Young People — from Exclusion to Inclusion

Revitalising European Cities

Mikael Stigendal

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Research report

"Young People - from Exclusion to Inclusion",
a network within the URBACT programme.

Mikael Stigendal

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URBACT/Bertil Nilsson

Box 310 65

SE - 200 49 Malmö

Sweden

bertil.nilsson@malmo.se

mikael.stigendal@lut.mah.se

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Content

CONTENT 6

PREFACE 8

INTRODUCTION 11

1 PURPOSE OF THE NETWORK 17

1.1 Defining the problem of the network 18
1.2 A network within the URBACT-programme 20
1.3 What do the network participants want? 21
1.3.1 Young people – a potential-oriented view 23
1.3.2 Knowledge – a created and social context 24
1.3.3 Network method – developed as part of the process 27
1.4 Concluding remarks 29

2 YOUNG PEOPLE – FROM WHAT? 33

2.1 Social exclusion – what is that? 34
2.1.1 Social exclusion is multidimensional 34
2.1.2 Social exclusion presupposes society 36
2.1.3 Social exclusion contains potential 37
2.2 Social exclusion in the cities 37
2.2.1 Malmö (Sweden) 38
2.2.2 Göteborg (Sweden) 42
2.2.3 Copenhagen (Denmark) 43
2.2.4 Aarhus (Denmark) 44
2.2.5 Helsinki (Finland) 45
2.2.6 Gijón (Spain) 46
2.2.7 Gera (Germany) 48
2.2.8 Velenje (Slovenia) 48
2.3 Concluding remarks 50

3 YOUNG PEOPLE – TO WHAT? 53

3.1 Social inclusion – what is that? 54
3.1.1 Social contexts 54
3.1.2 Empowerment 55
3.1.3 Causes of social exclusion 56
3.2 The social inclusion of nation-societies 56
3.3 Employment – barriers and/or insecurities? 57
3.3.1 Old and new models of economic growth 58
3.3.2 Three types of labour markets 60

3.3.3 Problems for young people 61
3.4 Education – learning the right knowledge? 62
3.4.1 General renewals of objectives … 62
3.4.2 … but not properly practised … 63
3.4.3 … and poorly assessed! 64
3.5 Welfare – on what conditions? 66
3.5.1 Welfare regimes 66
3.5.2 What has proved to be sustainable? 69
3.6 Policies – seeing problems or potential? 70
3.6.1 Workfare 70
3.6.2 The European Youth Pact 71
3.7 Taking place in the cities 72
3.7.1 The borders between inclusion and exclusion 72
3.7.2 Shifting the borders – urban potential 73
3.8 Concluding remarks 75

4 GOOD EXAMPLES 79

4.1 Criteria of good examples 80
4.2 Good examples of the criteria 82
4.2.1 Empowerment 82
4.2.2 Strengthened social relations 85
4.2.3 Structural changes of the school 86
4.2.4 Cooperation with the local society 89
4.2.5 Renewing the view on knowledge 93
4.3 Concluding remarks 96

5 STRATEGY FOR A REVITALISATION OF CITIES 101

5.1 Fulfilling five content criteria … 102
5.2 … from a particular perspective … 102
5.3 … in order to change the societal context! 103

NOTES 106

TABLES AND FIGURES 110

INDEX 111

GOOD EXAMPLES 112

CONFERENCES AND PARTICIPANTS 113

QUESTIONNAIRE 116

REFERENCES 118

This book "Young People – from Exclusion to Inclusion" focuses on one of the main issues in Europe today - the one about young people and their role and participation in society. The author, Dr Mikael Stigendal, Malmö University, has written the book on behalf of the City of Malmö - Lead Partner for the network with the same name as the book.

This book and research report is the result of more than two years of enthusiastic and intensive work. Coordinators and local researchers from Copenhagen, Aarhus, Malmö, Göteborg, Gera, Helsinki, Gijòn and Velenje have identified good examples in their cities and then discussed them locally as well as jointly at the international conferences of the network. Also representatives from Tallinn, Lomza, Ukmerge and Strovolos have taken part and given their opinions since the cities from the new member states became able to take part in the URBACT programme after 1 May 2004.

Dr Mikael Stigendal has written this report based on local reports about the good examples, the result from the international conferences of the network and a lot of other relevant information e.g. about the context in the cities.

I have appreciated the unique and close cooperation between me as a project leader and the researcher. Mikael Stigendal has also during the work together with the network representatives developed a methodology where all the involved have worked together jointly. I really want to highlight this close cooperation and methodology. This gave much better possibilities to increase the quality of the work.

I want to thank Mikael Stigendal for the excellent work and cooperation during the last years. It has been an exciting journey with a lot of challenges as well as innovative solutions.

I am sure that this research report together with the other outputs from the work of the network, the Operational Guidelines and the Case Study Report, will be useful tools in the further work in the European cities.

I want to take this opportunity to thank all the coordinators and local researchers in the network as well as the participants from the good examples taking part in the international conferences. I also want to thank Martin Eriksson who has been working within the network during the whole period.

I also want to thank Britta Ström, City of Malmö, who wrote the application at the beginning and also is one of the representatives for Sweden in the URBACT Monitoring Committee.

I also want to thank Jean-Loup Drubigny, Head of the URBACT programme and all others at the URBACT Secretariat in Paris for their support.

Pauline Geoghegan, expert at the URBACT secretariat, has supported the work of the network from the beginning. I thank you very much for that.

Malmö 10 April 2006

Bertil Nilsson

Network leader

City of Malmö

Until January 2004, I didn't know anything about URBACT. Now I do. Since I got that first phone call from the network leader Bertil Nilsson, a lot has happened.

Among else, I've tried to record the wonderful sound of the roaring waves at the beach in Gijón, but almost got drowned by the rapidly reversing tide, a phenomenon which I was not really aware of. On my way to Gera, I got stranded at a tiny station platform on a cold and dark January evening in the middle of the German nowhere due to a missed connection. A taxi driver in Aarhus got his laughter of the year when I asked for a quick ride to the Frydenlund School, right through the whole of Aarhus, just in order to take some photos while the taxi driver was waiting in the car, looking curiously at me on the way back to the station. I've been running down one of the long Parisian boulevards with John Vinter Knudsen in the pouring rain getting absolutely soaked. I've seen the network leader Bertil Nilsson joining a Salsa lesson arranged by the Abierto association.

What I want to recall with this introduction is the happy memories, because there are many. Indeed, the good spirit and friendly atmosphere have been a major characteristic of this URBACT network. And that's crucial. It fulfils the second criterion on good examples suggested by the network. Social relations need to be strengthened in order to favour learning, and indeed, on such a basis of strong social relations I've learnt a lot in this network.

Thus, in this final moment, I want to thank all the network participants for all their contributions and sharing of so much important experiences and knowledge, also in such a good spirit. In particular, a big thanks to the local coordinators and researchers in each partner city.

However, first of all I want to thank Bertil Nilsson for an excellent collaboration. For more than 2 years, we have had an almost daily contact. Bertil has been particularly good at encouraging, supporting and praising. Also, he has worked out his own understandings of the research results and on that ground been able to supply me with comments of great value. Nonetheless, we have had our tensions, but when there have been reasons to criticism, it's always been possible to raise the issues and jointly find a constructive solution, accompanied by smiles and laughter. There has been no sign of prestige or hierarchic thinking. We have shared an enthusiasm for the progress of the network but also a deep concern for the problems addressed.

I've also had an excellent collaboration with Martin Eriksson. His enthusiasm, positive spirit, reliability and hard work have been crucial. Martin has written two of the local reports, all the conference reports and now finally the Case Study report. But he has also supported me with loads of information, compiled in many appropriate ways, read all the draft versions of the report meticulously and supplied me with many substantial comments. Furthermore, we've had great fun. Thanks a lot, Martin.

