speaking town of Alguer, a seminar was held in April 1990 with the significant title of "Poverty, Marginalization and Social Exclusion in the Europe of the Nineties", in which two currents came face to face. These were, firstly, the diverse estimations of these concepts by experts from the major European countries, compared with those of the South and other peripheral countries and, secondly, the more pragmatic and quantitative tradition of the Anglo-Saxon world, and the more theoretical and strategic approach of the Latin tradition. The debate was not resolved, but a number of key issues were identified: to what extent is poverty different from exclusion? Are these concepts equivalent, contradictory or complementary? Is material poverty more typical of less developed countries and exclusion of those with a higher level of development?

In its first report in 1991, the European Observatory (1991) linked exclusion with the idea of lack of access to social rights and with analysis of sectoral policies (housing, health, employment, education). Its second report was devoted to the specific field of social services, while the third and last admitted that the

concept of social exclusion was still under discussion, despite the progress made in Portugal, Luxembourg and Ireland (European Observatory, 1994), and that it was more widely accepted in French-speaking Belgium than in Flanders.

But the concept kept on gaining ground, both within and outside the programme. *Internally*, because of the efforts made to apply it in projects. While some projects adopted a more traditional view by carrying out more assistance-related interventions, based on the argument that poverty, which for them was basically financial in nature, was either the beginning or the end of exclusion, others were more concerned with communities that were becoming poorer, rather than with those suffering from chronic poverty, and with its causes. Finally, the remainder focused on the destructuring effects of social, political and economic exclusion from an integrated perspective. This vision gradually won over supporters through several seminars and meetings, such as those held in London (PSI, 1994) and Brussels (Commission of the European Communities, 1995), with the result that at the end of the period the proposal for a new programme even included the concept in its name. However, the proposal was not adopted due to the opposition and reticence of a number of governments.

Outside the programme, but within the bodies of the European Union, exclusion was mentioned and incorporated into the Maastrich Treaty and its Protocol, the reform of the third objective of the European Social Fund, various recommendations of the European Parliament, the Commission's Social Action Programmes (1995-97, 1998-99) and the Green and White Papers on European Social Policy.

A communication from the Commission dated 23 December 1992, for instance, was entitled *Towards a Europe of solidarity: Intensifying the fight against social exclusion, fostering integration*.

Another example is the Green Paper on European Social Policy: Options for the Union (1993), which emphasizes that, although poverty and marginalization are nothing new, it is now necessary to place more emphasis "*on the structural nature of the process which excludes part of the population from economic and social opportunities*" and that "*the problem is not only one of disparities between the top and bottom of the social scale, but also between those who have a place in society and those who are excluded*". It adds that exclusion "*does not only mean insufficient income. It even goes beyond participation in working life: it is manifest in fields such as housing, education, health and access to services. It affects not only individuals who have suffered serious set-backs but social groups (...) subject to discrimination, segregation or the weakening of the traditional forms of social relations*" (European Commission, 1994).

The idea of *mainstreaming* exclusion, that is of integrating the concept of exclusion into all of the European Union's policies, has led to it being taken into

account in recommendations and standards concerning: (1) *social rights*, as set out in the European Social Charter (1961), the Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights of Workers (1989) and the European Charter of Fundamental Rights proclaimed at the Summit held recently in Nice; (2) *minimum income schemes* and *social protection* through the 1992 recommendations and the Commission's many studies and resolutions on harmonization; (3) *local development* (local social capital) and *urban policies* (Urban I, Urban II); (4) the promotion of *research* through the Vth and VIth Framework Programmes (quality of life and management of resources); and (5) *anti-discrimination measures* (new programmes to combat discrimination and reinforce equal opportunities).

Before concluding this review, it should be recalled that the concept has continued to be included in many other Community initiatives, such as Horizon, Now and Integra, as well as in the Treaty of Amsterdam and the European Employment Strategy. It also appears in the latest initiative, Equal, on exclusion from the labour market, and was mentioned in the recent Summits in Lisbon (in relation to the information society) and Nice, in connection with the plans that each Member State has to submit under the new Community Action Programme, which is intended to promote cooperation between Member States in combating social exclusion and is currently being launched (OJEC, 23 March 2001). The current method of open coordination allows less latitude for collaboration between the various bodies of the European Union, which will undoubtedly have positive consequences for action to combat social exclusion, not only in Member States, but also in the accession countries, which are already preparing their inclusion memoranda.

As might be expected, the institutions operating at the level of the European Union have also been concerned about exclusion. This is the case of the Economic and Social Committee (1998) and the Committee of the Regions. The European Trade Union Confederation has also frequently denounced exclusion from the labour market and called for a more inclusive society (ETUC, 1994). The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions has carried out several studies on poverty and exclusion. Reference should be made in this respect to its work in showing the role of community development at the local level (Chanan, 1992) and of partnership (Geddes, 1996).

Reflecting this increased acceptance by the bodies of the European Union (although it has not been without its tergiversations and reverses), the many national and European networks of voluntary organizations (UNIOPSS, 2001) have been increasing their use of the concept of exclusion and have lobbied for it to be broadly discussed and taken on board, although without abandoning that of poverty.

From its establishment in 1990, the European Anti-Poverty Network (EAPN), which brings together associations and groups from the 15 Member States, has incorporated social exclusion as the matrix of its thought and action. One of its latest publications (EAPN, 2000), entitled *Combating poverty and social exclusion: A new momentum in the European Union?* provides an overview of the situation in nine

countries and makes a series of proposals designed to promote a European strategy to combat social exclusion. This idea has been incorporated in recent declarations of the platform that gathers together the main European networks involved in private social initiatives (the *privato sociale*).

The European Social Action Network (ESAN) is another example. In 1993, it organized a meeting on exclusion which emphasized the rights of *citizens* (ESAN, 1993). Federations and organizations in the social economy (such as *Confédération européenne des coopératives de production et de travail associé, des coopératives sociales et des enterprises participatives* – CECOP, *Comité National des Entreprises d'Insertion* – CNEI, *Pôle européen des fondations de l'économie sociale* and *Réseau européen de l'économie alternative et solidaire* – REAS) have also shown their interest in this approach. Another interesting example is the International Association of Investors in the Social Economy (INAISE), which brings together financial bodies, not only from Europe, assists with investments in social and ethical initiatives and has organized several meetings and prepared a number of publications on exclusion. Reference should be made to its Amsterdam meeting (INAISE, 1994) and its recent publication on exclusion in banking and the role of financial institutions in social cohesion (INAISE, 2000).

Still on the European continent, emphasis should also be placed on the increased interest of the *Council of Europe*, a pan-European body created in 1949 and composed of 40 States. Its main mission is to safeguard political, civil, cultural and social rights through the European Convention on Human Rights and the European Social Charter.

Despite the existence of antecedents going back to 1986, it was a conference held in 1991 on greater social justice in Europe and the challenge of marginalization and poverty that signalled its increased attention to these matters. The Parliamentary Assembly and the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe have supported this involvement, the former particularly through Recommendation No. 1355 (1998) entitled *Fighting social exclusion and strengthening social cohesion in Europe,* and the latter through the 1992 Charleroi Declaration.

One year after this conference, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe launched the Human Dignity and Social Exclusion Project (HDSE) under the responsibility of the Social Policy Committee (SPC). This project, which began by bringing together experts in two seminars in Strasbourg in December 1994 and July 1999, was enriched by the feasibility reports prepared by the Combat Poverty Agency of Ireland (Frazer, 1994).

In 1995 a first report was drawn up (Duffy, 1995), questionnaires were sent to Member States, which also had to submit national reports, and discussions were held with non-governmental organizations with a view to the production of a final report on social cohesion and quality of life, which was presented in April 1998 (Duffy, 1998). In seven chapters, this report defines concepts and analyses exclusion in relation to health, work, social protection, education and housing. The final

report was submitted to the conference held in Helsinki (May 1998) and was adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 30 September 1998. It focuses on human and social rights and the extent to which they are violated by exclusion, and draws attention to the Eastern European countries and the need to continue working in all European countries and with international organizations.

This work continued through the European Committee for Social Cohesion (ECSC), which was made responsible for launching the Council of Europe's social cohesion strategy. This led up to the European Conference on Social Development, held in Dublin in January 2000, which prepared the Council of Europe's contribution to the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly held in Geneva in June the same year as a follow-up to the 1995 Copenhagen Summit.

Finally, it should be recalled that the Council of Europe works in other areas which also influence its strategy on social cohesion. This is the case, for instance, of its work in supervising the two Social Charters, through which it has access to much data on their implementation in all European countries and which offers it the opportunity to make recommendations for their promotion. A number of its committees (equal opportunities, migration, persons with disabilities, health, cultural cooperation, etc.) can also report cases of failure to implement civil, political and social rights and advance their concerns on these matters.

It is virtually impossible to review the treatment of poverty and social exclusion by every international organization. The work of the *United Nations* alone would require a thesis. However, attention should be drawn to its historical concern for development, poverty and the defence of human rights. The annual reports of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) on the social situation in the world, which often have a regional focus and deal with specific issues, such as poverty in Latin America, have addressed extreme poverty and have attracted the attention of governments, international agencies, the emerging civil society at the global level and public opinion. There can be no doubt that the establishment in 1990 of a system of indicators to measure human and social development is a welcome step which, although evidently generic, constitutes an essential reference point for all those who are interested in these subjects.

But perhaps the two events that have best illustrated the concern of the United Nations for the social conditions of development are the first World Summit for Social Development, held in Copenhagen in 1995, and the recent Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly, held in Geneva in June 2000 to follow up the principal commitments made in Copenhagen. The interaction between economic and social development, the effects of globalization and the need for global regulation, the role of labour, health and education and the eradication of poverty and exclusion, and particularly of discrimination against women, the weakest groups and indigenous communities, are subjects of the utmost importance.

At this conference, perspectives such as sustainable development, social capital, the environment, local action, partnerships between the various public and private actors, and in particular the strength of civil society, the participation of citizens and communities, integrated poverty strategies, governance, the need to reform international cooperation, were those which had the most impact. It should be noted that the concept of exclusion and its opposite, *inclusion*, were used both by persons from developed countries and from transition countries, although the interpretations clearly differed. The former considered exclusion to be more linked to institutional and social exclusion, while for the latter it was more related to material conditions (extreme poverty) and the lack of political safeguards.

This growing awareness of the value of the concept has also reached the *World Bank*. In its Annual Meeting in Hong Kong in September 1997, its President entitled his speech *The challenge of inclusion*, and began by stating that the principal tragedy in the world was exclusion and that the "*goal must be to reduce these disparities across and within countries, to bring more and more people into the economic mainstream, to promote equitable access to the benefits of development regardless of nationality, race or gender*". The World Bank has launched a series of studies and projects along these lines, and it indicated in its 1998 Annual Report that "*social exclusion is a term originating in the European debate on poverty, which is increasingly used to analyze marginalization in the developing world as well*".

The United Nations specialized agencies have also and are continuing to intervene in the field of exclusion, with the use of the concept increasing. It is not possible to review them all, but by way of illustration reference may be made to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and its Management of Social Transformations (MOST) Programme. This Programme is aimed at promoting comparative research in social sciences and focuses its activities on studying the management of change in multicultural and multiethnic societies, in cities and in the eradication of poverty and exclusion. A few days before the Copenhagen Summit, and under its influence, a seminar was organized in Roskilde (Denmark) by this programme in cooperation with the ILO's International Institute for Labour Studies, the World Health Organization (WHO) and Directorate General XII of the European Commission with the title *From social exclusion to social cohesion: Towards a policy agenda* (Bessis, 1995). The seminar noted the increased differences between the North and the South and the need for a transition from exclusion to social justice and from the welfare state to

The MOST programme has created a clearing-house which, through a database, gathers examples of best practice in combating exclusion that are innovative, give added value, have lasting effects and are replicable. Three examples may be given: *Big issues*, the newspaper published by the homeless in the United Kingdom; the Mahila Sewa Sahakani Bank, created in India by 4,000 women; and a mobile bookshop in Brazil which contributes to combating failure at school. These initiatives are consistent with UNESCO's approach to education, training and information.

a protective society based on a new partnership. The concepts of poverty and exclusion were broadly discussed, and their economic, social and political dimensions accepted, with the addition of a time-related aspect, as future generations may find themselves excluded from sustainable development if the necessary measures are not adopted now.

Last but not least, this long but not exhaustive review of the diffusion of the concept of exclusion in various European and international agencies cannot overlook the position and activities undertaken in this field by the *International Labour Organization*. Since its foundation in 1919, with its tripartite structure and through its Conventions and Recommendations, the ILO has built up a body of international labour standards. Conventions Nos. 29 and 105 of 1930 and 1957 on the elimination of forced labour, No. 87 of 1948 on freedom of association and the right to organize, No. 98 of 1949 on the right to organize and collective bargaining, No. 100 of 1951 on equal remuneration for work of equal value, No. 111 of 1958 on discrimination in employment and occupation, and Nos. 107 and 169 of 1957 and 1989 on the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples may be mentioned, among others, as legal frameworks which have to be implemented by the States that ratify them, thereby in a certain manner serving to prevent the many forms taken by exclusion in the world of work.

The ILO's four strategic objectives: (1) promote and realize standards and fundamental principles and rights at work; (2) create greater opportunities for women and men to secure decent employment and income; (3) enhance the coverage and effectiveness of social protection for all; and (4) strengthen tripartism and social dialogue, all serve to reinforce its commitment to combating exclusion in the labour market. This is consistent with the Declaration of Philadelphia of 1944, in which the International Labour Conference declared that labour is not a commodity, that freedom of speech and association are essential to sustained progress, that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere and that all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity. Through its annual Conferences, its International Training Centre and its training activities, the debates and research carried out by the International Institute for Labour Studies (IILS), its publications and information services, and through specific programmes such as those devoted to the elimination of child labour (IPEC), the ILO endeavours to develop and implement these principles, strategies and priorities, with the technical assistance provided by its multidisciplinary advisory teams which are spread throughout the world.

It is interesting to note that the ILO's new policies emphasize the idea of *access to decent work*, which the Director-General (Somavia, 1999) wants to pervade the Organization's objectives and activities. This idea has its origins in the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, adopted in June 1998, which is based on the view that the challenge of globalization, and its possible effects in terms of economic growth, needs to go hand-in-hand with social progress

based on common values which allow the participation of everyone and prevent their exclusion. The Declaration contributes to the establishment of a minimum social threshold at the global level and provides an opportunity for the ILO to assess periodically the progress achieved in all of its member States. For the ILO, the lack of decent work and the inability to participate in social and economic development are primary meanings of the concept of exclusion.

It should also be noted that in 2001 the International Labour Conference emphasized that the extension of social security coverage to all those groups currently excluded from it constitutes an absolute priority in its future action in relation to social protection. Following this Conference, the ILO launched a global campaign to promote the extension of social security coverage.

In this respect, it should be recalled that within the ILO the concept of exclusion also has antecedents in its work in the 1990s. Reference may be made in this respect to its annual *World employment* reports, in which it is significant that the concept of exclusion has gradually appeared in relation to the informal sector and the increasing vulnerability of certain categories of workers. Its long series of *Yearbooks of labour statistics* provide a number of significant quantitative indicators. Finally, reference should also be made to the articles published in the *International Labour Review*.

But it was in the 1990s that these efforts were renewed in the perspective of the Copenhagen Summit, where the then Director-General stated that "*enabling each person to participate, through remunerated work, in the development and welfare of society is beyond doubt the best means of combating effectively poverty and social exclusion*" (Hansenne, 1995). Indeed, in 1993 the International Institute for Labour Studies (IILS) held a first meeting on poverty in which it was suggested that exclusion could be a subject of future investigation. This meeting was held in the context of a research project on the models and causes of social exclusion and the formulation of policies for promotion and integration. The project was supported by UNDP and meant that a preliminary set of results could be presented to the Copenhagen Summit. In the same year (1993), a bibliographical review was published (Gaudier, 1993) highlighting the innovative nature of the concept of exclusion. In 1994 and 1995, a series of workshops were held (Valletta, Cambridge, Bangkok, Pattaya, Lima, Roskilde, Santiago de Chile), leading up to a forum in New York in May 1996 (Gore and Figueiredo, 1997). In the middle of this period came the contribution (Rodgers, 1995) to the Copenhagen Summit, which had a dynamic effect. This experimental project was intended to clarify the relationship between poverty and exclusion and to assess the applicability of exclusion to countries outside the European Union. Studies were therefore carried out in India, Peru, Russian Federation, Tanzania, Thailand and Yemen. Finally, its integration into policy measures was investigated. Another meeting was held in Geneva in 1997 on the policy implications of social exclusion (Figueiredo and de Haan, 1998). The report on this meeting includes a list of studies on exclusion carried out in Latin America, Africa and Asia, as well as several country reports (Brazil, Cameroon,

Chile, Malaysia, Mexico, Philippines, Viet Nam), with a synthesis of the project's principal conclusions.

These conclusions may be summarized as follows: despite the ambiguities of the concept of exclusion, it supplements that of poverty, facilitates a better understanding of income insecurity in the developed world and of inequality of opportunity in developing countries, focuses attention on the role of social actors and institutions in processes of inclusion, permits the application of individual, family and community relations at the micro-level, and shows the importance of local contexts, while at the macro-level it offers a new vision of globalization and of the increasing vulnerability of specific population groups and areas. The concept is therefore relevant to the ILO because it offers a new means of measuring social justice, reinforces the importance of employment, helps to extend social protection and promotes partnership strategies between the social partners and civil society.

The ILO's Strategies and Tools against social Exclusion and Poverty programme (STEP), supported in particular by Belgium and Portugal, is a further example of the ILO's involvement in combating social exclusion. Through its strategy and working methods, the programme also illustrates a change of approach in international cooperation to combat poverty and exclusion.

Chapter 2.
The manifestations of exclusion

Words and concepts are conventions and their usefulness depends on their not introducing ambiguities and misunderstandings between those who use them. In this respect, it may be inferred from the previous chapter that poverty and exclusion are neither analogous nor synonymous, that they were born and have developed in different contexts, that they have taken on different and sometimes contradictory meanings, and that they have also enriched one another. Their complementarity cannot be denied if it is accepted that they have both acquired a structural, multidimensional and dynamic content in this new century.

But as the term social exclusion is the more recent, it may perhaps be appropriate to devote this second chapter to examining its principal manifestations, the manner in which it can be identified and the attempts made and difficulties involved in its analysis, measurement and conversion into an operational tool when endeavouring to design and implement measures for its eradication.

2.1. Identifying exclusion

2.1.1. The relativity of exclusion and its paradigms

In any attempt to identify exclusion, attention should be drawn to three risks, which are all linked by their relative nature.

The first arises from the affirmation, which is undoubtedly true, that everyone everywhere is always excluded from something or somebody, and that there is no exclusion without inclusion. This universality of exclusion could lead to a general relativism, to its dilution, which would render its identification impossible. But, as with poverty, for which a distinction is usually made between absolute and relative poverty, there is also a *gradation* in exclusion. A person who is exiled or imprisoned for political reasons is almost at the extreme of a process of political exclusion. The same happens in the case of a group whose colour, religion or origin leads to its expulsion from a country in which it has tried to settle. For many centuries, and even today, certain populations have been denied the right to settle, own land or exercise the main economic activities. In general, enforced nomadism is a clear sign of complete exclusion. But partial restrictions are the most common. Until well into the twentieth century, women were not allowed to vote or stand for election in many

Western European countries, or to run a business of their own without the permission of their husbands. In economic terms, absolute poverty and exclusion cannot fail to coincide. In the most precarious situations suffered by millions of human beings in the countries of the South, all that is left is the struggle for survival. The lack of food, shelter and health visibly join both concepts, although even at this acute stage it is possible to distinguish between death from starvation, which is a result of absolute impoverishment, and suicide, which is the highest form of self-exclusion. In any case, it is more in the transition to intermediate stages that poverty and the economic dimension of exclusion tend to diversify.

It is precisely in the diversification of exclusion that the second risk arises. As there is no single form of exclusion, which clearly differs according to its political, legal, economic, social and cultural context, it might be thought that its unlimited heterogeneity would prevent the identification of its common traits. Carrying this approach to its extreme would result in such small units that their examination would almost require a magnifying glass or a microscope. Without disparaging micro-analysis, indeed quite the contrary, it is in practice indeed possible to detect, although not without difficulty, major elements that are shared by global processes of exclusion, as well as the possible relationship between these processes and those that affect individuals, groups, societies and areas at a lower level, as will be seen below.

The third risk, which is as yet only a potential risk outside the European Union, but already real inside it, is that focusing on the institutional aspects of the definition of exclusion becomes no more than a rhetorical exercise (Evans, 1998). One illustration is the definition commonly agreed upon in the European Union, which is however applied differently in each country owing to the variety of economic and social institutions, thereby preventing comparisons between areas and countries. This would tend to lead to a nationalized identification of exclusion, with each country having its own form of exclusion.

In part, and only in part, this is possibly a shift from Silver's formulation (1994) of the three paradigms that are implicit in the various concepts of exclusion. This hypothesis was proposed in the context of the research conducted by the ILO's International Institute for Labour Studies (IILS, 1996), and has been taken up again subsequently (*IDS Bulletin*, 1998). It has the merit of being based on certain ideological and political concepts, such as republicanism, liberalism and social democracy, while at the same time contributing to an explanation of the approach to exclusion adopted by certain countries, and still being based on three models.

The first paradigm, that of solidarity, explains exclusion as the rupture of social ties, the loosening of relations between society as a whole and individual citizens. From this point of view, society is founded on a social pact and a moral and political community, which form the basis for values, rights and duties. The Republican State, which identifies itself with the nation, is the guarantor of social cohesion and the creator of institutions and policies for its good governance. If

this does not occur, the State bears the prime responsibility and is the first to have to take action for its restoration. It is not difficult to identify this model with the theories of Rousseau, many of the encyclopaedists, Durkheim's view of organic and mechanical solidarity and the contributions of a number of French thinkers and politicians.

In the case of the second model, known as the specialization model, exclusion arises from the relations between individuals with different capacities, skills and interests in the context of the exchanges occurring within society and in the market. Individual choices may lead to exclusion, which may also be a consequence of the poor performance of the market, discrimination of all types, rights that are not respected and contractual relations between individuals and institutions. In any event, State intervention could be designed to lay down the conditions for individuals to assume their responsibilities, thereby preventing discrimination. Exclusion is partial in its manifestations because it particularly affects specific individuals, situations, fields, sectors and activities. Nor is it difficult in this case to discern the influence of Locke, the utilitarians and the contributions of Anglo-American liberalism.

The third paradigm, labelled monopolistic by Silver, has its origins in a conception of society as a hierarchical structure in which the various classes and groups compete for control of the resources. In order to gain more power, barriers are raised and access is restricted, with goods and services being distributed among those who are members of the dominant groups. Exclusion and its manifestations have their origins in this unequal society, in which the rules are set by those who are at the top. The State, the political embodiment of the balance of powers, can compensate for these situations through social protection, the creation of services and the formulation of both individual and collective rights. Although the reference to Marx is far-fetched, European thinkers linked to social democracy, such as Max Weber and Marshall, belong to this current.

This trilogy of paradigms is not exhaustive and there have also been, are and will be views and measures superposed over them. However, it has the merit of outlining three approaches which help in understanding some of the implicit features and origins of the manifestations of exclusion.

2.1.2. The process of exclusion

In the previous chapter, exclusion was described as a cumulative and multidimensional process which, through successive ruptures, distances individuals, groups, communities and territories from the centres of power and prevailing resources and values, gradually placing them in an inferior position.

The manifestations of exclusion are therefore related to the idea of a *process*, consisting of an itinerary which has a beginning and an end and passes through different stages. As a result, it is necessary not only to focus on its dynamics and to infer that it is linear, but also to go back to the causes and roots of the

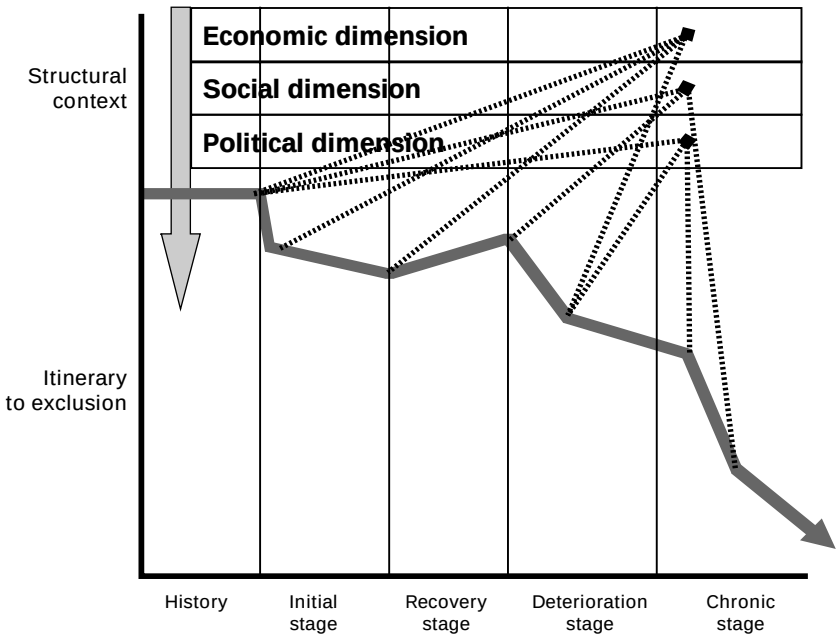
phenomenon. In so doing, personal case histories become fundamental to an understanding of why an individual, family, group or space is affected by exclusion.

