



European Union

Preparatory Measures to Combat Social Exclusion



Local Partnerships and Neighbourhood Management to Combat Social Exclusion

**A project carried out under the EU programme
"Preparatory Measures against Social Exclusion"
(Directorate Generale Employment and Social Affairs)**

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Summary

Background

Since about the mid-1990's the problem of social exclusion in Europe, especially in the larger cities, has increasingly become a subject of public debate. „Losers in the modernisation process“ are a feature of even the most prosperous regional economies. They tend to concentrate in certain urban districts which can be described as disadvantaged for a number of reasons – traffic and environmental pollution, substandard housing, weak economic structure, lack of jobs, poor shopping facilities, deficient social infrastructure etc.

The excluded themselves also face an abundant and diverse selection of problems – in various different combinations – for example, lack of qualifications, unemployment, dependence on social benefits, health and addiction problems, social isolation, aggressiveness, poverty and downright depression. In cases where the problems of the districts and those of the affected residents exert a reciprocal effect, a virtually unstoppable exclusion spiral sets in.

The effects of exclusion are not confined to (financial) poverty. Disadvantaged groups in disadvantaged (grds. mißverständlich, da dies genau genommen die geogr. Einheit der öffentlichen Verwaltung bezeichnet) areas are consigned to the „fringes of society“ – where they are banned from participation in society's economic, political, social and cultural activities. This division of society into „Insiders“ and „Outsiders“ has created a new dimension of social inequality.

Whereas the economically exploited industrial proletariat of earlier ages fulfilled an important function in society, this no longer seems to apply those who are outside the pale of modern society. The affected perceive exclusion as a state in which they are no longer needed by society as a whole.

For this reason alone, exclusion has to be unacceptable in a social Europe that subscribes to the postulate of equality of opportunity. Our social institutions are faced with the task of creating new prospects for the dropouts. The affected will also have to make a contribution by organising themselves more efficiently.

Increasing degree of social discrimination despite economic prosperity

Exclusion spiral - reciprocal effect of discrimination against people and discrimination against areas

Contrast between inclusion and exclusion introduces new dimension to social inequality

In many cases exclusion means „being superfluous“

Integration – a task facing both social institutions and the victims themselves



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Genesis of the project

The participants in the project entitled „EU Metropolises Against Social Exclusion – Local Partnerships and Neighbourhood Management“ have addressed themselves to the problems existing in the 8 cities involved with the aim of learning from each other and communicating their knowledge to experts not only in relation to the analysis of problems but also with a view to learning from each other about ways of countering them. Under its programme „Preparatory Measures to Combat and Prevent Social Exclusion“ introduced in 1999, the European Union funds projects in which transnational partnerships are formed with the aim of acquiring more knowledge of the problems and promoting exchange of experience gained with innovative counter-strategies.

The network of cities participating in the project - Stockholm, Öresund (Malmö/Copenhagen), Bremen, Hamburg, Berlin, London and Vienna - was formed as a result of the exchange of experience between local employment pacts in those EU cities. For this reason and because of the close links between social exclusion and employment problems, the project tended to focus on action to reduce and prevent unemployment and to create new jobs. This was however embodied in a relatively new type of approach for which the term „neighbourhood management“ has been coined at international level. Neighbourhood management – as well as local employment pacts – is practised by groups composed of a wide variety of players including the public sector, business interests, trade unions, welfare associations and, above all, the excluded themselves. Its activities are coordinated from a local office and include a broad spectrum of measures aimed at improving living conditions in deprived urban districts.

Similarities of problems and innovative approaches to their solution in seven metropolitan regions

Cities included in project:
Stockholm, Öresund (Malmö / Copenhagen), Bremen, Hamburg, Berlin, London and Vienna ...
with focus on local employment pacts and neighbourhood management organisations

Aims and procedures

Pursuant to the requirements of the EU programme „Preparatory Measures to Combat and Prevent Social Exclusion“, the aim of the project was to acquire more knowledge of the mechanisms, forms and consequences of social exclusion. Specific trends in the cities involved were observed and attempts were made to evaluate the success of and the knowledge gained from counter-measures taken by organisations operating at regional or district level.

Improvement of knowledge of the problem of social exclusion

The 12-month project was subdivided into the following three phases:

Three phases ...

Comparative analysis of current trends and causes of the progressive concentration of social exclusion in disadvantaged areas in the cities and metropolitan regions of Stockholm, Copenhagen/Malmö, Hamburg, Bremen, Berlin, London and Vienna;

Comparative analysis ...



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Stocktaking and analysis of action taken by neighbourhood management and local pacts to promote social integration and employment (the latter term covering the broad spectrum from gainful employment to community or voluntary work);

Stocktaking and analysis ...

Conclusions and recommendations relating *inter alia* to future EU sponsorship of promising approaches to the problem as a follow-up to previous programmes with similar objectives.

Conclusions and recommendations

The three phases were covered mainly in three meetings (including workshops and project visits) in Berlin, the Öresund region and Hamburg and in an in-depth case study undertaken in London's Haringey district. These were attended by experts on social policy from the public sector and from non-government organisations, project players and social scientists. A wide selection of informative material on various programmes and projects was also evaluated. The project structure was determined by a catalogue of key questions.

Procedure ...

Workshops and project visits

Case studies and exchange of experience

Results of the exchange

Public debate on questions of social division and exclusion and unemployment has tended to increase at European level since the mid-1990's. The EU initiative URBAN, the municipal action plan, territorial employment pacts and publications from networks like Eurocities can be regarded as contributions to a view of the problems and of possible solutions to them which are tending to become increasingly area-specific. Statements issued by the European Commission, the Committee of the Regions and the European Parliament during the year 2000 emphasise the close links between economic, employment and social policy and call for cross-sectoral approaches. There is also recognition of the risk that the rapid evolution of the information- and knowledge-driven society will make the problem of social exclusion more acute unless socio-political action is taken.

Public debate on questions of social exclusion and unemployment has tended to increase at European level since the mid-1990's

The EU initiative EQUAL, a programme to combat social exclusion extending over several years, and innovative approaches initiated under ERDF and ESF are new instruments developed by the EU within the paradigm integration-oriented national economies and social systems. It is intended that intervention of this kind will be based on regional and local partnerships and an increasing degree of transnational exchange of experience and that it will help to reduce the proportion of the population caught in the poverty trap, to reduce unemployment and to make the affected regions and cities more competitive and easier to integrate. It aims, among other things, to press ahead with realisation of the „Social Policy Agenda“ and thereby makes a contribution to Europe's employment strategy.

Guiding principles for intervention...

regional and local partnerships

and

transnational exchange of experience



Varying views on social exclusion

The attempts of those involved in the project – especially the scientists – to define social exclusion soon made it clear that closer examination and perhaps analysis of the standards of the social majority were necessary.

Under these standards, social exclusion as opposed to a normal state of social integration occurs, on the one hand, when members of society drop out of key systems, e.g. legal, employment or residential systems. This is defined as „lack of system integration“. On the other hand, it is also possible to speak of social exclusion in cases where individuals or groups cease to, or are unable to share key values, norms and attitudes of the social majority. This is defined as „inadequate social integration“. A neutral and extremely broad definition of this kind makes social exclusion no longer the problem per se. The problem is more one of certain negative forms and consequences.

The question is closely associated with the identification of suitable indicators which, either alone or in conjunction, point to a state of social exclusion. The following main risk factors were identified: unemployment, low income, membership of an ethnic minority, poor level of education, poor health, criminal behaviour, lone parenthood and substandard housing conditions. Youth, advanced age and (female) gender also have to be included in the negative factors under certain circumstances. It should be noted that these risks are not only relevant in specific urban districts. They apply equally at national and European level (e.g. as regards integration into the educational and employment systems) and also at individual level (e.g. in relation to the effects of behavioural norms associated with ethnic origin).

Typology of urban areas liable to suffer social exclusion may in some cases relate solely to town planning and infrastructural aspects. This is mainly the view taken by town planners who tend to differentiate between inner city and working-class districts containing old buildings dating back to the 19th. century and new, densely populated areas at fringe locations (satellites) developed during the 1960's and 1970's. The sociologist tends to look more at the categories of people living in the districts. A categorisation based on this criterion should take into account not only the different concentration of problem situations – as perceived by the social majority.

It is also important to consider the potential of these neighbourhoods that may often be realised by positive internal integration, e.g. in the form of flourishing ethnic economies or a creative „youth culture“. These can frequently form the basis for project opportunities.

Anyone talking about social exclusion ...

should always

bear in mind the reasons for social inclusion

A whole bundle of indicators is needed to define social exclusion

Specific risks are heavily influenced by national contexts

Typology of socially excluded urban areas should also take multiple dimensions into account



National and regional approaches

The five EU member states and seven metropolitan regions involved in the project had all introduced specific programmes to combat social exclusion in the mid-1990's and had intensified their efforts in this direction since 1998. Denmark at national level and Northrhine-Westphalia and Hamburg at regional level had tended to play a pioneering role in the new field of neighbourhood management. The growing pressures caused by the problem in London have led to an intensification of activities in Great Britain, but the Social Democratic governments in Sweden, Denmark and Germany have also developed new programmes or refined existing ones.

Specific programmes to combat social exclusion in the cities involved in the project

The Haringey district in London is a particularly vivid example of both the problems caused by social divisions and innovative countermeasures taken to deal with them. Whereas the western part of Haringey consists of attractive parks, residential, office and business quarters with a conventional middle-class population, the eastern part suffers from a concentration of economic, town planning and social problem situations, the like of which was not to be found in any of the other cities involved in the project. The public sector, business interests, educational institutions and welfare organisations have reacted to this situation by forming various types of local partnerships which plan initiatives like pacts for employment and neighbourhood management. The report entitled „Haringey Regeneration Strategy“ published in November 2000 is a shining example of a comprehensive, innovative, cross-sectoral approach to the problem which could be relevant as a basis for regional development planning not only within the network of cities involved in the project but also on a much wider scale.

The „Haringey Regeneration Strategy“ in London - a graphic example

What can neighbourhood management achieve and what are its limits ?

The discussion of expert recommendations for action at the end of the project drew attention to a number of important questions of both principle and detail. Although opinions on the fundamental strategy and relevance of proper urban policies and neighbourhood management were broadly unanimous, they tended to diverge when questions of detail were addressed:

Joint recommendations but also unanswered questions

- How can the potential of socially excluded districts and groups be harnessed better than in the past?
- Who should provide neighbourhood management – the public sector or specially formed agencies or service establishments?
- How can cooperation between local authorities and others involved in local partnerships be improved?
- How can residents and private business interests best be mo-

Many of the questions can only be answered within the local context ...



bilised for participation in area activities?

- What are the most promising strategies for the establishment of self-supporting structures when professional help with the start-up ends?
- Can and should the primary task of neighbourhood management be to make a substantial contribution to increasing employment opportunities in the affected areas even in cases where the term „employment“ is defined very broadly and not restricted to conventional forms of gainful employment?
- Is neighbourhood management capable of influencing the social majority’s view of social exclusion?

... and some require a broad-based political debate

Neighbourhood management can help to alleviate problems in a number of the affected areas, can breathe innovation into existing professional approaches and can also help to improve general public awareness of the problems.

A consensus on a realistic assessment ...

It would however be possible to greatly improve the efficacy of this strategy by positioning the resulting programmes on a broader planning horizon and by allocating a level of funds more compatible with the pressures created by the problems. Allowance would obviously have to be made for national differences in this respect.

of a broader planning horizon is needed ...

It would however be a mistake to cherish excessively high expectations from this approach. Even efficient coordination of all the main public sector programmes (and this seldom occurs in practice) will at best only succeed in attacking the consequences of social exclusion. The greater the actual empowerment of the excluded the better are the opportunities for integration. This obviously also means that initiatives must be planned in a way that facilitates inclusion of a large number of local players and groups.

Key importance of empowerment ... and broad involvement of local groups in the initiatives undertaken



1 Objectives, project phases, methodology

1.1 Introduction - Social division, exclusion and unemployment in major European cities

The phenomenon of social exclusion has always appeared in a wide variety of different forms. People of widely differing origin can be excluded or even exclude themselves from social processes for a wide variety of reasons. With its programme „Preparatory Measures to Combat and Prevent Social Exclusion“ the European Commission has emphasised that it sees social exclusion in our modern society as a growing problem against which socio-political countermeasures need to be taken. This view is further emphasised by the close links between social exclusion and the problems of unemployment and material poverty referred to in the justification of this programme and which are also regularly mentioned in other publications on the problem of social exclusion.

It may come as a surprise to learn that London and Hamburg, partners from Europe's richest regions¹, are amongst the initiators of this project. On the other hand, it is a well-known fact that urban prosperity often goes hand in hand with poverty and social exclusion. The developments seen over recent years which brought strong recovery to many of the economies and labour markets within the European Union has once again confirmed this observation. It is precisely in periods of economic prosperity that the problems of those members of society who are unable to keep up with the pace of social and economic change or to comply with the heavier demands imposed on them become really evident.

Social exclusion interpreted as meaning „no longer of any use“ – Is this a new dimension of social inequality?

¹ Based on the gross domestic product per head of population

The decay of social relations, especially family and neighbourly links, within anonymised urban life forms increases the risk of „being left by the wayside“. Keener competition for scarce, high-quality housing, discontinuation of social benefits by a heavily indebted public sector, influx of refugees from war zones, political persecution and poverty almost inevitably combine to push the weaker members of society to the fringes. Although it is frequently claimed that the information and knowledge-based society is enhancing welfare in our society, it will actually tend to aggravate rather than alleviate the problem of social exclusion unless countered by socio-political measures. Those suffering social exclusion as a result of this development have already been dubbed the „information poor“.