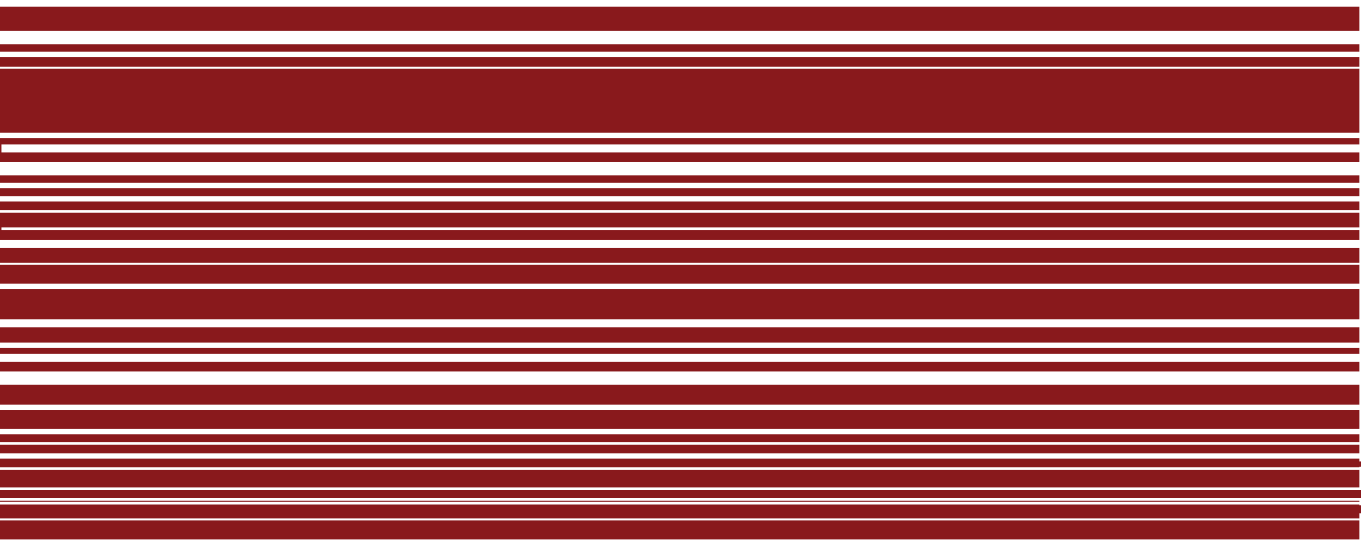
A special thanks to the Gijón partner who arranged a journey for me in November 2004 with study visits at Abierto, Llumbre and CISE as well as opportunities to make several interviews. It was particularly important as I had a lot of previous knowledge about the Nordic countries and also to some extent about Germany, but not about Spain. Indeed, I enjoyed the journey immensely and learnt so much. Many thanks in particular to Beatriz Cerezo Estévez, Herminia Bermudez Patón, Marcos Juez, Cesar González, Eduardo Fernández Alvarez and Silvia González Mallada.

I've benefited immensely from comments on the draft versions of the report. For that reason, I want to thank the participants at the conferences in Gera (Jan 2005), Malmö (Dec 2005) and Helsinki (Dec 2005). In particular, many thanks for comprehensive comments from the expert at the URBACT secretariat Pauline Geoghegan, the network evaluator Thomas Mirbach at the Lawaetz-Foundation in Hamburg, Marcos Juez Tárano at the Gijón City Council, the URBACT thematic expert Axel Pohl at the IRIS e.V. research and counselling institute in Hechingen / Tübingen, Caroline Ljungberg at the Malmö University, Bim Riddersporre at the Malmö University, Trevor Graham at the Malmö City Council and Göte Rudvall. Finally, my gratitude to Maja Manner at Damanco and Kattarina Hallin Baekmark at Dahlskog Kommunicera for the excellent design work.

Malmö 10 April 2006

Mikael Stigendal

Malmö University



INTRODUCTION

This research report is one of the publications which conclude the URBACT network "Young people – from exclusion to inclusion". Led by the city of Malmö (Sweden), the network has also included Aarhus and Copenhagen (Denmark), Gera (Germany), Gijón (Spain), Velenje (Slovenia), Göteborg (Sweden) and Helsinki (Finland); each one represented by a co-ordinator and a local researcher. Besides, the cities of Lomza (Poland), Strovolos (Cyprus), Tallinn (Estonia) and Ukmerge (Lithuania) have participated as expert cities.

The network has been part of the URBACT Programme (2002-2006), in its turn part of URBAN, the Community Initiative that has promoted innovative strategies to regenerate cities and declining urban areas.[1] In total, 210 cities have been assisted by either the predecessor Urban Pilot Projects (1989-94), URBAN I (1994-99) or URBAN II (2000-06). URBACT aims at capitalising on all these experiences on the basis of three larger objectives:[2]

- Develop transnational exchanges between URBAN I and URBAN II cities, those cities having benefited from an Urban Pilot Project, and all cities with more than 20.000 inhabitants in the New Member States of the Union.
- Draw lessons from the analysis of their experiences, policies implemented locally and propose innovative approaches to those difficult issues.
- Disseminate towards the actors in all European cities the experiences in those different areas, the lessons learned and the resulting proposals for approach.

As a primary measure, URBACT has supported the establishment of more than 17 thematic networks, whereof "Young people – from exclusion to inclusion" has been one. In this report, it will consequently be called network, not project.

At the mid-term conference in Gera (Jan 2005), the network took a decision about publishing two reports; one with a research-orientation and the other oriented towards practical usage. The research report was allowed to be quite comprehensive, while the practitioner report should be kept short and have the character of operational guidelines. The research report was supposed to provide a foundation for the practitioner report. It's been one of the demands from the participants in the network, related in chapter 1.3 (page 21), that the tools for practical action have to built on theoretical knowledge.

The report tries to meet these expectations. Its target group consists of open-minded practitioners and researchers of different kinds who believe in the sharing of experiences and knowledge. The report relies on the existence of a ground of mutual understanding. Indeed, it aims at supporting such a ground, in line with the wish stated by the participants to bridge the gap between practical and theoretical knowledge.

From a scientific point of view, such a mutual ground couldn't be taken for granted. Research has usually taken place in seclusion from the world of practitioners. Also, scientific knowledge has often been treated as superior to the knowledge of practitioners. To the extent that researchers get involved with practice, it's usually regarded as applied research in contrast to basic research

which is assumed to take place within the community of researchers solely.

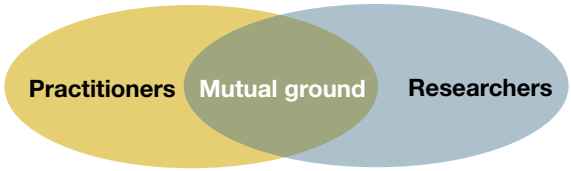


Figure 1: Mutual ground of practitioners and researchers

However, this view belongs to those "old truths" that have been heavily criticised in the recent decades. The profound societal changes have made it obvious that many of the old truths have to be replaced and renewed. However, that shouldn't lead to a rejection of theory and reason.[3] I'm not a post-modernist, although there is a lot to learn from the post-modernist criticism, thinking and methodologies. I believe in a renewal of modernity and won't give up the striving for enlightenment. Although irrationality seems to be a tangible feature of the era which we live in, I do believe in a reflective reason which don't get stuck in pre-conceived, hierarchic and absolutist ideas.[4] I do find it possible to make sense of life collectively. Furthermore, I do believe in a politic which seeks changes. The writing of this report has been driven by a wish to underpin such a politic.

Indeed, the "old truths" have broken down, but yet the consequences of the break downs haven't been fully taken. The "old truths" remains efficacious, indicated by the very slow emergence of mutual grounds for practitioners and researchers. Far too often, researchers still justify their research by referring to formal education, grand theories and/or extensive research methods. Instead, I think research should be justified by creativity, reflective and problematising ability, theoretical pluralism, a methodological skill in tailor-making appropriate methods and abilities needed to share understandings with practitioners on a mutual ground.