> Some projects, either because they do not have enough time, or because to do otherwise is considered to be a waste of time, take as their starting point a photographic diagnosis, on which they base their strategy. As a consequence, they run the risk of superficiality and of the measures adopted being off-target.

Without going into too much historical detail, and since exclusion is structural, retrospective analysis offers an opportunity to highlight the manner in which the social, economic and political context (at the macro-level) exerts an influence over the origins of exclusion, emphasizes its various dimensions and conditions its development. The hypothesis may even be advanced that this influence determines many of the points of rupture along the itinerary to exclusion (figure 1). Each of them is affected to a greater or lesser extent, in specific and sometimes distinct forms, by these various dimensions.

Figure 1 also endeavours to show that exclusion is not a linear process by pointing to certain turning points and, in this case, an initial stage, a period of recovery during which external measures or the efforts of the excluded themselves

Figure 1



halt or even reverse exclusion and, finally, a period of deterioration which leads to chronic exclusion.

Research into poverty in Galicia in the north of Spain (GES, 1995), based on two waves of quantitative surveys, identified a number of families who were living under the poverty threshold. A sample of 100 of these households were subjected to in-depth interviews focusing on their individual and family histories as a means of tracing their itinerary towards exclusion. A typology was established and the points of rupture were identified. The recurrent factors explaining these points of rupture were related to the deterioration of family relations and the loss of health and employment.

Identifying the stage of exclusion at which a group is situated is fundamental to any intervention. Not knowing this may lead up blind alleys and give rise to considerable perverse effects.

By way of illustration, the introduction of minimum income schemes in some Latin countries may have caused a regression in certain gypsy communities which were becoming self-sufficient and had started up small businesses in street vending. Many gypsies returned to their previous situation of dependence on benefits and to the underground economy.

The period in which exclusion becomes chronic is still important. Up to a certain point, it is at this stage that it is easier to detect the manifestations of its institutionalization and crystallization, and it is also the point at which exclusion is at its most obdurate. Barriers are so insurmountable and distances so great, both symbolically and in reality, between those inside and those on the outside that the insiders no longer *see* the outsiders, who lose any opportunities and hopes of a possible return.

In the Middle Ages in Europe, most social institutions (such as hospitals and hospices) were located in city centres, thereby emphasizing their urban, social and even symbolic integration. Today, the great majority of institutions of reclusion (mental hospitals, prisons) tend to be located as far away as possible, while AIDS clinics and migrant centres usually encounter great difficulties in finding a home in *normal and/or suburban* areas due to the opposition of local residents.

It never rains but it pours and *misfortunes never come singly* are two popular sayings which give credit to the frequently *cumulative* and *pluri-dimensional* nature of exclusion, even though exclusion may also be manifested through a single or dominant factor.

Part of European analysis has emphasized that long-term unemployment is one of the key factors in understanding exclusion, while literature from Africa and Latin America has referred more to land ownership. But even this is relative, as unemployment is almost traditional in the south of many countries on the periphery of Europe, with the result that the unemployed are not stigmatized and the underground economy and the bonds of primary solidarity can act as a support and a channel of social integration, however secondary. On the other hand, inclusion is not guaranteed by the ownership of dry unproductive land, without any prospect of investing in it.

It is increasingly clear that exclusion can only be explained as a chain of relatively distinct factors which together have an impact, up to a certain point in a continuous and repetitive manner, on the living standards of individuals, groups and spaces. Exclusion has a material basis related to the lack of means of subsistence, and it is not only a result of social differentiation. It is characterized by circuits of denial and cumulative disadvantages. Family origins, low levels of, bad or non-existent schooling, scarce or poor vocational training, lack of employment, precarious or seasonal jobs, inadequate nutrition, low income, unhealthy or poor housing, ill health and chronic or repetitive diseases, the lack of social benefits and of access to public services, are usually the most fundamental elements of these circuits of impoverishment. All those lacking such *joint requirements* (Lipton, 1998) are bound to find it difficult to make sustained progress in their attempts to escape from these circuits.

But given that the concept of exclusion emphasizes problems of personal and social relations (Room, 1995) and the role of the actors involved, other elements also have to be added.

In Iceland, a survey of 825 adults in two communities in Reykjavik revealed the relationship between cycles of economic depression, social stratification, the deterioration of the employment situation and working conditions, lower levels of social support and the rise in the number of diseases and cases of family disruption (Vilhjalmsson, 1995).

This means that the identification and calculation of poverty and exclusion thresholds in terms of income and consumption have to be supplemented by more qualitative analysis of the social fabric through which individuals, families, groups and spaces are linked, both internally and externally.

One group or community may possess a strong internal cohesion and it may even be supposed that its mechanisms of internal exclusion are minimal, even though it is very isolated and not accepted by those outside. In this case, the tension giving rise to exclusion is external in its origins.

On the other hand, social fabrics and primary social networks are not one-way and may in turn be selective and to some extent arbitrary and exclusive when establishing their standards of conduct.

By way of illustration, according to traditional moral standards, single mothers are expelled from the family unit. And male heads of households who, despite their efforts, have to admit to being permanently jobless, stop being the main breadwinner and, as a result, gradually lose their status and functions as the patriarch and end up playing a marginal role, particularly if their wives continue working and they are left doing the housework.

Other examples are provided by the relationship between land ownership and the family. In countries in which the inheritance system favours equal shares for all the children, it normally leads to small farms (*minifundia*) with many owners of poor land who are excluded from economic growth. In other countries, where land inheritance goes to the primogeniture, the other children are excluded and have to leave or play a secondary role. But the property is maintained and can be extended through marriage or acquisition, which may result in farms being profitable.

2.1.3. Practical and symbolic exclusion from institutions

The ambivalence of these mechanisms is also shared by the role played by actors and institutions in generating the manifestations of exclusion and inclusion. Ecclesiastical institutions, financial bodies, enterprises, the army and associations are among the institutions which model social life in accordance with their interests and values and may themselves be the expression of inclusion/exclusion, or its direct or indirect causes. It is typical of institutions to define explicit or implicit internal rules for the selection of their members. Analysis of rules governing admission, continued membership or expulsion is a good way of understanding manifestations of exclusion and of taking the temperature and monitoring the pulse of the level of exclusion in a given society. The hypothesis may be proposed that the higher the number of institutions practising selection and the more closed they are, the higher the level of exclusion. Its indicators are very varied and can range from admission fees and tests to the establishment of security forces and the physical defence of the space, including moral, political, linguistic or status-related requirements, the ownership of certain assets and guarantees, as well as lengthy processes for the initiation and testing of candidates. The paradoxes (Wolfe, 1994) of manifestations of institutional exclusion are well reflected in Groucho Marx's ingenious remark that *"I don't care to belong to a club that accepts people like me as members"*.

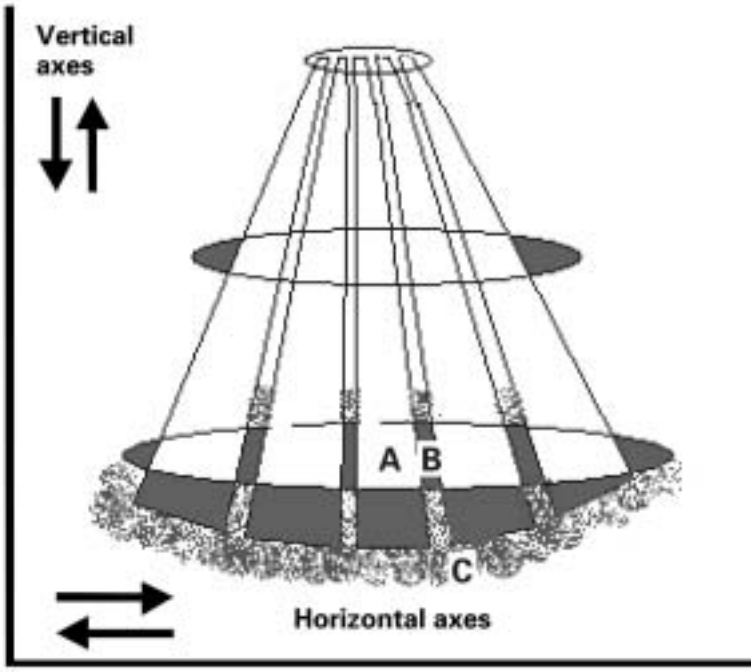
Institutions do not exist in isolation. They interact, compete and fight between themselves, they complement, overlap and impede each other, thereby either

increasing or decreasing exclusion. Socio-economic stratification and segmentation, with their respective horizontal divisions, may also either compensate for or accentuate the verticality of institutional exclusion. Examining the points at which the vertical and horizontal axes meet and interact (figure 2), and the persons and groups which symbolize them, is as significant for inclusion as gaps and *no man's lands* are for exclusion.

In the top circle of the figure, the smallest, where differentiation due to segmentation is much smaller and institutions tend to complement each other and join together, common spaces and strands are greater and mutual identification is easier. It is easier here to be a member of the board of a socio-religious foundation, the board of directors of a multinational company, the manager of a sports club, to live in the same exclusive area of the city and to have similar patterns of consumption and leisure, and thus a high level of vertical and horizontal integration. In contrast, there is greater separation and disaggregation at the bottom of the pyramid.

Type A may be a skilled worker born in the neighbourhood where he or she is still living, with a house that he or she is buying, working in a big factory, a member of a trade union, shopping in the cooperative and following football, which he or she once played, with a son or daughter who studies at the university and another

Figure 2



who is already working. Such a person is excluded from certain goods and practices, but is well integrated within the specific class or area.

Type B, a neighbour, is a low-skilled worker from another region, who works in a small workshop, but not all the time, and lives in social housing in the area, shops at the supermarket and watches television. One of his or her sons/daughters is attending vocational training and the other is in one of the neighbourhood gangs. His or her level of integration is lower and the risks of both vertical and horizontal exclusion are greater than in the previous case.

A gypsy family (*type C*) has come to a nearby piece of empty ground and lives off selling goods in the underground economy. Their interests are dances and parties. They get around in the language of the country, but their own language is different. Their sons and daughters help the family, but do not attend school. Their elderly family members are consulted and respected. They interact only occasionally with the non-gypsy population, but often with other families of their ethnic origin. Their vertical integration is minimal, but they are not excluded from their own culture.

Further examples could be provided to illustrate the considerable heterogeneity and gradation of modes of exclusion/inclusion. But it is perhaps more useful to examine their relationship with the policies adopted by public bodies. Where these policies emanate from the central authorities, they are also vertical, or *top-down*, although the decentralization measures that are being adopted in many countries are bringing them closer to the local level and to the needs and demands of the population. But they are usually sectoral and compartmentalized, with a high level of bureaucratic red tape. They are very often dependent on or allied to the interests of organized institutions and groups, in certain cases eliminating specific communities and ethnic groups (Laos, ethnic wars in Africa, indigenous communities in Latin America), prejudicing to varying extents other populations and areas, or selectively impeding access to public goods and services. It is not difficult to detect the manifestations of exclusion in the first of these cases, while they are revealed by comparative analysis in the second and third cases.

Labour, education, health and housing policies, in the first instance, but also urban, environmental and cultural policies and, in particular, economic and tax policies and structural investments (macro-level) can all be analysed from the viewpoint of exclusion. The public budget and public expenditure demonstrate the priorities and the number and quality of the services in a given area, thereby revealing the level of the State's commitment. But often, especially in Europe, it is the fine print of rules and measures which give an indication of the most subtle, but no less effective forms of discrimination. Analysis of the impact of these measures is essential, without overlooking the fact that their origins and results, both beneficial and prejudicial, have to be reviewed over time.

The lack or limitation of rights is a clear indication of exclusion, as are the difficulties and processes for their attainment. A great deal of literature from

developing countries focuses on these two aspects (Bédoui, 1995; de Haan and Nayak, 1995; Faria, 1994).

> In Latin America there is a strong *legalistic* culture, also shared by the Latin countries in Europe, in which *every law has a loophole*, or where it is thought that a problem is solved by the adoption of a law. For example, a universal right to health care has been established in many countries. But in practice, in those areas that are covered by the health system, it is of bad quality, leading citizens to take out private insurance. The same happens with education, with parents frequently being compelled by law to send their children to school and to ensure their attendance. But often in the rural areas of the country there are simply no schools, while in the cities there tend to be too few places to cope with the demand.

But this should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the identification of exclusion through legal frameworks may offer parallels with more developed countries, where these rights are usually set out in the law, but in many of which they are far from being applied in practice. Many constitutions set forth the right to work, health care, housing and a decent life, but these rights are denied in everyday life. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that, as a result of the increasing influence of international texts, certain standards are being established which may serve as a guide for the identification of exclusion on the spot, in both the South and the North. In any case, rights form a framework for inclusion/exclusion, even though the quality of democratic life is not only determined by the individual and collective norms that they define, but also by the participation of citizens in their acceptance and/or development. This is an area that offers broad scope for manifestations of inclusion and exclusion in relation to political, social, cultural and economic power, starting at the lowest level (family, district, neighbourhood) and in certain cases reaching up to the highest level of international relations. In this regard, globalization (Deacon, Hulse and Stubbs, 1997; Hespanha, 2000a) constitutes a danger, because it makes the centres of power somewhat more distant and vague, while at the same time influencing living conditions in many corners of the world, as well as being a challenge, because it demands awareness, organizational capacity and new means of building up a force capable of making its voice heard and negotiating at the global level.

The information that circulates, the channels of participation, where and when participation takes place, the manner in which citizens organize themselves, the strength with which they do so and the extent to which they are able to influence the decisions that affect them, are all indicators that make it possible to detect and measure the manifestations of exclusion and the extent to which power is shared.

But the task would only be half completed if the symbolic and cultural aspects of the concept were not addressed, even though, in general terms, they are the least

widely explored (Bouget and Nogues, 1994). This is perhaps because they are sometimes the least visible and those which most clearly distinguish the definition of exclusion from the more material concept of poverty.

As Déchamps states (1998), the economic dimension of exclusion involves successive absences from the world of production and consumption, its social dimension encompasses the loss of primary and secondary social relations and its symbolic dimension may be defined by common attitudes and values, as well as by the images which tend to be used to classify people from a social point of view (the negative image of people who let themselves go or are considered incompetent or mediocre).

There can be no doubting the symbolic and cultural aspects of exclusion, nor the fact that they tend to reinforce its material dimensions. But it is another question as to how symbolic links are gradually weakened and feelings of belonging broken down, how forms of identity vanish and how labels, clichés, prejudices, stigmatization and even racism develop and come to be accepted. Here the point at issue is not so much the social structure of inequality as the negative differentiation that is projected onto others, and the social and economic role that this may play in the system as a whole.

This seems to be the case of the Akhdam people in the Republic of Yemen, where these domestic servants, in the same way as other Africans, are kept in remote ghettos and employed in degrading work, such as cleaning and collecting rubbish, and whose cultural exclusion is reinforced by their undefined genealogical origins (Hashem, 1995).

It can be argued that the symbolic manifestations of exclusion are also dynamic, and to a certain extent reciprocal (Nasse, 1992). The dominant institutions start by applying negative labels and attributes to define and classify all those who do not conform to their rules, which at this stage may either give rise to complicity or to conflict between the parties concerned. At a second stage, the victorious social mindset can use its categorization to legitimize differences in the treatment of others, who either have to accept or outwardly adapt to their assigned level of the social hierarchy, although they can retain their own forms of self-identification. At a third stage, characterized by strong repression and stigmatization, this is no longer possible, and they tend to be characterized more by social and cultural fragmentation and precariousness.

The reality is undoubtedly more complex, and these stages may overlap or occur through other mechanisms. But they perhaps have the merit of drawing attention to the fact that, to evaluate manifestations of exclusion, it is necessary to reach out to the excluded themselves. Focusing on definitions of exclusion runs the risk of forgetting that it actually exists, because there are human beings, families, groups and areas which suffer from it.

Many authors ask the question, "the exclusion of what?" With some exceptions, such as those who exclude themselves voluntarily, and other cases of positive exclusion, through which certain groups are excluded from a *normality* that would be harmful to them (such as the exclusion of children from work), social exclusion is a forced process that affects individuals. There are therefore personal manifestations of exclusion. However, just as awareness grew that poverty cannot be attributed to pathological or genetic factors, indolence or laziness (Alcock, 1993), it is necessary to seek in the phenomenon of exclusion the links between the positions and functions of individuals and their roles in the economy, society and politics.

In the first place, individuals are both *producers and consumers*. It is for this reason that many authors have placed emphasis on exclusion that is linked to the segmentation of the labour market and the growth of precarious employment, with the effect that inclusion is tending to be limited to occupational and professional integration. In practice, in Western Europe in the 1980s and 1990s, this was indeed the main concern. But in the least industrialized societies, its relationship with land ownership (land occupation and use) takes on great importance, as does access to credit and information technology the world over.

Exclusion in relation to consumption has to be understood in terms of goods and public and private services. The most radical type of exclusion consists of deprivation of products of primary necessity, that is those that permit subsistence and reproduction. But often the lack and/or distance of facilities and services (hospitals, schools) become elements in the chain of events that reproduce exclusion. Social security benefits play a remarkable role in overall individual and family income, thereby allowing a large number of people to escape from the clutches of poverty (Deleeck, van den Bosch and de Lathouwer, 1992). In this sense, the typology, quantity, scope and quality of benefits and the conditions of access to them are tangible manifestations of inclusion/exclusion.

As has already been explained, the underlying reasons for exclusion can be found in the strength/weakness of the *primary and secondary social relations* between individuals. However, its individual manifestations in its political dimension are to be found in the extent to which individuals are able to exercise their role as *citizens* (Bruto da Costa, 1998). Finally, position and attitudes in terms of cultural identity, in the broadest sense of the term, with the prevailing values and rules also have to be taken into account.

Human beings may be distinguished, and often categorized, in terms of their origin, gender, age and ethnic, linguistic, political or religious roots, or the activities that they carry out to work, live, play sports and their cultural activities. From this perspective, exclusion, which may be internal or affect one group in relation to another, has its origins not in differentiation, but in a separation that categorizes its victims as inferior and in negative inequality.

The criteria governing these classifications may be somewhat artificial, changeable and confused. It is therefore necessary to guard against classifications that are

based on a simplistic dichotomy (some/others), or that are rigid (the elderly are always excluded) or one-dimensional. However, they can often help to understand manifestations of exclusion and to design policies and measures that are relatively appropriate for its eradication.

The transition from the second to the third poverty programmes in Europe was partly due to the increased awareness of the limitations of a classification based on target populations (such as the long-term unemployed, single-parent families or second generation immigrants) and the switch to integrated and spatial strategies.

It is precisely *space* that is the last of the manifestations of exclusion. It has already been mentioned, but is worth re-emphasizing. The traditional approach is to propose a division along local, regional, national and international lines. But this type of distinction may explain a tremendous amount in some locations, but not in others. For example, living on islands may sometimes be either a cause or an effect of either exclusion or inclusion.

This is the case of Rodrigues Island, where the population is mainly Creole and Catholic. It is officially part of the island of Mauritius, where the population is principally Hindu (52 per cent) and which has experienced strong economic growth due to tourism, sugar production and being an export processing zone. Rodrigues Island, which depends on stock-raising and fishing, has been excluded from this growth. Its inhabitants appear to have rejected the qualification of being excluded, but readily accept being called poor. Contrary to what might be expected, the large number of migrants from Rodrigues Island in Mauritius have not only continued to be poor, but have also entered a process of exclusion as a result of their separation from their social networks, which are particularly strong on their island, and they are stigmatized as squatters and delinquents.

Another case is that of the Spanish Balearic Islands, and in another form the Canary Islands, which form part of north European tourist circuit, which has resulted in a gradual rise in income, but substantial internal differences (between islands, between the coast and inland areas) and an increase in external dependence mechanisms (tour operators, labour and certain products) and a certain level of polarization in relation to the foreign population that has settled there.

Another example, this time of borders being overcome, is that of the frontier areas of Tras os Montes in Portugal and the mountainous district of the Galician province of Ourense, which share cultural patterns, isolation, the ageing of the population, the lack of facilities and an economic backwardness in comparison with the urban and coastal areas of their respective countries.

Spatial exclusion may sometimes be either more diffused or more concentrated than institutional (political, administrative or legal) divisions, or may not correspond to economic or spatial planning areas.

This is the case, for instance, in European cities, where a dual process tends to exist, consisting of the degradation of certain historical centres alongside the emergence of suburban slums. The urban map of exclusion rarely matches administrative divisions, which means that it is necessary to reconstitute zones for purposes of intervention. This has led to the determination of other spatial entities, such as agglomerations and *intercommunal* areas, in second generation *urban* contracts in France.

It would not be appropriate at this juncture to describe the massive processes of urbanization that have occurred in most Latin American, African and Asian countries, and which have led to a deterioration in city life, often to scarcely credible extremes. Cities in these countries are seeing a dual process whereby, on the one hand, unused land, degraded spaces and buildings in their central areas are taken over while, on the other hand and in a more marked manner, new and more peripheral areas are being created to which newcomers are driven by property speculation. Here, they undertake a certain process of land development through clearing, the creation of thoroughfares and minimal forms of infrastructure. These areas suffer from the worst environmental conditions (industrial waste, fumes, noise, rubbish, lack of drinking water and of community facilities). Moreover, the street has gradually become the home of a certain type of adult population, with neither family nor community relations, and also for an increasingly large number of ever-younger boys and girls. They are the focus of a whole range of problems (including drug addiction, police persecution, alcoholism and early pregnancies) for a population who need to *get by* (Cornely, 2000).

These phenomena also occur in Asia and Africa. In the latter, and more specifically in Cape Verde, the ruralization of the urban periphery, persistent drought and the resulting rural exodus, the abandonment of children by their parents, the existence of a large number of single mothers and the continued high birth rates, combined with the lack of childcare institutions, have led to an increase in the number of *crianças na rua* (children who congregate in the street) and the more permanent *crianças de rua* (children living in the street), who scrape a living by delivering small loads in airports, markets and ports, washing cars or cultivating small vegetable gardens. More recently, they have tended to group together in pirate bands (*piratinhas)*, under the influence of young people returning from the United States, thereby contributing to the climate of insecurity and their growing exclusion.

But while human mobility is constantly increasing, it is at the local level that exclusion continues to be generated and manifested, and which is therefore one of the key dimensions in endeavouring to understand it and combat it.

Irrespective of points of view, it cannot be denied that globalization is affecting the international division of labour and the movement of capital, goods and persons. It not only conditions the margin of manoeuvre of governments, but also has an impact on living conditions in many specific areas, while transforming the traditional coordinates of the periphery and the centre, an aspect which has been emphasized in Latin American (Faria, 1994) and also European literature (Hespanha, 2000a; Deacon, Hulse and Stubbs, 1997).

As one of these authors recognizes, a large part of the north-east of Brazil has been negatively affected by the consequences of globalization (Faria, 1997). It has also had a similar effect on the situation of people in rural areas in Portugal (Hespanha, 1997).

With globalization, African societies have been developing towards a post-State structure without having spent long periods governed by rules, standards and rights determined in the framework of national/State cultures (Gore, 1995).

Even transnational hierarchies are changing very rapidly. Countries which used to be in an inferior position are climbing the stairway of inclusion, and are therefore gaining greater economic and political influence. The converse is also happening. These shifts are also occurring within countries, where regions, areas and localities are being isolated from the hubs of communication, transport, accumulation and trade, and are suffering from regressive demographic structures, with few and obsolete facilities and public services. In addition, their local oligarchies hamper social and cultural innovation and keep these areas in a state of progressive economic stagnation, thereby increasing passivity and apathy and reducing opportunities for collective initiative. These areas and societies as a whole are gradually becoming impoverished and excluded, with the risk of vulnerability increasing for the population as a whole, even though not all individuals and groups are in this situation.