Quite a few experts have been warning for some years of far-reaching, progressive processes exacerbating social divisions in large urban areas and asking whether these should not be defined as a new dimension of social inequality.² They argue that, whereas the proletariat of the industrial age fulfilled a key economic and social function which, in fact, helped to maintain the system, the so-called "underclass" of the modern service society is at risk of being written off as ballast or totally superfluous by parts of the social majority because of its lack of qualifications or its other shortcomings.³

² This question has been discussed, for example, at the URBAN 21 World Conference in Berlin in July 2000.

³ Cf. for example: Francois Dubet/Didier Lapeyronnie: Im Aus der Vorstädte. Der Zerfall der demokratischen Gesellschaft. Stuttgart 1992.; Walter Siebel: Armut oder Ausgrenzung? In: Leviathan 25 (1997) H. 1, 67 - 75; Hartmut Häußermann: Armut in den Großstädten - eine neue städtische Unterklasse? In: Leviathan 25 (1997) H. 1, 12 - 27; Robert Castel: Die Metamorphosen der sozialen Frage. Eine Chronik der Lohnarbeit. Konstanz 2000; William Julius



1.2 Starting point – Problem areas and neighbourhood management in large cities

The specific subject addressed by this project was the tendency for disadvantaged groups and various types of social problems to become concentrated in specific urban areas, as typically observed in all the 7 metropolitan regions (especially the very large ones) taking part in the project. Another factor common to all 5 EU member states in the project is the decision – and the will of the governments and public authorities – to take stronger action to combat this problem by means of regional programmes undertaken by groups of local people working together. This gave rise to the idea of comparing the causes and development of the social exclusion problem in various different cities and the innovative solutions used to combat this at district level which are now collectively designated „neighbourhood management“ in expert discussions.

Neighbourhood management is still a relatively new concept which brings together a broad spectrum of approaches to improving living conditions in urban problem districts. These include, for example, renovation of housing and its environment, revival of local business activity and improvement of the social infrastructure. The network of cities involved in this project came into existence as a result of prior exchanges of ideas and experience on territorial employment pacts (TEP's), i.e. local or regional alliances to provide employment, and it is consequently not surprising that the interest of the project members has tended to focus on measures for combating unemployment and creating jobs.

The project was also guided by the belief shared by many experts and by the European Commission that „the best way out of

social exclusion and poverty is through employment“⁴.

1.3 Desire of the European Commission to gain more understanding of social exclusion

Pursuant to the requirements of the EU programme „Preparatory Measures to Combat and Prevent Social Exclusion“⁵, the aim of the project was to acquire a better understanding of the mechanisms, forms and consequences of social exclusion. Specific trends in the cities involved were observed and attempts were made to evaluate the success of and the knowledge gained from countermeasures taken by organisations operating at regional or neighbourhood level.

A series of tangible recommendations relating to political strategies, sponsoring programmes and projects was discussed and agreed (see Chapter 5) and constitutes a useful reference source both for the project participants, the sponsor (the EU Commission) and other interested experts.

The project lasted 12 months and was subdivided into the following phases:

- **Comparative analysis of current trends and causes** of the progressive concentration of social exclusion in disadvantaged areas of the cities or metropolitan regions of Stockholm, Copenhagen / Malmö, Hamburg, Bremen, Berlin, London and Vienna;
- **Stocktaking and analysis of innovative action** taken by neighbourhood management and local alliances to

Wilson: When Work Disappears. The World of the New Urban Poor. New York 1996

⁴ Publication of DG Employment and Social Affairs of the European Commission „Acting locally for employment – A local dimension for European employment strategy“ of 7 April 2000, p. 26

⁵ The programme was first published by the Employment and Social Division in 1998. The Cities Project described here was carried out under the second round of this programme between December 1999 and December 2000.



promote social integration and employment (the latter term covering the broad spectrum from gainful employment to community and voluntary work);

- **Conclusions and recommendations** relating inter alia to future EU funding of promising approaches to the problem as a follow-up to previous programmes with similar objectives, e.g. the EC initiative URBAN.

The three phases were covered mainly in three meetings attended by experts nominated by the participants.

One key feature of these meetings was that they brought together and enabled an exchange between three different groups:

- Experts on local social policy from the public sector and from non-government organisations
- Players active in urban neighbourhood projects
- Social scientists engaged in research in this field.

Other instruments in addition to these meetings included active attendance by the project management at relevant conferences (inc. the presentation of papers on the project and other network activities), project visits, interviews with experts and evaluation of information supplied by project participants and member states (conference reports, information on programmes and projects, articles, web sites etc.).

1.4 Basic assumptions and key questions

The Lawaetz Foundation in its capacity as project coordinator started by drafting a list of key questions as a way of structuring the project. This list was discussed with social scientists involved in the project and then circulated to all participants in advance of the first meeting in Berlin.

The key questions were based on the following **general basic assumptions**:

- Social exclusion is a common phenomenon in societies driven by highly dynamic economic forces.
- Social exclusion results from blockage of access to key social systems, primarily employment and education.
- Social exclusion overlaps with other forms of social inequality.
- It affects different social groups.
- Its consequences extend to various dimensions of social integration (or disintegration).
- It is always concentrated in specific areas; its most compact form is the ghetto.

The following assumptions were made for the **initial project-relevant position**:

- That social exclusion is occurring in the various regions in forms specific to the individual region and probably in varying degrees of intensity.
- That countermeasures will therefore have to be designed to fit the specific regional context.
- That comparisons of the regions examined in the project will enable identification of both common factors and differences that will serve as a basis for recommendations on political action.

The key questions were subdivided into two separate complexes corresponding to the first two phases of the project as follows:

- a) a problem-related complex
 - b) a countermeasure-related complex
- and covered the following aspects:

a) Comparative analysis of current trends and causes of social exclusion

- 1. Are trends towards social exclusion be-



ing kept under systematic observation? If so, by whom? (e.g. communal institutions, local government, labour exchanges, welfare organisations, research establishments, advisory organisations, socio-political organisations)

2. What type of data exist? (e.g. aggregate figures based on employment and social assistance statistics, case data obtained in specific surveys, survey data relating to specific groups or types of household, geographical data broken down by districts, cities or regions)

1. What indicators or concepts are used to define social exclusion? (e.g. resources from income, receipt of social benefits, official definition, EU convention, employment or unemployment status, educational level or access to educational system, health status, social contacts etc.)

2. How are these observations publicised? (who deals with the subject of social exclusion; from the official/semi-official perspective; from the perspective of the excluded)

3. Evolution of the problem: features and trends of social exclusion. (especially prominent features, specific threats to certain ethnic groups, situation of migrants, links between social exclusion and political stance, e.g. non-exercise of voting rights, extremism, significance of employment situation and economic situation in individual urban districts)

b) Stocktaking and analysis of innovative action

1. What are the salient features of innovative countermeasures? (e.g. use of instrument-mix; financing; target groups, forms of cooperation; results and effects)

2. Since when and in what form have these sorts of countermeasures been used in the individual city or region?

3. How are these projects initiated? (more „bottom up“ through associations, initiatives, local sponsors etc.; or „top down“ by state institutions and development

programmes; organised by local partnerships; how are these partnerships formed; initiatives, membership and leadership of local partnerships)

4. Which institution provides for neighbourhood management? (nomination procedure)

5. What infrastructure and financial resources does neighbourhood management have at its disposal? Do the players regard these as adequate? (budget, office, conference and event rooms, staff etc.)

6. What role does private business play? (forms of involvement, support)

7. Are innovative countermeasures oriented primarily to reintegration into the employment system? (Importance of the social economy / 3rd. sector)

8. What are neighbourhood management's main target groups?

9. How are local residents approached or involved and motivated to play an active role in district activities?

10. Are the countermeasures successful in terms of reintegration of excluded ?

These key questions are designed to cover the main aspects of the subject and to structure the approach adopted in the project. In view of the narrow time frame and also on the grounds of project planning considerations they make no claim to being an exhaustive list. They are merely intended to form the basis for a first assault on a very complex subject.⁶ A large part of the input from the participants, in particular from the social scientists, during the course of the project actually related to other aspects and consequently led to a not inconsiderable enlargement of the project focus.

It became evident at an early stage of the project, i.e. during the discussion of the list of key questions, just how varied the systematic approach to the subject of social exclusion and the definition of its content

⁶ It became evident during the course of the project that many of these questions could only be partially „dealt with“.



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can be. It is perhaps important to point out that the Lawaetz Foundation as the institution responsible for project coordination was not only involved in the previous cooperation arrangements involving territorial employment pacts (Metro TEP's) in the various cities and was consequently familiar with approaches creating close links between the social exclusion problem and local employment policies.

The Lawaetz Foundation is also (increasingly) active in the field of neighbourhood management in three disadvantaged areas of Hamburg and in research into job creation and social revival of urban areas and consequently possesses wide experience of both theory and practice.

This background greatly facilitated integrative coordination of the project during the course of which there were – not surpris-

ingly – some extremely controversial debates. It would certainly run contrary to the intent of the critical and uncommitted stance adopted by the EU in its Preparatory Action to exclude from this report the widely differing standpoints and contradictions thereby revealed. Although valiant efforts were made to reach a consensus on which recommendations for political action could be based, it has nevertheless been the opinion of the project coordinator from the very start that the diversity of views and approaches to the problem should not be regarded as a deficiency, but rather as a potentially constructive opportunity. Because, in the final analysis, it is the respect for social and cultural diversity that enables the formation of local and international partnerships in the fight against poverty, social exclusion and unemployment.



2 EXCURSUS: The views and approaches of the European Commission

2.1 The URBAN initiative and EU Action Plan for Sustainable Urban Development

The problem of social exclusion in the context of specific urban areas has been the subject of an increasing volume of public debate in the European Union ever since the mid-1990's. With the EU initiative URBAN introduced in 1994 the European Commission provided the first instrument specifically designed for the redevelopment of urban problem districts⁷. URBAN supports the creation of partnerships in disadvantaged urban districts for the solution of social exclusion problems by means of integrated programmes, for the promotion of economic development and social integration, renewal of infrastructures and improvement of environmental conditions. The URBAN initiative in operation since 1996 has now been redesigned for the new structural fund period and will include a higher degree of cooperation with European networks.

With its communication „Ways of Urban Development in the European Union“ which appeared in May 1997 the European Commission triggered a broad discussion process which – assisted by the dedicated efforts of networks like Eurocities – culminated in the formulation of the „EU Action Plan for Sustainable Urban Development“ in November 1998. This document which has subsequently been regarded as the EU's basic strategic plan for urban development policies was the subject of discussion at the European City Forum held in Vienna on 26 and 27 November 1998. The action plan lists basic principles including the ideas of cross-sectoral and supraregional cooperation, close cooperation be-

tween various levels of central and local government and also involving the private business sector and voluntary organisations. The action plan's four political objectives include

- enhancement of economic prosperity and improvement of employment prospects in urban areas (by means of greater involvement of local employment and development initiatives)
- promotion of equality, social integration and renewal in urban areas.

The cooperation against discrimination and social exclusion called for under Art. 137 of the Treaty of Amsterdam (June 1997) is intended to counteract the increasing incidence of these phenomena in urban areas with the help of specially designed solutions.

„The European Commission supports a region-oriented approach to the use of the Structural Funds for the regeneration of disadvantaged urban areas, which should take account of economic, social, cultural, ecological, traffic and security aspects. Links between urban problem areas and their social and economic environment are equally crucial in order to prevent divisions arising within the urban area as a whole“⁸.

2.2 Territorial Employment Pacts

Concurrently with the policy approaches outlined above came financial support for local and regional employment initiatives. In a pilot programme introduced in the summer of 1997 the European Commission is sponsoring 89 territorial employment pacts (TEP's), i.e. alliances for employment at local or regional level. Here also, the basic idea is to encourage cross-departmental teamwork between the individual players (especially the public sector, employers'

⁷ Cf. Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Berufliche Bildung und Frauen / Klaus-Peter Schmidt: "Europäische Städte-politik / Genese-Status quo / Optionen für Berlin", Berlin, September 1999 (hereinafter: Schmidt, 1999), p. 21

⁸ Schmidt, 1999, p. 35



and employees' organisations, private business interests and charitable and other non-profit-making, non-government organisations). The aim is to improve the efficiency of local and regional measures to alleviate unemployment by the use of innovative procedures and methods (with contributions from the EU structural fund).

Through the exchange of ideas and experience between these alliances at conferences and elsewhere it soon became evident that there were close links between some of the broad-based local action plans and the subject of social exclusion. It is now more or less obvious that a significant volume of pact activities to assist disadvantaged target groups would focus on the problem areas of the cities involved in the project. Although not actually so intended by the European Commission – but nevertheless logical and consistent from the political point of view – the actions taken by the territorial employment pacts and the actions taken by local partnerships seeking to regenerate disadvantaged urban areas were gradually integrated in many of the cities. As a result of this integration process the basic concept of the activities was broadened and this transnational partnership against social exclusion was formed.

The EU model for providing technical assistance to the TEP's (mainly from ESF and EFRE funds) will expire definitively at the end of 2001 after the programme had been extended for a further two years beyond the original pilot phase (1997 to 1999). From the very beginning EU sponsorship has been confined to financial start-up assistance in the creation of secretariats for the employment pacts, being the intention to fund this and also the countermeasures themselves from the EU's main employment programmes.

The employment pacts have, in fact, been so successful that they are tending more and more to grow without EU sponsorship, spreading out regionally and introducing the idea to other cities and regions⁹.

⁹ Some of these local and regional employment pacts developed independ-

2.3 Communications and activities of the European Commission in the year 2000

The transition point from the old to the new structural fund period in the year 2000 saw an intensification of announcements and activities from the EU on the subject under review here. The Portuguese presidency of the Council made the fight against social exclusion a major topic on the European agenda, both in itself and in connection with the employment question. In advance of the European Council's summit in Lisbon on 23/24 March, the Commission published a document entitled „Building an inclusive Europe“ on 1 March which emphasises the close links between employment, economic reform and social cohesion.¹⁰ It formulates the following objectives:

- strengthening of integration-oriented economies
- encouragement of fraternal partnerships between all relevant pressure groups
- launch of a new initiative to combat social exclusion.