That doesn't enable us to take a mutual ground for granted. The existence of it shouldn't simply be stated ad hoc. To make the ground sustainable, it needs to be underpinned by a renewal of the view on science. My inspiration to such a renewal draws upon the current called **critical realism**.[5] It's a view on science which accords with the view on knowledge presented in chapter 1.3.2 (page 24). In short, it prevents us from taking the scientific value for granted. Neither any theories nor any methods could serve as pre-given guarantees. Instead, the scientific value depends significantly on the work and creativity invested by the researcher in the process. In doing that, it's perfectly legitimate and indeed desirable to draw on many varied sources, like for example the experiences of practitioners.

In my view, the experience and knowledge of practitioners is a very unexploited resource within science. Thus, from a scientific point of view, a mutual ground where researchers could meet practitioners on an equal footing and capitalise on their experiences as well as knowledge should be regarded as a golden opportunity for researchers. And that's how I have looked upon this URBACT network.

Firstly, it's enabled me to capitalise on important experiences, thinkings, reflections and knowledge. Of course, as a researcher I couldn't take the value of it for granted. The contributions made by practitioners in the network should be challenged by me as a researcher, questioned and problematised. Similarly, I have expected the practitioners to question my arguments and force me to deliver something of a practical value. That's how the social relations at this mutual ground have to be made real.

Secondly, the network has constituted a social context which I find most beneficial for a researcher. Critical realism underpins the understanding of research as a social context. No research takes place in a social void. Thus, I regard it as a privilege to pursue research in a social context which contains a mixture of criticism, appreciation, demands, encouragement, expectations, responses, laughter and fun.

Thirdly, the network has made theoretical elaborations possible. That may seem illegitimate as the network aims at producing practical knowledge. At the most, theoretical knowledge has been asked for only as a foundation. However, in order to make the ground mutual, not only the interest of practitioners could reign supreme. An equal footing requires the research interest to be considered as well and to me that means allowing for theoretical elaborations. To prevent that would imply the preservation of "old truths", asking the researcher to take part only by applying a pre-given knowledge.

To what extent this social context of the network has become a mutual ground for practitioners and researchers is of course not only up to me to judge, but what I can establish is that we have all been responsible for it. Thus, to the extent that we have succeeded all of us that have participated in the network "Young people – from exclusion to inclusion" share the credit for it. That shouldn't conceal the differences between our roles; mine as a researcher and others as practitioners.

This difference is recognised constructively in the choice to publish two reports, the one with a research-orientation and the other oriented towards practical usage. The content of the practitioner report has been discussed thoroughly and agreed by the network participants. Such an agreement could not at all be

taken for granted. Thus, it should be regarded as the most important achievement of this network to have completed a report with operational guidelines which the whole network has agreed on.

The core of the network consists of the good examples, presented to the network by the partner cities. It has to be made clear that each partner city has been responsible for selecting these good examples as well as the number of them. No evaluations of these good examples in their entirety have been made by the network. That was not the purpose and it hasn't been possible, given the limited time and, for example, varying degree of access to local evaluations. For that reason, the good examples presented in this report shouldn't be perceived as good in their entirety. Most likely, they are not.

Instead, they are good examples in terms of the particular criteria elaborated in the network and presented in section 4. Some of them are good examples of several criteria, others of just one or a few. That doesn't mean that the one example is better than the other. No such conclusions have been drawn in the network. As underlined above, no assessments of the examples in their entirety have been made, nor any comparisons of that kind.

As the researcher responsible for this report, I find it crucial to clarify my view on the role. How have I understood the objectives with the role as a researcher?

1) First of all, I have aimed at writing a report which could serve as a basis for the practitioner report, in line with the objectives stated in the network

application to the URBACT programme. This includes the provision of the conceptual and contextual knowledge needed, given the focus of the network on comparisons, the sharing of understandings and elaboration of new knowledge.

2) I've had the ambition to make the report open for reflections, enabling the reader to think by herself/himself. Indeed, I've struggled to substantiate the arguments but they shouldn't be perceived as the final say. There is much more to think about, discuss and work through. Hence, perhaps the success of this report should be proven by the extent to which it encourages the reader to think and act.

3) Having said that, it's also been my intention with this report to favour and strengthen a mutual ground for practitioners and researchers to meet, discuss, listen to each other and share an understanding on an equal footing. Hopefully, the language used in the report, its outline, the use of the local reports and the capitalisation of statements made at the conferences testify to that.

4) Finally, I've had the intention to use the social context and access to experiences as an opportunity for theoretical elaborations, although with the aim of underpinning the conclusions, making them as sustainable and deep-rooted as possible.

The outline of this report draws on the title of the network "Young people – from exclusion to inclusion". The report starts in Section 1 by focusing on the network itself; its rationale, context and expectations. The section also contains chapters about the theoretical foundations of the network in terms of view on young people and view on knowledge. Finally, the methodology developed is described.

Figure 2: Outlining the theme of the network in the report

Section 1 focuses on the rationale of the network "Young people – from exclusion to inclusion". Why was it launched? What problems have the network been designed to tackle? Analysing in turn the application, the URBACT programme and the response from the participants, Section 1 will explain the objectives of the network. As the network puts young people at the centre, a special chapter deals with the view on young people adopted by the network. Also, it has proved to be necessary to state a view on knowledge in order to deal with the good examples and their contexts. Finally, Section 1 will describe how the network has achieved the objectives and gradually developed a method.

Section 2 focuses on the second constituent of the title "Young people – from exclusion to inclusion", namely exclusion. According to the title, the group targeted should be young people associated with social exclusion. That constitutes the point of departure for a change to social inclusion. Section 2 focuses on what this point of departure means and elaborates a definition of social exclusion. On the basis of that definition, each city is presented and the problems of social exclusion reviewed.

Section 3 focuses on the third constituent, inclusion. It turns out in Section 2 that social exclusion has to be defined in relation to social inclusion of society. For that reason, the social inclusion of society is defined in Section 3. That is necessary in order to know where the change referred to in the title should aim. Moreover, analysing the social inclusion of society is necessary to find out about the causes of social exclusion.

Section 4 focuses on the change itself. How do the examples bring about the change from exclusion to inclusion? How do we know that the change ends up in inclusion and not somewhere else? What do the examples have to do in order to be regarded as good? Five success criteria will be presented in Section 4. The examples will then be presented with regard to these criteria. To the extent that they are good, it's because they have been shown to fulfil one or a few of these criteria and nothing else. The network hasn't made any other assessments of the examples.

Section 5 contains the conclusions, aiming at reaching the third level of ambition, defined in Section 1. That means to create and suggest a strategy for change on the basis of the previous sections. The strategy consists of, firstly, the five success criteria, secondly, the perspective on the theme elaborated in the report and, thirdly, demands on contextual changes needed in order to succeed with changing the situation for young people from exclusion to inclusion.

1 PURPOSE OF THE NETWORK

The network "Young people – from exclusion to inclusion" has its origins in an application to the URBACT programme.[6] This section will start by presenting the problem definition made in the application. Furthermore, the problem definition will be analysed. What problems does this network want to address? What kind of problem is that? What do the definitions mean? What does the definition enable us to do?

Secondly, the context of the network will be explored. The network takes place within the context of URBACT, an EU-programme with clear objectives and goals, briefly mentioned in the Introduction (page 11). What does the URBACT programme want the networks to achieve? What are the demands?

In the third chapter, the voices of the network participants will be heard. If the two first chapters deal with the demands of the network application and the URBACT programme respectively, the third chapter will give expression to what the participants want. Who are the participants and what do they want this network to achieve?

It turns out that the participants want to learn from comparisons about how to empower young people. Also, the participants want such practical knowledge to be founded in theoretical knowledge. On that basis, views about young people and knowledge respectively which we have agreed on will be presented. The development of a network method will also be presented.

1.1 Defining the problem of the network

The network "Young people – from exclusion to inclusion" is described in the application against a background of two tendencies of development in Malmö. One of the tendencies concerns the general situation in Malmö. After many years of decline, the city seems to be on its way towards better times. Decreased unemployment is stated to be the main sign of this.