Understanding the spatial manifestations of exclusion does not only involve emphasizing the major spatial parameters, but also the micro-geography of power (Sánchez, 1981). This is particularly relevant for local projects. A conventional description of general variables, showing how a space is structured and distributed, both really and symbolically, is not therefore sufficient. It is also necessary to delve deeper to find out how actors and institutions operate, particularly in the social field, and how the world of the excluded sometimes submits, in other cases finds an accommodation and in yet others responds by recreating a space from which it sometimes re-emerges, with other signs and networks, and not at the prevailing rhythm.

It is well known that in Spain travellers (*carrilanos)* and vagrants of all kinds used to (and still to a certain extent do) organize specific urban circuits for their different basic needs (such as food, clothing and somewhere to sleep) and the institutions that provide support. While travelling, they leave signs that they alone understand indicating the presence of friends (houses where they can eat and sleep, etc.), enemies (the Civil Guard, local police) and local customs (festivals, markets). They have even created a vocabulary of their own (Díaz Caneja, 1985).

This opens up a broad field for research into the spatial micro-relations of exclusion and the related responses. It leads, firstly, to estimating (Jonkers, 1998) and mapping the risks (CERFE, 1999) and, secondly, to endeavouring to unveil the opacity in which these relations are normally shrouded.

When confronted by those living in the rural world, and particularly in high mountain villages, *homo urbanus,* or the parachuted project leader, encounters evasive replies, erroneous indications and schedules, customs and attitudes which create successive surprises as she/he attempts to overcome the age-old mistrust of the so-called locals, indigenous peoples and other natives who are still putting up resistance in these uncivilized areas.

For over ten years, the team of sociologists led by Guidicini and Pieretti (1998) has been carrying out detailed studies of the charitable institutions in certain Italian cities, and particularly Bologna, and of the urban networks and social relations recreated by those in situations of extreme difficulty (Bergamaschi, 1995).

A circle has been completed in addressing the manifestations of exclusion since, although using a different approach, these studies resemble the pioneering work on poverty carried out by Lewis and Hoggarth in the 1960s.

2.2. Clues for the analysis and measurement of exclusion

In a period of relative limbo between the first and second European programmes, and following the more monetary and quantitative definition of poverty adopted by the European Council, a meeting was held in Venice in 1982 (Sarpellon, 1984) in which Hiernaux and Bodson raised a substantive question: should poverty be measured and managed, or should it be understood and transformed (Hiernaux and Bodson, 1984)?

2.2.1. Measuring and understanding exclusion. Its opacity

The same question, when applied to exclusion, can serve as an introduction to this section, which endeavours to provide clues for its analysis and measurement, while at the same time indicating some of the difficulties and limitations involved. In practice, counting, measuring and quantifying exclusion tends to lead to its management and, to a certain point, its replication, while understanding and explaining it may give rise to different strategies, including its transformation and eradication. In any event, what is of interest is to attain the fullest possible knowledge of it. And to understand exclusion, it is first necessary to recognize that its polysemic nature involves a complexity that makes it very difficult to address. The great difference between the two concepts lies on the fact that poverty has been the subject of broad and far-reaching research, supported by many publications, methodological debates, empirical statistical analyses and qualitative monographs, the origins of which are lost in mediaeval mists. This process was subsequently reinvigorated by the contribution of social sciences in the nineteenth century and then taken up again as from the 1970s. In contrast, this has not been the case for exclusion, the expression and conceptualization of which did not take off until the 1980s in Western Europe, as indicated in the previous chapter.

In other words, in the case of poverty there is an accumulated knowledge and a relatively broad consensus on its definition and determination. The same is not true for exclusion, a concept that is still being developed and is making its way through a series of successive perspectives and approaches. This gives rise to a first consideration concerning the need for prudence in its use and for awareness of the importance of continuing to try and improve its conceptual and operational treatment.

A second consideration is that, in view of the vague and confusing use of the term, it is advisable to start by clearing the semantic field and identifying what it means, the processes to which it can be applied and those to which it cannot. As it is not a neutral term and is charged with political connotations and implicit paradigms, it is necessary to make them explicit and subject them to critical assessment,

always bearing in mind that each school of thought and cultural tradition logically endeavours to serve its own interests.

Moreover, each scientific approach endeavours to develop a field of its own by appropriating exclusion for itself. It cannot be denied that economics has filled poverty with content, by pointing to its profound relation with scarcity and proposing that it should be analysed in terms of consumption and income, and measured in quantitative and monetary terms. In contrast, theories based on deprivation and destitution, which are more influenced by sociological considerations, have emphasized the lack of ownership of goods and services and the fact that poverty cannot be separated from inequality or more qualitative phenomena. It would be unfair and a complete paradox if the concept of exclusion and its analysis were to be monopolized by a single discipline to the exclusion of all others! No, all scientists and professionals, regardless of their academic origin, are invited to participate in this adventure by means of an interdisciplinary debate involving all the social and human sciences. This should be a deductive and analytical debate to which each perspective can and must contribute, without overlooking the fact that thousands of actions and studies are still to be put into actual practice, which should provide further reference points for the triangulation of exclusion.

The final consideration concerns the opacity of exclusion. This means that the heterogeneity, diversification and disaggregation of the concept are compounded, on the one hand, by the proliferation of discourses, in which the mass media are not uninvolved, and which serve to mask the phenomenon and, on the other hand, the difficulty of penetrating its intrinsic opacity. It is not easy to uncover the economic, social, political and cultural processes which circumscribe exclusion and their mutual links and to relate them to the individuals, groups and communities that suffer from it. Moreover, these processes are neither stable nor homogeneous, nor are their rhythm of change over time or their location clear. It should be added that, unless the types and modes of exclusion are clearly recognized in mainstream society, the institutions and actors that generate it endeavour to cover up their role. A priori, nobody likes to acknowledge their role in the process of exclusion, and steps are therefore taken to divert attention and muddy the analysis, with a view to impeding revelatory insights.

> Those working on specific projects sometimes have the impression, as in thrillers, that the killer is paying the detective to find out whether he/she is likely to be discovered, and laying down a series of false trails so as not to be found out.

When exclusion is being investigated, the target populations may react with indifference, mistrust and even opposition if they are treated as objects, are unaware of the purpose of the investigation and what will be done with its findings, and do not know the extent to which it will improve or worsen their situation. They may even build up defensive mechanisms and arguments that reflect the prevailing

ideology. Reference should also be made to what it means to be at the stage of extreme exclusion, when opacity is sometimes a prerequisite for survival, and that groupings are rarely formed during the process of disintegration. In other words, it is very difficult for individuals under these extreme conditions to join together and organize themselves to make their voices heard. It is for this reason that the term *empowerment* is being used increasingly widely. These populations may even disappear from official statistics and conventional surveys, which seldom cover prisoners, persons in remote areas, dependent and institutionalized elderly persons, vagrants, persons with chronic illnesses or young drop-outs.

There are always exceptions and, to mention only a few, reference may be made to Bourdieu in France (1999) and Casado in Spain (1990b), Mayhew and Orwell years ago in the United Kingdom with *London labour and the London poor* and *The road to Wigan pier*, respectively, as well as more recently to Harrisson (1983), Seabrook (1985) and Campbell (1984), in addition to Louro (1999) in Portugal and others who have described the paths of exclusion and personal and collective situations of vulnerability and decline. In one way or another, they have given a voice to the poor and excluded, which is one way of starting to break down the opacity that surrounds them.

In some projects working in the Brazilian *favelas*, photographic *displays* were used to visualize the gradual changes taking place there every four months. Successive photos revealed the progress made, which was important for both the inhabitants and those financing the projects.

2.2.2. Some methodological approaches

In accordance with the definition adopted, there is a need for longitudinal studies that are able to take into account the passage of time, the weight of economic cycles and of long-term demographic, social and political changes, including not only the generation of exclusion, but also its reproduction over generations. Longitudinal research into poverty carried out in the countries of the North has shown its mobility. This has led to the question of how many individuals enter relative poverty, how many remain there, how many escape from it, whether they are always the same individuals and the causal factors of such entries and exits. Although not strictly pursuing these objectives, the long series of national surveys on household budgets and annual labour force studies in the European Union provide indications which can also be used for specific aspects of exclusion. The launching of the European Community Household Panel (ECHP), the various observatories (such as those on social protection, the homelessness and old age), among which the European Observatory on National Policies to Combat Social Exclusion, 1990 to 1994, was of special relevance, the various annual social and labour reports (em-

ployment, Social Europe) are contributing to the progress that is being made. In addition, the Luxembourg Income Study (LIS) has made it possible to start integrating longitudinal data (data series) from a number of countries, not only in the European Union, but also the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and the United States (Okrasa, Smeeding and Torrey, 1992) and to make transnational comparisons (Förster, 1994). But many of these surveys only cover individual and/or family data (micro-level), which means that they are necessary but not sufficient steps (Vranken, 1995) if it is intended to build up a dynamic model explaining structural and institutional changes. Moreover, creating and continuing such surveys is both very costly and complex, which may amount to a serious obstacle for many countries of the South, where the production of statistics is still incipient.

The comparison of databases at the international level is by no means easy. The types, levels and quality of the data may differ. Many of them are indirect and come from research on the population in general, but miss the poorest and most excluded. In other cases, the production of statistics may be deficient because of failure to meet the conditions of relevance, timeliness, accuracy, comparability and access (Breuer, Estivill and Vranken, 1999).

Several countries have launched regular national reports on poverty, and they are increasingly incorporating exclusion. Through the use of primary data (census, property registers, etc.), public and private administrative records (social assistance and benefit institutions, unemployment records), general or specific surveys, more qualitative studies and those focusing on a specific area (region, district), or targeted at specific communities, these countries have set in motion time-based analyses which make an undoubted contribution to a better understanding of the reality and to policy-making.

The general studies carried out by the Combat Poverty Agency and the Economic and Social Research Institute in Ireland (Callan et al., 1996) have had an influence on the national strategy. This is also the case in Belgium with the national report published in 1994 (Carton and Neirinckx, 1994) and in Flanders with the regular reports produced since 1992 by the Research Group on Poverty, Social Exclusion and Minorities (CASUM/OASES) (Vranken et al., 1991-2000). In France, an Observatory was established in 1999 which has already published a first report (Observatoire National, 2000). Indeed, all the Member States of the European Union have submitted (June 2001) a national plan for social inclusion, which includes a diagnosis of exclusion in each country.

One of the procedures most widely used to analyse and measure exclusion consists of indicators. Since they began to be used systematically in the 1970s, they have caused much ink to flow (Berger-Schmitt and Jankowitsch, 1999). Many international bodies now publish reports using social indicators, of which perhaps the best known is the *Human Development Report* published by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) since 1990.

At the Lisbon Summit, it was agreed to give a new impetus to the European Union's Social Agenda, and the Nice Summit endorsed the idea of submitting reports on national inclusion plans which, in view of the method of open coordination, will have to be based on common social indicators. At the Stockholm Summit in March 2001, the European Commission proposed a set of seven indicators (income distribution in the highest and lowest deciles, the percentage of the population below the poverty line before and after social transfers, the persistence of poverty [continuously for three years], the percentage of workless households, regional disparities measured by the coefficient of the regional unemployment rate, the percentage of individuals between 18 and 24 years of age who have not received any kind of training and have only completed secondary education, and the unemployment rate).

This is not the place to address the broad controversy concerning the relevance, meaning, importance and use of social indicators, or the very technical debates on such issues as their design, representativity, comparability, validation and transparency (Atkinson, Cantillon and Nolan, 2001). Suffice it to say that they are normally used to describe certain aspects of the social situation and to assess and monitor the results of policies and measures. In any case, it is necessary to raise the issue of who defines such indicators and the effects that they have.

With regard to the economic dimension, the first indicators to be used established the poverty threshold in relation to *income*. This can be done using official standards (such as minimum income schemes), the cost of a basket of foodstuffs, the definition of relative poverty with scales of equivalence based on budgets and using subjective methods (van den Bosch, 1999). Other indicators can measure *economic resources as a whole*, since having a low income is not necessarily equivalent to a situation of poverty, or indeed exclusion.

The Swedish *Social report* includes the debts and liquidity of households and individuals and their capacity to cover basic expenditure on food, housing, childcare and health.

Unrealizable assets, exchanges of goods in kind in rural economies and the underground economy, among other factors, reduce the significance of measurements of poverty based only on income.

A third set of indicators relate to *living conditions*. These include initiatives based on the concept of deprivation from specific goods and services, as well as the use of non-financial indicators that can measure other aspects of exclusion. This approach has been gaining ground as awareness has grown of the multidimensional nature of exclusion. But it comes up against political requirements and the needs of the mass media for a synthetic index, as initially it can only offer a

diversified battery of indicators measuring the various aspects of exclusion. The difficulties arise with regard to the relations between and comparability of these dimensions and their relative weights.

For example, access to heating may be an essential variable in cold countries, but is superfluous in tropical climates. On the contrary, access to running and drinking water is of very little significance in Europe, but quite the reverse in certain African nations.

The first issue, namely determining the list of indicators of living conditions, is an area in which considerable progress has been made, although a broad consensus is still far from being attained.

Table 1 shows that, despite a certain dispersion, there is also some convergence in the dimensions used in the annual reports in Austria, Belgium, Netherlands, Sweden and United Kingdom and the requirements of the European Union.

As for the comparison of indicators, each of them can be given a different weight, making it possible to take them into account in accordance with their significance in terms of deprivation. This allows the attainment of a certain level of integration, which will grow with time.

Another methodological problem arises when it is wished to use dimensions that cannot be expressed in monetary terms, even though they are quantifiable, and to make a distinction between those that tend to indicate situations of poverty and those that are related more directly to exclusion. Many overlap, while others

Table 1. Dimensions identified in certain national reports on poverty and exclusion (not including income)

Dimensions	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Employment	+	+	+		+	+
Education	+		+		+	+
Housing	+	+	+	+	+	+
Health	+	+	+	+	+	+
Consumer durables				+		
Delinquency				+		+
Access to services			+			+
Justice			+			
Leisure				+		
Socio-cultural integration		+	+			

(1) Dimensions identified at the European Union Lisbon Summit
(2) *Social situation of households* (Austria)
(3) *Yearbook of poverty and social exclusion* (Belgium)
(4) *Poverty monitoring and social indicators* (Netherlands)
(5) *Social report* (Sweden)
(6) *Opportunity for all in a world of change* (United Kingdom)

are not comparable. In some cases, indicators can be selected which relate more to one or other of the concepts and it can be seen which of them occur most frequently, or a certain threshold of differentiation can be established. For instance, a particular family may have high scores in six out of ten poverty indicators, but only in four exclusion indicators, which means that it is in a worse situation with regard to poverty than exclusion. In addition, if the indicators are applied over time, they can give an idea of the cumulative nature of the various aspects.

Progress has been made in the development of non-monetary indicators of exclusion, although much still remains to be done. Some countries have already started to apply them.

In Austria, indicators of socio-cultural integration are used, such as membership of an association, meeting friends or relatives at least once a week and having regular conversations with neighbours. The French Observatory (Loisy, 2000) proposes the long-term need for assistance benefits, the denial of health and housing rights and the accumulation of handicaps, which lead to long-term exclusion and isolation, with emphasis being placed on the duration of these situations.

In practice, proposals have been and are being made at the level of the European Union (CESIS, 1996; Whelan, 1993; Engels, Estivill and Vranken, 2001) for the possible use of these non-monetary indicators. The latest proposal (Atkinson, Cantillon and Nolan, 2001) is along the lines of the establishment of three types/stages of indicators, of which the third would be used for international comparisons.

It should be noted that, without necessarily having to go as far as a synthetic indicator, a combination of indicators would be one of the best indirect ways of addressing the various dimensions (economic, social and political) of exclusion.

In 1996, a first version of the São Paulo social exclusion/inclusion map was developed. In 2000, a second map was published (Sposati, 2000) showing developments during the 1990s, as reflected in the visualization of changes in the indicators and variables used. This last attempt at social topography incorporates a new integrated multi-variable index which allows the measurement of rises and falls in the geographical incidence of the series of indicators.

To conclude this synthetic review of indicators, reference should be made to their use in endeavouring to identify spatial exclusion and the exclusion of specific population groups.

In the first case, in accordance with the definition adopted, and going beyond traditional analyses based on levels of underdevelopment in terms of demography, the economy, education and health, attempts are being made to use them to achieve a better perspective of spatial separation and inferiority with regard to centres of power, resources and values.

For example, what really matters is not so much the illiteracy or primary education rates, as the reasons for the former and how they interact with other variables, and what is learned by those who go to school and whether it helps them to find a job, etc.

When indicators detect a concentration of forms of exclusion, it is easier to analyse their spatial dimension, which may include isolation and distance from the central networks of goods, services, capital or knowledge. In any event, an attempt should be made to compare indicators reflecting a geographical hierarchy. But all this is made more difficult when exclusion has a vague spatial basis. Where should the frontiers be placed in the large cities of the countries of the South, or between suburban areas in the cities of the North, or in areas in which exclusion becomes vague? There are sometimes clear frontiers, such as thoroughfares, certain geomorphological features, differences in climate or natural resources. But this is not always the case. In these instances, indicators of land use and ownership, which give some indication of the degree of appropriation/disappropriation of the population, might be useful. The relationship with and distance from the market and services, the time spent using transport, and in particular the signs of identification used by individuals and the creation and development of their personal and collective relations may provide clues that are useful in delimiting the representation of space in social, cultural and linguistic terms. Attention could then be focused on the ecology of internal and external exclusion from a spatial perspective.

Detecting the exclusion of target populations through indicators is not a difficult task. There are tested and easily applicable sets of indicators for disability (Combat Poverty Agency, 1994) and for comparisons between the sexes, the various age groups (children, the young, the elderly), labour discrimination, etc.

The White Paper in the United Kingdom, *Opportunity for All in a World of Change*, in the context of the priority given to child poverty, establishes 12 indicators relating to education, household income, the employment situation of the family, infant health, housing conditions and family relations.

In the publication prepared by the ILO for the Fourth World Conference on Women, a set of indicators was used to demonstrate the increasing feminization of poverty, the lower participation of women in the formal labour market, the more limited range of occupations that they exercise, their higher incidence in badly paid and atypical jobs and the persistence of wage disparities in comparison with the remuneration received by men for work of equal value. It focused on the role played by the low social esteem of women and the absence of statistical indicators to quantify care work and housework as factors contributing to the lack of visibility of their work (ILO, 2000).

But this chapter cannot be concluded without recalling that indicators measure specific dimensions and aspects, nearly always in an indirect manner. They therefore, in the same way as all the other methods and tools described, offer both advantages and drawbacks. This means that there is no single way to describe, measure, assess and explain exclusion. Data and statistics, administrative and managerial records, general and specific qualitative and quantitative surveys, cartographic exercises, participant observation, indicators, local monographs and life histories all have both limits and potential. It is therefore necessary to caution prudence and rigour, and to conclude that the most reasonable approach is to combine all of these methods and, above all, to adapt them in practice to the objectives and strategies that are being pursued.

Chapter 3.
Strategies for combating exclusion

Following the examination in the first chapter of the meaning and use of the concept of exclusion, its emergence and diffusion, and the analysis in the second chapter of its principal manifestations and the manner in which it can be identified, the time has come to address the strategies that can be used to combat it and to provide some useful orientations regarding interventions for its eradication.

This is not meant to be an exhaustive analysis of these strategies, but a more modest examination of the role of the actors with a view to proposing a number of typologies as a basis for distinguishing between the various possible options. These themes are covered in the first two sections of the chapter, with the third offering some guidance on orientations which, after being tested, have gradually come to be broadly accepted in international bodies and national plans and programmes by most of the socio-economic actors and associations, and are being applied and compared in thousands of interventions and projects the world over.

3.1. Positions and attitudes of the multiplicity of actors

Perhaps this is the moment to raise the issue of why action is taken to combat exclusion, and to outline the positions and attitudes of the multiplicity of actors involved in this action. Reflecting the definitions and manifestations of exclusion, two preliminary responses can be proposed: the first at the *individual* level and second at the *collective* level.

3.1.1. A new culture in the voluntary sector

Exclusion and inclusion form part of an essential dual function for individuals: on the one hand, self-assertion as being somewhat different from others and, on the other, the impossibility of living without others. From this perspective, the history of humanity could be interpreted from two opposing standpoints which offer almost no common ground: an inclusive paradise or total annihilation of the excluded. These two absolute extremes are in theory almost inconceivable, practically unachievable and totally undesirable. However, this does not mean there have not been systematic attempts to attain them.

But what is of interest here is to identify the motivations of those who are between the two extremes and who are endeavouring to develop a more inclusive attitude and a less exclusive society. This may lead to a better understanding of the intricate world of strategies.

If all cultures and civilizations have tended and still tend towards self-assertion, and even the denial of others, there have also been awareness and voices raised in all of them against excesses, or merely against the negative derivations which impact on human life, its dignity and the sufferings and humiliation that they cause. This leads to a more original matrix of the motivations for combating exclusion as a certain feeling of shared commitment to respecting others and their lives which could be captured in the phrase *Do unto others as you wish them to do unto you*, or the Kantian maxim of acting at the individual level as if one's behaviour could be taken as a general standard. This mutual respect and commitment can have philosophical, religious, political, social or cultural roots and may take on forms ranging from fraternity to solidarity, compassion to love, a sense of responsibility to altruism.

Charity, assistance and philanthropy have been and still are great driving forces in individual attitudes to the provision of assistance in situations of poverty and exclusion. Indeed, their origins are lost in the mists of time and cross seas and continents. Nor is there much risk in affirming that over the past 30 years there has been a resurgence and a new dynamic in the multiple forms taken by individual voluntary work. As volunteers have become increasingly aware that the problems of poverty and exclusion also have a global dimension, they have not been content to confine themselves to local action, but have also devoted their time, capacities and money to the relief of natural or provoked vulnerability and segregation at the international level. Over recent years, there has been a very considerable growth of networks, organizations, platforms and federations whose vocation is to go beyond national frontiers. But mentioning all of them would be nearly impossible and out of place.

In parallel with this increasingly international dimension (Robbins, 1990; Gaskin and Davis, 1990; Fondazione Italiana per il Volontariato, 1997), many studies have placed emphasis on the remarkable changes that have occurred in individual and collective reasons for undertaking voluntary work.

Even at the risk of being a little simplistic, it may be said that some years ago voluntary work was often motivated by a sense of religious or class loyalty. In both cases, its strength came from a belief in future salvation, more spiritual for some and more earthly for others, but both projected into the future. It was a categorical duty. It was necessary to help others and this duty was towards the most disabled, or the least aware. Its aim was to contain the most negative material or ideological, and therefore relatively marginal, effects of the system. Individual charity, redemption, indulgence and even dedication, generosity, commitment or claiming a moral basis for the respective attitudes were the most commonly advanced explanations or justifications for interventions that were considered to be exemplary, although frequently unskilled. In general, organizations were inward-looking and

reflected internally the prevailing models in terms of verticality, hierarchy, membership and economic opacity. Business criteria of planning, monitoring and evaluation were rarely applied. Politics and the economy were other worlds which tended to be ignored and even disparaged. Relations with the public sector were sporadic, characterized by mutual mistrust and sometimes coloured by issues of competence and even antagonism.

Clearly, these traits were not shared by all individuals, organizations and countries. And some of them are still present, although there has been a shift towards other characteristics which are shaping a new culture of voluntary work within and outside Western Europe (Sing-Pio, 2000).

Current motivations, which are less clear-cut and ideologically more pragmatic, break with the old polarizations between lay and religious, spiritual and earthly, conservative and progressive. They are more sporadic and specific, even in terms of adherence to and continued support of organizations by their members. Solidarity, peace, tolerance, the right to be different and even pleasure and friendship are the most commonly used expressions. The relationship with persons who are excluded is taking on another meaning. It is no longer a case of saving them, but of jointly identifying the causes of their exclusion, securing their independence and seeking their inclusion, rather than their integration. Access to rights is advocated and discrimination is denounced, while at the same time organizations are created to provide services with a view to achieving concrete results. The efforts of these organizations are directed towards training and qualification and there is an important process of professionalization. This new internal style oscillates between the quest for effectiveness, the adoption of business criteria, the demand for participation and a horizontal decision-making process. The relationship with the business world is changing and the political dimension is not rejected, even though political parties are mistrusted and awareness of social citizenship is rising. There is also a growing *rapprochement* with the public sector, in an endeavour to find more or less complementary roles, and the responsibility for conserving public and collective assets (such as the environment, cultural heritage, civil protection, peace) is no longer restricted to the few. In general, voluntary organizations are tending to break their isolation and disintegration by joining with others and establishing federations, forums, networks and platforms which find their strength at the local level, but which are increasingly projecting themselves at the international level (Estivill, 2000b).