It pointed out that, although Europe is prosperous, many people are still living in poverty¹¹. In some cases, the poverty-stricken had jobs but these were low-paid or only temporary. Economic growth was capable of aggravating the risk of social exclusion and could, as a result of lack of worker flexibility and inability to adapt to work in

ently from EU-sponsored projects, e.g. in Germany at state level, and implemented agreements reached at the National Alliance for Employment following its revival in 1998.

¹⁰ European Commission: „Building an inclusive Europe“ (Publication of the European Commission). Brussels, 01.03.2000

¹¹ By way of illustration: 18 % of the EU's population earned less than 60% of the average income in the EU and consequently lived in relative poverty (national poverty rates in the EU 15: 11% – 24 %).



the media, lead to a new form of social exclusion. It could nevertheless be possible for modern information technologies to open up new opportunities for disadvantaged persons. Social exclusion is a multi-dimensional phenomenon that tends to manifest itself in the form of concentrations of problem situations mainly in urban areas where whole neighbourhoods were affected by unemployment, inadequate employment, discrimination, segregation, violence and ghettoisation. These neighbourhoods sink deeper and deeper into the mire of poverty and lose contact with the society around them.

For a counter-strategy (to achieve social integration) it would be essential to create jobs. The existing EC initiatives INTEGRA, Employment, URBAN and LEADER plus the basic research programmes and now also the new EU initiative EQUAL (Methods of Combating Social Exclusion, Discrimination and Inequality by Means of Employment) would contribute to this strategy.

2.4 Announcement of a new programme to run from 2001 to 2005

The core message in the document published on 1 March was the announcement of a new 5-year programme to combat social exclusion based on Art. 137 of the Treaty of Amsterdam. Its objective is to encourage cooperation between EU member countries by improving knowledge status, facilitating the exchange of information and details of proven procedures, sponsorship of innovative approaches and evaluation of experience gained. The programme is solely strategic and is not intended for the sponsorship of individual local projects. Its main objective is to acquire multidimensional data and indicators going beyond those relating to income and employment situation to cover factors like educational level, residential situation, life environment, personal mobility, money management, job satisfaction etc. Investigation would also be made of new forms of social exclusion resulting from the knowledge society. One point of fundamental importance in view of the brisk pace of social change was a dynamic (longitudinal) understanding of the problems of poverty and social exclusion.

More details of this action programme were contained in a European Commission publication dated 16 June 2000¹² quantifying the objectives for reduction of poverty in Europe based on the agreements reached by the European Council in Lisbon. The poverty quota was to be reduced from 18% to 10% within the next 10 years and child poverty halved within the same period. The programme's strategy will be open coordination of a reciprocal learning process between the member states. In a similar way to the procedure used for employment strategy, it is intended to design national action plans in teamwork involving industrial management and labour and non-government organisations.

Implementation will be directed at three main areas:

- Analysis of characteristics, causes, processes and trends of social exclusion with special reference to identification of suitable indicators and benchmarks (inc. statistics, methods etc.)
- Cross-border cooperation on planning and exchange of information and details of proven procedures to assist formulation of national action plans
- Encouragement of a dialogue between various interested parties and the networks (inc. annual round-table EU conferences)

The demands first made in 1998 for „Preparatory Measures to Combat and Prevent Social Exclusion“ would be continued under a 5-year programme with total funds of 70 million Euro (14 million Euro p.a.)¹³. The Commission plans to publish interim

¹² European Commission: Proposal for a resolution by the European Parliament and the Council for the launch of an EC action programme to promote cooperation between the member states in combating social exclusion (submitted by the Commission). Brussels, 16.06.2000 KOM(2000) 368 final

¹³ The overall budget has since been increased to EURO 100 million a proposal of the European Parliament.



reports at the end of 2003 and 2005 and a final report at the end of 2006.

2.5 Social Policy Agenda and local employment policy

The European Commission's „Social Policy Agenda“ published on 28 June 2000 is a central strategic paper for the new structural fund period which emphasises the importance of social policy as a productive factor.¹⁴ The objective is to ensure positive, dynamic interaction between economic, employment and social policies. It states that sustainable economic growth with low inflation rates and healthy public finances is of crucial importance for increase in levels of employment and strengthening social cohesion. Following the focusing of the EU's economic policies on the question of employment over the last few years, greater efforts would now be made in the spirit of the Treaty of Amsterdam to combat the problems of social exclusion and discrimination. The challenge would lie in achieving a successful transition from combating social exclusion to introducing a new approach to social integration.

Unemployment in the EU was still too high at 9% (summer of 2000) and the employment rate too low at 62%, more especially as nearly two thirds of all unemployed persons were threatened with poverty. The objective was to raise the employment rate to 70% within the next 10 years.

However, although a job is the best insurance against social exclusion, it did not by itself solve all the problems. If further accentuation of social imbalances in the EU are to be avoided, it would be necessary to make access to the instruments of the information society affordable to all. The following key needs are listed:

- an integrated and comprehensive approach to social integration
- close attention to general education and vocational training
- a solid partnership between government agencies, industrial management and labour, non-government organisations and other interested parties at all levels
- improvement of employability and narrowing of the qualification gap
- encouragement of entrepreneurial spirit and job creation, especially in the services sector and the third system (social economy)
- support for the local dimension within the framework of European employment strategy

The Commission had already triggered a European discussion on the last-named item with its publication „Acting locally for employment“ dated 07 April 2000.¹⁵ Following earlier pilot projects like „TEPs“, „Local Capital for Social Purposes“ and „Promotion of the 3rd. System“, it was proposed that experience and ideas for innovative approaches to local employment policy should be pooled. An EU-wide action plan was announced for the spring of 2001. This would be based on the feedback from approx. 60 written statements and other contributions at conferences, seminars etc., some of which address the subject of social exclusion. The plan would deal with the subject in greater depth and initiate the de-

¹⁴ European Commission: Socio-political Agenda (Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions). Brussels, 28.06.2000 KOM (2000) 379 final

¹⁵ European Commission: „Promoting Employment Locally - A local dimension for European employment strategy. Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. Brussels, 2000. KOM(2000) 196 final



velopment of Local Action Plans for Employment in accordance with Art. 6 ESF.¹⁶

2.6 Position of Eurocities

Two years after its close involvement in the discussion which led to the approval of the „EU Action Plan for Sustained Urban Development“ at the European Cities Forum in Vienna in November 1998¹⁷, the Eurocities network¹⁸ published a detailed position paper on the subject of social exclusion in July 2000¹⁹. This defines social exclusion as „a dynamic process that is not confined to the affected groups and their living conditions but also extends to the causes and

mechanisms of social exclusion and those responsible for it“²⁰. For a long time there was a tendency to equate social exclusion with the sum of all the negative consequences of long-term unemployment, but attention is now shifting to the character of the process and a more comprehensive understanding of the problem.

Despite this, Eurocities also acknowledges that reduction of unemployment remains the central challenge in the efforts to combat social exclusion. In geographical terms, social exclusion occurs in the form of a concentration of problem situations in disadvantaged inner urban areas and suburbs where unemployment rates, dependence on social benefits, crime rates and traffic and noise pollution are high, housing conditions are bad and there is tension between different ethnic groups. The main problem groups are elderly people with low incomes, long-term unemployed (superfluous victims of economic change), lone parents, women, ethnic minorities, refugees, applicants for asylum and disabled persons. Rising cost of living acted as a typical social exclusion mechanism, forcing low-income groups to seek housing in disadvantaged, low-rent districts and encouraging ghettoisation.

The combination of economic recovery and aggravation of social problems seen in the 1990's caused increasing divisions in urban society. These divisions endanger social cohesion and reflect the failure of political systems at all levels to integrate economic and social policy.

¹⁶ Some of the members of the Metropo- lises Network had been involved in this discussion: The Gesellschaft für soziale Unternehmensberatung gsub, Berlin with its AVALON (Added Value of Local Networking) project proposal as a reaction to „Preparatory Measures for Local Commitment to Employment“ (signed as co-applicants by the network members Lawaetz Foundation, Hamburg und Haringey Council, London. The project was approved to run from January to September 2001); Lawaetz Foundation with a paper on the project „Inter-city Cooperation against Social Exclusion“ and the METRO-NET network at the Eurocities Conference „The Role of the Cities in Local Promotion of Employment“ (Glasgow, 5/6 October 2000); A joint written statement from Haringey Council and the Lawaetz Foundation referring to the exchanges within METRONET (see enclosure – or not, than cancel this ammendment!).

¹⁷ Eurocities had submitted a paper in Vienna entitled „Eurocities Commitment to an Urban Policy“.

¹⁸ Eurocities represents the local governments of 99 cities in 26 European countries (including all members of the Cities Network except London and Bremen). Not only the Committee for Social Affairs but also the Committee for Economic Development and Urban Regeneration is concerned with the subject of social exclusion.

¹⁹ Eurocities Position Paper on Social Exclusion, Eurocities' Social Welfare Committee, Munich, 1. July 2000; hereinafter: Eurocities

²⁰ Eurocities, p. 2



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Eurocities makes the following recommendations:

- Development of a policy of social integration involving those responsible for social exclusion and their instruments.
- A comprehensive, cross-sectoral approach that integrates economic and social policy.
- Granting of full political rights to migrants.
- An innovative procedure, if necessary experimental, anyway bottom up and area based) in which the affected of social exclusion participate fully.
- Partnership agreements between public sector, private, charitable, local, national and transnational organisations.

Eurocities offers the European Commission the opportunity to apply the experience gained by a large number of cities („Laboratories of innovative action“) to combating unemployment and social exclusion in the fields of public health services, education, social services and social security.

With this aim in mind, Eurocities wishes to support the exchange of Best Practice information and the creation of direct relationships between the European Commission and European cities and transnational networks. The administrative procedures for the relevant EU programmes should be kept as simple as possible in order to facilitate quick realisation of projects.



3 Activities during the course of the project

3.1 Meetings

As already mentioned, the main project activities consisted of meetings attended by the social scientists and others involved in the project. Three of these meetings were held in 2000 and were accompanied by workshops, project visits and fact-finding trips to the various cities and the disadvantaged areas where the problem had arisen. The meetings were attended by between 30 and 35 experts from politics, local government, service institutions and science delegated by the eight cities involved. The inaugural meeting was held in Berlin at the end of March. This was followed by a second meeting organised by the Öresund region (Malmö and Copenhagen) at the beginning of September and a final meeting of project heads at the end of November in Hamburg.

The design of meetings combined with workshops and project visits was taken over from the network practice for exchange of information on territorial employment pacts. After being brought together in January 1998 at a conference in Bremen organised by the European Commission for all the TEP's funded by the EU they met again later in the same year at „Metro TEP“ meetings organised by themselves in Copenhagen, London and Stockholm, again in early 1999 in Hamburg and finally in November 1999 in Brussels – as a satellite event to a larger TEP conference organised by the European Commission.

The experience gathered at the earlier Metro TEP meetings and the fact that the greater part of the delegates work in the fields of labour market and employment policy was of considerable importance for the exchange of technical information and the results obtained at the meetings. One consequence of this was that controversy over the status of the employment question within the broad range of subjects relevant

to the problem of social exclusion²¹ took a prominent place in the discussions held during the workshops. Roughly summarised, it can be said that the practitioners amongst the delegates favoured employment-oriented approaches in connection with both the development of the problem and the type of countermeasures taken.

In contrast, the social scientists²² tended to vote for more comprehensive views and attempted to place the problem of social exclusion in a broader social and cultural context.

Because the available funds were limited, the input from the project members was restricted to attendance at the meetings and the supply of informative material on their projects and programmes. Additional research work and reporting was handled by Mikael Stigendal who also input the results of his earlier research work on the subject (in Malmö and Newcastle) which he circulated to the project members in the form of a comprehensive report.²³ Further input came in the form of brief summaries of relevant research investigations by Prof. Jens Dangschat (see Chapter 4.1.2).

3.1.1 Inaugural meeting in Berlin

The first task facing the inaugural meeting in Berlin at the end of March 2000 was to transfer the ideas and experience already exchanged at the Metro TEP meetings to the new project against social exclusion. This was necessary because some of the specialists in social exclusion and integra-

²¹ Cf. the positions of the European Commission and Eurocities outlined above.

²² Mikael Stigendal, sociologist, University of Malmö; Prof. Jens Dangschat, sociologist, Vienna Technical University, formerly at Hamburg University; Dr. Thomas Mirbach, politologist, Lawaetz Foundation Hamburg

²³ Mikael Stigendal: „Social Exclusion – Whose problem?“



tion and also the social scientists were new. At an inaugural workshop the Lawaetz Foundation explained the content, methods and objectives of the project and of the EU programme on which it was based and chaired a brainstorming session on interpretation and definition of the social exclusion (in the scientific context: the „concept“²⁴). Papers were presented by Mikael Stigendal and other project members – some of them describing the current situation of the TEP's – added their input to this first outline of the problem. It was also an opportunity for the members to get to know each other and give details of their past career and work. Although the list of key questions had been circulated to all the delegates (see Chapter 1.4), discussion of this was limited to certain specific aspects and it was not systematically examined.

All the delegates expressed strong interest in the subject and their desire to learn the views and approaches favoured by the others. The status of some of the more theoretical aspects was reviewed and discussed briefly. There was general agreement that current international scientific opinions should be included and that the publications and activities of not only the European Commission but also other relevant organisations²⁵ should be evaluated. Some interesting questions of detail on practical work, helped by contributions from players working in the Neukölln district of Berlin, were also discussed. This was quite useful in view of the fact that the aim of this inaugural meeting was to discuss the basic outline of the problem of social exclusion.

²⁴ Use of the common (also in English) term „concept“ in its scientific sense has been avoided in this report with the exception of the purely scientific contributions because it is generally taken as indicating a pioneering concept for action by the experts working in this sector. In this case however, it means a basic understanding or definition (of the term social exclusion).