Simultaneously with the brighter picture, there is another picture of Malmö, another tendency of development, and it concerns serious problems. In its description of the problem, the network application focuses on segregation. This is said to be the core of the social and economic problems. In spite of big efforts being made using national and local public resources, but also with support from the EU URBAN- programme, segregation has not decreased. The situation is particularly alarming for many children and young people.

The network application points to bad grades, but also criminality and vandalism as consequences of the problems. If the situation doesn't improve, it is claimed in the network application that "*we are moving towards a catastrophic scenario where these young people will be totally excluded, where they will become a burden and not a resource to society.*" Therefore, young people have to be set in the centre of all efforts made. This is what this network wants to work for. This is stated as its most important aim.

The network's problem and most important purpose is described only in the light of the situation in Malmö. Other cities are not mentioned. Still, six other partner cities chose to support the original application. Furthermore, after the EU enlargement in 2004, five other cities from the new member states joined the network, one as a partner (Velenje) and the other four as expert cities. That is probably because the partners recognise themselves in the description of the problem. Apparently, the definition of the problem corresponds to similar problems in the other cities. It is important though, to differentiate between the definition of the problem and the problem itself. What made the other cities join up was the definition of the problem. But, is it the same problem? Not necessarily. Definitions of problems can very well have a breadth which covers different problems.

Descriptions and **definitions of problems** have a force of their own. This force puts us in a state of doing something, and this with a certain direction, i.e. thinking in certain patterns but not in others, and paying attention to certain aspects of reality, but not to others. Above all, the definition of the problem has an importance for which solutions we tend to look for. What I'm trying to say is that the definition of the problem belongs to the network's **potential**, i.e. the possibilities we have to bring about a good result.[7] Economic resources are otherwise seen as the most important potential, but the way the problem is defined is at least as important. For example, it has had a direct importance for the other cities' interest in participating in the network. Another definition certainly wouldn't have made all cities as interested.

In this report, potential will be an important and well-used concept. Potential exists and should be paid attention to even if it doesn't cause an effect. It should be made clear that I don't attach any particular value to it. It doesn't necessarily mean something good or something bad. The concept of potential is not normative. As translated in my English dictionary, potential could refer to both an enemy and to talent.

Obviously, money has potential, but is it used in ways which cause the appropriate effect? First of all, that depends on the potential of the money. Perhaps, the

money hasn't got the potential to cause the desired effect. Perhaps, other potential should be used instead. And what about the potential of young people? To what extent is the potential of young people used and allowed to cause effects? To answer that question, we first of all need to focus on the potential of young people, which we have done in this network. In fact, seeing the potential is a characteristic of the view on young people adopted and presented in chapter 1.3.1 (page 23). Similarly, we need to focus on problem definitions in order to find out about their potential.

My definition of potential encloses among else the phenomenon called **social capital**. That's a concept which will be missing throughout the report and some may ask why. Social capital has become one of the most popular and widely used concepts in the discussions on how to tackle social exclusion. Drawing on one of the most prominent advocates of the concept, Robert Putnam, social capital has been defined as "*networks, norms and trust that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives,*"[8] a definition endorsed by the World Bank, OECD etc.

In my view, such a definition runs the risk of economising the view on social relations. It could limit our thinking of networks, norms and trust to a matter of profitability. For that reason, I suggest a much more limited definition of social capital where the concept refers to networks, norms and trust of significance in valorisation processes at the market. Instead, I'll use potential as a broader concept with no self-evident connotation. That could make us consider networks, norms and trust for other reasons than profitability, for example democratic ones and such reasons don't always pay.

So, how is the problem defined, and in what way does the definition make up a force? I **firstly** want to pay attention to the focus on segregation. The core of the problem is said to be segregation, and not e.g. unemployed or students with bad grades. This means that no individual population group is pointed out as the main problem. Instead, the main problem consists of a relationship. **Segregation** means that different groups of the population are concentrated in different areas.[9] It can for example be rich and poor that live in different districts, but also young and old or people with different ethnical background.

These concentrations of groups in different parts of the city can be said to make up the poles of segregation. One pole is not segregated in itself, only in relation to the other pole. A district where the majority has a Swedish background is as segregated as a district with many immigrants. Actually, the districts are segregated in relation to each other. The focus on segregation therefore means that not just one of the groups is pointed out as the main problem, but the relation between them. Thereby, the perspective is widened. Through the focus on segregation, the definition of the problem makes it possible for us to search for solutions which don't only deal with one of the poles, but with both poles.

Secondly, the way in which the network application characterises these poles is of great importance. One of the poles is characterised in terms of a high unemployment rate, but not only this. Social exclusion is discussed in a much broader context. The network application thereby expresses a **multidimensional perspective**, where exclusion certainly often means unemployment, but also can be expressed through many other aspects. The other pole is described in terms of society. The upbringing of young people in areas that are marked by exclusion happens outside society. The relation that is pointed out by the concept of segregation thereby doesn't only concern for example employment or ethnical background. Segregation in the sense that the application expresses can be said to concern the relation between the inclusion and exclusion of society. People that live in certain areas are segregated in relation to society.

Thirdly, the application is based on a societal perspective; i.e. **a perspective on society**. That is expressed by the problems not being individualised.[10] The problems aren't primarily said to be about single individuals or groups. For example, young people with bad grades are not said to be the primary problem, but the risk of a continued and deepened exclusion. **Fourthly**, the application points out gleams of light and possibilities. In spite of the extensive problems of society, there is no urge on picturing a complete darkness. The population in areas marked by exclusion is not said to lack **potential**.

This focus on possibilities, together with the society perspective, furthermore multidimensional, and the focus on relations instead of individual groups make up four important parts of the definition of the problem. The force in this definition makes us strive for possibilities that aren't only about gainful employment, no matter how important this is. The solutions have to be about participation in society, which can include so much more than just working life. This broad focus is also clearly expressed in the title of the network, "Young people – from exclusion to inclusion."

The solutions that we're to strive for also have to be built on peoples' own potential, resources and abilities. Since the core of the problem is said to be about a relation, the solution can't be about changing just one of the poles of segregation. The other pole has to be

changed too, which opens up for a striving for more fundamental changes of society.

So, what is it in the definition of the problem that has made the other cities recognize themselves? How has the content made the other cities understand that the network concerns their problems as well? In which way has the definition of the problem and its content made it possible for the other cities to join the network? Which is the starting point in the definition of the problem that the cities can be said to have been united by when joining the network? And, which force does this unity have?

Above all, it probably is the use of the term exclusion that has made the other cities recognise themselves. The categorisation of the young peoples' situation as exclusion can comprise so many different problems. And, the problems are more or less different in the cities, as will be apparent later in the report. Common for the young peoples' situation in the cities is nevertheless exclusion in relation to the society. Because of this, the partner cities have recognised themselves in the definition of the problem, but not because it points out the same problem, it rather gives a common frame for different problems.

This then also implies that we in the network have to stick to the **multidimensional perspective on society**. This frame makes up a necessary starting point for the network cooperation. It makes it possible for us to see and understand the differences between the cities. If we hadn't had this frame, and instead had started from a more limited direction, we wouldn't have been able to understand the differences between the cities. And, all cities wouldn't have been able to recognise themselves. Thereby, I see the multidimensional perspective as a forceful starting point for the network cooperation.

1.2 A network within the URBACT-programme

The management of the URBACT-programme has issued a booklet called *Guide to Capitalisation*,[11] which states clearly that networks have to participate in an exchange process based on their own experience of urban renewal. The exchange builds on every partner identifying and presenting practices.

> Partners of an URBACT network participate in an exchange process based on their own experience of urban regeneration policies and projects. This entails each partner city participating in the network through the identification and presentation of practices that will be exchanged with other cities during the working period of the network. (page 28)

Exchanging experiences and showing each other good examples is not enough, though. The goal is much more ambitious:

> The result to be achieved by each network, and by the programme as a whole, is the valorisation of urban renewal practices. This is, to achieve shared knowledge on "good solutions" to the "problems tackled" by each partners. (page 4)

From that goal, the process is described as a learning process. Information is not just going to be exchanged, but we are going to learn from each other.

