

*solidarität*  
*solidarity*  
*solidaridad*  
*solidarietà*  
*solidarité*

mod et solidarisk Europa

COMMISSION  
OF THE  
EUROPEAN  
COMMUNITIES

DIRECTORATE-  
GENERAL  
FOR  
EMPLOYMENT,  
INDUSTRIAL  
RELATIONS  
AND SOCIAL  
AFFAIRS  
(DG V)

# COMBATING SOCIAL EXCLUSION

*A CHALLENGE FOR THE 1990s*

COPENHAGEN, 3-4 JUNE 1993





# MOBILIZATION AGAINST SOCIAL EXCLUSION

"The problem of social exclusion is a problem of Europe as a whole" : Jacques Delors, the President of the European Commission, could hardly have put it more clearly. Without being either marginal or accidental, social exclusion is a phenomenon which is capable of rocking the very foundations of the European social model. With this threat in mind, the Community needs to be even more involved than it is at present. A solemn Declaration should give a very official aspect to this commitment.



*Jacques Delors and Karen Jespersen, Danish Minister for Social Affairs*

**S**o, the rendez-vous given by the President of the Commission at the end of the April 1992 Brussels seminar was honoured on June 3rd and 4th in Copenhagen. The seminar jointly organized by the Danish Presidency and the Commission of the European Communities was attended by about 400 people from the twelve Member States: representatives of national, regional and local authorities, members of non-governmental organizations, social partners, experts and project leaders. The theme of the seminar was: "Combating Social Exclusion - A Challenge for the 'Nineties".

Odile Quintin, of the Commission (DG V/C/1) rightfully observed that the approach adopted in 1989 in Galway, Ireland, and followed up among others in Lille in 1991, in Brussels and Oporto in 1992 was

mobilizing the officials and the partners involved in the struggle against poverty and social exclusion more and more.

The mobilisation is all the stronger at the moment as a veritable "earthquake" in the words of Jacques Delors is shaking the European economy. The consequences on unemployment are easy to grasp and this will not push back social exclusion. On the contrary.

For the Danish Prime Minister, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, the problem is one of solidarity between those with a job and those without. The rift is greater between those in more and more qualified posts and those who are becoming more and more unemployable, and more and more marginalized. However, the head of the Danish government also had this warning: "in-

novation is necessary, but we also have to have the courage to say what it costs".

Padraig Flynn, the European Commissioner for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs, observed that we had progressively switched from the notion of Poverty to that of Exclusion. Poverty, defined as the absence or deprivation of financial resources, is certainly a fundamental aspect of the problem. However, the measurement of financial deprivation is not sufficient to encompass all the aspects of social exclusion.

At Community level, this broadening perspective has expressed itself in a variety of ways. Padraig Flynn mentioned the Poverty 3 Programme, the creation of the Observatory of independent experts on national policies to fight social exclu-



## POUL NYRUP RASMUSSEN : "A QUESTION OF SOLIDARITY"



**In the foreground: W. Larsen-Jensen, who, speaking on behalf of the Copenhagen municipality, greeted the people of the congress; Poul Nyrup Rasmussen and Padraig Flynn**

sion, the HORIZON and NOW initiatives (in the framework of the European Social Fund), recommendations made on guarantee of minimum resources and on the convergence of policies and objectives in the field of social welfare, the Commission's proposal to extend the Objective 3 of the Structural Funds to actions favouring social integration, the HELIOS II Programme designed for handicapped people, the very recent employment initiative launched by the Commission and the communication adopted in December 1992 by the Commission and entitled "Towards a Europe of Solidarity".

### THREE THEMES

That communication outlines three major thrusts in Community action: integration of the aim of prevention of exclusion into the Community's general and structural policies ; the issue of rights of the most deprived of our fellow citizens, and the improvement of their access to those rights; and the proposal of a specific new Community action programme against social exclusion to follow on from the current Poverty 3 Programme, which comes to an end next year.

These three themes oriented the works of the participants at the

In the words of the Commissioner Padraig Flynn, the presence of the Danish Prime Minister, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, at the opening ceremony of the Copenhagen Conference, was a clear signal of his personal and his country's commitment to the social dimension of the European Community and, in particular, to the question of social exclusion.

For the Prime Minister, this question is today one which concerns

solidarity between those with a job, and those without. This aspect is made all the more critical in the sense that when unemployment increases, it is always the same population categories that are most seriously affected. In order to bridge the gap between the employed with jobs which are becoming more and more specialized and the unemployed, becoming more and more marginalized, innovative solutions need to be found.

One of those, for instance, could be to promote and organise the turnover between those who wish to give up working temporarily for family or personal reasons and those who have no job.

In more general terms there are some ways of better fighting unemployment. The Prime Minister enumerated the policies of urban renovation (and their effects on growth), community-aimed investments and of course all the measures designed to improve training systems. "We must be concrete, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen said, for what preoccupies us here is the daily life of all the citizens within the Community".



## PADRAIG FLYNN : "UNACCEPTABLE POVERTY"

In the words of Padraig Flynn, Commissioner for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs, "at the present time, there are around 50 million people in the EC who can be described as being at or below the poverty line. Poverty on such a scale is patently unacceptable at the end of the twentieth century, when so many of us in Western Europe enjoy such high levels of comfort and prosperity. Now is the time, therefore, for concerted action in a spirit of solidarity among all sectors of society in a true people's Europe".

He announced that there would very soon be proposals made for the future programme

against social exclusion and a Commission green paper on Community Initiatives - particularly those affecting human resources - to be financed through the Structural Funds. Finally, he announced that there would also be a green paper on the future of Community social policy.

"The ultimate goal of the Community, after all, is to improve the quality of life of all its citizens - not least the disadvantaged amongst us. Quite simply, it is our duty to ensure that the Europe of the '90s and beyond is founded on fundamental respect for human dignity".