²⁵ Stig Hanno, TEP Coordinator in Stockholm, guaranteed a flow of this type of information through his membership of the Eurocities Committee for Social Affairs.

3.1.2 Employment pacts and neighbourhood management

The specific problems to be tackled by the project were illustrated by a bus tour through the Rollberg quarter of Neukölln, a typical large, publicly financed housing development dating back to the 1960's and 1970's in which a number of planning and social problem situations is now tending to amass, as is the case in many other residential developments of that period. The project member from Berlin gsub (Gesellschaft für soziale Unternehmensberatung mbH) has linked up the activities of the Neukölln employment pact (the project „Social Urban Development in Neukölln – Living and Working in an Urban District“, one of the 6 projects organised by the TEP) with the neighbourhood management approach. The target groups include long-term unemployed persons and foreign youths drawing social benefits who live in the Rollberg quarter. The actions are carried by a local association (partnership) whose members include, in addition to gsub and the neighbourhood management, a housing development company, the public labour market service, the district office, the social security office, several employers and representatives of training establishments and an urban regeneration company.

The action taken in this and two other problem areas in Neukölln includes a broad spectrum of neighbourhood-related projects. Examples of these are the opening of a local office by an employment and training provider specialising in projects like anti-graffiti work, assistance with renovation and removal, housekeeping assistance, recycling of electrical appliances, break services at elementary schools, an employment agency for people receiving social benefits, a new senior citizens' meeting place, training of house caretakers, measures to enhance the residential environment and a new neighbourhood centre.

As the host of the meeting, gsub used the opportunity to get local publicity by organising a press conference at which not only the Neukölln TEP's activities but also the work of the other delegates and the project to combat social exclusion were explained. This made it possible to transmit and ex-



plain to a wider public ideas and experience that normally circulate within the confines of the network, an objective which the members of the network had already recognised as important at their earlier meetings (Cf. Chapter 3.2.1)

3.1.3 Second meeting in Malmö and Copenhagen

At the second meeting in Malmö und Copenhagen at the beginning of September 2000, an attempt was made to review the structure of the problems and the nature of the countermeasures taken in the cities involved in the project. Mikael Stigendal had drafted two questionnaires with 20 indicators (see Fig. 1) to be used for comparisons of the regions and countermeasures taken.

A first workshop met to discuss the various forms of social exclusion. This was followed by a second workshop which reviewed exemplary neighbourhood-related countermeasures. The ranking technique was used at both workshops, i.e. the dele

gates (33 representatives of politics, labour market and public health administration, the project scene and social scientists) rated the significance of each item for their home town on a set scale (e.g. Indicator „low income“: negligible = 1 / high concentration = 4 / peak concentration = 7). This type of procedure does not constitute objective measurement of empirical problem characteristics, but it fulfils the function of explaining valuation standards which experts frequently do little more than imply in their practical work.

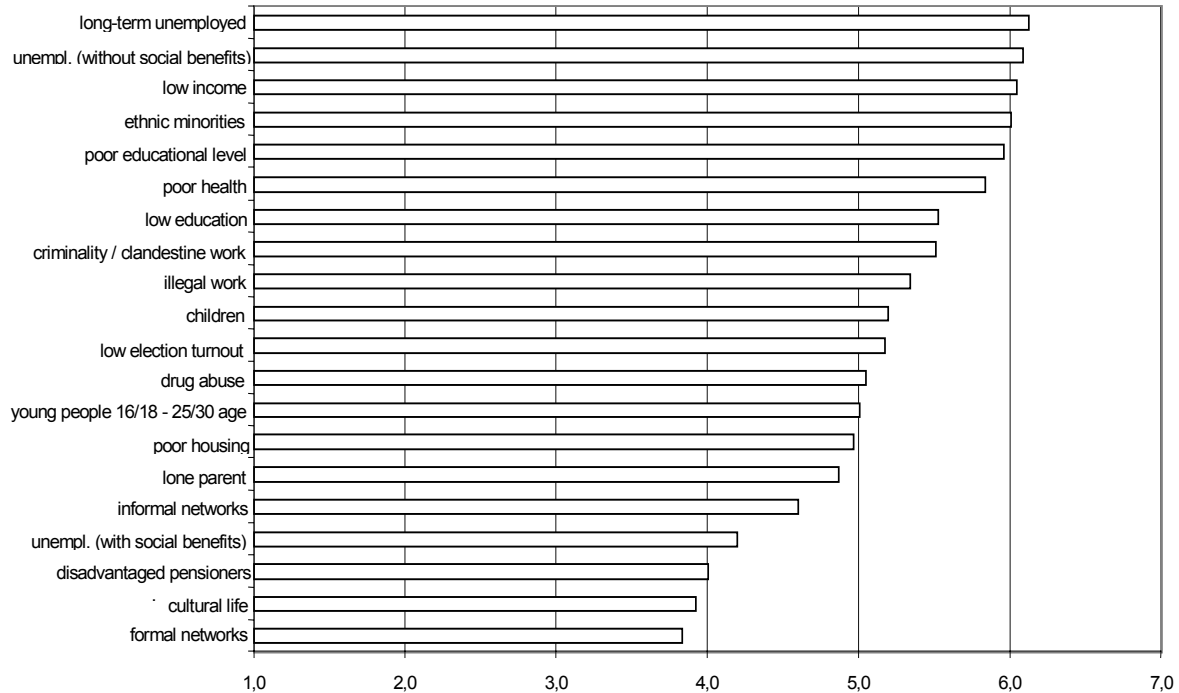
The discussion of concentrations of problem indicators in specific areas in the first workshop revealed that 6 indicators (long-term unemployment, inadequate social security, low income, concentration of ethnic minorities, lack of schools and inadequate health care) were perceived as the main challenges. One remarkable finding was the low incidence of poor housing conditions or specific types of household (e.g. lone parents) amongst the perceived problem factors²⁶.

²⁶

Mikael Stigendal commented on these findings in his report „Social Exclusion – Whose problem is it?“.



Fig. 1: Level of concentration of problem indicators in relation to mean values (7 = peak concentration)



3.1.4 Skating park youth project and neighbourhood management

The programme of the Öresund meeting also included visits to disadvantaged areas and current projects. The first workshop was held in a former brewery that had been converted into an indoor skateboard park in an EU-sponsored project for assisting unemployed young people to obtain qualifications. This centre had been opened in 1998 in the problem neighbourhood of Sofielund near the centre of the urban area which was one of the assisted areas in the URBAN programme from 1996 to 1999. It is run by the young people themselves and has a cafeteria, conference rooms, a small library with books on skating and a shop selling skating equipment (www.bryggeriet.org). On the half-hour bus trip through Malmö, Mikael Stigendal reviewed Malmö's history – the „cradle of the Swedish labour movement“ - and present social situation and

then gave a rundown of the situation in the city's problem wards.

This was followed by the impressive crossing of the Öresund over the recently opened link (bridge and tunnel) between Sweden and Denmark for a visit to Copenhagen's Kongens Enghave neighbourhood. This is a typical working-class area developed not far from the city centre in the first half of the 19th. century along the lines of an English garden city. This is now Copenhagen's poorest quarter. When asked, residents identified the main problems as heavy traffic, poor housing and high unemployment. The population fluctuates rapidly and only the poor and unemployed remain. Anyone who can, goes elsewhere. However, the area has a long tradition of self-organisation going back to the early days of the labour movement and the neighbourhood management project is seeking to revive this.



The neighbourhood development plan takes a holistic and integrated approach, listing as objectives local administration and responsibility, citizen involvement, physical improvement (especially buildings), renovation of housing and infrastructure, culture and sport, employment and social matters. The housing cooperatives appear to have developed a strong interest in the neighbourhood management's activities. Projects have been carried out since the summer of 1998 with a degree of flexibility that makes allowance for changing needs. Roughly 200 of the neighbourhood's 15.000 resident population work on the projects. A telephone survey revealed that 75% of the population were aware of these activities. An evaluation is planned but it is impossible to ignore the difficulty of naming suitable indicators which have to be quantitative for political reasons. The woman in charge of the project stated that the population had high expectations of it.

3.1.5 The final meeting in Hamburg

The main objective of the final meeting in Hamburg at the end of November was the discussion of recommendations for action as a direct practical spin-off from the project. A draft list of recommendations based on the interim results reviewed in the recently completed contribution from Mikael Stigendal²⁷ and the relevant experience of the Lawaetz Foundation had been circulated to the delegates in advance. The city representatives also reported on the current status of their TEP's and discussed possible future activities of the network, which had during the course of the year been renamed METRONET in recognition of its enlarged fields of action²⁸.

²⁷ „Social Exclusion – Whose problem is it?“

²⁸ In particular, the possibility of an application by the network under the innovative action sponsored by ERDF and ESF and the EU initiative EQUAL was discussed. These and other, mainly organisational questions were examined at another METRONET meeting in Harburg early in February 2001.

By way of introduction, the project manager presented a review of relevant publications and activities of the European Commission and of the area- and employment-related programmes of the cities in the network.

Mikael Stigendal's contribution summarised a series of core theses. This was followed by a lively discussion by all the delegates which – as must be expected – did not result in agreement on all points. On the contrary, there was in some cases considerable controversy resulting from the varying degrees of involvement of individual delegates in certain aspects of the subject and in specific programmes and projects. All those present nevertheless made great efforts to achieve mutual understanding and a common view of the problem. Finally, a voting procedure was agreed for the recommendations and for the structure of the final report..

3.1.6 Projects for disadvantaged persons and neighbourhood management

The programme once again included a visit tour of two projects organised by the host city. The projects in this case involved advisory services, assistance in obtaining qualifications and integration into the labour market of recipients of social benefits, disabled persons and drug addicts. Although the two organisations involved („Useful Waste“ and „Youth Helps Youth“) run the project (some of the main activities are in the field of recycling) from a central location, a redeveloped former industrial site in the district of Altona, these activities are more recently tending to shift increasingly to the district's more disadvantaged neighbourhoods and to the neighbourhood management projects which are active there. For example, the project entitled „Job Club Altona – Ja Mobil“ has a bus visiting various locations in Altona to give advice and assistance in job search to young people under 25 years of age to help them in their personal stabilisation and career development.

The second visit was to the GATE („Gesellschaft für Arbeit, Technik und Entwicklung“) organisation in Harburg which has been active for a long time at district level.



Its offers to long-term unemployed persons, unemployed women and women seeking re-entry into the labour market, migrants, adolescents and young adults without a vocational qualification relate largely to jobs in districts of this part of Hamburg lying south of the Elbe and make a contribution towards improvement of the infrastructure and quality of life there. This applies particularly to the neighbourhood of Heimfeld-Nord, a dockworkers' housing development with a population of approx. 6.000 whose social situation is critical with unemployment running at 22% (nearly three times the Hamburg average), a migrant share of 30% (Hamburg as a whole: 16%), high rates of alcohol and drug abuse, social isolation and a one-sided (council housing) tenant structure. GATE is active in this district with its building squad (bricklayers and other building trades for public-service institutions), a Work Shop (casual jobs for recipients of social benefits, for example, renovation, rubbish clearance, cleaning, gardening and unskilled building work) and its Service Centre (an employment agency for long-term unemployed, unqualified women, lone mothers, women seeking re-entry into the labour market and foreign female migrants, mostly in the field of family help and serving meals at schools).

All these activities are closely coordinated with the local neighbourhood management, a district association formed in Heimfeld-Nord in 1995 and one of 8 Hamburg areas in the „Pilot Programme for Combating Poverty“²⁹. The major housing renovation and environment improvement programme initiated two years previously by the council housing company SAGA brought substantial improvements to the housing quality and to the district's negative image. Many young families with children are now living in Heimfeld-Nord and this has helped to give the district a more varied tenant structure. The activities of the neighbourhood management are financed by a sponsoring association whose members include local

social and cultural institutions, SAGA, a school, a church, politicians and local government personalities.

3.2 Public relations work and self-evaluation

3.2.1 Public relations work and publication of results

Another important task was the dissemination of the project idea, the progress made and the results obtained. This required systematic public relations work in which the aim was not only to keep specialists and the general public constantly informed but also to obtain additional information from people not involved in the project and to use this feedback to modify parts of the project where necessary.

The project coordinator had the following material produced for this purpose:

- at the start of the project a brief project description listing key data in summarised form
- in March 2000 a thesis paper on the project listing basic assumptions and key questions in draft form (see Chapter 1.4)
- in July and November 2000 respectively two news letters informing project members and other interested parties of progress on the project
- a project homepage with direct access at www.lawaetz.de/ metrocoop and www.metrocoop.com giving a brief description of the project, relevant links, brief descriptions of the city members and of METRONET.

²⁹ Urban Development office of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg: "Supplementary Measures against Poverty as an Element of Social Urban Development". Hamburg 1994



The project manager also presented and discussed the project, sometimes in collaboration with other project members, at the following seminars and conferences:

- The seminar „Perspectives for an Active Employment Policy in the European Union“ organised by the Hamburg College of Economics and Politics (HWP). This yielded interesting information on the present situation in Hamburg’s St. Pauli ward³⁰ which, in conjunction with a visit to the district, were the subject of discussion with Mikael Stigendal and others.
- The European Conference „Local Socio-economic Strategies in Disadvantaged Urban Areas“ on 30 March and 1 April 2000 in Dortmund. At this conference the Northrhine-Westphalia State Institute for Urban and Regional Development presented the results of the EU research project ELSES (Evaluation of Local Socio-Economic Strategies in Disadvantaged Urban Areas) which it had managed together with partners from Sweden, Scotland, Germany, the Netherlands, France and Italy and which had investigated some very similar questions. This conference and the ELSES final report provided a series of useful tips for our project on social exclusion.
- The URBAN 21 World Conference on Urban Future from 04 to 06 July 2000 in Berlin. This mega-conference and in particular the symposium „Polarisation of Urban Society“ chaired by Dr. Albrecht Göschel from the German Institute for Urbanistics gave us the opportunity of discussing the subject with

various recognised German and international experts like Dr. Peter Marcuse of Colombia University, New York and Prof. Chris Hammnett of King’s College, London.