3.1.2. Collective reasons

Reflection on the transition from more conventional forms of individual voluntary action to current approaches also serves as a bridge towards more *collective* motivations. Without denying the value of the former as urgent assistance, as a remedy, personal counselling and an outstretched hand can be invaluable, this does not detract from the fact that those who provide such assistance adopt an economic, social and cultural position which they believe to be superior, which is

seldom totally gratuitous and which addresses effects rather than causes. For this reason, individual voluntary work is organized and endeavours to find responses at the collective level, even though there are still organizations with the mission of providing personalized help.

What then are the most general shared motivations?

It is clear that initially the first common motivation for combating exclusion is *that of the persons affected*, either to survive and improve their individual material conditions and those of their families, or to throw off the suffering, ignominy and segregation to which they are subjected (Hoggarth, 1957). Empirical experience of the difficulties, the vicious circles that are often insuperable, personal weaknesses and enormous obstacles that have to be surmounted can lead to acceptance, submission and even fatalism in a culture that in such cases tends to close in upon itself (Lewis, 1964). But nobody wants to live in exclusion... except for those who have, exceptionally, chosen this path for reasons of religious asceticism, cultural isolation or a collective or individual choice of alternative ways of life.

The exception described above confirms the rule and it is accordingly useful to recall that human beings group together through primary social networks, either in specific groups which share a similar condition, interest or culture, or because they have a feeling of belonging to the area in which they live, as well as to survive or to be stronger and to express and defend their identities, which may be somewhat or very different from that of others. This is therefore the second motivation for confronting exclusion. It can go a long way in the desire for self-assertion and differentiation, to the extent of creating corporate groups which may end up forming society as a whole (Giner and Pérez Yruela, 1979).

The same happens at the local level, which may be either a focus of impoverishment and exclusion, or of promotion and emancipation. All the experts, and especially those of Anglo-Saxon origins (Chanan, 1992), coincide in emphasizing the enormous importance of *community initiatives and local development* as driving forces for collective involvement. This is why efforts to combat social exclusion are increasingly adopting this spatial approach, which is considered to be a strategic orientation of their mission.

Other generic reasons relate to *values* and *the materialization of rights*. Social justice, a certain degree of egalitarianism and respect for pluralism are commonly accepted in democratic societies, while enormous inequalities, systematic segregation and the denial of differences are difficult to admit. Constitutions and customary law enshrine a series of rights which guarantee these values and allow for reasonable levels of freedom in civil life. This is not to place on a pedestal a system that is full of contradictions, and which itself generates precariousness and exclusion through its institutions and policies, but to point out that in countries in which this system prevails there is a *legal and moral heritage* in which public opinion plays an important role, as well as increasingly the mass media, in favouring the protection of the weak and respect for the dignity of human beings. It should also be noted that public opinion and awareness of rights are taking on an international

dimension and that there has been a convergence at recent world summits in this direction, as well as a demand for a compensatory political power and justice which goes beyond national frontiers.

All this offers guarantees, albeit relative, of the application of the legal framework and the access of citizens to rights. From this point of view, States are under an obligation to intervene if certain thresholds of poverty are exceeded and significant population groups are excluded, particularly because they run the risk of a further loss of *legitimacy*. There is also a constantly increasing awareness of the enormous *cost* of poverty (Economic and Social Committee, 1998), and therefore of the savings offered by appropriate policies and measures, and of the fact that social action is an investment which also contributes to economic development. Gaps in the action of the public authorities are also being taken up as new reasons for denunciation and intervention by civil society.

It would be too naive to overlook the fact that fear and mistrust are also elements that undermine solidarity, as is the desire by institutions and politicians to reinforce the positive image that they wish to convey of themselves, and which is undermined by poverty and exclusion. These factors, like a mirror in which nobody wants to see their true reflection because it reveals risks and suffering, act as a collective stimulus, particularly for those who are closer to these situations.

Finally, it should not be forgotten that a number of interventions are initiated for *political reasons*. In some cases, because they use exclusion to show up the governing political organizations as ineffective; in others because they try to manipulate the groups in their care with a view to swelling their ranks; and in still yet others because they find their *raison d'être* in criticism of a system that generates exclusion and in the development of alternatives to the prevailing economic, social and political system. And finally, in yet others because persistent and unbearable situations of exclusion oblige the politicians responsible and the main actors on the political scene to take action.

3.2. The role of the actors

After reviewing the motivations, it is now necessary to go further and examine the role played by each of the actors.

While it can hardly be said the role of *international agencies* is new, it is undoubtedly growing. Their responsibility is increasing and ever-more voices are calling for them to intervene, both for humanitarian reasons, to cope with urgent situations caused by natural disasters which affect developing countries more severely in view of the greater fragility of their infrastructure, and also in the tragic aftermath of military conflicts, which devastate large areas and displace millions of human beings, who then have to seek asylum or refuge. Their intervention is also sought to alleviate the effects of the over-exploitation and destruction of the

planet's natural resources, and the consequent droughts, deforestation and climate change, as well as a long list of vulnerable and dependent populations, in addition to situations of the violation of the most basic human rights, such as the trafficking of women and children, the mutilation and prostitution of women and the thousands and thousands of cripples, torture victims and persons displaced by war.

Indeed, the task confronting international agencies is so huge and their resources so scarce, in relative terms, that many are sceptical about their effectiveness. This is not the place to evaluate the latter, even though it is worth recalling, as noted in previous sections, that each of these agencies, in accordance with its means and rationale, is increasing its interventions through international standards, recommendations and proposals, the denunciation of the most flagrant situations and specific programmes and projects.

It is clear, for example, that in the European Union the existence of resolutions and agreements, the three poverty programmes, Community initiatives and the recent obligation for each Member State to submit a plan for inclusion before June 2001, offers an opportunity that will increase the potential for local action.

Another example is provided by the European Parliament resolution of 1989 and the agreement at the 1992 Summit urging all Member States to adopt a guaranteed minimum income benefit, which influenced the adoption of such measures, firstly in France in 1989, followed by the pioneering initiative in the Basque country (1989-90), which was subsequently followed up in all the other Autonomous Communities in Spain, and later in Portugal (1996) and finally in Italy (1998).

A third example at the European level is the requirement placed upon Eastern European countries to respect human rights and the rights of minorities as a condition for their entry into the European Union.

3.2.1. Public awareness and civil society

As has already been noted, there is growing awareness among citizens that exclusion anywhere in the world affects us all and that everyone, within the limits of their possibilities, can do something about it. The campaigns against certain multinationals that do not respect labour rights, the possibility of implementing the so-called Tobin tax, the international legal persecution of certain crimes and the concept of a compensatory political and economic power, are modest examples in relation to the objectives pursued, but nevertheless significant. The Seattle, Prague and Porto Alegre meetings, whatever individual views of them may be, in terms of their capacity for organization and information, are glimmers in a firmament that

is still full of great black clouds. But the multiple and discordant voices of associations are now beginning to make themselves heard at the global level.

The voice of an emergent and gradually more consistent *civil society* is becoming one of the international, national and local protagonists in action to combat poverty and exclusion. A voice that assumes very different tones and volumes, the composition and acts of which are also varied. The fluidity of the concept that is shared raises many questions, particularly when applied to realities as diverse and distant as those of the North and the South. But in both of them, cracks are beginning to open up between the State and the market.

This classic dichotomy used to cast the former as the defender of the public interest, the guarantor and organizer of social protection, with responsibility for income distribution and equalization, and as the architect and manager of social and labour policies, while the latter was viewed as the artisan of productive spirit, the champion of competence and efficiency and the best instrument for allocating resources and work. But while this image of the dichotomy has never been totally accurate, it is now certainly far from the mark, and only a few nostalgic advocates of the hegemony of the State and of the market can still believe that the former has the monopoly of equality and the latter of freedom (Estivill, 1995). The qualitative and quantitative development of the third sector has exploded this compartmentalized view. The organizations concerned are increasingly defending collective interests, introducing solidarity mechanisms and intervening in the market by providing goods and managing services. This may be interpreted as a result of the incapacity of the market to cater for a demand which is not profitable and the relative crisis of the welfare state, which is tending to delegate its functions to private associations in view of their lower cost and greater versatility (Donati, 1978).

There is surely no shortage of arguments to support the thesis that the greater the presence of the social State and the market, the lower the influence of associations. But some examples are necessary to show that the issue is more complex than this.

For example, Portugal (Rodrigues, 1999) and Ireland (Curry, 1993) are two countries in which public social action and the number of non-profit-making voluntary social organizations have grown over the same period. And in Thatcher's United Kingdom and Reagan's United States there was also undoubtedly an increase in private profit-making initiatives alongside the very active participation of voluntary associations. International comparative research (Anheier and Salomon, 1998) shows that the seven countries with the highest level of public expenditure on social action, which include the Netherlands, Belgium and Israel, also have a highly developed third sector. In contrast, Greece is one of the countries of the European Union with the lowest levels of social protection and lowest presence of associations, despite their recent promotion (Papargeorgiu, 1999; Panagiotopolou, 2000). In Eastern European countries, where the tradition of associations was previously linked to sport (Oprisan, 2000), they are more dynamic in a context of a relative increase in public social expenditure.

Therefore, over and above a certain withdrawal of the State and the limits of the market, it is necessary to seek other explanations, which are likely to be linked to long-term ideological and cultural trends, the emerging culture of voluntary action and the deep-rooted motivation of citizens who are seeking greater independence and commitment in combating exclusion.

3.2.2. The third sector and the social economy

This higher profile of the third sector is not without its ambiguities and contradictions, as emphasized by many authors (Defourny, Favreau and Laville, 1998; Döring and Kegler, 1996). On the one hand, they point to aspects such as its increasing financial and institutional dependence on the public administration, its concomitance and possible political manipulation, the difficulties involved in articulating specific and general interests and the verification of its representative nature. On the other hand, they relate to the precarious working conditions, the appropriation of the voice of the poor through a growing professionalism, the emergence of criteria of business management (which are more hierarchical and less participatory), the increasing competition between associations and the risk of exchanging the logic of donations and reciprocity for the search for profit.

Despite these potential and real contradictions, the activities and functions of the third sector have broadened and diversified. In this respect, a distinction may be made between various levels.

The first has its roots in the isolation and marginalization generated by exclusion. Isn't participating in a voluntary organization the first step in breaking out of this situation? Isn't this what thousands and thousands of young, not so young and elderly people have done to find a way out of their seclusion? Such involvement often means finding an identity, a more or less acknowledged social function, a commitment to collective rules and the acquisition of pre-labour skills. In many cases, voluntary social organizations are real schools of citizenship and democracy, and even sources of innovation.

In the downward path of exclusion, the upward path of inclusion and the horizontal path from the outside to the inside, many functions are possible, including activities focusing on prevention, motivation, training, information, monitoring, mediation and negotiation, interaction and partnership. The provision of these functions, which are often transformed from a certain informality to formalized services, is one of the reasons for the expansion of the third sector.

> This can be seen throughout the European Union, particularly in the field of training, which has become a remarkable market as a result of the assistance provided by the European Social Fund.

The third level consists of lending a voice and sometimes also a lobbying capacity to those who, precisely because they are more vulnerable and excluded from

representative mechanisms, have neither. But those who claim to be the mouthpiece of the excluded do not always really include or represent them. This is a complex issue which should take as its starting point the material conditions that favour or prevent their participation. However, it is clear that specific categories (such as the disabled, former prisoners, gypsies, the unemployed and the young) tend to group together on the basis of their own characteristics and problems, or for spatial reasons (neighbourhood, village, district), almost always on a local basis. In so doing, they develop a collective awareness, put forward their claims and demands, initiate processes of dialogue, develop their activities and denounce certain situations.

During the European Year Against Racism in 1997, a total of 1,862 projects were submitted, of which 176 were selected. Some 53 per cent of them had their origins in associations and 12 per cent in the public sector, with the remainder being from socio-economic actors, universities and other sources (Commission of the European Communities, 1998a).

Within this third sector in its efforts to combat exclusion, the *social economy*, and more specifically *social enterprises*, have taken on considerable importance in Western Europe as well as elsewhere. Since the 1970s, in a surprising chronological coincidence (Berney and Darmon, 1999), based on experience of the integration of the disabled, although not exclusively, initiatives have been undertaken in most European countries which have started adopting business approaches seeking positive economic results, but on a non-profit-making basis, and with the principal objective, in addition to ecological, cultural and ideological concerns, of combating social and labour exclusion.

Different names have been given to these initiatives in each country. In France, under the generic heading of integration through economic measures, a distinction is usually made between *integration enterprises, local boards, intermediary associations* and *work adaptation centres*. In Belgium, they are known as *training through work enterprises, vocational learning enterprises* and *integrated development measures.* Reference should also be made to the new legal possibility of creating profit-making *social enterprises*. In Germany, they are known as *qualification and integration enterprises* (BQC) and *work, employment and structural development assistance enterprises* (ABS) in the Eastern länder. In the United Kingdom, and particularly in Scotland, they are part of the movement of *community businesses*. In the Iberian peninsula, they are variously known as *integration enterprises, associations* or *special employment workshops*, while in Portugal they come under the heading of the *social employment market*. In Sweden and Italy (De Leonardis, 1998; Mauri and Rotelli, 1994; CGM, 1997; CECOP, 1995), social cooperatives are of considerable importance and, in the latter country, since the adoption of the 1991 Act, they tend to be distinguished as type A and B.

This is an important distinction as it marks the difference between social enterprises in which individuals are integrated on a permanent basis, and those that play a transitional role, with the aim of their integration into the normal labour market (Austria, Flanders, France, Germany).

It is not possible here to review the various phases in the emergence of these social enterprises, although it should be emphasized that at the European level they all share: (1) their emergence prior to the development of the respective legal framework (1989-1992); (2) the transition from a stage of militancy to one of professionalism; (3) their successive integration in consortia, federations and sectoral, local, national and even European networks; (4) a sectoral diversification into more traditional economic activities (construction, furniture-making, textiles, transport), but with an increasing tendency to move towards proximity services and new sources of employment; (5) the increasing difficulties in relation to external financing and their internal structure; and (6) the combination of their aims of combating exclusion and unemployment (with some focusing more on the former, and others on the latter) with the capacity for business management and the sale of their products and services on the public and private markets.

Comparative research (Bernier, Estivill and Valadou, 1997) covering six countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy and Spain) has demonstrated that over the past ten years, these types of enterprises have been able to create 300,000 jobs, thereby succeeding in the integration of persons in a precarious situation and the physically, psychologically and socially disabled. The survey also revealed their capacity for innovation in the identification of new needs, mechanisms of involvement and participation, forms of permanent and intermediary integration and the adoption of a horizontal approach (employment, health, training, housing).

Other research (GES-Fondation Macif, 1999), based on monitoring 33 French and Italian projects managed by young persons to create new jobs through the social economy, concluded that over a two-year period they had generated an average of six permanent jobs, although helped by the youth employment measures adopted in France in 1997. From a qualitative point of view, it was possible to distinguish: (1) projects which had to survive from the services that they delivered on the market, while maintaining their social purpose; (2) projects which combined the provision of such services with external income and with the work of integrating their employees, for which they received public subsidies; and (3) projects engaged in activation in a certain area in the social, environmental and cultural fields and which were unlikely to be able to sell their services.

These new initiatives, which are also beginning to make inroads in many countries of the South (Defourny and Develtere, 2000), constitute a meeting point between the professional world and the excluded in a type of *welfare mix*. This is because they play a role of public and collective utility and intervene in the market,

where they are finding increasingly flexible frontiers (Mazzoli, 1995) with the actors involved and with employers' organizations and trade unions. Even so, their entry into the market, combined with the efficiency requirements of the public sector, mean that they are more selective, which tends to exclude the least skilled and productive categories.

3.2.3. Trade unions, employers and financial institutions

Employers undoubtedly produce wealth and integration through employment, but they also create poverty and exclusion. How many business decisions are at the origins of the impoverishment of a specific area (industrial relocation, capturing resources in one area and investing them in another) and collective impoverishment (very bad working conditions, working from home, very low wages)? Much remains to be done in the world to achieve the goal of decent work for everyone. Nevertheless, it should also be emphasized that the concept of the social responsibility of employers has been gaining ground recently.

In the first place, because it is necessary to sell what is produced and a population without consumption capacity and excluded from economic networks does not stimulate demand. Secondly, because dissatisfied workers produce less and worse. Thirdly, because increasingly technological and complex production processes are raising concern for the training and skills of the labour force, as illustrated by the involvement of employers in vocational training in Germany. Fourthly, due to the pressure of trade unions and political and social organizations working in the same field. Enterprises, and particularly those with strong local connections, are also interested in contributing to the overall promotion of their own area. This gives them a positive image and social legitimacy from which they undoubtedly draw benefits. Local public administrations, which in some cases are primarily employers and in others primarily purchasers, and nearly always direct or indirect economic actors in the area (local taxes, urban planning, infrastructure), can either promote or limit the involvement of business. The latter, unless there is oil or other underground wealth, is not interested in settling in deserts, and therefore seeks areas with high levels of social capital (a skilled population, economic confidence, a spirit of risk and innovation, collective capacities) and good public services and infrastructure (transport and information networks, schools and hospitals). Fifthly, because entrepreneurial initiative is affected by high levels of precariousness and exclusion which can give rise to defeatism among the population, delinquency and insecurity. Last but not least, reference should be made to ethical commitment, the notion of the citizens' enterprise and the strategies of certain companies, which include active forms of workers' participation, as well as commitment to the community and area.

Although it is not possible to describe here the multiplicity of initiatives that have been and are being implemented, reference may be made by way of illustration to the following:

A survey of business reasons for the integration of persons with disabilities in Spain found that 22 per cent of employers interviewed stated that enterprises had no social responsibility, 57 per cent said that their role was basically economic with a limited social function (22 per cent outside the enterprise, and 34 per cent within the enterprise) and 22 per cent replied that they accepted some social functions (Fernández, Arias and Gallego, 1999).

One of the networks which endeavours to mobilize entrepreneurs to combat exclusion is the European Business Network for Social Cohesion (EBNSC), which was created in 1996 on the basis of the European Declaration of Businesses against Social Exclusion. This text establishes five areas for action: (1) promoting integration on the labour market; (2) helping to improve vocational training; (3) avoiding exclusion within the business and minimizing redundancies; (4) promoting the creation of new jobs and businesses; and (5) contributing to social integration in particularly deprived areas and of particularly marginalized groups. The network now consists of 400 large enterprises, most of them multinationals. In 1998, the EBNSC created the International Centre for Corporate Social Responsibility and has been particularly active in European social policy.

Instead of terminating the employment of the elderly, an English firm established training specially for this category of worker. After one year, evaluation showed that absenteeism had fallen, the rate of internal mobility had been reduced by half and customers were more satisfied.

A centre was set up in Copenhagen in 1997 to encourage partnership between the public sector and businesses to combat social exclusion. As a result, 200 enterprises have integrated persons with disabilities, older workers and the excluded after a joint campaign in cooperation with the Danish Government on the ethical and social responsibility of enterprises.

As a result of the Joint declaration on the prevention of racial discrimination and xenophobia and promotion of equal treatment at the workplace, signed by the two European confederations of employers' organizations and trade unions in 1995, and in collaboration with the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, a compendium of good practice was produced. It may be inferred from the examples in the compendium (Wrench, 1996) that businesses have either an immediate and commercial interest in making enterprises more attractive for multi-ethnic customers and in regions of great cultural diversity, or more strategic reasons related to their internal human resources policies or more moral and ethical reasons that have to do with the social consequences of business decisions.

One of the bottlenecks in combating exclusion is the *financial aspect*. A large proportion of funding clearly comes from the public sector, other than income

from the sale of goods and services, membership dues and private and institutional donations. Every country has it own traditions in this respect. The international comparative study mentioned above (Anheier and Salomon, 1998) indicates the following composition of the origin of funding for non-profit-making organizations. *Philanthropic* donations and aid are higher in Eastern European countries, such as Hungary, Romania and Slovakia, perhaps as a result of the tradition of enterprises financing the main social services under the previous system and the lower volume of financing from other sources. On the other hand, in Belgium, Ireland, Germany and the Netherlands, the proportion of income accounted for by public funding is over 60 per cent. These are countries in which there is an important tradition of State subsidies. In Mexico (85 per cent), Peru (68 per cent), Australia (62 per cent) and Japan (62 per cent), the largest proportion of funding comes from internal sources (membership dues, etc.) and external sources (the sale of goods and services).

Even though, in general terms, *financial institutions and private banks* are the most remote from concerns relating to social exclusion and are themselves creators of exclusion (Kempson and Whyley, 1999), in the 1990s they started to show a certain interest since, in some ways, the creation of social added value generates new conditions for growth. This is primarily because financial interventions are tailored to the specific characteristics of clients and their attitudes.

For example, after noting that a number of banks discriminated against immigrants, a project sponsored by Lunaria (Italy) with the cooperation of the *Gabinet d'Estudis Socials* (GES-Spain), CENDO (Belgium), VANTA (Finland) and the University of Liverpool (United Kingdom) was able to persuade some financial institutions to test the opening of current accounts, specific credit lines and financing systems for some of the needs of this category (such as remittances, housing loans and insurance policies) (Naletto, 2001).

In the second place, the role of banks is to ensure the relationship between savings and investment. They can display their social credentials to their employees and clients by offering clients the opportunity to allocate a small percentage of their savings to the financing of social and ecological projects. In so doing, they can also attract new funds.

The case of *green funds* in the Netherlands is also interesting. They were first launched in 1990 by the Triodos Bank and brought about a change in the tax law (1995), allowing banks to make low interest loans for ecological and social projects. Over a few years, 1,000 million euros were accumulated for the financing of organic agriculture and renewable energy. All the important banks in the Netherlands now have their green fund (Jansen, 2000).

The multiplicity of micro-credit initiatives deserves special attention as they are estimated to concern 13 million people in the countries of the South alone (INAISE, 2000). Proximity, transparency and trust play an essential role in micro-credit schemes. For the most part, these schemes are not initiatives by commercial banks, but by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or actors in the social economy.

Although it is possible to speak of the first European experiences in this field going back to the fifteenth century, and to refer to social economy initiatives such as the *Raiffeisen* mutual credit system, the *Desjardins* Popular Funds in Canada and the development of savings and credit cooperatives in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s, it is acknowledged (*Fondation pour le Progrès de l'Homme*, 1996) that it is the experience of the Grameen Bank, established in Bangladesh in 1983, that has marked new practices in recent times. This model, which consists of making small loans to farmers, and particularly women, without requiring them to have previous savings (Yunus, 1998), has been replicated over 30 times in Asia (Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, Philippines, Sri Lanka and Viet Nam), Latin America (Bolivia with *Bancosol*, Brazil with *Por do Sol*, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador and Peru) and even in the United States (Chicago, Arkansas).

It is estimated that *Tontines* in Cameroon mobilize around 35 per cent of the total savings of the country through associations whose members pool their savings and receive the product on a rotating basis.

Another model is that of the *travelling bankers* in Benin (440) and Togo (160), to whom money is entrusted to be saved for one month, after which the initial amount is returned, except for the product of one day, which is kept by the banker. A mutual solidarity association has recently been established by the travelling bankers in Togo, which is able to negotiate financing from traditional banks.

In the south of India, the Bagapalli Coolies Association was established in 1985 through the Coolies Credit Fund (CCF), which makes small loans without interest to farmers and landless agricultural workers, thereby allowing them to free themselves from owner-moneylenders who offer *cash loans* at very high interest rates. CCF's liabilities are shared on a solidarity basis and the funds are managed by beneficiaries in their villages. Interest-free loans are used to finance individual and collective start-ups.

This interaction between the financial coverage of individual needs and the promotion of collective projects is another aspect that should be emphasized.

In the United States, the Community Reinvestment Act, 1977, designed to encourage ordinary banks and savings banks to meet the credit needs of precarious local communities and low-income groups and individuals, was amended in 1993 (the

Community Development Financial Institutions Act) to allow partnerships between banks and other associations. It has had remarkably positive results in bringing together local savings, access to housing loans, financial institutions, the social economy and the development of community activities (Calomiris, Kahn and Longhofer, 1994; Barr et al., 2000).

But in this case, as with micro-credit, although there is no shortage of examples in the North (European Network of Economic Self Help and Local Economic Development), the most interesting initiatives are to be found in the South.