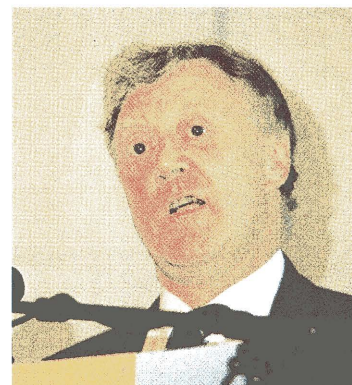
Copenhagen seminar, both during the general sessions and the workshops, which provided a wealth of discussion and proposals, as will become clear in reading the following pages.

Hugh R McMahon, Vice-President of the Commission of Social Affairs in the European Parliament, reminded us of several disturbing figures, some of which, being several years old, would need to be revised upwards. More than 50 million people live below the poverty line throughout the 12 countries of the EEC. In 1985, it was estimated that 35% of the long-term unemployed had never worked, and that 18% of under-25s had no work. Today, there are 3 million homeless people. From 16 million unemployed people at the end of 1992, the figure has grown to over 17 million today, and forecasts for the rest of the year are pessimistic. The European parliamentarian requested that the Commission show its political commitment to fight against social exclusion, stressing that such commitment exists in the Parliament.

## PREVENTION

Is it possible to innovate without understanding how social exclusion comes about? Jørn Henrik Petersen, a Professor from the University of Odense (Denmark), explained some of the processes which cause marginali-

zation, and how we can intervene. All strategies, he stated, have to be based upon prevention, and seek to integrate those under threat of exclusion from the labour market.



**Hugh R. McMahon**

Jean-Michel Belorgey, Chairman of the National Council for Policies Against Poverty and Social Exclusion (France), shared this point of view. In his view,

the aim is mainly to reinforce the actions intended to help the unemployed find a job. Special conditions are to be created for those who cannot meet the criteria required by the usual proceedings of the labour market.



**Jørn Henrik Petersen**

The principal instrument of the system is a system of training and job turnover which makes the link, on the one hand, between training and employment and, on the other, on the economic level, between companies and public aid as well as between the working population and the long-term unemployed.

The analysis of the studies carried out by European Institutions converged with all the themes of discussion in the seminar.

This could be used to compile a list of needs:

- improve understanding and visibility of social exclusion phenomena;
- secure public approval of the measures likely to be put in place;
- ensure that actions undertaken do not compromise individuals' dignity and independence;
- prevent exclusion in finding a better balance of economic development and social development;
- analyze the impact of all economic and social decisions on the risks of exclusion;
- make clear statements of the rights of the most deprived and those threatened with exclusion;
- ensure that the excluded are properly represented, through consultation or participation;

## JØRN HENRIK PETERSEN : "STEMMING EXCLUSION, REINFORCING INTEGRATION"

In a very well-informed speech, Professor Jørn Henrik Petersen, of Odense University, explained that social policy in Denmark is based particularly on prevention.

Analysing the processes of marginalisation shows that it is possible to intervene for, in the chain of situations



## KAREN JESPERSEN : "FIGHTING SOCIAL EXCLUSION IS A PRIORITY..."

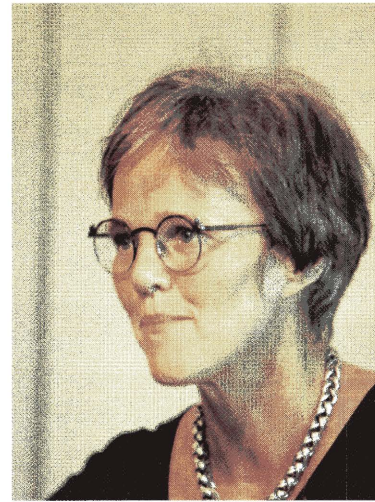
The first priority of the Danish government is to fight social exclusion. But as Karen Jespersen, Minister of Social Affairs, explained, it is indispensable to obtain first an overall picture of the problems and the only view of these problems is not enough to guide the action. Thus, for instance, homelessness is a clearly visible phenomenon. But who are the homeless ! Assuredly not the same

people as thirty or forty years ago. Among them today there are young people, drug-addicts, mentally-handicapped people...

For the Danish Minister prevention is the corner-stone of any policy in this field. It must benefit the most fragile populations such as older people or children... For unemployed people it must also result in social aid but also the affirmation of the right to work and to training.

Karen Jespersen also recalls that when one speaks of solidarity and struggle against social exclusion one cannot avoid the question of costs. It is the responsibility of public authorities to decide the efforts so that they may get a real impact.

And these efforts cannot wait. And the Minister was very satisfied of the significant role the Community may hold in the struggle against social exclusion.



- encourage exchanges of experiences and know-how, through the application of a global approach and the partnership of all interested parties.

Partnership ? The answer echoes the round table where the representatives of local and national authorities, of workers' trade unions, of employers and the European Anti-Poverty Network show their commitment in the struggle and agree to intensify partnership.

The Danish Minister for Social Affairs, Karen Jespersen said the first priority of her government was the struggle against social exclusion with a scheme lasting several years. But social exclusion is like an iceberg, the excluded making up the tip ; the bottom being made up by people threatened with exclusion. What the Danish model is bringing will enlarge the sum of experiences within a Community whose Minister rejoices at the idea of being able to play an important role in the pursuit of welfare for all.

Jacques Delors concluded the seminar with a crucial question: "How are we to preserve our social model", he asked, "without locking ourselves inside a fortress and without advocating the supremacy of the market ?" He suggested that there were two key routes to take: firstly, the search for another development model reconciling competitiveness, cooperation and solidarity within the Community, and the revision of our labour market policies.

### SIX PROPOSALS

In terms of social exclusion, the President put forward a set of six measures for consideration : Firstly, a solemn Declaration from the European institutions against exclusion. As a commitment from society as a whole, it would be open to the participation of all organizations, towns, non-governmental organizations, etc...