> A workshop or a seminar will be not a mere "show room" of the "excellent" good practices implemented by each partner. (page 9)

The fact that the network leaders are supposed to learn from each other puts higher demands on the process than a mere exchange of information. But I interpret the ambitions as even higher.

> In the context of URBACT, the outcome of the capitalisation process must be to not only identify, share and transmit good and less successful practices, but much more, which is to develop, through a 'laboratory' process, new approaches to a sustainable revitalisation of our cities. (page 4)

I can distinguish **three levels of ambition** in the *Guide to capitalisation*. **Firstly,** we are going to inform each other about our good examples. This can be made through written as well as oral presentations. **Secondly**, we are going to learn from each other's good examples. This puts the demands higher. Learning means that we acquire knowledge about each other's good examples. The two first levels of ambition differ in the same way as knowledge differs from information, a difference that I will come back to. But, **thirdly** we are also jointly going to create new knowledge, about a sustainable revitalisation of cities, this with reference to our theme "Young people – from exclusion to inclusion."

How are we going to succeed with this? Which methods and structures are we going to use? The text doesn't say much about this. Each network has to decide about the process itself. This is carefully pointed out. And, everything doesn't have to be decided beforehand. A 'laboratory' process is mentioned which in my understanding, means a process which is searching and experimenting. We're not going to have to decide everything beforehand, but we have to learn from how it works. We are "*dealing with issues that are not pre-determined, so it is important to be open and not over-imposing.*" (page 7)

However, this puts special demands on leadership. It is important to find a balance between openness and determined demands.

> Managing the capitalisation process through exchanges is a complex process, which demands high motivation to learn and show, and the adoption of an open-minded and critical attitude. A series of requirements are to be met, in terms of the "form" of presentation and the explanation of each practice, in order to achieve an exchange and effective production for the capitalisation. (page 4)

Through leaving the power over the process to each network and in addition advocating experimenting, the text somewhat gives an impression of not being very specific. But it still is - indirectly through the demands that are being put on the goals, but also on the conditions.

The demands on the conditions are partly a logical consequence of the demands of the goals. Fundamental and extensive preparations are required, i.e. concerning provision of knowledge and information, "*providing adequate background and contextual information in advance of the exchange, so that the core time can be committed to a real exchange*." (page 9)

Furthermore we have to create common rules for how the good examples are to be documented and presented, not least to make comparisons possible, as "*... shared rules on how to demonstrate the comparability and transferability of outcomes have to be identified as from the first phase of activity.*"(page 3) The rules have to include criteria that the good examples shall be related to. Such criteria are not only important in the individual theme network, but also in the URBACT-programme as a whole. The criteria will enable a uniformity of the whole programme.

> One of the key issues of the URBACT programme is to ensure that all participants share a basic conceptual framework, as a common reference point that unites the programme as a whole. (page 2)

What is said about the results then? What expectations are there on the content and forms of the network results? A number of good examples are going to be the basis of our network. That is clear. But, it is as clear that the result of the network is not only going to contain information about these examples.

> What seems important to consider is that the output/s of a network must not be confined to a presentation of good practices. On the contrary, an output could be the expression of an exchange process, the contribution of several cities, of a work of synthesis, and so on, that can consist of different "cases" or examples that have been enriched through networking. (page 7)

The quotation above partly repeats what has already been said about the goals. The result can't be limited to only containing information. But, at the same time the quotation clarifies the limitations in what only the goals say about the results. With reference to the description of goals, I have been able to distinguish three levels of ambition. The result is going to be built **firstly** on information, **secondly** on learning and **thirdly** on a joint creation of new knowledge. However, the levels of ambition don't say much about what the result could consist of in tangible terms.

That is made clear by the quotation above, though. A result can contain "*the expression of an exchange process, the contribution of several cities, of a work of synthesis, and so on, that can consist of different 'cases' or examples that have been enriched through networking.*" On the same page of the document, other examples are also mentioned.

> Expected outputs can refer to a variety of aspects: validated good practices, conceptual reflections and new knowledge, obstacles to be overcome, recommendations on the theme, etc. (page 7)

The definition of the result is widened through the inclusion of the network process. It's not only what we ***get to*** that becomes important to count in the result, but how we have ***got to*** it, as "*procedures and methods used to generate those outputs are very important and should also be clearly presented.*" (page 8) The way I interpret the document, both our own networking process and the respective networking processes of the presented good examples are concerned.

1.3 What do the network participants want?

A wider assembly of participants from all the partner cities got the opportunity to express their opinions on the network at a conference in Aarhus, in September 2004. At that time, the network had already been going on for more than half a year. The refinement of objectives and decisions on methodology took place at a kick-off meeting in February 2004 with a smaller group of a local coordinator and a researcher from each partner city. Thus, representatives of good examples didn't get the opportunity to have an influence on the original decisions. However, they couldn't because the good examples were not yet selected.

Thus, the network was initiated and started from above. Outside the group of local coordinators and researchers from each partner city, no representatives of good examples were given the opportunity to influence the basic outlines. For that reason, the leadership found it crucial to recreate such opportunities for representatives of good examples. In the first place, that was carried out at local workshops which took place in the partner cities during the spring 2004. But the

main opportunity appeared at the first international conference, held in Aarhus, in September 2004. Prior to that, good examples had been selected, the network methodology outlined, local reports written and success criteria developed. On that basis, the leadership wanted a wider assembly of participants to react, formulate an opinion and influence the further work of the network. In a way, the initial phase of the network and its outline was tested at the Aarhus conference.

Besides the local coordinators and researchers, one or a few representatives of good examples from each partner city took part in the Aarhus conference. On the last day, a closing group work was arranged on the basis of a question about expectations. What did the participants want the network to result in? In line with the general structure of the group work at the conference, every group got to account for what they had come up with. Through analyses and categorisations of the recorded accounts, I afterwards identified three major themes.

Firstly, the network participants want the network to result in the development of new tools for **empowerment** of young people. This is pointed out in one account as "*the most important expectation*" [12]. As I understand it, this theme concerns the practical knowledge; e.g. methods, policies, activities, etc. What can one do? That is the question that the network participants want to have answered.

Secondly, these tools for practical action need to be built on theoretical knowledge. It is important that the network holds a theoretical level as well:

> Very important with theory, and that the practice is standing on theory.

There is a wish for the network to **bridge the gap between practical and theoretical knowledge**. This is pointed out as one of the network's biggest challenges.

> It is important to make this research- practice gap as small as possible. If we just have research then it's a special kind of people reading this, but they are not working on the floor, with the children. If there is only practice, people will practice this as they want to, they don't stand on the research, and that's not good either.
>
> In the end there should be some kind of platform that includes practical to general knowledge, that can be used by not only all of us, but also other teachers, headteachers, decision makers, and everyone that is interested.
>
> The research work and the theories we are talking about must land in concrete conclusions, useful on the floor.
>
> There need to be indicators of what makes this useful. What makes these different projects useful on the floor? And how does it affect on my working situation? This is very important.

The differences between the city contexts are also pointed out as a big challenge. There is a need of knowledge that clarifies the importance of the contexts.

The **third** theme concerns the **network method** that has been developed. In the group accounts, comments appeared about the questionnaire, the success criteria and the structure of the conference. There was a support among the network participants for the methodology development and for continued work in the same direction:

> The questionnaire, which we found rather choppy in the beginning, but after the experience of hearing and reading others examples by using this questionnaire as a structure it worked very fine.
>
> We believe that the core indicators really are the five indicators that have been discussed in the workshops.
>
> The success indicators united us under the same thinking.
>
> Also the process was fine, at first it tendered heavy structured, but somehow it worked very good, and we call it a dialogue method.
>
> We also believe that this process is bringing out the

> core of single projects, and gives us an opportunity to influence on the content of the report from now on. We felt that the things that were not perfect in our reports, they got new sharpness here, we learned from each other's, and we also learned that we have an opportunity to make some additions to our reports. We respect this and think that it is line with the general expectations.
>
> Has the conference been in line with the general expectations? Yes!
>
> We also feel that on personal and group level we are empowered, we are in parallel. This method has helped us to feel empowered.