Get Ahead is a South African organization established in 1994 during the worst period of apartheid and which, in addition to its commercial services (micro-credit, business training, housing loans), also promotes employment and financially empowers local communities. FOLADE is a Latin American development fund based in Costa Rica and promoted by 22 NGOs from 14 countries, which acts as an intermediary to obtain funds for collective enterprises. This is also one of the activities of CIPDEL (Peru), which has been obtaining bank loans for producers' associations for the use of their members since the 1980s. The procedure followed by the Local Investment Fund in Mali is that inter-village committees decide the collective works (dams, wells) that are to be financed through the capital accumulated from the cotton harvest.

This description of the increasing involvement of financial institutions in combating exclusion, in addition to the schemes already mentioned and non-monetary networks for the exchange of services, such as local exchange trading systems (INAISE, 1994), should also include two other models. One is related more closely to the traditional financing mechanisms of the social economy, and the other to social banking.

In the case of the former, there is a rich tradition of mutual banking and cooperative associations which have often involved local authorities and institutions. Many countries still have mutual savings banks, rural credit cooperatives, popular credit banks and credit unions. The latter, in particular, have 85 million members, are present in 85 countries throughout the world (Jones, 1999) and are currently remarkably dynamic in Eastern European countries, Ireland and the United Kingdom (Ferguson and McKillop, 1997), despite the restrictive nature of the legislation in the latter country.

Finally, reference should be made to the motivations and actions of social or ethical banking. In this respect, we can do no better than quote J. Robertson of the New Economics Foundation, who states that "*investment to create social and environmental wealth will have a vital role in the new 21st-century economic order (...) New institutions will be needed to enable people (…) to channel their savings into this kind of investment*" (Robertson, 1989). In practice, an increasing proportion of the population wants to know where to place its savings and to decide how they are to be used.

The establishment of internal moral rules defining social responsibility in terms of a duty to reinvest in the community, the equal treatment of citizens and the participation of clients in the *proper* use of their savings are some of the characteristics of this type of bank.

In Italy, reference should be made to the movement of self-management mutuals (MAG), or credit cooperatives, created in the 1970s. These were supplemented by cooperative consortia delivering various services (training and skills, political representation, dialogue with the authorities, financing). The 1991 Act on social cooperatives gave a major boost to these types of cooperatives, which now number over 5,000 throughout Italy. They support the integration of the vulnerable and provide goods and services on the public and private markets. The Ethical Bank was established in May 1998 as a result of the joint efforts of over 30 organizations in the third sector with a view to developing the social economy by financing projects to reduce exclusion, safeguard environmental resources, cooperate with the poorest countries and promote sporting and cultural activities. It now has a social capital of 750,000 euros, with 13,000 shareholders and 1,800 non-profit-making organizations.

The number of initiatives of this type is growing in all the countries of the European Union, with some establishing links with similar interventions on other continents. This is the case, for instance, of Shared Interest in the United Kingdom, the Alternative Financing Network (RFA) in Belgium and the International Investment and Development Company (SIDI) in France, which operates in Indonesia, Peru and South Africa. At the same time, an increasing number of international foundations and networks are working along the same lines.

The International Association of Investors in the Social Economy (INAISE) is an international network created in 1989, with its headquarters in Brussels and a membership of around 50 financial institutions which invest in social projects in some 20 countries. It has created SOFICATRA, a European company that invests in the social economy.

Following this examination of the role played by civil society, and particularly the social economy, the business world and financial institutions, it is now important to turn to *trade unions*.

Historically, trade unions were established to combat the bad living and working conditions of wage-earners, while at the same time joining with other organizations in the labour movement to try and develop an alternative to the savage capitalism of the nineteenth century. Their *raison d'être* is therefore primarily linked to the workplace, but extends to the labour market as a whole, and gradually to the improvement of the living standards of the population. At the same time, they have been present in socio-political struggles for the recognition of freedoms and

civil, social and political rights, sometimes more aggressively and at others more defensively. They have also been driving forces behind pressure to achieve substantive improvements in social protection systems. In many European countries, either through collective bargaining, pressure on the labour market or the multiple processes of dialogue with the State and employers, they have become one of the principal partners in social dialogue and democratic legitimacy.

However, over the past 30 years the world of production, society and work have all undergone far-reaching changes, often with a negative impact on the situation of workers and trade union organizations (Waddington and Hoffmann, 2000). In the industrialized countries, their offensive power has been weakened to a certain extent and they are frequently restricted to defending the interests of the ever-decreasing proportion of the labour force who have a stable job, high wages, good social protection and the capacity for social and political dialogue. This is clearer in the peripheral European countries, except for Italy, and even more so in countries where the presence of trade unions is limited to the public sector, transport and the productive sectors of the formal economy. They are therefore facing the risk of becoming corporate defenders of this sector of employed persons, and of leaving to one side the most excluded groups.

Many trade union organizations have reacted against these limitations and risks by opening themselves up to more global causes and by participating directly or indirectly in action to combat exclusion. Their local structures are usually the most active in this respect (Henriques and Nicaise, 1995). Local trade unions carry out specific projects, either alone or in cooperation with other actors, to improve the living conditions of the unemployed, promote integration into the labour market and train the least skilled. In practice, at the micro-level, trade union activists also take on the role of volunteers and members of associations and cooperatives, often becoming community leaders active in related causes.

> In La Rochelle (France), the CFDT was one of the founders and prime movers behind an association called *Avertir* which, since the 1980s, has been training fishermen who have lost their jobs and helping them to acquire new skills.

> The Irish Congress of Trade Unions, together with other social partners and in the context of the Programme for Economic and Social Progress (PESP), created 12 local centres to train the long-term unemployed. Some 11,000 such persons in 1992 and 15,000 in 1993 were contacted, of whom 1,500 found full-time jobs and 193 part-time jobs. In view of the success of this initiative, in 1994 the Irish Government selected 33 local areas to pursue the experience, which continued until 2000.

In other cases, trade union organizations which provide services for workers have started to deliver other services for specific target populations, such as pensioners, women, young persons and immigrants, to whom they provide assistance

to claim their rights or specific forms of support (including legal advice, self-help groups and family and psychological monitoring). In some cases, as with the Italian central trade unions, federations have been set up for these population groups (pensioners' federations).

In 1993, the European Trade Union Confederation sent out a questionnaire to 22 member organizations to assess the social policies in the countries of the European Union, their impact on inclusion/exclusion and the action taken by each trade union in this field. This stocktaking exercise provided a broad overview of the diversity between the north and the south of Europe with regard to the initiatives carried out by trade unions in nine countries.

Trade unions have also engaged in horizontal action covering the population as a whole, especially in relation to social rights, the defence of the welfare state and the promotion of specific benefits.

This is the case of the DGB in Germany, which contributed to the launching of a new dependency benefit targeted at the elderly and the disabled, financed by contributions from all workers.

In Spain, after the establishment of the minimum income benefit in the Basque region, this measure was included in the proposals of the Unitary Trade Union Platform negotiated in 1990 in all the Autonomous Communities, thereby contributing to the implementation of minimum income measures throughout the country.

Through collective bargaining, trade unions have pressed for specific measures which have a preventive and indirect effect on threatened population groups, including the reduction and rearrangement of working time, codes of good practice to prevent the dismissal of older workers, changes in work organization to create employment and improvements in the quality and accessibility of public services. Social dialogue has also been instrumental in achieving improvements which have had a more or less direct effect on employment/exclusion (Fajertag and Pochet, 2001), such as the 35-hour week in France.

At the level of the European Union, social dialogue initiated in 1985 led to the agreement of 1995 on the right to parental leave (in respect of both paternity and maternity) signed by the European confederations of employers' organizations and trade unions, which was subsequently adopted in the form of a Directive by the Council of Ministers in June 1996 and then incorporated into national legislation. In 1997, an agreement was concluded on part-time work with a view to eliminating discrimination and improving the quality of this type of work.

Since its foundation in 1973, the European Trade Union Confederation has been endeavouring to achieve a more consistent European social policy through active employment policies, education and training programmes, labour standards, equality of opportunity and the promotion of social democracy practices (ETUC, 1995). On 9-10 June 1994, its Executive Board adopted the resolution *For Europe without social exclusion* and has continued to exert pressure in this field at the legislative level and through negotiation and social dialogue (Lapeyre, 1994).

3.2.4. Possibilities and limits of public intervention

It is not possible here to describe in detail, and still less analyse, the role played by *public authorities* in combating exclusion. The enormous variety of situations, policies and measures adopted by local, regional and national public administrations make it impossible to do so. This section therefore focuses on a series of preliminary considerations, proposing a typology for Europe and providing specific information on cases in Bolivia, Côte d'Ivoire, Ireland, Portugal and Slovenia, without overlooking other countries and smaller areas.

At the same time as creating wealth and providing many of the conditions for inclusion, States also generate poverty and exclusion. This depends on the type of economic policy, the model of citizenship, the ideological and cultural policies of their political organizations and the prevailing political culture, the forms of dialogue with other partners, and on social, labour, education, health, housing, urban and cultural policies. It also depends on whether or not States play an active role in designing and implementing measures for target populations and on whether they establish specific mechanisms to address exclusion. The public authorities are at least responsible for guaranteeing citizens' rights, even though there is often a major gap between constitutional and other provisions setting forth these rights and their actual application in practice, including unequal access to the protection afforded by the law. Indeed, equality of opportunity is often more of a dream than a reality.

Public interventions are neither neutral nor homogeneous, and they tend to change over time. They may: (1) generate exclusion, for instance when urban policies create ghettos and pockets of poverty, or when they establish differentiated criteria for access to education; (2) favour some groups and areas over others through community services and facilities and specific social security schemes, and particularly occupational schemes, which do not cover the population as a whole or all risks, or which give some groups comparative advantages to the detriment of others; and (3) have unexpected and perverse effects, even in the case of measures aimed at inclusion. Moreover, the enormous difficulties involved in the coordination of public policies are well known, and the approaches adopted by the various departments and in different areas may even be contradictory. This also occurs over different periods when the politicians responsible are from different political

backgrounds. The common good, the ultimate objective of public action, is not usually a matter of common agreement…

At the same time, it has to be admitted that, at least in Western Europe, as well as on other continents, exclusion has aroused increasing interest among public authorities over the past 20 years and that few governments now deny its existence. Its visibility, and even luminosity, do not leave them indifferent. They are touched by it and have made efforts, of greater or lesser intensity, to alleviate and even at times to endeavour to eradicate and prevent it.

In practice, as a result of the agreements reached at the Nice Summit, all the Member States of the European Union have formulated national inclusion plans, thereby laying the basis for coordination at the European level.

The previous stage has now been superseded at which each country decided whether or not to formulate a specific plan. In practice, the approaches, values, strategies, competences and measures are relatively different and even disparate, making it possible to establish a certain typology.

A first approach led to the belief that priority should be given to achieving economic growth, which would lead to the disappearance of exclusion. The corollary of this approach was that growth would involve an increase in earnings, standards of living, opportunities and, in particular, employment. This approach was therefore reflected in expansive economic policies and policies offering incentives for work. Although it is far from being abandoned, its limits are increasingly clear.

For example, Germany, which experienced very strong economic growth during the 1950s and 1960s, and where the Constitution sets forth the requirement to respect dignity and guarantee social justice, did not develop a specific anti-poverty policy (Leibfried and Tennstedt, 1995). It also argued that it was possible to combat poverty through an active employment policy and its strong system of social protection and social assistance (subsistence and other specific assistance benefits). It was only in 1998 that the new German Government acknowledged the existence of poverty and commissioned two reports on it (ISG, 1999), which resulted in a plan being formulated. It should be recalled that the Federal State is responsible for action in this area, but that social assistance is a matter for the Länder and municipal authorities, and that the social services are administered by six large foundations.

In line with this example, a second type of approach has held that the development of public social protection systems, supplemented by minimum income benefits and general and local social services, is the best preventive and palliative policy for poverty and exclusion. In the context of the complete, universal and redistributive welfare state, such as in the Scandinavian countries (Abrahamson,

2000), it is therefore in principle a paradox that there should be groups and situations affected by poverty and exclusion. But this is nevertheless what occurred in the 1990s.

In Finland, as a result of the recession at the beginning of the 1990s, long-term unemployment increased, together with personal debt (there were 120,000 highly indebted couples in 1996), the number of homeless (including an increasing proportion of women and young persons), the number of people experiencing difficulties in buying or renting a house with, in 1996, nearly 12 per cent of the population receiving guaranteed minimum income benefits. This led to the formulation of a specific policy to combat poverty and exclusion, reforms in the planning of social and health services, a higher level of intervention by associations and municipalities and, since 1996, the launching of practical strategies, including various plans to combat poverty and exclusion.

A third type of intervention is related to minimum income schemes. There are two generations of countries in Europe which have introduced these schemes (Estivill and de la Hoz, 1990). The first consists of countries which established them before the crisis of the 1970s in an attempt to provide a last cushion in the social protection system. The second generation, which started in Luxembourg in 1986, continued in France in 1988 and expanded towards the South with their implementation in Spain beginning in 1989, in Portugal (Capucha, 1998) and Italy (Alti and Maino, 2000) at the end of the 1990s, includes the concept of integration. In practice, minimum income schemes are an important instrument and are sensitive to the evolution of poverty (Guibentif and Bouget, 1997). They have given rise to substantial debate in all the countries of the European Union (Portuguese Presidency of the European Union, 2000) concerning: (1) their relationship with the social security system; (2) their eligibility conditions and the requirement for means-testing; (3) their relationship with labour policies (the minimum wage and vocational integration); (4) the requirement for the integration of their beneficiaries and the establishment of rights for the latter; (5) their centralized or decentralized nature; and (6) their links with a universal basic income (Van Parijs, 2000). In 1989, the European Parliament came out in favour of their introduction, and they were endorsed by the Council of Ministers in 1992. Now, in 2002, such schemes have been introduced in nearly all the countries of the European Union, with the exception of Greece, as well as outside its frontiers (Canada, Kuwait, New Zealand). But their impact and effectiveness vary as a function of the social protection system, the eligibility criteria, the level of the benefit (high in the Netherlands, low in the United Kingdom), the labour market situation, the involvement of social partners and local institutions and the social culture (Paugam, 1999). In Protestant countries, people do not need to be encouraged to value work, while in those with Catholic traditions the willingness to seek work should be rewarded, and failure to do so penalized.

France belongs to the second generation of countries that introduced minimum income schemes (1988) which include the concept of integration (*Revenu minimum d'insertion – RMI*). In July 1998, it adopted an Act to combat exclusion. It is as yet the only country that has enacted a law based on this term. What is significant is the acceptance of the term and the concern that it arouses. The origins of government interventions go back a long way, and indeed to the 1980s. Between 1983 and 1985, isolated interventions were undertaken in the winter to alleviate the most urgent and precarious situations. In 1986, Circular No. 86.23 included, in addition to emergency measures, local income supplements to finance local communities and associations so that they could provide part-time contracts for persons without resources. This supplemented the Local Integration Programmes (PIL) and the Local Integration Programmes for Women (PILF). After the limitations of these isolated emergency measures had been demonstrated, and a number of municipalities had introduced their own guaranteed minimum income measures, in a context in which the debate was becoming generalized and politicized as a result of the Wresinski report (1987) and the presidential campaign, the Act implementing the RMI was adopted nearly unanimously one year later. Ten years have elapsed since the adoption of the RMI Act and the Act to combat exclusion, during which time rigorous evaluations and much debate have been seen. During this decade, French governments have introduced a series of supplementary measures, including the extension of free health coverage to beneficiaries of the RMI, the provision of a range of contracts (CEC, CES, CIE) to persons in difficulties, funds to assist young persons and housing schemes, although they have all been insufficient. In 1998, the figures of over 1 million beneficiaries of the RMI, an unemployment rate of nearly 12 per cent, a proportion of 10 per cent of couples living under the poverty threshold (580 euros) and over 200,000 homeless persons are all eloquent and, among other reasons, provided the impetus for the 1998 Act, which forms the basis of the Triennial Plan (1998-2001) with a budget of 51.4 billion francs and is supplemented by other major labour measures (*Nouveau départ*, TRACE, Integration through economic measures and the *New services, new jobs* programme). Neither the Act nor the Plan have yet been subject to in-depth evaluations (Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité, 2000), although an Observatory has been created which has already published its first report (Observatoire national de la pauvreté et de l'exclusion sociale, 2000). Nevertheless, emphasis should be placed on the existence of a specific regular budget, the horizontal nature of the measures (employment, training, housing, debt, culture and education, health, family life, citizenship) and an approach that confirms citizens' rights and includes vertical (State, local administrations) and horizontal (associations) coordination under the slogan 'Building together a place for everybody'.

A fourth typology relates to the general or specific nature of public measures to address exclusion and whether they are centralized or decentralized. Some countries prefer to design measures targeted at the specific population groups most affected by exclusion. Their measures relate to target populations and have specific priorities, which may be on a geographical basis, and are easier to quantify and therefore to measure and evaluate. They obviously run the risk of leaving aside other excluded groups, introducing differential forms of discrimination and promoting the corporate interests of their beneficiaries.

This would appear to be the approach adopted by the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU), created in the United Kingdom in December 1997, which has defined social exclusion as "*a shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown*". This approach has to be placed in the context of policies for the activation of the labour market and social protection (*welfare to work*) (GES-Euroccat, 1998). Attributing the rise in inequality and poverty to the measures adopted by previous governments (the Thatcher period) (SEU, 1998), this new approach is based on a series of targeted programmes (New Deal for Communities, Sure Start, Single Regeneration Budget, Employment Zones, Education and Health Action Zones) and specific measures relating to unemployment, minimum income, delinquency and drug addiction, young persons, housing and health. The SEU, whose mission was confirmed in 1999, has published several reports on exclusion in schools (1998), the homeless (1998), the renewal of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, early pregnancies (1999) and facilitating the transition from school to work (1999). Emphasis has therefore been placed on child and youth exclusion and on the renovation of certain areas of England. In this respect, it should be noted that, as the SEU itself indicates, these measures only concern England, and not Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland (TSN Unit), which have adopted their own policies.

This degree of regional decentralization is also to be found in other countries in which some of the responsibilities and functions for combating exclusion are in the hands of regional and even local governments. Indeed, there is a debate throughout the European Union about the most appropriate level for taking decisions on social matters. Although social security continues to be a central responsibility, the trend for the decentralization of social measures is clear in the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands with *Social renewal*, Italy (November 2000) and Portugal (2001), with the two new Acts on social services and social assistance. Moreover, it is perhaps in Belgium, Germany and Spain that the most decisions are taken at decentralized levels.

In Spain, the central government has no explicit competence in the field of combating poverty, and has historically been very reluctant to accept this responsibility. This partly explains why the governments of the Autonomous Communities have implemented more or less comprehensive plans in this field. Starting in the Basque Country and Catalonia, they have now been adopted in Galicia, La Rioja, the Canary Islands, Castilla-La Mancha and Castilla-León, and most recently in Navarra (1999), before the commencement of the current process.

Belgium has a long tradition of public intervention in the context of the confederalization process, and this accelerated in the 1970s with the establishment of the *minimex* (minimum means of subsistence) in 1974 and the Public Social Action Centres (CPAS) in 1976. An Act was adopted in 1993 establishing an urgent programme for a society of greater solidarity, which provided that combating exclusion was a

government priority. Between 1993 and 1994, a general report on poverty (Carton and Neirinckx, 1994) was prepared with the mobilization of all the actors and based on an innovatory qualitative method. Following pressure by all the actors involved, a cooperation agreement was concluded in May 1998 between the Federal State, the Communities and the Regions to create a permanent coordination structure, with a service being entrusted to the Centre to Promote Equality of Opportunity and Combat Racism and a steering committee composed of representatives of public and private bodies. A report has to be published every two years assessing changes in the poverty situation, the relevant policies and the effective enjoyment of rights, and making recommendations. It should be recalled that an annual report on poverty and social exclusion has been published since 1991 in Flanders (Vranken et al, 1991-2000) and that another has been published covering the Walloon area (Direction interdépartementale, 2001). Indeed, in Flanders ten years ago and in the Walloon area later, funds have been created to finance projects for the integration of vulnerable persons, which envisage their participation and the collaboration of both public and private bodies.

This overview of the various approaches adopted in public interventions should be completed by making reference to the thousands of initiatives that are increasingly being carried out at the municipal level. Unfortunately, this is impossible in the context of the present work.

To conclude this section, five specific experiences have been selected from the same number of countries. The first two are from countries in the European Union (Ireland and Portugal), which share a number of common characteristics.

Both countries started off in a peripheral situation in the European Union, with relatively low levels of economic development and social protection. However, the figures for the 1990s show that they have been able to achieve substantial levels of economic progress, and even higher than in other countries. But they have not eliminated poverty and there are reasons to believe that social and spatial inequalities have increased over this period between the north and south of Portugal and the east and west of Ireland, between urban, coastal and rural areas, and between those with higher and lower incomes. In both countries, social protection, which in Ireland is based on the Beveridge model and in Portugal on occupational schemes, has been extended and broadened. Nevertheless, in both countries the overall level of public social expenditure is still under the average for the European Union. They also share the strong presence of the Catholic Church, which is involved in a large number of associations and social, educational and health services, as well as the basically subsidiary conception of the State, as reflected in their respective Constitutions and a historical tradition of intervention by the central authorities, although with scarce resources. Even though this intervention has been considerably increased and modernized in recent times, local public administrations have not played a particularly important role in the social field. The weight and presence of associations is strong in both countries, although with greater emphasis on individual voluntary action in Ireland and on vertical institutions in Portugal. In both cases, there is considerable financial dependence on

the public sector, even where they have important bargaining power (*Pacto de Solidariedade* in Portugal and the Coordinating Committee in Ireland), with multiple forms of partnership. Family and local community structures are still strong and constitute the backbone of society, as well as playing a very important role in obtaining employment and housing, and in the provision of formal and informal assistance and care for children and the elderly.

In both countries, there is also a long tradition of intervention and reflection on poverty and exclusion. It is interesting to note that it was in the 1970s and 1980s that interest in these subjects was renewed, with the recognition of the existence of poverty and its structural, multidimensional and cumulative nature.

In *Portugal*, the Carnation Revolution and the renewal of social concern (Medina Carreira, 1996) coincided with the onset of the 1974 crisis. Recognition emerged of the need to build a welfare state in a country in which it had been weak and had coexisted with a society that had developed its own strong welfare mechanisms. A minimum wage was introduced, the coverage of assistance was broadened and health services and some social facilities were extended. However, since 1977 recessionary policies have resulted in a recrudescence of poverty. It was therefore in the 1980s that the first systematic studies on poverty started to appear. In what has now become a classic work, published in 1985, the authors ended up by defining a number of prerequisites for a poverty eradication policy (Bruto da Costa et al., 1985). The first of these was the need for technicians, political leaders and public opinion to be made aware of the nature of poverty, and the second was the need to create the conditions so that the poor could participate more actively in public life. These two proposals were followed up in the decade from 1986 to 1997.

In 1990, two commissioners were appointed, one for the north and the other for the south of the country to: manage the projects of the second and third European anti-poverty programmes; coordinate the institutions carrying out these projects; ensure the involvement of the various ministries and civil society; and promote participation in the debate on the causes and extent of poverty. In parallel, a national programme, which is still in operation, was established with a budget of 20 million Ecus (ILO/STEP, 2003). In 1997, two meetings were held in Troia and Porto to evaluate its activities and review the 131 projects (Vieira de Silva, 1997), over half of which covered rural areas and the south of the country. The latter projects are more recent, as over 80 per cent of them have commenced over the past three years, while 60 per cent of the projects in the north have been ongoing for over five years and have lower budgets. In global terms, they are directed at families with financial problems, children and young persons with problems of integration, and adults through the promotion of social integration, employment, economic activities and the improvement of housing conditions. Around 30 per cent of the projects have between five and seven partners, while around 25 per cent of them benefit from the commitment of over ten organizations in their steering committees. There is significant involvement by public institutions, although that of trade unions and enterprises is limited. The main difficulties encountered relate

to human resources and project design, the complexity of the actions involved and the creation and development of partnerships.

This last point is one of the issues that was most closely debated and examined. In 1996, as a result of the evaluation carried out, the Ministry of Solidarity and Social Security issued the Regulations for the national anti-poverty programme, the first section of which specifies the promotional bodies and the second lays down the conditions for partnership. Elza Chambel, the then Commissioner for the programme, has written that the Portuguese anti-poverty programme is derived from and based on the experience acquired in the context of the third European programme to combat poverty and social exclusion, in which partnership was one of the basic principles. The Portuguese programme has the objective of eliminating the causal mechanisms of poverty and exclusion through cooperation between the public and private sectors, intersectoral action based on an integrated approach, the participation and ownership of local groups and communities and, in particular, the improvement of their capacity to find a sustainable solution to the situation of poverty and social exclusion (Chambel, 1997). The notion of partnership is not only explicitly included in anti-poverty policies, but also in the special rehousing programme (1993), the fields of education and health and in the programmes for home help for the aged (PAII), homes for the elderly (PILAR) and children in difficulties (SER).