Secondly, research into the use of a passport to society, allo-

wing people access to insertion assistance, training, decent housing...

Thirdly, all European companies could prepare and sign a manifesto against exclusion, in the same way that the French have done.

The union organizations should too be considering how they intend to represent the unemployed.

All Community proposals which could have an impact on social exclusion would from now on be subject to specific consultation bringing together the European Anti-Poverty Network (EAPN), UNICE (European employers), the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) and the COFACE (family organizations).

Finally, in terms of future Community programme specifically designed to fight social exclusion, the Commission will table the motion that funds should be doubled compared to those released for the Poverty 3 Programme, which ends in 1994.

The President of the Commission wishes to deal with the threats which are hovering over our European social model : "It is up to us to re-state the values which have made Europe strong, and to apply them to our economic and social policies".



Jacques Delors



## JEAN-MICHEL BELORGEY: "AN ECONOMY WHICH DOESN'T SIMPLY EXCLUDE..."

"A new development model is needed, including a tendency for productive solutions which do not slash labour needs. This would be operable whenever improvements in productivity are not jeopardized, or where arrangements can be found between company and public authority, designed to compensate for the abandonment of an increase in productivity in favour of maintaining employment.

"Appropriate measures should theoretically be undertaken in such a way that productivity in the service sector, and in the public service sector in particular, does not doubly penalize the more vulnerable members of our community. This, by pushing some of them into unemployment and by lowering the quality level of our services for everybody, and in particular, the populations of certain rural or suburban areas.

"Businesses should be developing, if necessary, with the support of the public authorities (modulation of unemployment contributions, or more broadly, social and fiscal charges), a specific human resources policy designed to avoid the systematic externalization of a certain number of social costs. At the very least, it would be appropriate to improve protection of the more precarious activities, and to initiate regular negotiations concerning these groups of workers. They are those whose social position or qualifications expose them most openly to the vagaries of production transformations, so as to protect them against redundancy with no prospect of reinsertion.

"Studies should be carried out covering contradictory circumstances, in order to guarantee sincerity and appropriateness, with the objective of exposing

comparable consequences, in micro- and macro-economic terms (fiscal and social surcharges), differential strategies for the distribution of the proceeds of growth : to salary increases, improvements in working conditions or growth in the labour market.

"In the same vein of solidarity, progressive retirement schemes could be envisaged, as well as temporary leave in mid career - parental and sabbatical leave. Other possibilities would include partial retirement, freeing people up for socially useful activities.

"Premises and sufficient facilities should be made available for the diversification of employment types, not only for intermediary structures between the business sector and the social sector, but more the development of mini-companies benefiting from social and fiscal statutes as well as suitable credits. The same sort of development is also to be recommended for the encouragement of multiple-activity interests in rural areas".



**Jean-Michel Belorgey**



**Above, opposite:  
 Perama (Greece)**



**Opposite: Jose  
 Maria Gil Robles,  
 Pdraig Flynn and  
 Sophia Kanaouti**



## THE BEST ARTICLE ON SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Poverty is a real, palpable thing. And the inhabitants of a shantytown of Perama in Greece were with us in Copenhagen. This, through the writings of Sophia Kanaouti, reminding all the participants that social exclusion is not simply a question of figures, but has an identity, an anguish, a voice.

The young student journalist was presented with the prize for the best written report on the theme of social exclusion by the European Commissioner, Pdraig Flynn. Forty schools of journalism amongst the 12 Member States invited their students to participate. More than sixty young people offered their talent to the cause of social exclusion, and twelve texts were selected to appear in a special dossier which will be widely distributed throughout Europe.

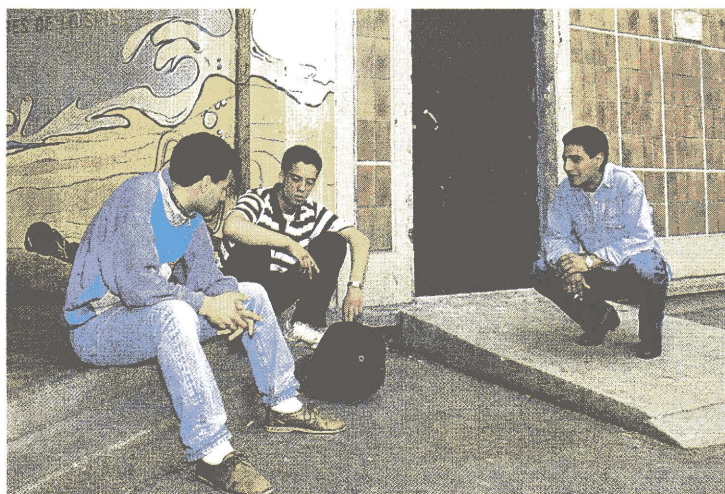
A jury, including a number of European personalities, and chaired by José Maria Gil Robles, Chairman of the Inter-Group "Quart Monde" at the European Parliament, chose to reward Sophia Kanaouti. All the members of the jury appreciated the text's sensitivity, and Pdraig Flynn stressed the importance of the communication channel to public opinion from the world of the fight against social exclusion.

The winning article was translated into all the Community languages and published in 13 European national dailies, and, as such, was a visible representation of the Copenhagen Conference.



# STRUCTURAL AND GENERAL POLICIES AGAINST SOCIAL EXCLUSION

With Europe suffering the effects of an economic crisis, the subject of employment is today at the heart of the debate on the fight against social exclusion. What do structural and general policies have to offer? The unanimous answer from Workshop n°1 (chaired by Marie-Thérèse Join-Lambert, France) was that they could generate employment, which in itself is a necessary first step on the road to integration. Unfortunately, in isolation, it is not enough.



*Employment, a key problem*

Ludwig Schubert, from the Commission (DG II), in his introductory remarks, observed that there was dysfunction: Europe has achieved both political and economic construction, and yet the social aspect is lagging behind. In this context, social exclusion can only be approached in an indirect or marginal way by the Community Institutions, and within strictly defined operational limits.