The accounts also point out the social dimension of the network method. An involvement with strengthened social relations between the participants has been made possible.

> We have strengthened the social relations here, which are good for our further work, because that makes you safe, we know that it is good work and can continue.

To sum up, as a first goal, the participants want the network to result in new tools for the empowerment of young people. What can be done? That's the question asked. But before it can be answered, we first need to clarify our view on young people. Similarly, we need to clarify a standpoint regarding our view on knowledge before we can bridge the gap between practical and theoretical knowledge. I suggested such ideas, the one on young people and the second on knowledge, in the first draft version of the final report, written in the autumn of 2004, and endorsed by the participants at the Gera conference in January 2005. The views contribute to fulfil the second expectation of the participants; the need to establish a theoretical knowledge-base which the tools for practical action could be built on.

1.3.1 Young people – a potential-oriented view

We are all to a certain extent directed by preconceived opinions. They don't have to be very consistent. They can actually be full of contradictions, but then they probably aren't very well thought through. But still they exist, and affect our attitudes, for example towards young people in situations characterised by social exclusion. We approach them from some sort of belief and preconceived ideas.

This might make us speak more clearly, because we don't think that they understand our language. Maybe we try to look happy; to try to counterbalance what we think is their sadness. Maybe we keep a distance out of fear of being beaten up. Maybe we avoid speaking about certain things, since we in advance see it as sensitive. Or we try to act childishly, since we don't think that they can act maturely.

What do we see in them? An inherent evil? An own will? Victims of circumstance? Are they like leaves in the wind? Can they do anything by themselves? We might think that they will change the world if they get the chance. Our beliefs and preconceived ideas influence our actions and policy-making. It is apparent in our body language. Thereby, we might be seen as being provocative, although we don't intend to be. Maybe our preconceptions contribute to stigmatise and strengthen the exclusion, without us being aware of it.

We don't even have to meet these young people. It is enough that we think or talk about them. We might develop an EU-project about them, and arrange conferences. Maybe our ideas about these young people and their exclusion have an impact on politicians and council officials, or even in the media. Then it's even more important to dig up and scrutinize our preconceived ideas. Because we all have preconceived ideas. We can't get away from that. On the other hand we can, to a certain extent, become aware of our preconceptions, develop them, select and discard some. We can make our preconceived ideas as uniform, durable and coherent as possible.

In this network, we have agreed to believe in the abilities of young people, in line with, for example, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. That is the preconception that constitutes the basis of the network. And that ability doesn't have any specific aim, but simply the ability of the young people to do something intentional, and be active. It can be changing themselves and their situation. But it can also be destroying or stealing. It can be to solve a mathematical problem in school, but also to dribble past an opponent in football, paint graffiti or dance break-dance. All young people can do at least something of this. The general ability is what we believe in, though we don't know anything about the direction of this ability.

This view on young people could be called **potential-oriented**. We should take for granted that young people have a force, but not what drives it or what it aims at. This force should basically be regarded as a potential, but it could become a problem depending on what drives it and what it aims at. The opposite of a potential-oriented view on young people could be called **problem-oriented**. Such a view takes not only the force of young people for granted, but also what drives it and what it aims at. Moreover, the problem-oriented view makes young people look like the causes of the problems.

It has to be stressed that youth is a stage in life in its own right. Thus, the potential-oriented view doesn't mean

the reduction of that stage to the state of "not yet". In fact, the potential-oriented view applies to people in general. It's a main characteristic of critical realism, the theory which I presented in the Introduction. For that reason, the interests and abilities of young people should be taken seriously.

From the potential-oriented view, the force of young people could certainly become problematic, but then the reasons for that have to be explained and not taken for granted. In itself, the force of young people should not be regarded as problematic, but on the contrary as a potential. We have to believe that young people can do something, and create, but we cannot know what beforehand.

What will become of the creative ability of young people? Whether it will lead to anything at all, depends on the context. Are the young people allowed to do anything? What? Do they receive any support? From whom? Is there space for them? Are they given time? Are they being inspired? Are there role models? What is the meaning of the context? Is it meaningful? All of this is important for what's to become of the creativeness of young people, the ability that we have to believe that everyone has. We need knowledge about the context, though.

1.3.2 Knowledge – a created and social context

The network participants put a significant emphasis on knowledge in their expectations of the network result. That is apparent in the previous chapter. According to the expectations of the participants, the network is going to result in practical knowledge, with a strong footing in theoretical knowledge. It is also going to be knowledge that doesn't put practical knowledge in opposition to theoretical knowledge, but links them together. Furthermore, it is going to be knowledge that can clarify the importance of the connection and make comparisons possible.

The **view on knowledge** is therefore important in our network. We can't take for granted what knowledge is. If we do that, we risk increasing the gap between practical and theoretical knowledge that the participants want to bridge. But, a view on knowledge is important in this network for several other reasons as well. In the national curricula it states that the young people are going to acquire knowledge. That is why they go to school. The ones that don't acquire knowledge in school get difficulties dealing with society. Insufficient knowledge therefore is an important reason for exclusion.

However, the question is which view on knowledge that

the curriculum has. And, is it this knowledge that is graded? That the young people acquire knowledge is especially important in the contemporary development of European societies. In the *EU Lisbon strategy* from year 2000, it is stated that the EU, by year 2010, is going to be "*the most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion, and respect for the environment*".[13] Knowledge is thereby central for EU development. But which knowledge? And what is meant by knowledge?

Our network also needs a deliberate and reflected view on knowledge to clarify the good examples. From which view on knowledge can we single out some examples as good? And, is it really knowledge we have? Others might see it as loose speculations. With which weight will we be able to maintain our conclusions? I want to point out four fundamental characteristics of knowledge.

Firstly, **knowledge consists of contexts** and thereby differs from information. Information can be compared to the stars in the sky. They shine, but we don't know why or in which context. Knowledge can be compared to a solar system where the planets are related to each other in a specific context. Pupils who only learn facts become informed but don't acquire much knowledge. One that can only recite a list of dates or the names of cities can't be considered to be very skilled. Informed – sure, but that's not much of a knowledge.

It becomes knowledge when the information is put into context. For example it can be about clarifying causalities, differences, definitions etc. And this context of **knowledge has to be created**. It doesn't exist by itself. I see this as the **second** fundamental characteristic of knowledge. Thereby I turn against those who claim that knowledge is given. Knowledge has to be created. That makes knowledge depend on human creativity, in the shape of fantasy, engagement, persistence and so on. But, this also means that knowledge never can be complete. It can be more or less coherent, but always contains shortcomings and contradictions. The exploring of these shortcomings is the main reason for knowledge development. That is why it is so important to be able to question things critically.

Thirdly, this **creation of knowledge is social**. Even one that creates knowledge in his or her isolation built on other people's experiences, knowledge, fantasies, examples, ideas and conclusions. We also need each other to be aware of shortcomings and contradictions in our knowledge, i.e. the starting points for knowledge development. Furthermore, the creation of knowledge occurs through language and no individual owns that. Language is a social phenomenon. We all have a responsibility for its development.

Fourthly, **knowledge assumes different forms**, for example as a difference between tacit and explicit knowledge, underlined by Robert Arnkil as a key distinction in order to learn from good practice:

> Tacit knowledge refers to 'experiential' knowledge, something that is 'ingrained' in the work practice of the person, and cannot be readily expressed in words. It is constituted both from 'know how' and ingrained beliefs, perceptions, intuitions, 'hunches' and mental models of the individual. This type of knowledge is difficult to share, and articulating it calls for special methods, like using metaphors, pictures, symbols, stories.
>
> Explicit knowledge, on the other hand, exists as words, sounds, audiotapes, documents, codes, algorithms, product specifications and manuals, and can be shared and disseminated effectively. The message coming from the knowledge management debate is that first there is the challenge of 'articulating' the practice (from tacit, embedded to explicit), and this is usually underestimated and oversimplified. Secondly, it is important to have a good transformation process by 'learning by doing'.[14]

Our network is supposed to result in practical knowledge, based on theoretical knowledge. Practical knowledge is above all connected to different types of practice. But, obviously practical knowledge is necessary for example to write a report, use a keyboard or use the word processing programme Word.