In 1992, a new Portuguese Directorate-General for Social Action was created. A large part of the ideas of Poverty III were reflected in the new rules governing social action in Portugal. Partnership, participation and integrated action are reaffirmed in the documents issued by the Directorate-General (Madeira das Ruas, 1992), which also emphasize community development and socio-cultural activation, both of which are well established in Portugal, alongside local development (Henriques, 1989).

All Portuguese authors acknowledge the influence of European decisions on the social policies of their country, even though this sometimes gives rise to criticism and debate. A positive example is the introduction of minimum income schemes, which have benefited (in this case the authors are in agreement) from the lessons learnt and the experiences of other countries (Pedroso, 1997). Cumulative transferability and the need for experimentation were reflected in the Act of July 1996 which implemented these measures in a one-year pilot scheme. Then, following their evaluation and discussion, they began to be implemented on a general basis from the summer of 1997 in the form of a non-contributory social security benefit combined with a programme of social and labour integration under the responsibility of local commissions (CLAs), in which all public and private local actors participate. In December 1999, the number of recipients of the guaranteed minimum income was estimated at 430,000.

In the same year, a new phase commenced in the use of certain European Structural Funds (ESF) and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) under the second Community Support Framework, coordinated in a single subprogramme

known as *Integrar*, the objective of which is to promote the economic and social integration of the most vulnerable population groups. *Integrar* has five components. The first is support for social development, the second is the economic and social integration of the long-term unemployed, the third is devoted to the disabled, the fourth consists of the vocational training of prisoners and the fifth finances the construction and adaptation of infrastructure and social facilities. These various components may include projects giving priority to the pluridimensional nature of the problems faced by population groups, supporting the various stages of the integration process and emphasizing the mobilization of local resources, the creation of partnerships and the involvement of target groups (Ministerio do Trabalho e da Solidariedade, 1997). The meeting of project promoters noted that 600 projects had been selected, nearly 70 per cent of which are privately managed, with many targeting the disabled. The idea of concentrating certain European Union structural funds and endeavouring to coordinate them by setting priorities which meet Portuguese needs and give rise to the submission of projects remains interesting, and has in large part been reflected in a new programme of action in the fields of employment, training and development (POEFDS) launched recently in the context of the third Community Support Framework (2000-2006).

A further programme was launched in Portugal in 1996, namely the Social Labour Market Programme, grouping together a number of initiatives, including workshop schools, occupational programmes, sheltered employment, integration enterprises and local employment initiatives, all intended to activate the labour market and assist those excluded from it. The efforts of the Portuguese social economy are encompassed within this programme.

The last national programme focuses on local social networks (IDS, 2001) and is managed by the Institute for Social Development. Its objective is to combat poverty and exclusion and to create socio-economic development plans at the local level.

This review should also include the initiatives of associations (Hespanha, 2000b). The renewed tradition of charity is combined with the work of Caritas, social action at the parish level and, above all, the private social solidarity institutes (IPSS), which are active in relation to children, young persons and the elderly, as well as the existence of initiatives and networks such as the *Rede Europeia Anti Pobreza Network* (REAPN).

To examine the achievements of Portuguese social policy (Rodrigues, 1999), and more specifically the series of measures taken to combat poverty and exclusion, the Ministry of Labour and Solidarity has issued four publications (1997, 1998, 2000, 2001) which constitute veritable overviews, in which political leaders of all persuasions, public and private actors, trade unions, employers' organizations, mutual benefit associations and the most significant projects are offered a platform to express their views. This description of the Portuguese experience should perhaps conclude with the words of the Minister of Labour and Solidarity, who said that "Portugal is no longer a poor country, but a country with too many people in a situation of poverty" (Ferro Rodrigues, 1997).

As noted above, *Ireland* also has a long tradition of action to address poverty. The most recent rediscovery of poverty had its starting point in 1971 at a conference held in Kilkenny and in research on the scope of poverty in the country (O'Cinneide, 1972). Similar meetings were held in 1974 and 1981 which contributed to raising public awareness. Ireland participated in the first European anti-poverty programme with 24 projects extending until 1980, and it was the pressure exerted by the Irish Presidency that allowed the gap between the first and second programmes (the latter of which started in 1995) to be overcome. As H. Frazer, Director of the Combat Poverty Agency, notes, "*under the European Union's Poverty 2 programme and other programmes a number of small neighbourhood community projects developed in some of the most disadvantaged urban and rural communities*" (Frazer, 1997). The Agency was created in 1986 with a specific statute under the Department of Social Welfare and has polarized a large part of the efforts undertaken over the past 15 years. These efforts attained institutional recognition in the mid-1980s with the creation of a first fund which financed around 80 community development projects and a second targeting local groups of women, who are particularly active in this field. This emphasis on participation and the process of empowerment often constituted a change in conventional approaches and paternalistic traditions.

Frazer then situates a second stage in the early 1990s, when a number of experimental projects placed emphasis on the unemployed and the partnership to be developed between public agencies, local enterprises, trade unions, community organizations and voluntary associations (Frazer, 1997).

In 1990, the Government adopted a community development programme which initially financed 15 local resource centres. In 1992, there were 22 such centres and the programme budget was 1 million punts (Nolan and Callan, 1994). In parallel, a year previously, with the objective of combating unemployment, the Government, in collaboration with trade unions and employers, launched the Programme for Economic and Social Progress (PESP), which included some earlier projects, such as People Against Unemployment, Limerick (PAUL). Irish efforts do not end here, as a national programme for local and urban development in the most marginalized areas was created using European Structural Funds. There are now over 35 *partnerships* managing this type of initiative which, based on multidimensional analysis and an integrated approach, endeavour to achieve local development in which the population is involved (Walsh and Craig, 1998). In addition, it should be pointed out that a very important part of the Irish strategy is based on income maintenance (Curry, 1993), and therefore on measures such as the minimum income scheme (the supplementary welfare allowance introduced in 1979), housing subsidies (1982), family benefits (1984) and assistance for carers (1990), and that in general social security benefits and services have been extended and broadened.

As a corollary to the commitment entered into at the United Nations Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995, a National Anti-Poverty Strategy

(NAPS) was launched in Ireland under the direction of the Department of the Taoiseach, managed by an interdepartmental committee composed of the principal ministries. A consultation process was opened for one year, during which some 250 organizations participated, based on a platform setting out key issues relating to the concept of poverty, its characterization, the identification of its causes and consequences and the objectives, principles, priorities, measures and mechanisms of a national plan (Interdepartmental Policy Committee, 1995). In the context of this complex but stimulating process, two publications should be mentioned. One describes the lessons of the third anti-poverty programme for Ireland (Harvey, 1994), while the other endeavours to identify the lessons that can be drawn from certain other countries in combating poverty (Community Workers Co-operative, 1996).

Based on a broad tradition of research into poverty, in which European criteria and definitions have been prevalent (Callan et al., 1989), the wealth of field experience and a massive consultation process, a series of practical specifications were identified that form the content of the Plan, which is based on a definition of the poor as being those persons who, in view of their earnings and resources (material, cultural and social), *are excluded from the standard of living and ordinary living patterns in a particular society.* This leads to a distinction being drawn between groups living in this situation and those at risk of falling into it. The generally recognized objective consists of a commitment to reduce the percentage of those who are *consistently poor* (Combat Poverty Agency, 1997), estimated at between 9 and 15 per cent of the Irish population, to lower than between 5 and 10 per cent over the period between 1997 and 2007. Objectives have also been quantified for each of the five areas in which substantive progress has to be achieved: in education the objective is to eradicate school drop-outs in the first cycle and reach the level of 90 per cent of students completing the senior cycle; in the field of labour, unemployment is to be reduced from 12 to 6 per cent by 2007, and long-term unemployment from 7 to 3.5 per cent; for income maintenance policies, a number of detailed commitments have been adopted, as well as for urban areas and rural poverty. Nor has the necessary institutional reorganization been overlooked: the Interdepartmental Policy Committee directed by the Departments of the Taoiseach and of Social Welfare continues, a team responsible for implementation has been set up and its monitoring and evaluation has been entrusted to the National Economic and Social Forum (NESF) and the Combat Poverty Agency. A proofing system was subsequently launched to verify the extent to which the decisions made are being applied.

It should be pointed out that partnership and participation (Sabel, 1996; McCarthy, 1998) are mentioned in the Plan's principles and strategies in line with the earlier process, and that it is supplemented by a Green Paper on the community and voluntary sector and its relationship with the State (Department of Social Welfare, 1997).

It is too early to evaluate the impact of the Plan, which has begun to have an influence on European guidelines (Irish Presidency, 1996). Until now, it has overcome the test of a change of government, but is facing more difficulties relating to

budgetary allocations. There is also room for doubt concerning the combination and conjunction of so many programmes and funds in such a centralized administrative structure and their articulation with local projects. But over and above these potential institutional difficulties, the major challenge is to ensure that economic development is compatible with national social progress. Or in other words, how to ensure that combating poverty and exclusion is not only a priority of social policy, but also of economic policy and of the whole range of efforts made by the State and society to move forward.

In this regard, and in view of the fact that the NAPS has its origins in the commitment made by the Irish Government at the Copenhagen Summit, the issues of human rights and inequality have reappeared in recent debates (Frazer, 1999), particularly since exclusion has been defined in the context of the NAPS as "*cumulative marginalisation: from production (employment), from consumption (income poverty), from social networks (community, family and neighbours), from decision-making and from an adequate quality of life*". This broad definition, combined with its interdepartmental nature, its quantified and verifiable objectives (proofing) and a set of steady and participatory tools, mean that the Irish National Anti-Poverty Strategy offers a potential which should not in any way be underestimated.

Winds of change in the approaches that are being adopted to combating poverty and exclusion are not only blowing in Western Europe, but also in other countries on the same continent which have set in motion specific initiatives in this field. One example is *Slovenia*, which adopted a special programme in February 2000 to overcome the fragmentation of existing measures through their harmonization and inter-linking. It is based on permanent and preventive consultation concerning the efforts of all the Ministries (such as employment, education, housing and social services) with local authorities and associations. The actual measures are: (1) giving greater opportunities to people so they can find a job and thereby obtain access to social security benefits; (2) reducing school drop-outs and increasing the number of skilled professionals; (3) increasing housing subsidies for those unable to pay their rent; and (4) extending the coverage of social services, especially to persons relying on the assistance of a third person or providing them with short-term temporary assistance.

Plans and programmes are also being implemented on other continents. The case of *Bolivia* is particularly interesting. Despite its significant natural resources, nearly all the socio-economic indicators place it among the poorest nations in Latin America. A series of reforms were carried out in 1993 and were endorsed in 1997 by the new government, which at the same time indicated that combating poverty, particularly in the fields of health and education, would be a priority. A first Emergency Social Fund had already been established in the 1980s (von Gleich, 2000), which financed around 3,000 projects covering some 20,000 people. However, it was soon noted that the projects were not directed towards the most needy population groups, nor were they integrated into more general plans and policies, which placed their continuity in doubt. In 1990, it was therefore replaced by the Social Invest-

ment Fund, which defined more precisely the target groups (those with an infant mortality rate of over 170 per thousand and an illiteracy rate higher than 40 per cent), as well as in the fields of education and health. Public and private bodies were coordinated and the principle of sustainability was taken into account. In October 1994, an economic and social development plan (*Change for All*) was approved incorporating the lessons learnt into a series of general measures of agricultural reform, access to credit, labour market regulation (nearly two-thirds of the active population work in the informal sector), the improvement of education and specific measures to guarantee pensions and for children and women (PIDI, VIDA, PROVIAN).

Finally, in *Côte d'Ivoire* (Assémien, 2000) it was found that, despite an increase in public social expenditure, the proportion of persons living under the poverty line in both towns and rural areas had tripled between 1985 and 1995. In the context of its various development programmes, the Government adopted a *Declaration on population policy* in 1997 with a view to improving the living conditions of the population, and particularly of young persons and women. In June 1997, a plan of action to combat poverty was approved which takes into account its multisectoral dimension, geographical disparities and the collaboration of civil society. The plan focuses on: reducing the proportion of couples living in extreme poverty from 10 per cent in 1995 to 5 per cent in 2001; attaining the level of 30 per cent of the population living in a situation of relative poverty (compared with 36.8 per cent in 1995); redefining and reinforcing the role of local authorities in formulating specific plans; undertaking a number of actions for specific groups; and creating a more active partnership between the public administration and non-governmental organizations, both at the national level and in relation to international cooperation.

3.3. Towards a typology of strategies

Describing strategies that are intended to identify and address exclusion means leaving aside the isolated measures, detailed emergency actions and tactical interventions that are often claimed to address and even resolve this issue. In this respect, the traditional coordinates of *time* and *space* play an essential role.

3.3.1. Time and space: Two traditional coordinates

In accordance with the definition adopted of exclusion as a process, it cannot be denied that short-term measures are not appropriate for addressing time-bound circumstances and a dynamic chain of events. The trap must be avoided of believing (as often happens) that, for example, a one-year project can address the phenomenon with any prospects of success. It is another matter if such projects are intended

to be of an experimental nature. But even so, it is necessary to assess very accurately the time that is required. Social problems cannot be modified easily and any related interventions inevitably require specific phases of design, planning, implementation, follow-up and evaluation. In this respect, time is both an ally and an enemy. An ally because without it evaluation has no meaning and because when used well it offers an opportunity for calm digestion and the subsequent assimilation of what it is being achieved. But it is an enemy in that it imposes urgency and limits that have to be complied with. It is also negative to run desperately after unattainable objectives, or to prolong indefinitely time schedules for reasons of perfectionism or self-justification.

It has to be borne in mind that time does not have the same use and meaning for those who are excluded as for those who are not. Survival requires daily responses which lose their meaning in the longer term. The hypothesis could be advanced that there may be a correspondence at the individual level between the duration of the itinerary of exclusion and that of inclusion. When exclusion occurs in more collective terms, the weight of time is greater, and even more so in cases where the participation of the excluded is sought in the formulation and monitoring of strategies.

In European cities, time is a scarce commodity and it is common to hear people say "I have no time for anything" or "Time passes so quickly", while in the countries of the South, time seems to be abundant and favourable: "There is time for everything" and "Time will tell". Schedules, the use made of the day and the night, of the seasons of the year, the duration of meetings, decision-making processes, appointments, the existence or absence of queues, take on very different meanings in urban and rural cultures, social groups and classes, the countries of the North and the South.

All this leads to the belief that the management of this parameter is a prerequisite for the formulation and implementation of any strategy that is intended to have a real effect on collective life, and more specifically on combating exclusion.

The other parameter, space, is equally worthy of attention. The issue has already been raised, and the next section reflects on location, but the important point is that space is not neutral and also takes on different meanings. Think only of its significance in two extreme cases: for nomads it can be an endless horizon, while for detainees it is limited by the bars of their cell or the doors of their room. It can be a prison or an opportunity. Also consider the stigmatization projected upon those who live in certain suburbs.

When deciding upon the location of an intervention, it is necessary to consider its relevance and internal coherence in terms of impoverishment and exclusion, its articulation with other areas and the fact that often it does not correspond to conventional administrative, political or even economic divisions.

These arguments were taken into account in the transition from the second to the third European anti-poverty programmes. In the second programme action focused on target populations and the Portuguese and Spanish projects were only in operation for two years (1987-1989), after which they had to be continued by the national authorities. In contrast, a five-year period was established for the third programme, with both the volume and spatial scope being increased to reach what was called natural size. But the space was not always well selected, nor was the time span the most appropriate. This led to a number of failures, while at the same time being one of the conditions for achieving positive outcomes.

Now that the role of these two coordinates has been recalled, it is necessary to review more closely the composition of the various typologies that can be established of strategies to address exclusion. While aware of the risk of simplification involved in any modelling of typologies, a first set can be distinguished in which strategies depend on social attitudes, a second in which they depend on the objectives to be achieved and a third in which the criteria are the methodological approaches adopted and the resources allocated.

3.3.2. Strategies and social attitudes

With regard to the first set, it is necessary to begin by recalling (Estivill, 1997; Baptista, Perista and Aguiar, 1995) that strategies are dependent on the attitudes that society as a whole adopts towards exclusion. Very often, the first response to it is *denial and concealment* of its existence. This is a very common attitude which serves either in an idyllic image according to which it is believed that a great majority of the population enjoys high levels of well-being and is well integrated into the prevailing way of life, or an unwillingness to admit the existence of exclusion, and the wish to confine it to something exceptional or residual.

Indeed, exclusion, and to a certain extent those affected by it, importune and disturb normal citizens because they show a side that they do not wish to acknowledge and from which they want to escape. It does the same for social workers, educators and other professionals, because it reminds them of the limits and difficulties of their work, as well as for politicians, partly because they lose legitimacy, and for the mass media because it is not normally newsworthy (Zeggar, 2000).

In the major European cities, when people enter an underground carriage to ask for money, they usually try to draw attention to themselves by playing an instrument, raising their voices or showing their poverty. In response, many passengers then take refuge in a sudden interest in their newspapers, while others look away or start talking about the weather, while still others merely become nervous.

In this way, quite a number of countries have not wanted to recognize the existence of poverty and exclusion, and still less their structural aspects. In some cases, they are both shared and suffered by the majority of the population, leaving few grounds for differentiation. The signs of wealth are hidden and the small circles that possess it protect themselves and place themselves at a distance. In other cases, politicians, the mass media and the other *powers that be* conceal, repress and undermine these phenomena either by minimizing them, or by focusing media attention on them and treating them in a sensationalist manner. This often happens in periods of economic growth, when there is a general increase in income levels and little desire to discuss the unequal distribution of the wealth produced. It is also sometimes difficult to recognize exclusion and the excluded in cases where the values and stigmatizations that give rise to exclusion are for the most part accepted and form part of the prevailing attitudes. Or perhaps what is intended is to prevent these social values from being invalidated by the way of life of those who are excluded and kept at a distance? These views often end up being reflected in coercive and punitive measures and in reclusion.

At the time when Europe was suffering from great plagues, they were linked to itinerant paupers, beggars and vagrants, thereby justifying their prohibition, persecution and detention. Subsequently, work was the value that was given priority and poverty was identified as an unwillingness to work. In 1748, Montesquieu stated that a man is not poor because he has nothing, but because he does not work. It was therefore necessary to reward those who made the effort to work, and punish those who did not wish to do so. Assistance measures were therefore envisaged for the former, and forced labour and deportation to colonies for the latter.

For this reason, some of the authors dealing with these subjects use terms such as the hidden face (Hiernaux, 1981; Chambers, 1990; Muñiz, 1996), the concealed face (Pons, 1992) or the other face (Cardoso, 1993) to place emphasis on the submerged nature of exclusion and its conscious or unconscious unacceptability for society.

One of the first conditions for the formulation of strategies to address exclusion is therefore precisely to bring it to the surface, make it visible and give it recognition. In practice, up to a point, these were the processes through which poverty was rediscovered in Europe in the 1970s. But this not only involves promoting research, studies, publications and different statistical approaches, but also laying the basis for a public debate in which all the actors involved intervene. Of these actors, the importance should be emphasized of political leaders (who have to include these issues on their agenda), associations (which can give a voice to groups that are often silent) and the mass media (in giving a more transparent image of poverty and exclusion through which the problems are explained), as well as the positive efforts made by individuals, groups and communities to escape exclusion.

The second viewpoint, long established and still present today, is the *individualization* of exclusion and its attribution to individual behaviour: "If you are poor or excluded, that is because it is your fate or because you want to be", is the sentiment that best illustrates this view. This leads to the supposition that it is either necessary to be resigned to an immutable situation or that it is possible to escape from it through individual effort. There is even a broad heritage of pathological explanations of poverty (Alcock, 1993), and particularly of exclusion, according to which their principal causes would appear to be hereditary genes, physical or mental impairment and even, in extreme cases, racial and ethnic characteristics.

In the Middle Ages, the most widely held ecclesiastical view in Europe was that if there were rich and poor people, it was because this was God's will, and that the poor therefore had to accept their lot and not rebel against it.

One of the arguments used by the Spanish Inquisition was that its victims were possessed by the Devil, and therefore no longer had a will of their own and had distanced themselves from virtuous behaviour as defined by the Catholic Church.

The historian Stedman Jones (1971) has shown how in England in the last 20 years of the nineteenth century the middle classes and more *comfortable* working classes thought of the common people as wild because they did not respect their values and aspirations. This was believed to be the main cause of their impoverishment, which was transmitted from generation to generation.

Explanations of the rediscovery of poverty in the United States in the 1960s, and the extent that it affected the coloured population above all, led to insinuations more or less explicitly related to biological pathology (O'Connor, 2001).

This view of poverty and exclusion is projected onto the individuals who are affected, thereby contributing to their fatalism, resignation and passivity, and leaving them with the belief that efforts to escape are in vain. This individualization, which often attributes blame to the victims (Ryan, 1971), making poverty the problem of the poor, means that the related responses need to be questioned. Alms, charity and even individual philanthropy have characterized, and still do, much of the action taken to address the consequences of poverty, with all the contradictions and perverse effects to which they give rise. Of these, particular reference should be made to the sentiment expressed by Daniel Defoe in 1704 that if the poor are helped, they become poorer and will no longer work for a wage. He was hinting at the dependence generated by charity and the direct relationship between social and labour policies, the labour market and assistance. These views have gone

on being intoned from those times until the present day. Indeed, this approach, which views individuals as being responsible for their situation and is intended to motivate them or force them to enter the labour market, is linked in its origins to the Protestant ethic, and is re-emerging in current labour policies and the activation of social security measures.

It would be unfair to take into account only the contradictions of individual assistance and not to emphasize that these initiatives are very valuable in alleviating extreme and urgent circumstances and that they have been at the basis of much voluntary work and solidarity the world over. Very often, these personal motivations have led to the discovery of more collective and structural aspects, which has in turn given rise to the formulation of more coherent strategies that have gone beyond the mere alleviation of symptoms.

The third view that needs to be addressed is that which explains poverty and exclusion in *economic* terms. As noted above, the lack or scarcity of material goods and the inadequacy of income are undoubtedly key elements of poverty, just as distance from productive and distributive mechanisms are of exclusion. The economic approach pervades all strategies. But economic paradigms do not exhaust analysis of poverty and exclusion, nor do the measures taken solely from this standpoint resolve all the related problems.

It may be universally admitted that economic development is fundamental, not only to having more and better resources, and that when sustained over a long period it results in the increased material well-being of the population (Halvorson-Queveodo and Schneider, 2000). However, it also has to be recognized that, although necessary, it is not sufficient, among other reasons precisely because it has been demonstrated that it is in boom periods that the most inequality is created and because there are a number of question marks over the distribution of its results. And this can be demonstrated not only at the national level, but also in a local context.

> It had been thought for a fairly long time that an increase in the national product corresponded to a general rise in income. But it does not necessarily have an impact on the lowest incomes. Downward capillary action greatly depends on the initial structure of inequality. Countries with greater inequality therefore need a higher level of growth to have even a small effect on the lowest income deciles (Demery and Walton, 2000).

It is also important to consider the forms and content of economic growth, as certain increases in production may make a country more dependent and, after a period of euphoria, may turn against it or destroy its traditional economic fabric. Many inhabitants who are unable to integrate themselves into the *new* economy that has been created due to their lack of experience or skills, or their age, may end up poorer.

In one area of a tropical country, several hundred families grew fruit and transformed them into drinks that were fairly popular. The opening of a factory producing a soft drink of a global trademark increased GDP and was greeted with an enthusiastic fanfare. But in practice, jobs were only created for 20 persons in the highly mechanized plant. Consumption of the other beverages decreased, resulting in a gradual abandonment of fruit production and processing, and giving rise to unemployment for certain families and the entry of others into the informal economy.

A certain type of economic growth tends to expel the most precarious population groups, leaving them in economic backwaters and pushing those who work in the marginal economy towards the underground and informal economy. A concatenation of successive phases of exclusion is created. The first has been studied the most, but the transition from the marginal economy towards informal and underground circuits has not received so much attention. This does not mean that it is any less important in Europe or on other continents.