The economic policies agreed upon by the Member States are aimed at influencing the general situation in order to move back to a situation of employment growth. The structural policies, on the other hand, are designed to help develop the regions. However, their role in the fight against social exclusion is not very clear, and some speakers, like Hugh Frazer, Director of the "Combat Poverty Agency" in Ireland, observed that structural policies and economic policies, and even more so monetary policies can, in fact, aggravate social

exclusion rather than lessen it. Ludwig Schubert believes that it is necessary to "move towards a substantial reduction in unemployment as a primary source of social exclusion and remove the budgetary shackles in order to reduce the limitations placed on social policy in general and on the fight against social exclusion".

He states also that we must "ensure that objectives and policies working in favour of social protection are pulling in the same direction so as to add weight to the effort of economic convergence through an effort of social convergence".

Proposals giving rise to debate: - In Hugh Frazer's view, the construction of Europe is bedeviled by the problem of social exclusion. The convergence of social policies should impact policy as a whole: in education, health and housing. In a more general sense, social rights should evolve in favour of the excluded elements of our society.



*Hugh Frazer*



*Walter Steinbach*





**From left to right : Henrik Fabricius, Marie-Thérèse Join-Lambert, Ludwig Schubert, Ines Ayala**

**Enzo Mingione**



- In Henrik Fabricius' view, from the Scandinavian ISS, had the 17 million unemployed of Europe been inflicted upon us by an outside party, it would have been the case for open warfare. How can we mobilize people's energy and, in particular, bring together the public and private sectors in a campaign of job creation ?  
 - In Ines Ayala's view, from the Spanish UGT, it is the system that is at the heart of the pro-

blem of exclusion. Economic policies create exclusion, and only a purpose-built policy could deal with the problem.

- Walter Steinbach, from the Leipzig Regierungspräsidium, held that structural policies were a good thing, if based upon definite projects. No policy could succeed if imposed from the outside.

Two salient themes emerged. The first was introduced by Enzo Mingione, from the Bignaschi Foundation : traditional employment, as a stable and lasting concept, no longer exists. If we expect to find that type of employment today, then we are barking up the wrong tree. On the other hand, he believes that if we can accept that the nature of employment has changed, then we will find there is no shortage of jobs. The solution is to valorize those jobs which are not effectively used today. The other solution is to train people.

This point of view is not, however, shared by all. As far as Ines Ayala is concerned, training is too often done just for the sake of it. There should be no training programme which is not linked to employment. One speaker from the Belgian FGTB goes even further, by deprecating the idea of insertion employment - describing it as mirage which evaporates as soon as the funding dries up.

Another subject broached was that of awareness of the phenomena associated with exclusion. Françoise Euvrard (from the support Committee, France) wondered whether we hadn't gone too far in our quest for operation-based activity. Several speakers called for a more refined understanding of social exclusion and the compiling of reliable data which could be readily available to appropriate action strategies. Another unanswered question was that of the utilization of structural policies. Ludwig Schubert stated that the Funds comprised sums of money that are "macro-economically significant", and yet "are not sufficient in themselves and are inevitably used to national policy ends". For this money to be put to optimal use in the fight against social exclusion it would be necessary to combine it more effectively with other European policies and with the Poverty 3 Programme, or whatever came after it. For the EAPN (European Anti-Poverty Network), the critical thing is to make good use of available funds and tools. This underlines the importance of the impact studies to be carried out on European policies. It is also indicative of the need for an extension of Structural Funds, which have been made available for the fight against exclusion today, but to the detriment of other objectives.

**ANTHONY ATKINSON'S REPORT  
 (UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE)**

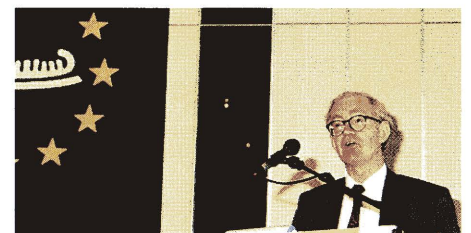
There is a need for an integrated approach for economic and social policies.

It should be possible to develop impact studies of the various Community measures on the level of exclusion, enhance our understanding of the phenomena associated with exclusion and fix qualitative objectives in terms of actions undertaken.

The inclusion of social exclusion amongst the recipients of social funds was well received. There is, however, one request : that this should be perceived as a cultural shift rather than a simple addition to the role of the

funds. It is to be hoped that it will benefit the truly excluded rather than those already in employment. The desire to see closer coordination between the Structural Funds and the Poverty 3 Programme and its successor was voiced. Finally, participants expressed a wish to see evaluation of the impact of the actions sponsored by Social Funds.

Employment is clearly the number one concern. The speakers were pessimistic on the whole. There is no real solution in the "devaluation" of employment. However, there is a need to reflect upon the notion of post-industrial employment : in non-productive and yet useful



occupations. The social dimension of the European Community is not as yet identifiable. Convergence in social policy-making will have to move forward. The social dimension needs to take the shape of a complete package, including social security, health care, housing, taxation etc...



# REINFORCING THE RIGHTS OF THE LEAST PRIVILEGED REQUIRES THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS TO BE IMPLEMENTED

This workshop was chaired by Dr Stephan Articus from the Deutscher Städtetag. Eliane Vogel-Polski, Doctor of Law at the Public University of Brussels, made the introductory speech. She said that "in the system whereby the rights of the most deprived elements of society are represented, two approaches conflict : the theoretical and the practical. However, the major theses on the subject indicate that the Commission should participate in the maintenance and towards the development of a society based upon solidarity."