Practical knowledge is characterised by making an action possible. The teacher has to be able to teach, the politician to bring about changes of systems and the youth club leader to solve conflicts between young people, just to give some examples. Practical knowledge doesn't necessarily have to be formulated in words. It is something that you have inside of you, existing in a tacit form, as defined by Arnkil above. It is knowledge if it makes action possible – the same sort of an action, again and again. The value of practical knowledge is shown in its usefulness.

Theories are another type of knowledge, considerably more bonded by words than practical knowledge. **Theoretical knowledge** consists of well considered assumptions, claims, principles and connections. The value of theoretical knowledge depends on its inner coherence. Theories consist of logical connections and derivations, connected also to other theories. It makes up one sort of knowledge that the practitioner probably is less dependent on than practical knowledge.

Thereby I'm not saying that the practitioner lacks theoretical knowledge. Theory is a part of every

education. To what extent the theories become useful in practice is another thing. In their contact with reality, the practitioners more likely transform the theories from their education to practical knowledge. This way, the knowledge might lose a part of its generality, but at the same time becomes more useful in a concrete context.

A third type of knowledge that all practitioners have can be called empirical. It concerns the ability to point out, name and describe. **Empirical knowledge** can be compared with maps (although it's not neutral or one-sided). Empirical knowledge appears in the pre-school teacher's description of the children, how they feel and which home conditions they have. Statistics is another kind of empirical knowledge. The value of empirical knowledge becomes apparent in how well it seems to describe reality.

The **local reports** in our network give examples of what I mean. The knowledge that the reports contain is empirical. The difficulties with the reports also show how important it is not to take the examples for granted. They can't just be "mirrored". In the documentation of them, we can't limit ourselves to just writing down the first thing that we hear or read about them. The empirical knowledge that we have managed to create about the good examples depends on the questions we put, in which way we put them and to whom. But, we also have to be critical and reflecting toward all information. Where does the information come from? Does it seem reliable? If we don't do this, the local reports will only contain information, no knowledge.

To reconnect to the practitioner, his or her knowledge is practical, theoretical and empirical, but in certain proportions. **Scientific knowledge** is also practical, theoretical and empirical, but in other proportions. Science is not necessarily better than the knowledge of the practitioner, nor necessarily worse. When practical and scientific knowledge is compared, the same measure can't be used. They make up two different types of knowledge.

Scientific knowledge is often allowed to rule. It is taken for granted that researchers know best. That opinion has to be criticised. It is paradoxically reminiscent of religion. If science is going to be worth its name, it can't take its importance for granted. Instead, it has to make itself worthy of its importance, which means that the researcher has to convince the reader or the listener.

The equivalent to the overvaluation of science is the undervaluation of the knowledge of practitioners.

In my view, the knowledge and experiences of practitioners is used far too little within science. That obviously doesn't mean that practitioners are always right. One monopoly of knowledge can't be replaced with another. Practitioners obviously can be wrong, but so can researchers. Science is not a fundamental yardstick that all other knowledge can be measured by. It is important to safeguard the distinctive character of scientific and practical knowledge respectively. Both types of knowledge are important.

Thereby, I have summarised the view on knowledge that we have agreed on in the network. According to this view, knowledge consists of a context, it has to be created and it is social. All knowledge is practical, theoretical and empirical, but in different proportions. Practical and theoretical knowledge thereby don't have to contradict each other, but constitute components of all knowledge that we all consider ourselves to have. The whole differs depending on which type of knowledge that dominates, for the practical performer the practical and for the researcher the theoretical.

The qualitative result that the network will achieve depends both on the practitioners and the researchers within the network. For the practitioners it depends on how well the result is transformed practically. Can the practitioners show that the result will be useful? For the researchers it depends on how coherent the result is, what it is able to say about the reality in the different cities and what foundation that lays for practical action.

1.3.3 Network method – developed as part of the process

The URBACT booklet *Guide to capitalisation* also contains a proposed framework of questions that the networks should try to answer. With these proposals, the URBACT-management has wanted to create conditions for exchange and learning, not only within the networks, but also between them. The idea was to present this framework for partners at an early stage so that "*all collection and analysis of practices can contribute to the overall production and aim of URBACT by forming the basis for exchange and capitalisation, within AND between thematic networks.*"(page 29)

At the kick-off conference in February 2004 in Malmö, we went through all questions. We then discovered that some questions needed to be re-formulated, and others maybe removed, but at the same time a need to formulate new questions appeared. After the conference, I was responsible for completing the **questionnaire**. I did that, first of all through emailing out proposals. After some further additions and changes, the questionnaire was finished in the middle of March 2004.

This questionnaire was then used during the spring in the work with documenting good examples. Each partner was commissioned to document good examples and then work out answers for each example to the questions in the questionnaire. The partners were entitled to choose their own methods in the work with the questions. Answers could be sought by e.g. individual interviews, reports, group interviews, evaluations or inquiries. The important thing was to answer the questions.

The answers to the questions were to be written into the questionnaire, and in that way be developed into reports, one about every good example. The questionnaire was therefore not only thought to direct the studies, but also to be used as an outline for the reports. Through having everyone searching for answers for the same questions, we hoped to make the knowledge comparable. These comparisons were to be further facilitated by the use of the same report outline. This way, it would be easy to find the same type of knowledge about the good examples.

The local reports were then going to be the foundation of local workshops with representatives for the good examples. By arranging local workshops, we wanted to make the representatives active participants in more than just a formal way. We wanted to give the representatives one more possibility of speaking out, this time not on the basis of our questions, but on what the local researcher had written about the answers in the report. Maybe the local researcher had misinterpreted the answers. Maybe there was more to say. Furthermore, we wanted to start discussions between representatives for the different examples. What could they have to say about each other's examples? How could other examples be assessed on the basis of one's own experiences?

To make conversations possible in the workshop that were engaging, rich in content and many-sided, it was important for it to be held in the native language. For the same reasons, it was also necessary to write the reports in the majority language, and not for example in English. Before the reports were sent to the network management, a translation therefore was necessary. In this final version of the local reports, the results of the workshop were supposed to be worked in. The deadline for the submission of local reports was set to the middle of August, i.e. two weeks before the next international conference in Aarhus. Altogether 19 reports were sent in.

Before the Aarhus conference in September, everyone was asked to read all the reports. In the capacity of research leader, I had a special responsibility for identifying similarities, differences and possible patterns. As a result of my analyses, I suggested **five success criteria**. I suggested that good examples of changing the situation of young people from exclusion to inclusion should be characterised by empowerment, strengthened social relations, structural changes of the school, cooperation with the local society and a changed view on knowledge. At least some of these criteria must be fulfilled if an example is to be classified as a good one (for further definitions and explanations, see section 4, page 54).

I wanted the participants at the conference in Aarhus to decide on this suggestion. In section 4, I will come back to the justification of the suggestion. In the same section, I will also go deeper in the implication of each criterion. At the Aarhus conference, the criteria were used as a foundation for group works. Parallel group work was arranged about all of the five criteria. In the group work the good examples were to be discussed with reference to each criterion. For example, the Strengthened Social Relations working group analysed the good examples from the perspective of strengthening social relations.

After the first session of group work, the participants changed groups. The ones that had participated in the group work about for example empowerment during the first session could for example be a part of the group work about a changed view on knowledge during the next session. Altogether, there were three sessions. All participants thereby participated in three groups about three different criteria. The purpose of group changes was also that different participants should get to meet and discuss.

After every session, each group had to account for the result of their discussions. It was a part of the task to prepare the accounts with the help of a flipchart. The accounts were also recorded on a Mini Disc. Transcripts of the accounts and summaries on the flipcharts have been of a significant importance in my analyses of the good examples. This is apparent in section 4, where the analyses are built not only on the local reports, but also on accounts and the discussions from the Aarhus conference.