In many European countries, the marginal economy is becoming unstructured in view of the increasing rigidity of professional regulation and the requirement for paper qualifications, even for those who already have the capacities, skills, tradition and client base. Administrative burdens and tax measures are also having an increasingly dissuasive effect on small marginal entrepreneurs and the self-employed, who have neither the administrative culture nor the capacity to pay the taxes imposed, with the result that they are driven into the underground economy. The paradox arises that measures for its prohibition usually only send it further underground, but rarely eradicate it. More or less significant estimates demonstrate the advance of the informal sector throughout Europe and show that its activities as a whole account for nearly 30 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP) in Greece, 25 in Italy and 20 in Spain.

It is estimated that in some Latin American countries, such as Bolivia, Honduras and Peru, the informal economy accounts for over 70 per cent of the urban population, while in others, such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico, this figure exceeds 50 per cent in some sectors. Moreover, as the economy is modernized and mechanized, the least skilled workers tend to be eliminated and expelled from the formal labour market. Another process that is leading to the expansion of the informal sector is the increased value of the benefits received by wage-earners, who use them to launch small businesses on their own account. However, many of these enterprises fail, thereby swelling the ranks of those who are excluded from the formal economy.

The acceleration of economic change is devaluing older skills and a certain type of heritage. When combined with inflation, it penalizes small savers and, as wealth increases, has the effect of reducing the demand for and supply of collective services, whose prices increase, thereby affecting the most vulnerable population

groups, who are precisely those who use these services the most. At the same time, the logic of accumulation seeks out profitability and clients who are solvable, leaving aside the needs of those without purchasing power. The latter are then symbolically and in practice forced to opt for other types of consumption. which are either artificial or distant from their culture, but which are indispensable for their survival. Credit then plays a role in generating impoverishment, particularly in the countries of the North. It is in this respect that it is possible to speak of the economic mechanisms that cause exclusion. And these are being extended with the greater vulnerability caused by an increasingly demanding labour market which hits the weakest groups very hard, even pushing them towards what has been called the unemployment of the excluded (Whul, 1992).

Minimum income schemes, social protection and the increasing emphasis on vocational integration, up to a certain point, form part of the economic conception of poverty and its strategies for combating it. These three types of measures, which are supported by the wealth accumulated over a period of previously unheralded growth in Western Europe, offer both limits and potential. This is not the place to analyse them, but merely to point out their relationship with measures to combat exclusion.

Social protection, understood as the combination of social security and social assistance benefits (Commission of the European Communities, 1998a), has been presented as one of the means (tax policies are another) by which governments can have a direct influence over income through their compensatory and sometimes redistributive effects on the unequal outcomes of economic growth. In practice, social protection provides broad security against the principal contingencies to the great majority of the population in Western Europe, from the cradle to the grave, as it is normally termed.

This broad coverage has given rise to intense debate (Atkinson, 1989). Some experts consider that its levels are insufficient to overcome poverty, and even argue that any increase in social expenditure has positive effects on economic development. Others, on the contrary, contend that social security has gone too far in mobilizing resources to the detriment of economic growth, favouring the middle classes and passive attitudes towards work. They add that benefits do not reach those who are in most need of them and that restrictive qualifying conditions, such as means testing, make them more selective. In their view, demographic, social, labour and economic transformations will make the system and present levels of social security benefits unsustainable (financing, number of benefits and recipients). As shown by the annual reports (MISSOC) published by the *Institut für Sozialforschung und Gesellschaftspolitik* (ISG) since 1993, all the countries of the European Union are seeking solutions to rationalize what in any case has become one of the key features of the European social model (Javeau, Lambert and Lemaire, 1998). The countries to the east of the same continent are also endeavouring, from a different starting point, to restructure their own social protection systems. Although from different beginnings, many countries of the South are considering the most

appropriate approaches (public, private or mixed) to promote the social protection of their populations. In any event, the analysis and debates of the past 20 years show that, while social security benefits help a variable but nevertheless substantial proportion of the population to escape from poverty (from nearly half the population in Greece to over 80 per cent in Belgium and the Netherlands) (Deleeck, van den Bosch and Lathouwer, 1992), not even the most generous and universal model, namely the Nordic/Scandinavian systems (Heikkilä and Halleröd, 1999), is capable of putting an end to poverty entirely. Indeed, during the 1990s, the risk of social exclusion was higher there than in the 1980s. So what can be said of countries where there is no social security, or where it covers less than 20 per cent of the population?

Income maintenance policies, and in their specific context, minimum income schemes, are usually a more sensitive, precise and specific anti-poverty measure. They are directly targeted at categories who are under the poverty line. As suggested in the first chapter, it is important in Europe to make a distinction between first generation countries (West Germany, Netherlands, United Kingdom) which introduced such schemes before the 1973 crisis, that is during a period of full economic expansion when almost all unemployment was frictional, almost no one questioned social security and poverty was considered to be marginal and residual. These schemes were intended to be the last safety net which filled all the gaps in the social security system so that no one was left with nothing to live on. In the second generation countries, starting with Luxembourg (1986) and extending to France (1988), the Autonomous Communities in Spain (1989-1992), and more recently Portugal and Italy, these schemes were first introduced when the consequences of the crisis were already very clear, particularly in the labour market. They therefore included to a greater or lesser extent the concept of integration. Belgium is an interesting and intermediary case in this respect, as its scheme was established in 1974, was initially of a transitional nature and was defined as a minimum means of subsistence (*minimex*) falling within the system of assistance, but gradually shifted towards the integration approach (willingness to work, section 60 of the CPAS Act and its case law).

Regardless of the debates already referred to in the first chapter concerning these schemes and the differences between the various countries, they have meant that several million people in Europe enjoy more decent living conditions and are able to meet their most fundamental and pressing needs. Where they supplement other minimum benefits or are at a high level (as in the Netherlands), they even have a broader effect, and when they give rise to other rights (France), they facilitate access to other protection measures (such as health and housing). But not all those who are entitled to them actually obtain them (the *worthy* poor, the itinerant homeless, the young, persons with no assistance culture). Sometimes they are set at a very low level and the qualifying conditions are very restrictive, and under certain conditions they even tend to make poverty more chronic. Some authors (Gorz, 1988; Van Parijs, 2000) consider that, duly restructured, they could provide the basis

for a more radical measure, namely a basic income or citizens' wage, the objective of which would be to develop social protection for all citizens, irrespective of their employment status. This debate remains open, although one of the challenges of current minimum income schemes consists of integration.

Indeed, from the viewpoint of both social and labour policies, although this link is not commonly made, the problem lies in the number of people entering poverty, exclusion and unemployment, the number remaining in these situations and for how long, the number escaping from them and whether they are always the same groups. An enormous amount of research has been carried out and there is little doubt that a positive economic situation and an expanding labour market lower the numbers entering these situations and increase those emerging from them. However, the limits of individual integration measures (including insertion contracts, conventional training programmes and socially useful employment) and of certain measures to activate job offers (incentives for enterprises, tax relief) are also becoming clearer, thereby demonstrating that the struggle to liberate the hard core of the poor, unemployed and excluded cannot only be based on economic approaches and measures.

3.3.3. Reproductive, palliative, preventive and emancipatory strategies

Another series of strategies may be classified according to their *objectives*. From this perspective, they may be labelled *reproductive, palliative and curative, preventive* and *emancipatory* strategies. Once again it is necessary to warn against the risk of over-simplification in any such classification, as general objectives are one thing, but specific objectives are quite another (although they can be interrelated). Turning firstly to those classified as *reproductive* strategies, it should be noted that they never, or hardly ever, bear this label or explicitly confess to such a purpose. But they are very easy to detect, as their means of action and outcomes are usually visible. One of the arguments often used is the futility of taking any action: "There will always be poor and excluded people", "It is all part of life", often combined with the view that such situations are a necessary evil, or more subtly, that they are even useful.

> Although not always explicitly, most authors agree that the structural adjustment policies of the 1980s had a negative effect on a whole series of countries in the South, not only by increasing the numbers affected by poverty, but also by reinforcing the conditions for its replication (Gaudier, 1993).

> Already at the end of the fourteenth century, a Catalan canon, F. Eiximenis, argued that poverty was useful because, by seeing how badly the poor lived, others set themselves to work, to maintain their property and to serve the community through their work (Eiximenis, 1385).

This view of the functionality of poverty, acting as a differential stimulus, which has been put forward on a number of occasions, implicitly involves the need for the replication of poverty, but suffers from the theoretical drawback of depending on its symbolic or real proximity. To a certain extent, this contradicts one of the hypotheses advanced to explain exclusion, based on a process of successive forced phases of distancing. From the above point of view, it would be a differential element in strategies which reproduce poverty and exclusion. In any case, both raise the issue of those just above the poverty line and those who are near to excluded groups. It is these who are the most sensitive to the measures taken, both in relation to replication, because they will very probably be affected, and the most selective measures, which are targeted at the poorest and most excluded. These groups often react very negatively to such measures.

In Germany, one of the arguments put forward by some of those in the eastern Länder living in slum areas, which has even given rise to racist attitudes, is that some foreigners or political refugees receive higher levels of benefits than they do.

In Madrid in 1991, the Consortium for Rehousing and Labour Integration tried to relocate a number of gypsy families from slums to new housing in Villaverde. The local residents held major demonstrations in protest, arguing that they were not racist, but did not want drugs and marginalization to be concentrated in their area. The public authorities withdrew the project and changed it to rehousing for *special groups*, which were multiplying on the city's periphery (Torregrosa, La Rosilla, La Celsa). Three years ago, the problem resurfaced with new protests by the locals.

Reference may be made, in relation to strategies of this type, to the historical debate in the nineteenth century when Malthus critcized the local poor laws in England, but which is still of topical relevance in relation to the replication and maintenance of poverty as a function of public and private charity and *poor relief*. For some, these forms of assistance are a response to popular pressure and protest (Piven Fox and Cloward, 1993), for others they consist of a system of control related to the labour market (Castel, 1995) or to economic fluctuations (Gieremek, 1987), while for others they reflect the idealogical views of the philanthropic elite (Trattner, 1983), and for still others they can be explained as one of the many forms of regulation (Rodrigues, 1999).

Other types of strategies endeavour to alleviate and reduce exclusion by adopting *palliative and curative* objectives. They attempt to heal the wounds that it produces and are directed at the most flagrant and urgent effects of the most precarious situations. They generally consist of emergency and shock measures in response to natural disasters (earthquakes, major droughts, devastating fires) or man-made catastrophes (wars, deportation, famines). They are sometimes more long-term, addressing aspects such as health (epidemics, infant mortality, chronic

disease), urban issues (reconstruction of housing) or education (literacy). The importance of this type of action should not be underestimated, consisting as it often does of external aid targeted at an area or country to try to re-establish minimum levels of subsistence. But it should be pointed out that, by not addressing the causes, the risk of reproducing the circumstances and processes is considerable. Sometimes, by failing to take into account the cultures, customs and practices of the countries to which such assistance is provided, new modalities are introduced which run counter to them, or which simply cannot be maintained once the intervention comes to an end.

For example, in a number of countries of the South, the introduction of certain pharmaceutical treatments and Western products achieved a temporary reduction in infant morbidity and malnutrition, but when the massive emergency aid ended, they returned to their previous situation, which even worsened in some cases as a result of the introduction of certain consumption habits that could not be maintained.

Western countries exert pressure on certain countries of the South to include social and human rights into their laws in the hope of reducing exclusion and *social dumping*. But these formal statements are seldom put into practice without considerable changes in the deficient, slow, bureaucratic and often corrupt police and judicial systems, in individual and collective attitudes, the type and strength of trade unions and civic organizations, and the machinery available for participation and advancing claims.

A third strategic approach defines its objectives in *preventive* terms. It endeavours to work in the opposite direction, or in other words to go upstream (Fragonard, 1993) by anticipating the most immediate causes of exclusion and the mechanisms that generate it. This approach often has its origins in the health field, where manifestly positive results have been achieved through prevention campaigns targeting pregnancy, childbirth, care for mothers and children and certain infectious diseases. Advocates of this approach also lay emphasis on education and training systems. Many studies have shown that the existence of basic health and education coverage is essential for economic *take-off* and social development. But in the social field, progress is not so tangible and, while there are many proponents of preventive action, few concrete plans and pilot experiences have taken on board and implemented this approach, thereby offering an additional reason for trying to achieve its inclusion in strategies.

For example, there are grounds for suggesting that, although seldom explored, intervention in the socio-cultural fields and in communication offers great potential, both by breaking through the stereotypes commonly attached to certain groups through campaigns targeting the mass media, and by reinforcing the links between

persons affected by exclusion, their networks and associations, and the rest of civil society, thereby sharing their difficulties and problems. In this way, the emergence of xenophobic and isolationist positions can be avoided.

Finally, and without falling into flights of fancy, reference should be made to a fourth type of strategy, which may be termed *emancipatory*, as it is intended to transform the causes of exclusion and seek the involvement of citizens and of those affected. In the countries of the North, few strategies are formulated in these terms. Pragmatism and technical approaches are predominant. There is also a certain caution in view of the well-known difficulties of achieving the desired results. Nevertheless, by looking carefully here and there it is possible to find a number of actions and initiatives which try to provide those affected with greater self-sufficiency and empowerment. These strategies are designed and implemented by associations, reflect the will of public and socio-economic actors and seek out the causes of the phenomena. In contrast, in the countries of the South, and particularly in Latin America, more radical strategies abound which try to get to the roots of the problem and presuppose a transformation in the social situation. But it is one thing to announce such intentions and quite another to put them into effect. Frequently, it is the populations affected, entangled in their own networks (Lomnitz, 1997) and intent on their own survival, who are the most distant from these approaches. In other cases, there is a lack of resources, or they are hampered by institutions fearing to lose their privileges.

3.3.4. Strategic coherence between approaches and resources

Finally, it is possible to identify a third series of strategies on the basis of *the methodological approaches and means* that they use. A preliminary remark in this respect concerns the benefits of coherence between objectives and resources. "You can't hunt lions with catapults." It is often the case that strategies and the resulting actions have great pretentions and ambitions, but that the resources allocated are scarce and underestimated.

In the selection process for the projects submitted for tender to the European Commission, one of the noticeable differences is that those from the Latin countries of the European Union are often unachievable and bear little relation to the resources requested, while those from the Anglo-Saxon area are less ideological, more pragmatic and their objectives and resources are better adapted.

Logically, there has to be some proportionality between objectives and resources, even though the importance of resources may also be relative, since their abundance does not necessarily guarantee effectiveness and efficiency. A good idea,

a good team and a broad network of alliances are sometimes more important than a large budget.

> In the *Innovations et Réseaux pour le Développement* network (IRED), the representatives of African and Asian countries wanted to obtain knowledge in particular on anti-poverty initiatives in Southern European countries. They claimed that replicability in their countries could only be based on projects in rural areas which had to work with scarce financial resources and which focused on the contribution of human labour.

Financial resources are important but not conclusive. How many projects have wasted the funding provided, and through their own *opulence,* have been prevented from relating to the real needs and most excluded population groups when they have landed in the bush! However, it is also true that many well-intentioned interventions with a broad basis of voluntary action do not achieve much due to the lack of material resources.

As already insinuated, there are strategies that have their roots in *a single actor* and others that are assumed by *a plurality of actors*. The next section reflects on partnership, but what is of interest here is that the second option offers more advantages than the first, which may be related to hegemonic political ambition, an exclusive takeover of exclusion or a moral or institutional assumption of responsibility.

> Until the sixteenth century, when the Renaissance culture introduced civil authority into Europe, the Catholic Church, as the only and greatest instrument of divine will, assumed overall responsibility for addressing poverty and assisting the poor.

One of the advantages of this approach, which usually leads to top-down formulae typical of enlightened despotism ("I do everything for my poor, but without their help"), is that responsibilities are clarified, and therefore also requirements with regard to the action taken. In contrast, in pluralistic strategies and partnerships, if "who does what" is not well established, responsibilities tend to be diluted. Pluralistic approaches are not only more consistent with the pluridimensional and structural nature of poverty and exclusion, but also with the idea that everyone is affected and that, if all partners are not involved, and particularly the poor and rejected, strategies have little legitimacy and are unlikely to be sustainable.

Any strategy is bound to have advocates, enemies and those who are basically indifferent. Involving, increasing and strengthening allies, diminishing and weakening enemies and bringing on board those who are indifferent would appear to be reasonable in view of the fact that the whole war against exclusion has to be won, and not just specific battles.

From this standpoint, there is no single correct approach or methodological catechism that can open all the doors to victory. The keys are multiple, and no particular discipline or system can claim the monopoly of truth or effectiveness. The concepts most frequently espoused are therefore globality, integration, transversality and interdisciplinarity. While they do not all have the same significance, they all lead in the same direction, with the overriding aim of addressing exclusion in all of its economic, social, political and cultural dimensions.

Within this context, there are methodological approaches that place emphasis on working with people, freeing them through education, raising their awareness, reinforcing their organizational capacities and involving them in actions which go beyond their particular field. Other approaches focus on specific measures targeting groups that are particularly affected by exclusion, while at the same time being open to all citizens. In the Anglo-Saxon world and in certain specific countries there are systems related to community development, while in others greater emphasis is placed on neighbourhood movements, small groups of communities with common needs and interests and the development of primary networks. In any case, the space, the link between the local and global levels, is taking on the rank of a category in its own right. There are also strategies based on methods for the creation of one's own employment, vocational integration and the social economy. Other strands emphasize the importance of health, education and training, social protection and collective facilities as levers to activate a form of socio-economic development that affirms rights and is respectful of social, environmental and cultural capital. But the non-existence of a single universally accepted methodology is not an obstacle to describing a number of strategic orientations which have proved their merit.

3.4. Strategic approaches

Even though there is no single universally accepted strategy or methodology for addressing exclusion, it is nevertheless possible to identify, from the thousands of initiatives carried out, a number of strategic approaches which give positive results, particularly in local action. Integration, partnership, participation and the spatial approach have gradually emerged as the cornerstones or touchstones of most programmes in the European Union and its Member States, as well as in the initiatives of international organizations and the many interventions carried out in the countries of the South.

It is important to point out that these principles are derived from the most structural and pluridimensional definitions of exclusion and that they are more meaningful when they are adopted in a coherent and joint manner, although it is possible to work with each of them in isolation. The idea of the participation of those affected, citizens and the community has been present in many projects,

without necessarily being accompanied by partnership in their implementation. The possibility of working jointly in two or more sectors, such as education and health, has also been attempted in many countries.

There are many examples of concepts related to hygiene and health being included in education systems. It has also been demonstrated that improving child health and nutrition is a prerequisite for reducing absenteeism from school and improving the academic performance of children.

However, there is increasing awareness that the articulation of all of these orientations, which creates greater complexity, has a multiplier effect and leads to synergies that are clearly positive.

It is also reasonable to raise the issue as to whether it is feasible and advisable to seek the coexistence of these principles. The complexity of integration may be relatively incompatible with the participation of excluded groups in the management of projects, as they usually find it difficult to understand and participate in concrete actions (Simonin, 1993).

The principle of *integration* is a direct consequence of the pluridimensional definition of exclusion. Such factors as inadequate income, poor quality housing, low levels of schooling and vocational skills, precarious jobs, poor health and the absence of rights require action to address all these aspects. Awareness of the negative effects of compartmentalized policies (income, health, labour, education, urban planning) is also becoming a weighty argument for at least seeking their coordination and, as a further step, their integration. Another is that persons, groups and spaces are integrated subjects which suffer globally from exclusion, even though the partial manifestation of one aspect may be more emotive or urgent.

But even though this principal orientation has been outlined, the risks involved must not be overlooked. The first is that, under the pretext of integration, everything is taken on board but little or nothing is achieved, with efforts being diluted in the attempt to obtain the desired transversality. A Spanish proverb says that those who take on too much, achieve little. The ambition of globality, which is so common in the social field, ends up in this case as a term that is carried away in the wind. That is why the phase of defining the action, with its objectives and priorities, is very important so as to avoid falling into this *metaphysical* globality.

The second risk consists of the juxtaposition and sum of the sectors achieving no result at all, by disregarding the intrinsic rationale, space and consolidated means of action of each of them. It is not therefore sufficient for the management of the project and a multidisciplinary team composed of a variety of professions to sit around the same table to be able to say that the action is integrated. What is more

likely to happen is that even the vocabulary they use will separate them. The *representatives* of each sector therefore have to begin by abandoning to some extent their own professional background and approaches to try to achieve a joint reading of the situation. This would be the second condition for coming closer to negotiated integration. The third condition is to incorporate into this reading the links that exist between sectors in the processes of generating and reproducing exclusion. This is not an easy task as insights into exclusion are subject to the spin applied by each sector, profession and approach.

The third risk relates to the reproduction of these approaches inside the team managing the intervention and the areas of competence which may emerge within it. Moreover, as part of the process of partnership, difficulties may also be increased because each of the actors advocates a particular approach, due to varying degrees of personal interest, because it corresponds to their own field, to what they do best or in accordance with their mandate. It also has to be taken into account that the times and rhythm of interventions may differ and do not necessarily coincide.

> For example, the construction of a well, literacy courses, a vaccination campaign, the establishment of a cooperative and action against the ill-treatment of women, all of which would be priorities in an integrated project, all require times, skills, means and services that are quite distinct.

Interdisciplinary teams are usually advocated as a way of avoiding these dangers. They are certainly a step forward, but not the only one, as they too often see a repetition of the polemics arising out of their academic or professional origins, hierarchies and status, and differing levels of remuneration, especially when teams are new, the organization is not clear and roles are diluted in tribute to integration. It is the project that has to be integrated, not each of the participants. In this regard, being guided by needs of undoubted globality ends up being one of the best criteria. Another may be to define a number of themes which cut across all the sectors. This is the case, for instance, of the participation of the target groups in the selection of priorities, access to the whole range of existing services, the effective attainment of all rights, and individual and collective promotion and integration.

Partnership as a strategic principle finds its underlying significance in the fact that, in one way or another, exclusion affects everybody, and particularly the actors at the economic, social and political levels, without whose collaboration it is very difficult indeed to achieve any substantive progress.

The term partnership is unknown in some countries and well-established in others, with certain almost magical qualities in that it is attributed with all the virtues. It has Anglo-Saxon origins (*partaker*), although its etymology is Latin (*particeps*) and Greek (*hetairea*). To a certain extent, it symbolizes a confluence between the various European linguistic and cultural heritages. In practice, partnership takes on different meanings. In the United Kingdom it is used more in trade and sport,

in Portugal it has the connotation of associations and joint work, in Italy it has recreational and political overtones, in France has associations with leisure and love, in Germany it is linked with a vision of joint collaboration and in classical Greece it signalled those who followed a philosophical inspiration, while at the same time indicating relations of friendship and love. This concept, which has come a long way, started to be used in the social field in the 1980s (RAS, 1988) in relation to local action and transnational cooperation, and was incorporated and converted into the distinctive principles of the third European anti-poverty programme. Since then, it has been mentioned in most of the texts and programmes defining the Structural Funds and experimental programmes of the European Union (Benington and Geddes, 2000). It has also been the subject of broad research carried out between 1994 and 1996 by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, and has ended up being adopted in the great majority of initiatives to combat exclusion at both the international and local levels.

So as not to fall into the trap of using the term like a spice that can be added to any sauce, it is worth citing a number of definitions. In the National Anti-Poverty Plan in Ireland, where there is a long tradition of partnership (Sabel, 1996), it is indicated that "*social partnerships can be defined as the search for consensus on economic and social objectives between sectoral interests – trade unions, business, farming organisations – and government. In recent times, NGOs have been included in this social partnership for the first time*" (Walsh and Craig, 1998).

In the above research, the following definition of partnership was adopted: "*a formal organisational framework for policy making and implementation which mobilises a coalition of interests and the commitment of a range of partners, around a common agenda and multi-dimensional action programme, to combat social exclusion and promote social inclusion*" (Geddes, 1997).

Finally, in the third anti-poverty programme, the most frequently used definition was a process by which two or more agents of a different nature agree upon a means of achieving a specific anti-poverty objective, the result of which represents more than the sum of the two halves. Each (agent) maintains its individuality in the venture, which includes risks and potential benefits that are shared by all partners (Estivill, 1994).

Thus defined, partnership is more than dialogue, which does not include joint action, but less than participation, in which everyone has and forms part of something. It is also distinct from the concept of coordination, in which there is a lower level of commitment and which implies an ordering of the organizational dimension, as well as from collaboration, where there is no mutual involvement. The diverse nature of the actors in a partnership tends to distance it from the concept of cooperation, in which the distinctive feature is the relationship between equals or similar actors. Finally, a weaker legal bond and therefore a less strong and lasting relationship distinguishes partnership from association.

Bearing all this in mind, what is the contribution of partnership and what are its advantages and disadvantages in combating exclusion?