**From left to right: Jos Berghman, Tore Jacob Hegland, Maria Ruas Madeira, Stephan Articus, Richard Exell, Eliane Vogel-Polski, Jean Tonglet**

The central thrust of reflection on this theme was that of the protection of human dignity. It would be useful to be able to give a definition to this term and create genuine guarantees to preserve it. It was for this reason that the group set about researching the texts of international law on the subject. There is no compact, precise legal text today which pertains to the most underprivileged. In concrete terms, what the EEC could offer would be a statement of fundamental rights, and as such, a legal foundation for the fight against social exclusion. The European Court of Justice should be involved in this process. However, the rights of the most underprivileged are different from one place to the next. It would be

necessary, therefore, to carry out an enquiry and a report, in order to evaluate the situation in each country.

Clearly, a consensus would be difficult to find, due to the presence of two opposing tendencies: maximalist and minimalist. The latter would envisage something like a schedule of conditions, made up of non-obligatory conditions. But whatever the case, it is necessary to recognize the rights of the most underprivileged.

## THE RIGHT TO EXPRESSION

- Jean Tonglet, from the ADT Quart Monde (EAPN), said: "human dignity is a fundamental thing which is not easy to define.

Sometimes, it lies where we would least expect to find it. In certain countries, for example, it is of great importance to personal dignity to have a proper funeral service. We have to let people express themselves so that they can say what dignity means for them, and apply the mechanisms of common law. A special charter concerning the poorest elements of society is in itself a means of exclusion. A set of rights has to apply to everyone. But in any case, the problem is not one of declaring people's rights, but one of putting those policy decisions into practice. This includes civil, political, social and cultural rights... "There is a place for a directive fixing objectives to be reached and adhering to the principles of





active subsidiarity, leaving the Member States the choice of means employed for reaching those objectives, whilst at the same time, maintaining control over them”.

- Richard Exell, (Trades Union Congress): "The problem is that we don't recognize exclusion when we see it. It appears in several forms: direct and indirect discrimination, censorship and segregation.

"Direct discrimination means preventing someone from entering a group simply because they belong to another - their root group. Indirect discrimination, on the other hand, is becoming more and more common. In order to exclude someone, we define false criteria which apply to everyone. Censorship renders invisible the poorest members of our society. We make sure we don't see them.

"The very fact of tolerating segregation is to exclude - creating a class apart for those who are different. It is of critical importance to recognize this problem of discrimination and to campaign against prejudice. This should be present in all programmes. Furthermore, it should be put down on paper”.

- Maria Ruas Madeira, from the Portuguese Ministry for Social Affairs: "I would like to offer the following thought: Industrial societies have established three values on which to base their existence: abundance, economics and enterprise. These values replace those of the family. We have learnt much from political democracy. Now, we must establish economic and social democracy and prevent profit from being the kingpin of our society. We need to discover a new system of social and political organization. This change will come about through decentralization and the effective distribution of power and resources”.

- Tore Jacob Hegland, from the University of Aalborg: "Legal rights need to be given to the most deprived. Even though we have succeeded in promoting the notion of human rights, it is clear that in order to benefit from those rights in practice, it is necessary to earn an income from one's activity on the labour market. So as

to be able to counterbalance market forces and provide assistance to the deprived, the question of decentralization of the decision-making process needs to be considered. We now need spectacular measures. It is therefore necessary to establish more centralization since the more generalist projects benefit most from thematic programmes”.

- Jos Berghman, from the University of Tilburg: "My proposal would be in favour of a more empirical approach. We have realized that only 1% of the poor stay poor over time. The others go through this phase over a certain period and find a way out. The entire system is generally linked to a training - employment - income chain. If the chain doesn't break, OK. If it does, the individual has to be helped in mending it through retraining, help in the job search etc ...

"In order to eliminate exclusion, it is necessary to guarantee jobs and revenues. But there we have a doubt: how can we guarantee jobs to the deprived if higher up on the scale, they don't exist either?

"In my vision, the statement of the rights of the most underprivileged would appear in the form of a schedule of conditions focused on the chain I spoke about earlier. Furthermore, I believe that social movements have their role to play because what is at stake here is the character of Europe itself. We have to maintain the social equilibrium that exists. We do not wish to move towards an Americanization or a Japanization of our society”.

- Dr Stephan Articus : "In our various national constitutions, rights exist, but at the same time, the way they are applied and legally controlled is marginal in nature. This, therefore, needs to be revised at European Community level, so that minimum standards can be imposed and not differ from one country to the next.

"The question to ask is the following: Do we need minimum minimums or maximum minimums ?

"However, all that is rather complex, and the skeptics doubt the feasibility of applying minimum standards”.

## PIERRE CALAME'S REPORT (FONDATION POUR LE PROGRES DE L'HOMME)

We must not stigmatize those who depend upon social assistance. This includes a "Charter for the Very Poor" which establishes a separate category... The statement of fundamental rights has to be a part of a wider strategy.



We need to adopt a dynamic, an initial political stance which makes the fight against social exclusion an important element of political debate.

The definition of a set of rights implies public debate on the means required to put them into practice. The fact of establishing social rights is not so much a statement of strict rights for individuals, as is the case in giving the right to vote or to freedom of expression, but more a statement of joint responsibility of the authorities for making sure these rights are put into practice. And the multitude of local, regional and national experiences comes into its own and provides the necessary conditions for solidarity to progress.

We want an authentic "constitutional complement" from the Community.

Subsidiarity is the joint commitment of the different levels of public authority.

The rights we need to secure are the following:

- access to basic social services, and to primary goods and services;
- access to a minimum income;
- the right to housing;
- protection of the family;
- the fight against all forms of discrimination (employment, housing, education etc...);
- the exercising of cultural rights and access to education;
- the right to credit (because offering credit is a demonstration of confidence in someone);
- the rights for the marginalized to defend their rights and interests themselves.



# CONSENSUS ON A NEW COMMUNITY PROGRAMME TO FIGHT AGAINST SOCIAL EXCLUSION

What could the orientations be of a new specific Community Programme against poverty and social exclusion? Before advancing some of the proposals coming out of this large workshop group - number 3 - it should be stated that no-one contests the principle of such a programme.