- The Eurocities conference „The Role of the Cities in Promoting Local Employment“ in Glasgow on 5 and 6 October 2000. This conference, organised jointly with the European Commission as part of the discussion platform „Local Employment Promotion“ was an excellent opportunity to hear the views of the local government authorities of the cities represented there (inc. Glasgow, Newcastle, Stockholm, Amsterdam Munich).

At the inaugural meeting in Berlin the host gsub held a press conference at which the project was presented to the local press. At the second meeting in Malmö Dennis Dillon, a Labour member of Haringey Council, gave an interview to a daily newspaper. A small exhibition with pictures and information on the project and the areas and programmes on which it was focusing was held in the Hamburg-Altona Town Hall during the final meeting.

3.2.2 Ongoing self-evaluation

One source used for self-evaluation and corrections during the course of the project was the feedback from the PR activities outlined above. For example, the exchanges between the project coordinator and certain local government offices in Hamburg (the Senate Chancellery, the City Planning Authority and the Labour, Health and Social Authority) increased awareness of the need for a solid statistical base and specific indicators to identify areas and population groups suffering from social exclusion. This led, in turn, to more detailed examination of the statistical base available for the other cities which Mikael Stigendal describes very clearly in his contribution to the project³¹. In the case of Hamburg, the - relatively good - available data for St. Pauli was subjected to closer examination. The

³⁰ inc. the seminar contribution from Thorsten Müller „The Hamburg district of St. Pauli as an Example of Local Employment Policy with reference to the financial support recently granted from the European Fund for Regional Development“ and the paper „Examination of the Political Structure of the St-Pauli ward“ from Prof. Dr. Jürgen Oßenbrügge, Hamburg University submitted in connection with the ERDF grant to the ward.

³¹ „Social Exclusion – Whose problem is it?“, p. 32 ff.



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question of available statistical data was discussed at the Hamburg meeting and this point was included in the final recommendations for necessary action.

The project coordinator drafted a questionnaire for evaluation of the meetings. This included groups of six questions each on project strategy, the key questions, the workshops and the project visits. Some of these questions offered optional answers, others required individual answers. The feedback from this questionnaire generally gave a favourable overall assessment of the procedures used by both the project coordinator and the hosts at the meetings. It did however demonstrate very clearly the importance of repeated restatement of the specific project objective, especially for those project members who had not been present at all or any of the earlier exchanges of information on the Territorial Employment Pacts and their correlation with the subject of social exclusion.

It was realised during the course of the project that the original plan to select from each city or region two so-called best-practice areas for their exemplary neighbourhood management and exchange experience gained there was to a large extent unrealistic. This would have increased the workload for both the project coordinator and the city representatives to a level well beyond the available financial resources and made it impossible to remain within the time schedule. The various project visits, presentations and interviews, the Haringey case study, the assessments of problem situations and potential solutions along the lines agreed at the Öresund meeting and Mikael Stigendal's two studies in Hamburg (neighbourhood management in Eidelstedt-Nord and community work in St. Pauli) can be regarded as a pragmatic substitute. The procedure adopted enabled collection of sound basic information for the problem situations to be analysed.



4 Results

4.1 Input from the social scientists

4.1.1 Definition and indicators of social exclusion (Mikael Stigendal, Malmö)

The main task during the first phase was of an analytical nature, starting with the definition of the term „social exclusion“ itself. This term is used very pragmatically, frequently in connection with poverty, in the European Commission’s programmes and also by practitioners responsible for implementing measures to combat social exclusion in various local contexts and it appears to have a clearly defined and plausible meaning when looked at from the practical point of view, namely the geographical concentration of extremely disadvantaged population groups.

Although there is certainly a broad measure of agreement on this pragmatic use of the term (the representatives of cities emphasised this), it is nevertheless necessary to explain the exact meaning of the implications behind it. This is all the more important because this could help to identify specific aspects of the emergence of social exclusion, i.e. specific risk and problem situations. Moreover, a clear definition is essential for the correct assessment of measures to combat social exclusion and to enable the formulation of recommendations.

It was agreed during the planning phase that Mikael Stigendal (a sociologist from the University of Malmö) would address himself to the question of what is understood by the term social exclusion, as he can refer to his many years’ experience of empirical research into forms of social exclusion.³² His report „Social Exclusion – Whose prob-

lem?“³³ is summarised below and – if reduced to simple terms – addresses four aspects of social exclusion:

1. How should the term social exclusion be understood in the narrower sense?
2. In what way are social exclusion phenomena dependent on political conditions and established institutions?
3. What factors tend to increase the risk of social exclusion?
4. What forms does social exclusion take in cities?

4.1.1.1 Social exclusion, segregation and implicit standards

Although social exclusion is often understood as meaning segregation processes, i.e. the geographical seclusion of certain social units (e.g. by income group or ethnic origin), it is essential to note the differences between these two phenomena. Social exclusion is not necessarily geographical. Some forms of social exclusion may arise, e.g. estrangement from the political system, which remain localised below the visibility threshold. However, there is no doubt that geographical concentration of affected groups aggravates the degree of social exclusion. Whereas segregation of a relative nature, e.g. between disadvantaged areas and the average standard of living enjoyed by the relevant city, is an obvious phenomenon, the term „social exclusion“ tends to divert attention to the pole which has been excluded.

Because the state of social exclusion inevitably presupposes a state of social inclusion, it is always necessary when talking about social exclusion to bear in mind the implicit standards marking the divide between inclusion and exclusion. In the final analysis, one should give due consideration to the question whether social exclusion –

³² Cf. his study on this subject: „Social Values in Different Social Worlds“, Malmö 1999

³³ Mikael Stigendal: „Social Exclusion – Whose problem?“, Malmö, 12 November 2000, unpublished report



as generally understood – incontrovertibly indicates a problem state. As in the case of segregation, it would be preferable to start with a „neutral“ definition of the term and only attempt an evaluation when discussing concrete forms of social exclusion.

4.1.1.2 Potentials existing outside the social majority: Integration of groups living in a state of social exclusion

Another argument in favour of a more neutral definition of the term is that social exclusion obviously cannot mean exclusion from all social relations – or more precisely – total exclusion from the social system. Social relations remain even in cases where social exclusion exists. These are not necessarily those of the social majority, but they are nevertheless relations which can under certain circumstances constitute a potential that can be mobilised to overcome social exclusion.

Consequently, it would be preferable to focus on a definition of the understanding of integration implied in the opposite term „social inclusion“. One way to do this would be to adopt the proposal used elsewhere describing social inclusion as a combination of **system integration** and **social integration**.

Whereas system integration relates to forms of objective or passive inclusion (by way of laws, regulation, market mechanisms), social integration is a type of inclusion which cannot be accomplished without involvement of the individual – because it is based on values, norms and attitudes.

This definition implies that system integration and social integration are mutually dependent. For example, it would be misleading to talk of social inclusion merely because the market offers a person opportunities for employment (i.e. system integration), unless these opportunities are perceived by that person as meaningful and compatible with his or her life pattern (social integration). **Social inclusion** is thus defined as participation in society in terms of both system and social integration.

4.1.1.3 Differing national situations in terms of market economy, welfare state and civic society

As the interplay of system integration and social integration always involves national contexts, social exclusion in the definition now proposed is inevitably related to circumstances prevailing in national societies and to situations where social participation is denied for lack of system integration (e.g. in legally secured jobs or market opportunities) or of social integration (into local cultural standards). Thus, in cases where social participation is determined by specific circumstances occurring in a specific national context, it is safe to assume that the dividing lines between social exclusion and social inclusion will vary from society to society. Typical differences illustrated by examples taken from Sweden and Great Britain are quoted here in three separate dimensions.

Firstly, differences can be caused by the role which **market economy** societies permit a given group to play. In this case, Great Britain could be taken as an example of a society with relatively little (statutory) regulation of market forces and a relatively high degree of compulsion to seek gainful employment – even at the price of creating the „working poor“. In contrast, Sweden, a society in which labour is still highly organised in trade unions, has a strictly regulated labour market which guarantees that (Swedish!) insiders will always have an income. In the British case, it is not clear whether acceptance of gainful employment (i.e. system integration) will actually prevent social exclusion (in the form of poverty). In the Swedish case, it is cultural requirements which exert an exclusive effect. These affect (in different ways) the work-seeking migrants of the 1960's and the refugee migrants of the 1980's. Whereas the former group succeeded in gaining access to the employment system but not in achieving social recognition, the latter group was denied both.

Secondly, the ability of **state-organised social security systems** to exert inclusive or exclusive effects must be considered. Once again, it would be possible to identify - in very broad terms- characteristic differences between the Swedish „social democ-



matic model“ and the British „liberal“ model. Swedish unemployment benefits are high enough to prevent unemployed persons from plunging into poverty, although this does not apply to certain groups like young people and migrants not yet integrated into the social insurance system. In contrast, the British model is „universal“, i.e. not related to former employment, but pays only very low levels of means-related benefits which are inadequate to prevent poverty. Another question that could be examined is whether there is now a tendency for welfare-state systems to converge. This would have the effect of once again increasing the degree of dependence on the market economy.

Thirdly, there is the question of the efficiency of the **civic sector** (or the Third System). This area is set apart from the state and the market and can at best provide compensation for deficits in social integration. It must also be admitted that here – and not only in Sweden – there are signs that significant elements, like family, school, honorary functions which have hitherto more or less guaranteed social inclusion in everyday life, are now only fulfilling this function to a limited degree.

4.1.1.4 Risk factors favouring social exclusion

The trends outlined above make it possible to identify certain exclusion risk factors prevailing, albeit to varying extents and in varying intensity, in all western European countries. Some of the relevant indicators are listed below, not necessarily in order of importance:

1. Limitations imposed by health
2. Unemployment
3. Low income
4. Inadequate education
5. Foreign origin
6. Minority culture
7. Poor housing condition
8. Female gender
9. Youth
10. Advanced age

4.1.1.5 Typology of socially excluded areas

Mikael Stigendal had already attempted in his earlier research work to type districts exhibiting differing constellations of social exclusion. This work was undertaken in his home town of Malmö, once a model social democratic community, now probably one of the Swedish cities most severely affected by segregation processes. He used the information gained during the project from the other cities to further refine this typological system and reviews it in his report „Social Exclusion - Whose problem?“

It is important to note that he, as a sociologist, has used a typing system based on the described social problem situations and the social indicators identified by him for this purpose.

Negative infrastructural and (town) planning characteristics, e.g. heavy traffic (often perceived as extremely oppressive) or lack of shopping facilities which are often of crucial importance to town planners and local residents, are largely ignored. His definitions of area categories, three quarters of which contain the term social integration, are also based on assessments which do not attempt any rating of social exclusion as a problem per se. The focus is directed more at the potential inherent in given population groups and areas and consequently, form a useful starting point for the formulation of recommendations.

Type 1: Social integration within a social exclusion situation

In these areas the people excluded by the social majority create their own integration. Type 1 districts often contain high concentrations of foreigners. Although these have failed to establish links with the social majority, they nevertheless succeed in creating a functioning system of social integration - generally based on their original culture - for example, in the form of religious practices, informal networks, ethnic economies etc. This type of segmented social integration can also develop in a zone where illegal practices prevail but this does not prevent establishment of a functioning system



of justice based on either culture, tradition, religion or morals.

Type 2: Social integration constituting a potential social threat

This type is very similar to Type 1. The difference lies in the fact that it is dominated by male-organised criminal networks which potentially threaten the native social majority. Type 2 describes the creation of a local counter-cultural environment which can be used polemically by extreme „left“ or „right“ political groups to strengthen their otherwise weak position in appeals addressed to the social majority. This type needs a well-functioning infrastructure for everyday activities, e.g. bars, clubs, communication media, local radio. It tends to contain a high proportion of illegal business activity, e.g. prostitution and black work.

Type 3: Depressive social exclusion

The salient feature of this type is a population with no option but to suffer a wide range of problems like poor health, isolation, poverty, drug abuse, violence, poor housing conditions, etc. without being able to counteract them or to safeguard their interests actively. Type 3 is the most marginalised category which may often exhibit anomie tendencies (lawlessness), e.g. isolation, violence, dependence, and is consequently more or less incapable of integrating internally. This type seems to develop irrespective of age, gender or ethnic background and the problems can affect everyone.

Type 4: Potential social integration

This type has similarities with Type 2. It has a high concentration of people seeking social integration, but on their own terms which are different from those of the social majority. Young persons typically form the driving force in these districts. They are often united by cultural origin and frequently voice political demands. Justice is practised through formal networks. Meeting places like pubs and clubs appear to be important.

4.1.2 Macro-, meso- and micro-levels of social integration and

exclusion (Prof. Jens Dangschat, Vienna)

Drawing on his long research experience in this field, Prof. Jens Dangschat (an urban sociologist at Vienna Technical University and formerly at Hamburg University) made an analytical contribution linking the structural dimension of social inequality with that of the social location. This was in the form of a paper presented at the second project meeting in Malmö in September 2000 ([see Chapter 3.1.3](#)).

He started by putting a question on the influence of social location - both as a field for exchanges between different social groups and as the actual area - on unequal distribution of social opportunities³⁴. At this point we only wish to mention two aspects of Dangschat's observations which appear important to us.