Partnership offers a means of overcoming the increasingly corporate nature of large organizations, while at the same time breaking down the isolation and exclusion of individuals and small groups by obliging the former to build bridges with the latter, giving rise to formal concerted action upstream, while inviting individuals and small groups to work more closely together downstream. This has led some to make a distinction between partnership (a more formal arrangement) and *parcería* (a less formal sharing) (Rodrigues and Stoer, 1998), a distinction that can only be made in Iberian languages and which has influenced social terms in Latin America. Faced with the concentration of power and its growing remoteness from citizens, partnership can be a way of socializing and sharing power. From this perspective, it would be a new form of *redistribution* through which decision-making has to be shared. At the same time, a broad partnership can be an opportunity to overcome: (1) the compartmentalization of sectoral policies; (2) the distance between economic, social and political approaches; and (3) the obstacles to collaboration between public administrations, associations, primary social networks and commercial businesses. Finally, partnership may be a way of putting to the test new alliances and strategies for combating exclusion.

But neither macro-partnerships nor micro-partnerships are free from traps and difficulties. One of these is that local action can be self-blocking. If all the actors do not reach agreement, the decision-making process may be slowed down, it may provide a forum for tension between more traditional and innovative approaches or may even become a big theatre in which each of the actors plays her or his role and the citizens passively applaud at the end of the show.

In practice, partnership processes can give rise to networking in which each actor forms a link. But this model only works when the links are equal, none of them dominates the others and the network does not break down because nobody is seeking their own interests, or because there is a balance between the sum of these parts and the common interest, with a clear centre where orientations and priorities are decided upon.

What are the conditions for progress in partnerships? The first is not to go too fast. It has to be understood that it is a complex and slow process that is not an automatic result of the sum of all the interests, but which requires the formation and changes in attitudes and the mentalities of the actors. Without modifications in hierarchical, dominant and corporate positions, it is very difficult to make progress. The first phase of design and preparation is very important, as it involves the selection of the actors, the definition of the rules of the game and the commitments assumed. The actors accept risks and provide resources (technical, human, financial and political), but have to gain rewards and attain results. The moment of the distribution of resources is critical and it is essential for it to be transparent and equitable.

The second condition is that the number of actors and their augmentation is normally an indicator of the maturity of the partnership, but not the only one. An increase in the number of actors involved, without wild fluctuations, may be useful,

although the same cannot be said of abandonment by actors who are losing interest. Thirdly, partnership has both a symbolic and real function. It has to develop its own rules, while at the same encompassing as many activities as possible and combining more formal moments and levels (negotiation) with others that are less formal. Indeed, in view of the heterogeneous and sometimes even antagonistic nature of the *partners*, it can never be conceived of without its share of potential disputes. A partnership therefore has to learn to survive in this type of environment, just as it cannot ignore the weight of political influence, although it should not become the main forum for the expression of claims, or the forum in which they all end up. Finally, the creation of more permanent structures as an outcome of partnerships is another crucial phase, with well-pondered decisions, explicit commitments and mechanisms for control, evaluation and participation.

In the wealthy city of Girona, which has around 70,000 inhabitants, a project to combat poverty was launched with financing from the second European programme. With its selection for the third programme, it took on the concept of partnership, which had hitherto been unknown. It was through its strong dynamic that it overcame the older concept of social action with very positive outcomes in terms of economic integration, and the Economic and Social Council, which formulated the city's development strategy, finally adopting the principle of partnership. The keys for success were the involvement of political leaders from the city council, good technical management, the inclusion of the majority of socio-economic actors, the internal cohesion of the partnership and European sponsorship (Mora, 1994).

In etymological terms, the word *participation* means forming part of a whole. Its use throughout history has had ups and downs between two extreme positions: the first from the viewpoint of the demands which may be made by individuals, groups and communities to decide their own future, and the second relating to its use as a formal mechanism through which those who detect power can disguise this position. The ILO, through its International Institute for Labour Studies, launched a macro-research project towards the end of the 1960s on workers' participation in the management of enterprises, which revealed the plurality of existing forms (co-management, self-management, concerted management) and their willingness to play a role in the business process, as well as a certain mistrust of certain participatory mechanisms which diverted their efforts towards forms of participation which were qualified as capitalist traps (IILS, 1967-1970). Over the long history of community development, there has also been a constant shift between the defence of a more participatory democracy as a means of involving the population and a more technocratic view, in accordance with which participation becomes a mere instrument for the expression of particular interests. Participation is at the same time an objective and even a value, a strategic orientation and an instrument.

From a more political perspective, the notion has also suffered from the vicissitudes of a diversity of positions. For some, it is a means of reinforcing represen-

tative democracies by opening new spaces for participatory democracy. For others, it is a way of legitimizing political systems and paving the way for their reproduction. Still others view it as a constant tension between those making decisions from the top down and others who organize themselves from the bottom up. For yet others, it is a new approach to setting forth access to rights and providing them with an effective content.

An aware and willing citizen is called upon to participate, among others, as head of household, in her or his children's school, in the neighbourhood association, in the football club; as a worker in the enterprise trade union; as a citizen in political organizations and elections; and as an individual in solidarity movements. At the end of the year, a review shows that she or he has attended thousands of meetings, but has not been able to decide anything important. Of course, the opposite may be true, but not very often.

Participation therefore has economic, social, political and cultural dimensions and, once again, it may be affirmed that there are correspondences between them. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of much progress being made in any one of them if the others are blocked.

It is also necessary to distinguish between levels and channels of participation. A first level, a *sine qua non*, is evidently *information*, without which it is very difficult to speak of or give effect to participation, and this is of special relevance in the world of exclusion. How much and what type of information, through which channels does it flow and where are the bottlenecks, how is it received and used? These are all questions to which the answers are vital for the quality of this first level of participation. A second level consists of *skills and organization*. Participating means understanding what is to be decided, assessing its consequences, knowing the means of implementing the decisions and, except in small communities or in exceptional times, it also involves delegation, representation and control. It therefore also raises the complex issue of the more or less formal organization of those who wish to participate.

In the Portuguese project *Aldeias de Montanha*, located in a mountainous area with low levels of culture, the aim was to promote active participation in its evaluation. But this proved to be practically impossible because the participants did not understand its importance or the methodology proposed, due to their low intellectual level and the population's lack of experience (Monteiro, 1996).

A third level of participation consists of consultation, which involves no intervention in decisions, although it may influence them. In pedagogical terms, if participation is also a learning process, this opportunity should not be looked down

upon since, in most cases, it is indicative of an initial opening in a top-down process. Consultation may also be a result of pressure from those who do not take decisions and can make their voices heard through these processes, even though it often takes the form of advice being given by external actors and bodies. It is worth mentioning that participation may at times be a result of negotiation, not so much at the internal level in relation to the action that is being taken, but as the expression of actors who are more or less external. It may also be assumed that when the balance of power within a project is unfavourable to a particular group, it will make use of the more or less informal channels of external organizations.

A fourth level of participation lies, not in the central decision-making circuits, but in the multiplicity of activities carried out. This is often the level that best corresponds to the objective and subjective situation of poor and excluded groups and to what may be called the pedagogy of participation. Indeed, both time and resources are necessary for participation.

It is not by chance that women, who bear most of the burden of domestic work and suffer the consequences of gender discrimination, are limited in their rights and collective action (ILO, 1995). At the same time, however, in many countries of the South it has been observed that, in many projects, women are the principal targets of activation measures. This is the case, for example, of Domitila Chiuahua's experiments in Bolivia, militant groups of poor women workers (*manzaneras)* in many areas of Argentinian cities, in rural areas and Brazilian *favelas*.

As noted above, the main preoccupation of groups affected by exclusion is often to survive and cope with their situation. Is it not therefore paradoxical to insist on greater participation when it is sometimes not even practised by those advocating it? This is why in many cases a beginning is made with improving self-esteem, self-help groups and small-scale interventions with specific results in the short term, with a view to stimulating more complex and ambitious action in the longer term. The starting point should always be specific needs, the ability to listen and respect for the rhythm and the heterogeneous situations of those who have been excluded. There are many forms of participation, which may be more or less formalized and may be opaque for external observers, who may be led to conclude that they do not exist because they do not follow certain rules.

Finally, the last level, which completes the circle of participation, is that of the central decision-making that is vital to local action. It should be pointed out that it is not the same thing to participate at the levels of design, planning, implementation or evaluation, even when the key issue is that of power. It is for this reason that increasing use is being made of the term empowerment (Fresno, 1999) for the active involvement of citizens in local communities. This does not consist merely of involving and strengthening each individual, but also of reinforcing the role of the community and its capacity for expression, organization, communication and

negotiation with other groups and with institutions. Or in other words, as a way of affording them power, even though this often implies a willingness to relinquish it on the part of those who hold it. But history tends to show that power has to be seized. In any event, many projects have shown that it is possible to share it adequately and on a more equitable basis. With whom? With those affected, target populations, users, those working on the project, citizens?

It is quite another matter when the desire for participation comes from below, takes the form of self-management and is more or less a conscious expression of individual and collective needs. This does not in itself resolve the conundrum of participation, as a systematic gathering together is usually neither lasting nor sustainable, nor does it lend itself to effectiveness. As a consequence, in the final analysis, in both this and the previous formula the key is democratic control, not so much of technical aspects, which require specific skills, as of the overall strategy and its results.

This type of participation would appear to be more feasible, effective and valued at the *local* level. It is a better expression of both needs and demands. The contributions made to solving their problems by those who are excluded are more feasible and direct, the articulation with partnership and the integration of the various sectors is easier, although its management or institutionalization is more difficult. In this respect, it should not be forgotten that participation at the local level can act as a brake upon and slow down action or may lead to difficult decisions, which may even be incoherent with the action taken at this level.

It is fashionable for interventions to be *local*. Even countries with a pronounced centralizing tradition are deconcentrating, decentralizing and federating. Moreover, and paradoxically, globalization invites a strengthening of local identities and responses. This has broad consequences for action to combat exclusion which, as has been recalled, is generated and reproduced at the local level. However, it is not always concentrated in a specific area, which is why it may be described as *diffused*. And in the case of nomadic populations, it is difficult to situate in geographical terms.

In any case, the increasing demand for action at the local level is occurring in parallel with the process of giving a more local basis to public action in the search for more flexible forms of intervention. This increasing focus on local spaces in combating exclusion corresponds to: (1) the recognition of its spatial diversity and the specificity of its local manifestations; (2) the desire to globalize these manifestations with a view to attempting to implement integrated and multisectoral strategies; (3) the need to create local units for the identification of the characteristic structures, mechanisms and processes of exclusion; and (4) the value of setting limits upon these units for the purposes of carrying out spatially significant analyses and interventions, whether or not they correspond to the competence and scope of public and private action.

It should be recalled that the sum of all good local action does not offer a global solution, that the problems posed by exclusion can often only be resolved at higher

levels (such as economic, tax, investment and social protection policy) and that many local actors are dependent on their central hierarchies. It is also necessary to debunk the illusory vision of local areas as homogeneous *communities* untroubled by disputes, and to break with the idea that an impoverished or excluded community or area can cease to be so merely on the basis of its own resources. If it is where it is, this is also because of what it has been and continues to be. It is therefore through a combination of both external and internal initiatives at the local level that solutions have to be sought.

It is also necessary to distinguish between the local and municipal levels. Town councils have a substantial role to play in combating exclusion. Countries in which their fields of competence and resources are limited, such as Ireland and Greece, have had to give them a broader role to play. The involvement of municipal authorities, their technicians and professionals, access to their services and facilities, the increased awareness of all citizens and the placing of action to combat exclusion at the level of the economic and social development of municipalities, cities and peoples are fundamental elements. But municipal limits and action do not exhaust local initiatives. Moreover, they often do not coincide and may overlap. Exclusion that occurs in a specific area may be generated and arise within or beyond the municipal level. This is why many spatial definitions are emerging (such as metropolitan areas, basins, regions and districts) alongside new bodies (covering several communities, consortia, districts, counties), within which local authorities are coordinated to address exclusion.

Moreover, it is still important to distinguish between local development and combating exclusion. In practice, many projects which start off with the latter aim shift towards the former. Local development can have a positive impact on exclusion, but not always. Downward capillary action does not automatically lead to local economic growth. Furthermore, the persistent transformation of the situations of exclusion suffered by individuals and household units may not be dependent on changes resulting from local development. Because, just as needs are better expressed, there is a proximity of decisions, it is easier to mobilize the excluded and the actors are more visible, with a correspondingly more transparent and direct need for legitimacy. But this should not obscure the fact that established powers, *caciquismo* and complicity can be stronger at the local than at other levels. In some ways, combating exclusion involves a change of paradigm in local development, which should no longer be seen as merely the economic growth of smaller territorial units. Indeed, it requires a reassessment of social needs, small-scale community organization, the network of associations, their capacity for mobilization and initiatives that are sustainable. For all of these reasons, if more locally focused action is to be transformed into a local capacity for action to reach out to poor excluded groups, it is important for this approach to be present in the establishment of objectives, priorities, measures and means of implementation. Here again, the strategic principles of integration, partnership and participation take on significance.

Chapter 4.
By way of conclusion

It is not the intention here to propose definitive conclusions. That would be inconsistent with the attempt to maintain an open approach throughout this publication and with its intended purpose, namely to serve as a conceptual framework for an operational manual on local action to combat exclusion.

It is necessary to begin by recalling the itinerary followed. Firstly, this overview has shown how, although practices of exclusion towards individuals, groups and areas go back to the beginning of time, the term emerged against the background of the crisis in the 1970s. The economic, social, political and cultural transformations generated by this crisis provided the conditions for a new debate on the meanings and uses of the terms *poverty* and *exclusion*. While the former has a long tradition of definitions, distinctions, delimitations and quantitative and qualitative applications, the latter has been making its way, first slowly and then more rapidly into the Latin countries of Europe, and entered the vocabulary of European Union institutions through the third anti-poverty programme. Despite its diffuse, polysemic and equivocal nature, and the use and misuse to which it has been subjected, the profile of exclusion as a concept has gradually been refined and it has been shown that it designates an accumulation of confluent processes which, through successive ruptures, have their origins in the heart of the economy, politics and society, and which distance and render inferior individuals, groups, communities and spaces in relation to centres of power, resources and the prevailing values.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the concept of exclusion complements that of poverty, which has also been enriched by its dynamic, structural and multidimensional profile. Exclusion as a concept is gaining ground in Europe and is accepted by the main actors, trade unions, employers' organizations and public administrations. It is promoted by the dynamic of civil society, the social economy and by hundreds of projects designed to promote integration, particularly in the labour market. Its use is jumping from the European continent to Latin America, Africa and Asia, not without raising the issue of the significance of this diffusion. The process has undoubtedly been facilitated by international institutions, and particularly the International Labour Office through its work in the 1990s.

The overview then went on to examine the manifestations of exclusion. The two questions to which responses were proposed were how to identify it and how to analyse and measure it. After pointing out three risks arising out of the relativity of the concept, a number of explanatory paradigms were developed and an analysis was made of several of its phases and turning points, the role of institutions,

sectoral policies, legal measures, spaces, and even its symbolic and cultural aspects. While there is broad accumulated knowledge concerning the definition and identification of poverty, around which there is relative agreement, the same is not true of exclusion, which is still a moving concept. However, some methodological clues have been proposed. Longitudinal studies, translocal and transnational comparative analyses, the appropriate use of primary and administrative data, general and specific surveys, the establishment of quantitative and qualitative indicators, participants' observation and life stories are among the techniques which may contribute to making exclusion less obscure and offering an explanation of it.

It is precisely the emergence and visibility that are the first conditions for the formulation of strategies to address it. This is the subject covered by the third part of the publication, which examines the roles of the various actors and goes into their individual and collective motivations, with particular reference to international agencies, associations, social enterprises, employers, financial bodies and trade unions, without overlooking public authorities in the various fields in which they are active. A typology of strategies is then established, taking into account the traditional parameters of time and space. Those that are related to social attitudes are identified, in view of the hypothesis advanced that strategies depend on such attitudes, which may conceal and deny the existence of exclusion, or attribute it to individual patterns of behaviour. Another approach places emphasis on socio-economic factors and the related measures, such as increased income, minimum income schemes and social protection. It is also possible to classify strategies according to their objectives as being of a reproductive, palliative, preventive or emancipatory nature. The methodological approaches and means employed in the context of the various strategic orientations can also be identified. Finally, and logically in view of the multiplicity of factors, actors and processes which contribute to exclusion, it is emphasized that there is no single universally valid strategy for combating exclusion, although certain principles can be gleaned from all the various plans, programmes and projects for its eradication carried out over the past 30 years and which are still being implemented. Integration, partnership, participation and the spatial approach are the strategic principles which have given and are still giving the best results. The last part of the overview is devoted to this approach.

However, these fairly conclusive considerations would be incomplete without reference being made to some of the challenges and tasks that the future has in store for all those who, as indicated at the beginning of this volume, are committed to the eradication of exclusion. Warning should, of course, be given that, without the gift of prophecy or a crystal ball to see what lies ahead, all that can be done is to propose a number of reasonably feasible scenarios. If there should still be any temptation to play the sorcerer's apprentice, the unforeseeable and unpredictable events of the last months of 2001 must surely discourage any such hazardous undertaking.

In contrast, what is certain is that neither poverty nor exclusion will disappear from the face of the earth, and that their multiple faces may very well continue to grow and to be transformed. This means that they will continue to be present, not

only on the political agenda of the major international decisions, but also in the thousands of interventions carried out by those committed to combating them in the furthest corners of the world. This also means that it is necessary to obtain more in-depth knowledge of the concepts and their meaning, and to go further in explaining and analysing the underlying phenomena. The number of studies will have to be increased, as well as experiments to diversify and test intervention strategies, measures and methodologies, thereby creating a cumulative observatory and a pluralistic laboratory to influence and feed more general policies. Skilled actors who can multiply interventions are needed to participate in debates and action and to help identify the groups affected by exclusion and the efforts that they themselves are making, with the involvement of the whole range of public authorities, socio-economic actors and associations. These efforts must be made known, compared and disseminated.

In all of this, international agencies and transnational networks have a special responsibility. International agencies because, from their vantage point, they can lay the groundwork for a major debate on exclusion in the world, exert pressure on governments, raise the awareness of the various supranational actors, collaborate with them in their fields of competence (labour, health, culture, justice, economic development), finance significant projects, provide them with technical assistance and, in short, combine their efforts to eradicate, or at least limit the causes and effects of social exclusion. Transnational networks can make a contribution, through the local efforts of their members, by ascertaining the best strategies to combat exclusion, identifying general lessons and proposing alternative approaches with a view to enriching the debate and strengthening international commitment to combating exclusion.

In this sense, the present volume is but a grain of sand. Many such grains of sand are needed to create a great beach on which the waters from all the seas in the world can meet and form a quiet pool of reflection. And in this process, the countries of the North and the South, the groups affected by poverty and exclusion and all the socio-economic actors have specific roles to play.

In this respect, and as a preliminary scenario, it would be tragic if the countries of the North continued to ignore the fact that their opulence also has its origins in their domination of others, whose exclusion is also rooted, although not exclusively, in processes, factors and values that originate in the North. Recognizing this means beginning to look inwards and seeing that many of their own citizens continue to suffer from poverty and exclusion. They are not poor countries, but too many of their people are subjected to degrading conditions and have a hard time surviving, without access to full education, decent housing or jobs, and are far from achieving widely accepted patterns of consumption and culture. Their ranks are being swollen by the thousands of migrants from the South and East who go to the North in search of freedom and material well-being, which they lack in their native countries, thereby demonstrating one of the threads uniting both worlds and their real capacity for social inclusion. Recognizing this implies not only looking, but also acting and there-

fore redoubling efforts to involve all actors, integrating action to combat exclusion into all policies, making rights more accessible, improving social protection systems and attacking the nuclei which generate exclusion.

The acknowledgement and assumption of their role by the countries of the North should lead to an increase and an improvement in their mechanisms, resources and channels of solidarity, the adoption of specific initiatives by international organizations and forums, the transformation of bilateral relations of dependence and the capacity to transfer the knowledge accumulated to the strategies that are being formulated in the South, without this involving mere mimicry or the replication of what is being done in the North. Such a scenario is not impossible, but is certainly difficult, particularly since, while a constantly increasing number of actors are calling for development that is sustainable, less unequal and fairer in social terms, there are also very powerful forces working in the opposite direction. In this regard, it should be noted that those countries located to the periphery of the centre have a specific responsibility, as they can contribute more effectively to a more respectful transfer of such knowledge and to the exchange of experience between the countries of the South. This is not the place to enumerate the measures that can be taken, but to point out that the objective is to reinforce solidarity, and that this is not only the task of governments. Citizens, volunteers, workers' and employers' organizations and social initiatives have long understood this. Nor is the dynamic likely to wane, even though the trends of closing ranks, corporatism and indifference may be on the increase. Awareness that any manifestation of exclusion affects the whole of humanity will also most probably continue to grow. If, in a relatively short period of time, it has become increasingly widely accepted that the deterioration in the environment is a matter of concern for everyone, progress may also be envisaged in achieving broader understanding that the exclusion of anyone affects everyone, and that we all can and have to make an effort, however small, to combat it. People in the so-called *First World* have more resources and, why hide it?, greater responsibility as consumers, producers and citizens. In the global chain reaction that is exclusion, each step forward that is taken in the *First World* signifies, in some way, a step forward in the *Third World*. And vice-versa.

For this reason, the number of initiatives taken by actors in the North have to be multiplied. It is to be hoped that governments not only indulge in verbal statements, but that they increasingly show their commitment in budgetary terms, by increasing resources for trilateral and multilateral cooperation, reducing tariff barriers to imports, exerting pressure to improve respect for human rights, individuals and their cultures, and accepting more readily the supervisory authority of international judicial and political bodies. In the same way, employers' organizations can advance the idea of the social responsibility of enterprises and that the pursuit of maximum profit can turn out to be their greatest prejudice in the long term. A world dominated by exclusion would offer ever lower levels of economic viability.

Workers' organizations will have to overcome practices which mean that they confine their activities to defending their own members and they will have to open

themselves up to causes that bring them into contact with broader interests and citizens in general, whether or not they have a job. In so doing, they will undoubtedly discover new forms of organization, new spaces for negotiation and dialogue, and new allies.

Associations are becoming increasingly important protagonists in combating social exclusion and in cooperation between the North and the South. As such, they channel the huge amount of energy of the thousands of citizens who wish to show their solidarity and refuse to remain passive when confronted with situations of discrimination and exclusion. It cannot be denied that in this activation of people, organizations and public opinion in the countries of the North, the mass media, and increasingly the networks formed over the Internet, have and will continue to play a considerable role. But the will of voluntary social organizations is not sufficient, and it is therefore necessary for them to improve their professionalism, skills and effectiveness in the projects that they manage at the local level. Reference should be made in this respect to the important contribution that can be made by the training and education of field managers and agents and the development of instruments and methods to improve the capacity for strategic intervention.

A second scenario must focus on the situation in the countries of the South, where acute and extremely precarious situations require urgent decisions to meet the most vital needs, basically through palliative measures, although this does not prevent their implementation alongside more preventive measures (health, education), or the adoption of an emancipatory perspective. The priorities are clear: it is necessary to integrate the challenge that is presupposed by the concept of exclusion, ensure the application of strategic interventions with the involvement of all the actors, while respecting contextual and cultural differences, thereby breaking through the closed circuits of exclusion. And in this process, rather than a multiplicity of debates on major economic factors and juridical principles that are not applied, or barely applied, it is likely to be more useful to take the opportunity of formulating national plans to combat exclusion with a view to breaking through the opacity surrounding it. This should open up a broad debate on its causes, nature, manifestations and the measures to be taken, involving the whole of society in a strategy that encompasses all sectors (health, labour, education, housing) and all the levels of the public administration (local, district, regional and national) through thousands of projects, thereby constituting experimental laboratories and observatories, which should in turn enrich the major options of the most global policies.

This will of course be difficult, as it is easier to resort to isolated measures, paternalistic assistance and counterproductive external interventions, while skirting around vested interests and the status quo, than to press forward with the above efforts. And it not only depends on good will, but also on a favourable climate, on economic, political and technical capacities, the commitment of citizens, external stimuli and a balance of power in which it may be essential for the voices of the affected populations to be heard.

And it is this latter condition that constitutes the third scenario. There are many reasons why both the North and the South of the planet maintain a *monologue of power*. But there are also sound arguments in favour of maintaining a participatory dynamic in which the persons affected, citizens, volunteers and professionals can organize themselves collectively to address their needs, claim their rights and propose alternatives. This is the basis on which the monologue must be converted into a productive dialogue so that society, the economy, politics and culture, from the local to the global levels, generate less impoverishment and exclusion.

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