Throughout the debate, chaired by Menelaos Hadjigeorgiou, European Parliament spokesperson on social exclusion, many references were made on the need to draw on the lessons learnt from the Third Anti-Po-

verty Programme and its two predecessors, in order to define optimal structuring for the future programme.

It was also stressed that the setting up of a programme of this nature would have to include financing from the Structural Funds which would be absolutely necessary to fight against social exclusion.

John Hynes, from the Irish Ministry for Social Affairs, and member of the Advisory Committee of Poverty 3, noted that whilst social exclusion had grown worse, we certainly have a better understanding of how to deal with it. Macro-economic solutions were not enough. The multi-dimensional nature of poverty and social exclusion require a partnership between all those people and structures involved in the crusade. Clearly, this was not always easy to do. The participation of the target groups is essential. Certain questions have to be made priorities: unemployment, for example, and in particular long-term unemployment, the problem of underprivileged urban areas, of periphery rural areas, emigrants and ethnic minorities etc ...

*From left to right: Quintin Oliver, Wilhelm Breuer, John Hynes, Menelaos Hadjigeorgiou, Brian Nicholls, Robin Heal, Harm Hayo Apotheker*



*Below: social exclusion as experienced and fought in Huelva (Spain) where one of the 41 projects of the Poverty 3 programme is at work*





In Brian Nicholls' view, from the Danish Ministry for Social Affairs, we are only at the very beginnings of partnership, about which we have learnt a great deal thanks to Poverty 3. It would certainly be advantageous to dedicate more time to the organization of the projects so as to be able to establish better cooperation between them and the national authorities. The future programme should consider housing the central thrust of all its strategies. Robin Heal, from the London Enterprise Agency, wonders where future employment will come from. Some ideas he had were the improvement of the environment (urban and social), the development of local services (child minding, nursery schools etc.) and local transport facilities... For Mr Heal, the mission of a future programme should be to encourage local

initiatives and communities, non-profit making associations, so that they employ people in their activities.

### A MORE SUBSTANTIAL BUDGET

For Quintin Oliver, from the European Anti-Poverty Network (EAPN), any future programme should be ready to correct the errors made during Poverty 3 : work in closer cooperation with national policies, invest more heavily in local communities, and have access to a budget of more than 200 million ECUs. Harm Hayo Apotheker, the Mayor of Veendam (NL), feels that a future programme should base its activities largely upon local potential and help to encourage the decentralization of

administrations and resources. Also, a European approach should consider what is happening outside individual national boundaries. Wilhelm Breuer, member of the Poverty 3 Central Unit, explained that the high point of this programme was the coherence of its strategy between the various projects, and its philosophy based upon the key concept of partnership. The European dimension of the fight against social exclusion is crucial : it allows us to exchange views, learn from each other and transfer know-how. That is the real value of a Community-wide approach.

## JEAN-PAUL TRICART'S REPORT (COMMISSION, DG V)

Jean-Paul Tricart, from the Commission (DG V/C/1), made the point in his report of distinguishing convergence of ideas and questions remaining open to discussion. A further programme does seem to be needed. It should receive more substantial funding than Poverty 3. It is also important to understand the specific nature of a programme in terms of Funds. A programme is supposed to encourage experimentation, innovation, networking, evaluation and exchanges of know-how. Nevertheless, this does not mean that a programme like this one against social exclusion does not need funding from the Structural Funds. It will be critical to ensure the coherence between this programme and other Community initiatives. A future programme should take account of the lessons learnt du-

ring Poverty 3. From the positive points : the preoccupation with partnership, with multi-dimensionality and with the participation of the target groups in the actions set up to help them. Also of merit was the concentration of resources on a limited number of exemplary actions. So as to overcome some of the Programme's weak points, it would be necessary to improve communications between the local projects and national policies, dedicate additional resources to research and if possible, give the projects more preparation time. One of the unresolved issues is that of the name of the future programme: it should be a positive and motivating one... "Integration", or "Solidarity", for example. Another point of contention is what the priorities should be, whether the programme should be



territorially based - for example, areas facing severe economic difficulties, or having symbolic significance. Should we be working with groups, on transversal themes, such as racism ? It is also important to consider different regional specificities, the most common example being the differences between the North and the South of Europe. Furthermore, we need to consider how the non-governmental organizations would fit into this new programme, and how to optimize the involvement of the economic partners in the projects.





*From left to right: Volker Kaske, Massimo Crucioli, Emilio Gabaglio, Johannes Due, Michael Woods, Zygmunt Tyszkiewicz*

## PARTNERS HAND IN HAND FOR A MORE ACTIVE EUROPE AGAINST SOCIAL EXCLUSION

The fight against social exclusion is too important a question for us to allow our efforts to become dispersed. In its measures, the Commission depends on its partners: the recently founded Non-Governmental Organization Network, the social partners and the local, regional and district authorities.

A round table was organized during the conference, bringing together the representatives of the associated European organizations. It was chaired by Johannes Due, Permanent Secretary to the Danish Ministry for Social Affairs.

Michael Woods, the Irish Minister for Social Affairs, opened the proceedings, clearly setting forth his belief that policies combating social exclusion could not continue to be accessory policies, but needed to feature at the heart of economic policies. Structural policies have to fulfill their role in the fight against long-term unemployment, as facilitators on

the labour market, taking into account the potential and the social needs of every individual.

"A more humane Europe, which is closer to the end-user and to his needs": such was the objective defined by Emilio Gabaglio, General Secretary of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) who clearly affirmed his movement's commitment to the objectives of the fight against social exclusion: "We will be partners of the Fourth Programme" he said, "and the Trade Union movement is ready to contribute".

For Emilio Gabaglio, companies need to recognize the pre-eminence of employment. In the context of Europe, he hoped that "green papers" would become "white papers" accompanied by schedules and deadlines. The European Union will have to intervene in the temporary management of the employment issue, in the orchestration of industrial transformation, in the reduction

of working hours and the reorganization of work, in training and in research, and in the search for employment linked to our new structures and new needs.