In advanced capitalist societies there are several logical processes and fundamental mechanisms favouring the creation of social inequality. Modernisation and globalisation processes in the economy have brought an increase in new forms of social exclusion in everyday activities. Cultural features, e.g. specific environments or lifestyles, play a significant role. The district should therefore be seen as a real place in which different groups, environments and lifestyles compete for available resources and status

However, this multitude of exchanges at micro-level should always be viewed in relation to the meso- and macro-levels which determine social structures either directly (e.g. by regulating labour markets) or indirectly (e.g. through social security sys-

³⁴

Relevant publications include: Jürgen Blasius/Jens S. Dangschat (Hg.): Gentrification. Die Aufwertung innenstadtnaher Wohngebiete. Frankfurt/M. 1990; Monika Alisch/Jens S. Dangschat: Armut und soziale Integration. Strategien sozialer Stadtentwicklung und lokaler Nachhaltigkeit. Opladen 1998; Jens S. Dangschat (Hg.): Modernisierte Stadt - gesplittene Gesellschaft. Ursachen von Armut und sozialer Ausgrenzung. Opladen 1999



tems). And it is only the interactions between these three levels that can explain the actual pattern of social inequality. If one takes a closer look at examples of the in-

teractions between the various levels (Cf. Fig. 2), it becomes obvious that different aspects of integration or exclusion become relevant at each level.

At the macro-level, i.e. in the European or

Fig. 2: Macro-, meso- and micro-levels of social integration and exclusion

Type of integration	Aspect of integration	Geographic level	Aggregation level
System integration (institutional functions)	Equal civil rights	EU / state	Macro-level
System integration (individual functions)	Access to labour and housing markets and to educational institutions (economic and institutionalised cultural capital)	Urban region	Result of social change
Social integration (communicative, interactive)	Participation in public affairs, safeguarding of a common moral order	Urban region/district	Meso-level
Social integration (expressive, cultural)	Internal integration into societies and acceptance of these societies (social capital)	Neighbourhood	Local phenomenon
Cognitive individual integration	Language, skills, reflex activities, knowledge of norms and social situations within the autochthonous society (cultural capital within the autochthonous society)	Individual	Micro-level
Identificative individual integration	Surmounting of inner ethnic orientation and acceptance of ethnic relations with „the others“ / Surmounting of inner ethnic behaviour patterns and acceptance of „the others“ patterns (acceptance of specific ethnic cultural capital)	Individual	Result of everyday experiences

national context, it is mainly a question of legally guaranteed equality

of citizens in their opportunities for access to parts of the social system, e.g. employment, education, housing.

At the meso-level (cities, regions) certain items of social integration are important - like participation in political and cultural processes. Finally, at the micro-level of individual actions it is skills, e.g. language, knowledge etc., and orientation of activities, e.g. close links to ethnic origins, that count.

4.2 The Haringey case study

There were basically three reasons for choosing London as the venue for an in-depth case study. Firstly, it was from there that the metropolitan network was initiated in the spring of 1998 by Haringey Council in its capacity as coordinator of the local employment pact, the Tottenham Employment Pact. Secondly, Haringey is an excellent example of the basic idea behind the project, with ideal coordination between local employment policy and approach to socially-oriented regeneration of the deprived areas. Both of these aspects are coordi-



nated by Haringey Council's Strategy Department. Thirdly, Great Britain in general and Haringey in particular within the network are playing a leading role in development (and funding methods) of neighbourhood management, which is a relatively new type of project.

The case study was carried out from 01 to 03 June 2000 by Mathias Kuhlmann, the Projekt Manager at the Lawaetz Foundation and Mikael Stigendal, and was in the form of project visits and interviews with experts. The interviewees had received a brief description of the project and a copy of the list of key questions in advance. Mikael Stigendal used the following questions to structure the interviews which were recorded on tape:

- Who are you and what are your responsibilities?
- What does the problem of social exclusion mean to you? To what extent does it exist in your opinion?
- What solution do you see? Would it include changes in social integration?
- What are, in your opinion, the most successful countermeasures? Why are they successful?
- What do you think we can learn from you?

A substantial part of the information received is based on written documents (brochures, studies etc.) published by the British government, the various organisations involved in Haringey, the Haringey Council and on specific projects.

The interviewees included:

- Chris Shellard (Assistant Chief Executive of the Council)
- Elizabeth Henry (Deputy Manager responsible for cooperation in the field of public health)
- Geoff Fordham (Strategic Adviser to the Council with contacts to the British government's Social Exclusion Unit)
- Martin Sargeant und Vibeke Christensen (Neighbourhood Management Tot-

tenham Community Pathways / Northumberland)

- Michelle Barrett (neighbourhood management West Green Learning Neighbourhood).

Other items in the programme organised by the Council was a tour through the Seven Sisters / Bridge Neighbourhood, which had recently been selected for inclusion in the new British neighbourhood management programme „New Deal for Communities“, attendance at an inaugural public function in the Town Hall for the Youth Strategy project, a major new initiative by the Council aimed at combating social exclusion and improving quality of life for disadvantaged young people in Haringey.

4.2.1 Fight against social exclusion – A top priority in England

In order to understand the activities taking place in Haringey, it will be best to start with an outline of the political situation in England. The British „New Labour“ government has given the fight against social exclusion in Britain's disadvantaged urban areas top priority. Since its election in the autumn of 1997 it has introduced several initiatives and programmes. There is now an increasing tendency to take a area-specific approach and to coordinate the programmes with those for urban social regeneration. The situation is summarised in a document entitled „Bring Britain Together - A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal“ published in September 1998.

This strategy is based on past experience of community work undertaken mainly by the churches. In 1994, the various separate strands of urban regeneration activities, which had until then been aligned mainly on construction projects, were brought together under a single programme, the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) which placed greater emphasis on social objectives. The „New Deal for Communities“ (NDC) programme, part of the action taken following the government's declaration of September 1998, was in many ways the starting point of the new type of project called neighbourhood management.



4.2.2 Comprehensive regeneration through „local strategic partnerships“

Whilst the SRB in its revised form is a universal programme with a blanket effect, the NDC programme concentrates on a comprehensive approach to the problem of social exclusion in England's most disadvantaged urban areas. NDC provides relatively high levels of development funds for these relatively small areas comprising between 1.000 and 4.000 households for a period of 10 years. In the summer of 2000 a total of 39 NDC areas throughout the country were each receiving development assistance ranging between EURO 3,47 Million and EURO 8,67 Million per annum.

In October of the same year the government launched its Neighbourhood Renewal Fund, an additional programme similar to the NDC for 88 areas throughout the country, which emphasises the importance of local strategic partnerships.

The government's 1998 declaration also signalled the start of an initiative entitled „A New Commitment to Regeneration“. Haringey was nominated as a pathfinder for this initiative in autumn 1998. This resulted in the publication by the Haringey Council in April 2000 of a comprehensive, all-party regeneration strategy for the district in which the main objectives were identified as the fight against social exclusion, improvement in competitive strength and sustainability and the development of successful partnerships and neighbourhoods. A core feature of the overall strategy was a report prepared by the Council itself on the current status and future prospects of neighbourhood management in Haringey. This identified 3 neighbourhoods in which neighbourhood management had already been introduced or was imminent (see 4.2.3.1 - 4.2.3.3 below) and 5 others for future projects. The final version of the Haringey Regeneration Strategy was approved and published in November 2000 and is by far the most comprehensive strategy document produced by any of the cities in the project.

4.2.3 Employment pacts and the fight against social exclusion and poverty

Haringey is one of 33 London districts (boroughs) lying in the northern part of the metropolitan area. Its main claim to fame to date has been its football club Tottenham Hotspurs. Tottenham is in the eastern part of Haringey which is seriously affected by the process of industrial decay. Most of it is classified as an EU objective 2 - area. Its population includes a high proportion of migrants (just under 50% for the district as a whole) and more than 160 languages are spoken there. It is one of London's main reservoirs of refugees seeking a better future in the British capital.

There is a very steep prosperity gradient, not only in relation to London as a whole, but also within the 224.000 population of the district itself. Whereas the western part of Haringey consists of attractive parks and residential property occupied mainly by a high-income, middle-class population, 15 neighbourhoods in the eastern part (i.e. Tottenham and surrounding wards) suffer from enormous problem situations. On a national scale drawn up by the government, albeit using varying assessment systems, Haringey came 28th. in the list of England's most disadvantaged districts.

The Tottenham Employment Pact (TEP) is the product of an already existing partnership, a so-called round table with members from the public sector, business interests, trade unions, social economy and charitable institutions. The TEP is dedicated primarily to the fight against unemployment in the younger age groups and - in the broader context - against social exclusion. Its activities are tending to be coordinated to an increasing degree with other approaches to neighbourhood regeneration. The Seven Sisters Neighbourhood in the southern part of Tottenham was recognised as an NDC neighbourhood in the spring of 2000.

The problem situations in Haringey's disadvantaged neighbourhoods are characterised by high crime rates, drug problems and prostitution which bring the usual consequences (but only in south Tottenham),



high unemployment rates amongst younger age groups and migrants, low educational levels and frequently poor knowledge of English, miserable living conditions in high-rise developments or run-down working-class neighbourhoods, major hygienic deficits and high pollution from road and rail traffic.

The projects designed to combat these problems are comprehensive neighbourhood management plans. These include countermeasures like improved security and social infrastructure, vocational training and employment schemes and renovation of housing and other residential amenities. Schools are also becoming increasingly involved, for example, as regards the use of modern communications technologies. The Council has named the process „Learning Neighbourhoods“ and is planning to extend it to other districts.

4.2.3.1 Tottenham Community Pathways (Northumberland and Tottenham Hale)

One of the priority neighbourhood management initiatives is Tottenham Community Pathways. This was a preliminary project and was financed with objective 2 funds. The EU has sponsored 14 such Community Pathway areas throughout London over the last two years. Their aim was to design a model for the neighbourhood management projects now being realised.

Vibeke Christensen, the development worker employed by Tottenham Council for this product, is a German who completed her studies in London. Her latest task was to make a comparative analysis of the 14 Community Pathway projects in London. One of the points emphasised in this analysis is the enormous bureaucratic input involved in the project development and the complicated (and in some cases unclear) allocation of responsibilities across the hierarchical local governmental structures. Thanks to the valiant efforts of Martin Sargeant, one of the key players in Haringey's neighbourhood management scene, the district has been granted a further EURO 11,22 million from the 6th. SRB round (co-financing the EU objective 2 funds on a 1:1 basis).

When interviewed, Vibeke Christensen, who sees herself as a development worker and not as an actual Neighbourhood Manager, emphasised the importance of the economic and employment situation in neighbourhood work. She explained that people who find work elsewhere tend to move away, thereby accelerating the process of economic decay in the neighbourhood. The high unemployment rate gave people the feeling that they were living in a slum. The main obstacle for many unemployed persons was their own attitude and lack of self-esteem. Many members of ethnic minorities tended to get involved in the informal economy because they were unable to gain access to the official employment system.

Although the migrants were seen by the native population as competitors on the housing and labour markets, Vibeke Christensen does not regard them as a major problem per se. Private business interests showed little interest in neighbourhood management work but this was mainly due to the lack of direct sponsoring opportunities. Although Community Pathways was, in formal terms, a top down project initiated by the London County Council, Project Manager Martin Sargeant had input his previous experience from similar projects in Liverpool and had been a major moving force in getting the project underway. Co-financing of the EU funds with SRB funds was important because it guaranteed that the projects would be tailor-made to fit local needs. Vibeke Christensen's overall criticism was that the low amount of available funds only made it possible to scratch the surface of the problem.

4.2.3.2 Seven Sisters / Bridge Neighbourhood (South Tottenham)

From 2001 onwards, Haringey will receive by far the largest financial support from the New Deal for Communities (NDC) programme directed at those urban areas in Great Britain most affected by social exclusion and poverty. This programme was launched by New Labour in 1998, initially in 17 „pathfinder“ areas and now enlarged to include another 22 areas. The area in Haringey selected for inclusion in this programme is the Seven Sisters / Bridge



Neighbourhood with a population of just under 10.000. As from next year, it will receive financial assistance of up to EURO 8,16 million per annum from the NDC programme.

Most of the buildings in the area are old and it is cut into pieces by two through roads carrying extremely heavy traffic. The main problems are prostitution with all the usual consequences, a high level of environmental pollution, major hygienic problems, poor average health, an extremely high concentration of ethnic minorities and recently arrived refugees often with little or no knowledge of English, poor housing standards and widespread political apathy which has been aggravated by the closing of the Council's neighbourhood office.

However, the main reason why this area was selected for NDC was not the particularly high concentration of problems but the fact that a number of potentials for improvement had been identified. The Neighbourhood Development Plan drawn up in April 2000 calls for various measures to combat crime and make the population feel safer, to improve the social infrastructure, to improve employment opportunities and promote economic growth and to involve the schools in neighbourhood activities.

4.2.3.3 West Green Learning Partnership

The third major neighbourhood management project, West Green Learning Neighbourhood, which is mainly financed by SRB, also takes a comprehensive approach to solution of the problem. This is a relatively large, heterogeneous area with a population of 30.000 in which there are considerable variances in social situation. The comprehensive action plan calls for mobilisation of community spirit, encouragement of self-organisation and integration of socially excluded groups, cooperation between two citizens' associations, creation of a community chest (Verfügungsfonds), work in the community sector and the second labour market as a bridge to re-integration in the main labour market, a household services agency, a newspaper project, a recycling centre, a subsidy

scheme to reintegrate long-term unemployed, identification of specific qualifications needed by local companies, a health project for Africans, improvements in housing and housing environment, action to combat crime and improvement of safety and health standards.

The starting point for these activities is the conversion of a former conventional secondary school (which had a poor image and apparently lacked pupils) into a modern educational establishment for adolescents (11 – 19 age group) and adults with the impressive name Park View Academy. The new school will aim to supply lifelong learning facilities with emphasis on modern information technologies (Microsoft Education Resource Centre, correspondence and self-teaching courses via the Internet etc.).

The neighbourhood management plan lists a number of approaches for all age groups directed at learning the skills required in the modern labour market. Some local companies will be closely involved and offer practical training facilities. Modern IT technologies will be used to network the schools in the area and this will be used in the cooperation arrangements organised between five secondary schools (for the 11-16 age group) with the College of North East London which takes pupils to university entrance level.