The speech of the representative of the Union movement was marked by his recognition of the efforts of the non-governmental organizations, whom he saw as being valuable partners in the fight for social integration.

Speaking on behalf of the European Anti-Poverty Network (EAPN), Massimo Crucioli returned the compliment without hesitation: the non-governmental Organizations recognize the role of the unions and intended to seek to develop links with them to consider a common initiative. Massimo Crucioli believes that exclusion should not be considered as something external to and different from economic policy. He put forward the idea of a "social agreement" bringing together all the partners. "Our collaboration could



**Johannes Due**





be far more extensive than just a round table debate”, he said.

The EAPN sees itself collaborating with the Structural Funds in the same way that it collaborates with the Community institutions in the search for “effective practices” through learning accumulated “in the field”.

Zygmunt Tyszkiewicz, representing the Union of Industries of the European Community (UNICE), defined the limits of partnership action : companies only adhere to the objectives of the fight against social exclusion because by definition, the excluded are non-consumers. In the middle of all this, entrepreneurs have a duty to fulfill : that of succeeding.

The multiplier role of the company has to be recognized: it

creates jobs which creates wealth and also contributes to the public effort through taxation. Of course, companies do participate in projects and programmes against social exclusion, but it would be a grave error to impose impossible constraints on companies, particularly on small and medium-sized companies, which are the backbone of the job creating machine. Zygmunt Tyszkiewicz suggested that we ask ourselves the question as to why, with a rate of economic growth equal to that of the USA, the Americans create more jobs than we do. The representative from UNICE questioned the excess of constraints which exist vis-à-vis employment. He did not, however, doubt the validity of the European social model.

For the representative of the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), Volker Kaske, the “communes” or districts have a double role to play in the fight against social exclusion. Firstly, they bring their experience of social work. They are responsible for the aged, the handicapped and the young. The management of local social services gives them daily contact with exclusion. Secondly, they are and creators of employment. In summing up with an “appeal for happiness”, he encouraged all the partners to unite in the quest for a united Europe striving for a more humane and therefore happier place.

## ODILE QUINTIN'S CONCLUSIONS (COMMISSION, DG V)

## “A HIGHER LEVEL OF CONSCIOUSNESS”

We have witnessed a continuing mobilization at political level and in terms of practical actions involving a number of participants. This increased mobilization is due to a higher level of consciousness of the central nature of the challenge undertaken against social exclusion in our society.

The accent has been very strongly placed on the multi-dimensional nature of exclusion. If there is anything we agree upon, it is certainly that exclusion affects human dignity and human rights, and that it impacts social cohesion (with the references made to values of solidarity and equality).

As far as economic and general policy are concerned, the need for a more ambitious policy has been stressed. The need for a complete rethink of active employment and integration policies, as well as those linked to revenues have been the subject of discussion which have also touched upon social welfare policy.

The need for a more voluntarist and multi-dimensional policy has been put forward, which simultaneously impacts employment, education, health, housing and so forth. This also concerns social welfare.

Another transversal theme cropped up : that of rights. On the one hand, the desire to use existing national agreements and mechanisms at European level : especially the European Convention on Human Rights. But there are others... However, if rights are necessary, it means they are not sufficient if they are not practicable or usable.

As for structural policies : whilst the new objective 3 proposed by the Commission was well received, fears have been expressed in terms of financial backing and in terms of practical content. The integration of those excluded from the labour market within the framework of the new objective 3 remains a somewhat marginalized goal.

There were strong demands for

improved synergies between the Structural Funds, the various policies and the Community programme devoted to the fight against social exclusion.

On the subject of a follow-up to this Community programme, there have been calls for an extension of the activity both at the top and at the bottom of the ladder.

At the top, this would be through improved coordination with national political activity.

At the bottom, through a better understanding of what our Anglo-Saxon friends describe as Community Development, and the role of communities.

Finally, much has been made of urban social development and the recognition of the significance of their actions, in particular in terms of housing.

In the final analysis, the question that has been asked through this seminar is “what sort of Europe do we really want ?” I believe this question is addressed to all of us.







EXCERPTS FROM THE CLOSING SPEECH

# JACQUES DELORS : "THE THREAT OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION TO TODAY'S SOCIETY"

Europe is experiencing an economic earthquake.... and contrary to what we might have expected of a society under threat, the realization that there are those who are less fortunate than oneself does not come easily, and we are seeing people and nations closing in on themselves.

We must make our leaders understand that the cohesion of our societies is in danger. This is due to the breakdown in social communications, it is because a growing number of our contemporaries cannot secure employment and, finally, it is because our societies have forgotten what their main responsibilities are.

For many of our contemporaries, the impossibility of finding professional or social occupations in our society is on the increase, even though such activity is considered today as the means of personal fulfilment...

Therein lies a problem for the European social model. The very foundations of our social values are being eroded by the progression of social exclusion. This is no marginal phenomenon, it is a fact of society today, which is questioning and threatening the values of that society. This represents a real challenge to overall policy. The European economy is once again threatened by recession. We have had the affluent years of 1985 -'90, which I allow myself to believe was due to the objectives we set

ourselves for 1992, and the hopes of the Single Market. 9 million new jobs were created, and we pushed exclusion back. But today, the world is moving forward faster than we are. It really is an earthquake. We need to size up the dimensions of the challenge. We need to talk about exclusion in a world which fosters and strengthens the phenomena of exclusion...

## THREE DILEMMAS

We have three dilemmas to resolve, which I will have the occasion to present to the next meeting of the European Council.

1. How to resolve the dilemma between internal solidarity and external solidarity ? Do we need to develop internal solidarity at the expense of external solidarity, and abandon the North-South approach which is so familiar to us Europeans ? The challenge is to allow the poorer countries to develop, to find their place in the sun, but not by dismantling all our productive forces and the very foundations of our society.