4.2.4 A new Youth Strategy

One key feature of the New Labour offensive against social exclusion is action by partnerships to help (disadvantaged) young people. This includes the initiatives „Sure Start“ for children and „New Start“ for young people aged between 14 and 17 and also a new national strategy for young people aged between 16 and 24 which puts the focus on learning and training. At an inaugural function for its „Agenda for Youth“, Haringey Council presented the results of a 2-year survey covering 600 adolescents from secondary schools and 125 adolescents from so-called focus groups in which schools and education, employment and youth assistance organisations had taken part. The survey investigated the activities, experiences and views of the adolescents in connection with school and training, work



and employment, housing, health, crime, leisure and community spirit. The strategy aims to identify the young people's problems and needs and to design activities and programmes for academic and vocational training and to improve and coordinate the relevant underlying conditions.

The problems most frequently named by the respondents included racist exclusion at school, by educational organisations and on the labour market, big differences in secondary school standards, competition for educational facilities, the fact that long-term unemployment of parents had come to be regarded as normal, dissatisfaction with career advice services, poor, expensive housing accommodation (resulting in inability to move out of the cramped quarters and frustration of the parental home), genuine lack of a proper home, deteriorating leisure facilities (especially for sport), a tendency to engage in crime as a leisure activity and a growing lack of interest in politics as perception of social inequality and injustice dawned. The discussion following the presentation and the description of the strategy to be pursued was led by representatives of various organisations involved and made it clear that rapid action and strong financial assistance was expected from the Council and the other organisations involved – not just the usual abstract promises to listen more closely to the needs of young people.

4.3 Summary of area-related programmes and local employment promotion

4.3.1 Swedish urban policy

Three months after Great Britain, the Swedish government presented a proposal for a bill entitled „Development and Justice – A Policy for Large Cities in the 21st. Century“ in December 1998, (later resolved by the Swedish parliament). This was the start for the „new“ Swedish urban policy.

The policy calls for a comprehensive strategic approach to ensure sustained growth, employment and social integration in disadvantaged urban districts. The governments measure is to call for the larger cities to sign an agreement between the state and respective city, so called local development

agreements. These local development agreements covers initiatives in a total of 24 housing areas (the most disadvantaged areas in 7 municipalities in the three largest cities, Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö). The local development agreements provide for co-operation between the population, non-government organisations and the local, regional and national governments.

These aim to halt the process of social, ethnic and discriminatory segregation in the affected areas and to introduce more equality in living conditions of urban populations.

The new urban programme is based on long experience gained with more conventionally designed projects for the promotion of integration, diversity and civic involvement in Sweden. The forward strategy covers periods of 5 to 10 years and aims to achieve sustainable results from a selection of district-related measures. The key objectives are job increases, reduction of dependence on social benefits, improvement of educational levels, better safety in the community, higher ecological quality and better health care facilities in the affected areas. Great importance is attached to the „bottom up“ approach, i.e. active involvement of the local populations. The funds initially allocated to this programme at national level are equivalent to DM 458 million over the first 3 and the local governments have agreed to provide similar amounts.

4.3.2 Big Cities, Outer City and Integration Programme in Stockholm

Five districts in the capital city Stockholm (with populations ranging from 7.000 to 17.000) are currently receiving assistance under the government's urban programme (Local development agreements).

13 districts on the city's fringes are being assisted under the municipal „Outer City Initiative“. All five districts in Stockholm that are being assisted by the government's urban programme are also a part of the City's „Outer City Initiative“. Stockholm launched an ambitious integration programme as far back as 1997, under which the Swedish capital was to become „the first city in the



world to stop the trend towards growing social and ethnic segregation³⁵. The programme introduced by the Social Democrats then in power was heavily biased to population participation and aimed to improve the migrants' legal situation, give them language training, provide educational, leisure and vocational training facilities for children and adolescents and to make the districts safer and more attractive. The Moderate Coalition Council in power since 1998 has modified the integration programme that has now been closely integrated with both the municipal Outer City Initiative and the national urban programme.

4.3.3 Integration policy and URBAN programme in Malmö

Local government in Malmö (population 255.000) was reorganised in 1996 by decentralisation of most local government policy functions, including regeneration policy, into 10 districts. The aim of this reform was to open the way to a higher degree of citizen participation. The Council also created an Integration Department responsible for integration of the high foreign segment of the population in the city as a whole.

Four areas (with populations ranging from 12.000 to 23.000) are at present being sponsored under the national „Big Cities Programme“. The projects use some of the experience gained under the EU URBAN programme between 1997 and 2000. Because of the very high foreign population in the affected areas (between 49 and 83% in the URBAN areas) the activities in Malmö focus on improving knowledge of Swedish as well as cutting the unemployment rate. The URBAN programme was the only first-period programme carried out in Sweden and was implemented in a mixed area adjacent to the city centre with a population of 22.000. Mikael Stigendal was in charge of the „School Integration Project“, one of 69 projects included in the programme. The activities of the URBAN programme fo-

cused mainly on the creation of new jobs, foundation of new companies, basic and further training (in some cases of long-term unemployed persons) and funding of local participation and network projects³⁶.

4.3.4 Urban policy and neighbourhood development in Denmark

As in England and Sweden, the Danish government published a comprehensive strategy paper on integrated urban development in 1998. This addressed the problem of social exclusion in disadvantaged urban areas and announced a broad spectrum of countermeasures.

The Danish action plan relates explicitly to the Action Plan for Sustainable Urban Development published by the European Commission in October 1998. The strategy paper has since served as the basis not only for a number of new programmes but also for the further development of some existing ones. The main objectives of this strategy, which is to be implemented through local partnerships, are the promotion of business activity, employment, equality of opportunity, citizen participation and neighbourhood renewal and the improvement of the urban environment and the quality of local government activities.

Denmark has also done some rethinking in the debate on urban development during the 1990's. This resulted in a shift of emphasis away from town planning building projects to more comprehensive, district-related social programmes for the financing of housing estates and urban development.

³⁵ Stadt Stockholm: „718.462 Menschen und eine Stadt – das Stockholmer Integrationsprogramm“, Info-Broschüre, Stockholm 1997

³⁶ The final evaluation was not available at the time of writing the report. An interim evaluation published in October 1998 criticised the lack of clear goals and indicators in relation to all aspects not related to economic and employment promotion (e.g. questions of participation). An interview of those responsible for the programme by Mikael Stigendal revealed that this lack of clarity makes it extremely difficult to assess the success of the URBAN-programme (Cf. Mikael Stigendal: „Social Exclusion – Whose problem?“ pp 62 / 63)



In september 1993 the Government appointed an Urban Committee with the aim of implementing a holistic programme to tackle problem neighbourhoods. The Urban Committee comprises 6 ministers with the Minister of Housing and Urban Affairs as Chairman. In 1993 an Action Plan with 30 proposals was announced and during the period from 1994 - 1997 a series of community welfare programmes aimed at problem housing estates and their residents all over the country was established. In 1998 the Urban Affairs Committee decided to continue the community welfare programmes in among 73 of the most disadvantaged housing estates and areas until 2003.

In the mid-1990's the Urban Committee launched a new national programme for improvement of living conditions in disadvantaged urban districts called the "Kvarterloeft". This is similar in terms of breadth and strategy to neighbourhood management. Since 1997 this programme has been used to finance 5 - year plans in 7 model districts throughout the country at a total cost of DM 38 mio. per annum (5,4 mio. p.a. per district)³⁷. In 2000 further 5 neighbourhood management projects were decided for a period of 7 years.

Three of the first round kvarterloeft are placed in Copenhagen. The aim of the City of Copenhagen is on the one hand to develop models for an holistic, integrated and coordinated approach to problem neighbourhoods and on the other hand to accelerate a regeneration process in these areas towards well-functioning neighbourhoods. In the light of the provisional experiences the council decided to initiate further to projects in 2000 for a period of 7 years supported by the Urban Committee.

In 2001 the City Council decided a new strategy plan concerning the housing policy of the city. The main emphasis of the plan is to "make Copenhagen a still better city to live in". Neighbourhood Management projects - kvarterloeft -, community welfare programmes and local partnerships are among the methods mentioned in the plan.

³⁷ Cf. the Kongens Enghave project in the preceding section.

4.3.5 Social urban development in Germany

The German programme „The Social City – Urban Districts in Urgent Need of Development“ was introduced by the red-green Federal German government shortly after its election in the autumn of 1998. It is based on the experience gained in various regional programmes in the city states of Berlin, Bremen and Hamburg and on the restructuring activities undertaken in badly hit areas of the state of Northrhine-Westphalia as from the mid-1990's. 210 urban districts are currently being sponsored from the joint Federal/State programme. The problems are similar to those encountered in the large English, Swedish and Danish cities. Although local action to fight crime and integrate migrants is less prominent in the German programme, the level of action to combat unemployment, poverty and neglected housing appear to be roughly equivalent.

Although the funds of EURO 204,08 million (an average of EURO 0,97 million per annum) allocated by the Federal German government are relatively meagre, even after making allowance for the contributions from the states, it must be remembered that the public sector in Germany is still in a tight financial situation despite the economic recovery. Funds from other state and communal programmes are also flowing into considerably more areas than those sponsored under the national programme. As in the similar programmes running in Great Britain, Sweden and Denmark, efforts are being made to pool the existing, considerably better funded main programmes aimed at promotion of the economy, employment and housing development in the affected areas.

4.3.6 Programmes and projects in Berlin, Bremen and Hamburg

Hamburg has set itself the objective of funnelling a third of the total funds earmarked for labour market policy, currently EURO 117,35 million per annum, into its „Social District Development“ programme. In context with an integrated strategy of social and city development policies this will be similar to an amount of EURO 39,13 million



per annum for the aims of social district development. Four Hamburg areas are currently being funded under the nation programme „The Social City“, as compared with 15 in Berlin and 11 in Bremen³⁸.

As Bremen and Berlin are objective 2 regions, their local economic and employment policies are receiving considerable financial assistance from ERDF funds and URBAN programmes from the previous period are also being implemented in both cities. Hamburg was only allowed access to ERDF funds when its St. Pauli ward, as the area which is mostly affected by economic and social problems in Hamburg, was classified an „objective 2 island“ in 1999³⁹.

The Hamburg state programme Social Neighbourhood Development launched in 1998 is currently sponsoring local development projects in 38 areas with a total population of approx. 200.000 (roughly 12% of Hamburg’s total population). These are in varying ways similar to the neighbourhood management approach. In 13 areas they are conventional (town planning) regeneration projects but more comprehensive in that they embrace social, economic and citizen-participation objectives. Large

parts of this programme are based on the experience gained in 8 model areas from the pilot programme „Supplementary Action to Combat Poverty as an Element of Social Urban Development“ launched in 1994. One important finding from the evaluation of the pilot programme was that it would be more or less impossible to fulfil expectations that new jobs would be created and existing ones protected and local economies revived because the available resources were too meagre.⁴⁰ Consequently, the objectives formulated for the new main programme were more modest.⁴¹

Berlin initiated neighbourhood management projects in 15 areas in 1999 under its state programme. These are all receiving financial support from the federal programme launched at the same time. In view of the positive experience gained from the EU-sponsored employment pact (TEP) in the Neukölln district, efforts are now being made to link up planned employment pacts in 11 other districts with neighbourhood management projects as from January 2001.⁴² Bremen also is linking local market policy, which includes an employment pact (TEP) covering the whole area, with its district development programme „Living in Neighbourhoods“ („Wohnen in Nachbarschaften“ WIN).

The WIN programme was launched in 1998 and is directed at development of large, problem-ridden housing estates and urban areas undergoing structural change.⁴³ It

³⁸ Status as at November 2000; A number of new areas were included in the programme early in 2001.

³⁹ In November 1999 St. Pauli was awarded a grant of EURO 6 million from the ERDF for the period 2000–2006. The Economics Authority responsible for the project submitted a detailed programme planning document to the European Commission in the spring of 2000, emphasising that the plan focused mainly on promotion of small economic units. Many of the players involved in the St. Pauli ward were of the opinion that social projects and promotion of comprehensive partnership activities should not be included (Cf. Thorsten Müller „The Hamburg district of St. Pauli as an Example of Local Employment Policy with reference to the financial support recently granted from the European Fund for Regional Development“. Unpublished project thesis at the Hamburg College for Economics and Politics, April 2000).

⁴⁰ The evaluation report commissioned by the responsible authority does however refer specifically to problems of bringing together (at local government level) the main development programmes in the relevant districts.

⁴¹ Cf. the Heimfeld-Nord project, Chapter 3.1.6

⁴² Cf. the project in the Rollberg neighbourhood of Neukölln, Chapter 3.1.2

⁴³ The programme is limited to a 6-year period from 1999 to 2004. Cf. Bremen Parliament: Living in Neighbourhoods (WIN) – Developing Urban Districts for the Future. DRS. 14/708 S of 09.12.1998



embodies the typical objectives of active participation of the local population, open forms of involvement and mobilisation of public/private partnerships and its main aim is to achieve an organised, cross-sectoral approach, for which purpose a Cross-Departmental Working Committee has been formed. This is responsible for implementation of the programme throughout the whole city and its duties include allocation of grants, control of cross-departmental financial settlement and arbitration of conflicts.

4.3.7 District projects, URBAN programme and local employment policy in Vienna

Building on the experience gained in its „Careful Urban Renewal“ programme, Vienna has also seen a trend towards socially-oriented urban area development

since the start of the URBAN programme in 1996. This has included further refinement of the so-called „Gebietsbetreuungen“ (roughly: organisations responsible for coordinating development activities in specific neighbourhoods) introduced in areas where renewal projects were proceeding. The approach favoured is clear from the Strategic Plan for Vienna published in 1999, although this subject - despite loud controversy over the integration question - does not (yet) appear to be receiving the same level of political attention as in the German city states. Only rudimentary progress has been made towards the introduction of neighbourhood management projects but, where they do exist, they are closely linked to local employment policies which include the employment pact (TEP) covering the whole city and three so-called „Local Labour Market Policy Pacts“, each responsible for two districts.

Table 1 below summarises the innovative district-related sponsoring programmes already described in Chapters 4.2 and 4.3 using data obtained at the meetings and from available documentation on the programmes.



Table 1: Comparison of innovative, area-related funding programmes (neighbourhood management) at national level in the involved 5 countries:

Country (population)	Name of Programme (Starting date/ no. of districts)	Total annual financial support
Sweden (8,8 million)	Large Cities Project (1998/24)	DM 156 million (EUR 78 million)
Denmark (5,3 million)	Kvarterloft (Neighbourhood development (1997/7))	DM 38 million (EUR 19,4 million)
Germany (82 million)	The Social City (1998/210)	DM 400 million (inc. co-financing) (EUR 204 million)
Great Britain (58,9 million)	New Deal for Communities NDC (1998/39) Neighbourhood Renewal Fund NRF (2000/88)	DM464 million (EUR 236,7 million) DM 660 million (EUR 337,7 million)
Austria (8,1 million)	-	-

5 Recommendations for action

Apart from the exchange of experience and ideas, one of the project objectives was the formulation of clear recommendations on practical action to be taken by politicians, local government and also at project level. The Lawaetz Foundation circulated a draft list of recommendations to the project members in advance of the final meeting in Hamburg. These were based partly on the report submitted by Mikael Stigendal, which itself contained a number of recommendations⁴⁴, and on the foundation's long experience from its work in Hamburg.

This draft was discussed at the workshops held during the meeting and various items were amended or added. Despite great efforts to achieve unanimity within the city network, it became clear during these final discussions that viewpoints tended to differ widely. However, in view of this broad spec-

trum of opinions, the delegates agreed that the recommendations submitted would be presented as their joint views. In order to emphasise this, it was decided to follow a two-stage procedure. Mikael Stigendal/Malmö and Thomas Mirbach/Hamburg first drafted a list of recommendations based on the statements submitted and the prior discussions at the Hamburg meeting. This draft was then circulated to the delegates for comment. The recommendations listed in Chapters 5.1 to 5.4 are the result of this procedure.

Finally, in order to illustrate the broad spectrum of opinions, it was agreed to present the recommendations in a two-tier form. The first tier contains recommendations in connection with four separate subjects and the individual items relating to them (in alphabetical order). The second tier (not numbered and in italics) contains various critical or qualifying comments on these recommendations. This helps to illustrate the varying attitudes of the delegates (and

⁴⁴ Cf. „Social Exclusion – Whose problem?“, pp. 80-82



also of the target group to which the recommendation is addressed) to the relevant subject.

5.1 Develop a coherent framework of national urban policy

- a) Bridge the gaps between economic and social objectives, more or less visible in all the urban policies, by creating a coherent urban 'philosophy'.
 - *Neighbourhood Management - as a new tool of such a framework - is an important contribution to the development of an integrated urban and employment policy because it bridges the gap between area based social and employment issues. But there is also a danger of painting the image of deprived neighbourhoods too dark which has to be regarded. Anyway the connection of neighbourhood management and employment policy is important, e.g. through the close co-operation of neighbourhood offices and the public labour market service.*
- b) Combat social exclusion by developing policies for the renewal of social inclusion:
 - *By renewing existing institutions aiming at abolishing discrimination and extending full political rights on the local level to all urban residents (part of Eurocities policy as well).*
 - *By enlarging the space for institutions outside the market economy, for example the family and NGO's.*
- c) For the purpose of choosing a strategy the definition of social exclusion should be stated more precisely
 - *A common definition is very difficult and varies dependent on specific local conditions (e.g. in terms of the links to poverty and employment issues). Anyway we have to face a multidimensional problem. The definition should also include the indicator of absence of voting in elections and the view of the affected disadvantaged people.*
- d) The integration of local strategies into

regional respectively national programmes seems to be useful especially from the view of targeting of mainstream programmes, particularly employment, economy, housing and city building schemes. In addition to that it should prevent an isolated view upon separate 'problematic neighbourhoods' and could prevent a shifting of problems from region into another.

- *The launch of new neighbourhood management programmes on national level in UK, Sweden, Denmark and Germany was based essentially on the failure of segmented policy approaches in the past. Against this background the success of these new programmes is measured to a big extent (in UK as "key issue") by their ability of targeting mainstream programmes to the affected deprived (and now supported) neighbourhoods. The local level of neighbourhoods seems to be particularly appropriate for this objective. However also the level of single projects should be preferred in some cases for mainstreaming (e.g. integrated housing and labour market projects which concentrate on single houses instead of a whole neighbourhood. Often it is difficult to combine programmes because of different funding periods. Against this background and for other reasons in some cities (e.g. Berlin and Hamburg) global funds for neighbourhoods are discussed (e.g. yearly 250.000 Euro/ area) which are considerably bigger than the already existing approaches of community chests and are withdrawn from mainstream programmes. But there is currently a controversial political debate on such questions and the improved awareness through the new neighbourhood management programmes on national level needs time to change the general policy.*
- e) There should be also regarded the dimension of subsidiarity on EU level, the division of tasks between EU bodies, member states, regions and cities.
 - *Transnational exchange, pilot programmes, co-ordination work etc. should be specific contributions of EU bodies (Commission, Parliament with its*



Committees, networks like Eurocities etc.) to a coherent EU wide strategy against social exclusion. The recently launched EU multi-annual programme of EU Commission, underlined by EU Parliament, leads in the right direction.

5.2 Launch a local urban policy

a) Transfer and interpret national urban policies into coherent and transparent frameworks of urban policies at city level.

- *Support the collection of detailed, highly qualified, well defined, well reflected, reliable, accurate and valid facts, achieved through comparative research.*
- *Make facts well available for everybody concerned and with an interest through for example user-friendly web-sites.*

b) Create particular policy themes out of 'joined-up' solutions, local partnership and neighbourhood management.

- *The exact formulation of aims for local strategies is an inevitable and at the same time paradoxical demand, because local initiatives often have to tackle with problems caused by a "higher" (i.e. national/global) level.*
- ***Among other things, the success of these starting points for solutions depends on the coordination of the targets by the national and local authorities and their cooperation during the process of realization. => Übersetzung prüfen***
- *In view of the multi-causal reasons of social exclusion a definite hierarchical order of aims (into superior and inferior) is not possible. Therefore on the local level mainly the consequences of exclusion with which the strategies deal should be clarified. (Nevertheless e.g. unemployment is the origin for many exclusion phenomena and should therefore regarded in most cases with priority; see also below under 4. e).*

c) The choice of areas (or neighbourhoods for support) should primarily consider the socio-spatial borders of these units (problems and potentials as well).

- *Neither the availability of social-statistical data, nor administrative borders alone form a sufficient basis for determining spatial 'identities'.*
 - *In recent times advanced statistical systems have been developed since some years to identify the most deprived areas (e.g. the "index of local deprivation" in UK). But at the same time those statistical information can also be dangerous if handled bureaucratically, without flexibility and without other sources of knowledge. A very important complementary source of information is certainly the view of the affected people in the deprived neighbourhoods which should be raised and included by neighbourhood meetings, questionnaire surveys, personal interviews etc.. This is also a chance to discover the specific potentials which should also be essential for the choice of areas for funding.*
 - *The estimation of the existence of social exclusion cannot be alone made conditional upon social-statistical data. The self-definition (the experience of being excluded) by those affected shall be part of the particular description of problems (e.g. the feeling of "being not needed" as a new dimension of social exclusion!).*
 - *Dealing with the issue on social exclusion in a broad and multi-dimensional sense, also focusing on social inclusion.*
- d) Local strategies for development shall be realistically limited in their duration. Judging from previous experiences in case of mobilizing endogenous potentials short-term interventions (less than 4-5 years) were of no lasting effect.
- *But it is also experience that many projects need besides this short term results ("quick wins") urgently e.g. for reasons of political justification. The decision for short or long term objectives depends on the specific kind of problems and projects.*
- e) Let the urban policies gain strength from broad partnerships and area potentials.
- *Serving as inspirations, touchstones and think tanks (also suggested in the Danish urban policy) for the develop-*



ment of local as well as national urban policies (e.g. in Germany: the considerably growing awareness of the problem and area dimension through the debate on the new national programme "The Social City").

5.3 Establishing local partnerships and neighbourhood management

a) Participation of local stake-holders is indispensable to the development as well as the implementation of neighbourhood strategies. However, established communication networks must also be held open for stimulations of non-organized actors.

- *It is, in principle, impossible to exclude client interests from well-functioning networks at local level. In order to prevent „clientelism“, all affected groups should be encouraged to become involved in regeneration strategies if they are to exert the genuine influence that is regarded as a key element in the policies developed by all the cities.*
- *Involvement of the local population in responsible work (!) should be regarded as a driving force towards regeneration of the national majority society in socially excluded areas and not merely as a means of reintegrating the excluded people. In many cases, it is necessary for units at district level (district offices, neighbourhood managements and partnerships) to initiate this process.*

b) Special agencies equipped with cross-sectoral authority are needed for support in the realisation of local development strategies.

- *Under certain circumstances, these agencies (neighbourhood offices) should have the status of non-government organisations, for example, because of their flexibility and generally closer proximity to the affected people and their moderating influence. Although the general tendency is towards outsourcing of these functions to specialised agencies, it may nevertheless be possible to operate them from local gov-*

ernment offices. The advantage of using local government offices for this purpose is the greater degree of political legitimization through formal structures and a better consensus on the application of development funds.

- *If non-government organisations are chosen, it is essential to have a system for control of their activities (e.g. a quality management system), especially in cases where long-term financing from public funds is involved.*
 - *Another important aspect is the objective of so called "self-carrying structures" resp. "exit strategies" after the period of professional aid by neighbourhood management. The experiences up to now are voting for the agency solution for this purpose because of their ability to activate the local community in the neighbourhoods as long term provider of neighbourhood management.*
 - *The required qualification in the subject could become more professional. Up until now the requirements for neighbourhood management were met by 'learning-by-doing'. The possibilities for further qualification accompanying employment in this field of activity should be improved.*
- c) The continuous participation of inhabitants must systematically form a part of the implementation process. Furthermore a formalized competence of decision-making (e.g. regarding the application of funds) should guarantee this.
- *The general opinion may support this statement. There is less consensus though about its conditions, e.g. regarding the reach of the decision-making or the groups that should participate (e.g. migrants).*



- d) A lasting stabilisation of neighbourhoods will not succeed without intensified integration of private enterprises into local strategies.
 - *Without underestimating the resource of the public interest-oriented commitment on the part of private enterprises, in this context there could be another focus of importance: An accordingly co-ordination of instruments of local economic funding programmes, that primarily regard small enterprises and recently founded means of existence, with city development policies.*
 - e) The competences of decision-making on the level of local policies should also be strengthened in order to improve the coordinating possibilities of different resources and instruments.
 - *As a future perspective could a local development agency, that receives funds from different departments, and at the same time takes responsibility for processes as well as results, simplify the political efforts of regulation between neighbourhood and council level. In this respect the transnational exchange of experience should also be used for finding the 'method of best practice'.*
 - f) For the programmes responsible actors on different political levels should be aware, that a successful neighbourhood development could experience rivalry with democratic legitimized institutions and actors. Regarding such situations the local authorities may rethink their role up to a more moderating function.
 - *On a local level tension is indicated between legitimized institutions that are bound to formal procedures (e.g. local parlements) and the often informal local networks, that are handled in flexibel forms of coordination.*
- *Establishing innovative use of information society technology in communicating with parties concerned by on-line access to research results and on-line discussions (about role of research, success criterias, interpretations of results etc).*
 - b) Involve parties concerned (inhabitants, politicians, civil servants, associations, business, 'practitioners') in the research process.
 - *In order to make use of potentials, like „the experience and expertise the 'dependent' had gathered in daily life. ” (Eurocities). Also the engagement, creativity and interests.*
 - *In order to mobilise for further work with measures.*
 - *In order to engender research legitimacy.*
 - c) The involving of parties should improve the local debate about inclusion/exclusion by
 - *participating in research activity (e.g. doing interviews),*
 - *discussions about success criterias, selection of indicators, thematic priorities,*
 - *joint interpretation of results.*
 - d) Systematic reaping of benefits from research findings by
 - *making feedback from research an element of partnership and neighbourhood management activities;*
 - *submitting proposals for local implementation and for the political and administrative system relating to various aspects of model countermeasures;*
 - *inclusion of a broad-based benchmarking procedure that also makes it possible to learn from mistakes.*
 - e) The knowledge about social exclusion shall be improved.
 - *Regular observations of changes of relevant features in the regions will be necessary and shall be achieved on an agreed data base regarding all regions.*

5.4 Support an action-oriented social research

- a) Prefer a co-operative knowledge-production using tailor-made research methods, in contrast to conventional academic research examines from outside and mostly afterwards.



- *When selecting and planning counter-measures, it is important to identify key data. For example, unemployment is definitely an important aspect in many cases and is not just a question of ability to satisfy material needs but also a multi-dimensional problem per se. The re-generation policies of the British and German governments and the Urban Policy of the Swedish government are examples of how employment and training are regarded as key subjects in most of the affected districts.*
- *But at the same time a broader, comprehensive view of the problems is supported by those innovative approaches.*
- *Support the collection of detailed, highly qualified, well defined, well reflected, reliable, accurate and valid facts, achieved through comparative research.*
- f) *For the purpose of controlling results and to support general communication in the city about social exclusion the local development strategies shall be accompanied by continuous monitoring and regular reports.*
- *Even after considering the often scarce financial resources the information process could be improved beyond the present mainly ad hoc-assessments. A fundamental prerequisite would be the development of an observation pattern agreed by all participants and similar to social reporting.*



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Preparatory Measures to Combat Social Exclusion



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