2. Economic growth and employment : it is clear that with the same level of economic growth, Europe creates fewer jobs than the USA, for example. But I have to tell you that growth is not the solution to all our woes. We do, however, need a little growth.

3. How should we put technical progress to work ? Up until today in Europe, technical progress has been at the cost of jobs. Computers and electronics have replaced unqualified labour. The result is that in Europe there is a problem of unqualified labour.

The Welfare State was supposed to prevent exclusion. We are proud of our social welfare systems, and rightly so. However, the fact that we have people who are excluded means that there are holes in the net. Is the problem that by trying to cover everybody, we do not have enough human, physical or financial resources to help the poorest of the poor ? It would be a mistake to think that the dismantling of the Welfare State would solve all our problems of employment and social exclusion.

It is necessary to ensure the financing of those systems in order to increase the number of jobs available. Unemployment is expensive, and we could always dream that the money saved could be used to fight exclusion or to create new jobs.

Europe is in a completely contradictory situation. The rarest resources, those we have to keep for the future, are either free (such as air) or relatively cheap (such as water). And the most abundant resource, labour, is the one that costs the most. If we decided to make a trade-off between the two, that is charge today for those natural resources at their future cost, we would be able to subtract those earnings from the taxes levied on salaries, and in that way, make job creation more attractive. How are we to preserve our social model without locking ourselves inside a fortress and without advocating the supremacy of the market?

There are two options. Firstly, the search for another development model reconciling competitiveness, cooperation and solidarity within the Community.

In the debate on income and job sharing, I am personally in favour of income sharing for the creation of additional employment, for unsatisfied needs exist in our society. This means crea-





**The city, the most fertile breeding ground for social exclusion...**

ting socially useful jobs without having adverse effects on competitiveness, whilst simultaneously seeking innovative measures in the organization of work.

The second approach is the revision of our labour market policies. I am against the growing propensity to externalize labour costs. Companies have their responsibilities too. They cannot be forever passing on their problems to society and its tax-

## SIX PROPOSALS

After considerable reflection, I would be in favour of a solemn declaration on the subject of social exclusion. This declaration would be initiated by our European institutions: the Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the Economic and Social Committee, the Commission, and the Committee of the Regions, when it comes into being. It would be a statement based upon the equality of rights and duties and on a commitment from all our Member States to improve social communications. If this idea were accepted, we would prepare a project, and once it is signed by the political institutions, all the organizations that so wished could sign the declaration.

From within the Commission, we would be able to find partners who would be ready to sign this declaration, starting with towns and local authorities.

In this respect, I would tend to suggest that each excluded person should be able to receive a "passport to society". This would simply give them the right to participate in our society, and to have a personal interview with employment services, the right to training schemes, to a socially useful job, to housing and to health care.

I don't know whether it is a good idea. Perhaps we should start with some local experiments to see if it could work.

The third proposal involves companies: taking care of the excluded members of society is not a charity, and we are not as-

payers. Human resources cannot be managed like machinery.

We need to turn our philosophies on labour market policy around. The paying of unemployment benefit should be the last resort. In its dealings with the unemployed, an active labour market policy offers training, counselling to help that person regain his or her self-confidence, a post in the public sector, a limited contract job etc...

king business to be charitable. Nor is it a question of slowing down the much needed restructuring of our economy. Would certain companies be ready to sign a manifesto which would require them to participate in the fight against social exclusion? Such a scheme exists in France. Couldn't we take up this approach at European level?

Finally, I feel that we would be well advised to consult the unions to find out how they intend to represent the unemployed. Not unemployed people exercising their rights, but as a force demanding a development model which can generate employment and give them the hope of entering the labour market.

In terms of Community organization, I should like to propose two new elements to you:

Each time a Commission proposal could have some impact on social exclusion in an overall sense (general orientations, Directives etc ...), a specific consultation will be organized with those who represent the excluded. We are not going to argue about representation when poverty is knocking on our door. We have decided that it will be the European Anti-Poverty Network (EAPN), UNICE (the Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederation of Europe), the ETUC (The European Trade Unions Confederation) and the COFACE (the Federation of Family Organizations of the EEC). These four will be contacted each time we believe that an orientation proposed by

the Commission - a Directive or a regulation - could impact on social exclusion, either positively or negatively.

Secondly, for the follow-on to the present Anti-Poverty Programme, I will be requesting a doubling of funding. We are at a point where we could reasonably do that. Whether it will be called "Poverty 4" or "Exclusion 1" remains to be seen. Personally, I prefer exclusion to poverty...

We need to support the initiatives and the experiments carried out in the field, to make their successes known and also, through credits outside this doubling of financing, develop scientific research programmes on the phenomenon of social exclusion. Personally, I shall be dedicating a great deal of time to the study of urban situations in the coming years, for the city is the greatest propagator of poverty and segregation that exists. It goes without saying that we won't be neglecting policies targeting specific groups and territories.

At the same time and in parallel, we shall continue to develop the Community's structural policies. In that regard, a word of warning: our funds are limited - we only have enough to support national policies and decentralized actions, no more.

Besides these activities, there are actions which are much more focused on the problem of exclusion in the rural development programmes. We are facing the threat of a form of exclusion of unprecedented proportions in the exodus from rural areas and the abandon of public services...

By way of conclusion, it seems to me that the European model is under threat from the outside by the new international division of labour, which we do not control. This, in the absence of ground rules reconciling internal and external solidarity. This is happening on the inside because the essential model is unable to combat exclusion. Consequently, it is our responsibility to defend the values of solidarity.

Published on behalf of the DG V.

The views expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the European Commission.

Publisher: Odile Quintin (DG V/C/1)

Editorial and technical realization:  
Regards, 60, rue Sainte-Catherine, F-59800 Lille;  
tél. 33.20.74.00.27  
fax: 33.20.55.17.45