During the autumn after the Aarhus conference, I wrote a draft version of the final report. It was presented and discussed at the conference in Gera, January 2005, where the local coordinators and researchers from all the partners took part. Besides writing about the network objectives, contexts, the good examples and success criteria, I also made a suggestion about using the first year experiences as a basis for the establishment of a method with a general validity.

The suggestion was supported and then the second year proceeded according to the method. Thus, after the conference in Gera, new examples selected by each partner, were documented in local reports and discussed at local workshops. Benefiting from the results of the local workshops, the local reports were finalised and sent out to the partners in the network. This second round comprised 17 local reports. In May, another international conference was arranged, this time in Gijón, and with basically the same outline as in Aarhus.

2004

February: Kick-off meeting in Malmö, developing jointly a questionnaire on the basis of the Guide to capitalisation, issued by the URBACT leadership in Paris.

March-August: First round of work with examples in each city – selecting examples and writing local reports guided by the questionnaire, resulting in 19 reports.

September: International conference in Aarhus, on the basis of the first round of local reports.

October-December: Working with the first draft version of the final report, based on the first round of local reports and the result of the international conference.

2005

January: International conference in Gera with discussions about the first draft version of the final report. Decision about dividing the final report into a practitioner report and a research report.

February-April: Second round of work with examples in each city – selecting examples and writing local reports guided by the questionnaire, resulting in 17 reports.

May: International conference in Gijón, on the basis of the second round of local reports.

June-November: Working with the second draft version of the final report, founded on the first version, the second round of the local reports and the result of the international conference.

December: International conference in Helsinki with discussions about the second draft version of the final report.

2006

January-March: Completing the practitioner report, the research report and an Case Study report.

April: Final conference in Malmö.

1.4 Concluding remarks

In this section, the problem definition in the application to the URBACT programme has been presented and analysed. Four characteristics of the problem definition have been highlighted:

1. The application puts segregation at the core of the problem definition. Thus, instead of pointing out individual population groups, the problem is defined as a relationship. That enables us to search for solutions which don't deal only with one of the segregated poles, but with both.
2. The application gives expression to a multi-dimensional perspective by referring to social exclusion not only in terms of for example unemployment, poverty or ethnical background, but in terms of a much wider scope.
3. The perspective in the application is also societal and not individualising. It's from a societal perspective that the application refers to segregation as a relationship between social inclusion and exclusion of society, also stated in the title of the network.
4. The application emphasises the potential and possibilities of young people associated with social exclusion, rejecting a treatment of them as only being problematic.

Highlighting these four characteristics, the significance of problem definitions has also been made clear. The definitions should be analysed separately from the problems themselves. It's the definitions that have made the partners join the network. Definitions could themselves be problematic and obstruct solutions to the problems but they could also fuel us with

force and inspiration. The four characteristics mentioned above highlight such potential in the network.

As a next step, the main guideline of the URBACT-programme has been analysed, a booklet called *Guide to Capitalisation*. On that basis, three levels of ambition that the network has to achieve have been identified:

1. Informing: The network has to create opportunities for an information exchange about good examples.
2. Learning: Comparisons have to be made which enable the partners to learn from each other.
3. Creating a strategy for change: On the basis of comparisons, new knowledge has to be created on a sustainable revitalisation of cities.

Representatives for good examples got the opportunity to make an influence on the outline and further development of the network at its first international exchange conference. The participants at the conference made three kinds of demands:

1. Empowerment: The network participants want the network to result in the development of new tools for the empowerment of young people.
2. Knowledge: These tools for practical action need to be built on theoretical knowledge. The gap between practical and theoretical knowledge has to be bridged.
3. Networking method: The participants expressed a strong support for the method development and for a continued work in the same direction.

On the basis of the demands, this section of the final report has proceeded by exploring the preconditions of each one in turn. In order to result in new tools for the empowerment of young people, the network has to constitute a view on young people. A potential-oriented view which expresses a belief in the abilities of young people has been discussed and agreed by the partners. It's contrasted in this section to a problem-oriented view.

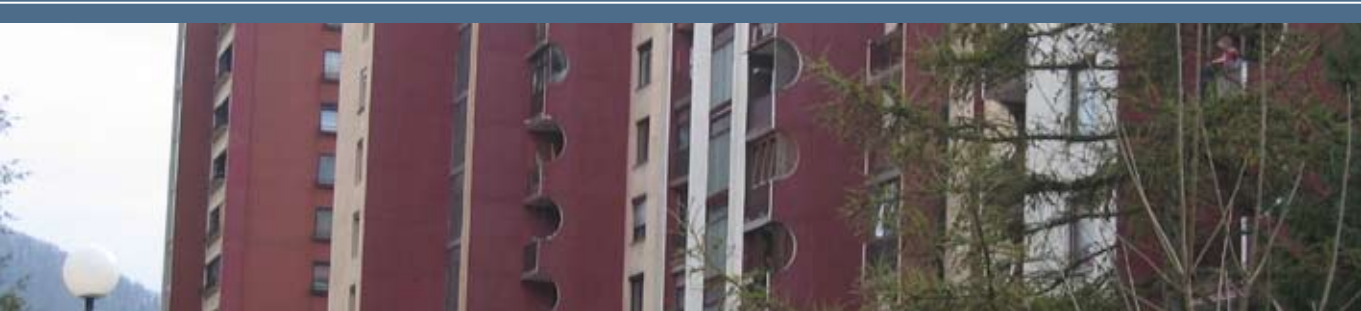
In order to bridge the gap between practical and theoretical knowledge, the partners have agreed on the need to formulate an opinion on knowledge. Such a view on knowledge is

also needed to make comparisons possible, to understand how young people could become excluded because of school grades and enable us to confirm the new knowledge that has to be created for a sustainable revitalisation of cities. The view on knowledge agreed and represented by this network has four characteristics:

1. Knowledge consists of contexts and thereby differs from information.
2. This context of knowledge has to be created.
3. The creation of knowledge takes place in a social context.
4. Knowledge could exist and be expressed in different forms, for example practical or theoretical, the one not necessarily better than the other.

At the kick-off meeting in February 2004 and during the following months, a network method was developed gradually. It was endorsed by the participants at the fist international exchange conference in September 2004 and has since then been tried even during the second year of networking.

2 YOUNG PEOPLE - FROM WHAT?



The examples presented by the partners in the network deal with young people whose life situation in some kind of way is characterised by social exclusion. Such life situations constitute the point of departure for a change brought about by the examples. According to the title of the network, the change is expected to result in social inclusion and section 3 will deal with what that means. But what does the point of departure mean? From what and where does the change start?

To answer those questions, we first of all need to know what social exclusion means. Thus, Section 2 starts by defining social exclusion as a general concept. Then, we need to know why it is a problem. It turns out that the problems differ between the cities. Presenting the cities, each one in turn, the problems are reviewed, mainly on the basis of the local reports, written by each city's local researcher.

2.1 Social exclusion – what is that?

During the last years, social exclusion has become a high priority issue on the European agenda. The major step was taken at the Lisbon European Council in March 2000, when the fight against social exclusion was made a central part of the Lisbon strategy.

> Building a more inclusive European Union was thus considered as an essential element in achieving the Union's ten year strategic goal of sustained economic growth, more and better jobs and greater social cohesion.[15]

At the Lisbon European Council, it was also agreed that the work should be based on an 'Open Method of Co-ordination' (OMC). As a part of this method, common objectives were agreed at the Nice European Council in December 2000 and later also common indicators as a means of comparing best practice. Responding to the objectives, National Action Plans were worked out during 2001.

On that basis, a joint report analysing and assessing the National Action Plans was adopted in 2002, called the *Joint Report on Social Inclusion*. The report begins with a grand statement: "*It is the first time that the European Union endorses a policy document on poverty and social exclusion*".[16] Such a joint report was published once again in 2004, based on a second round of National Action Plans.

The widespread concern among EU Member States has very obvious reasons. A growing amount of people live in situations perceived as social exclusion. In terms of poverty, 15% of adults in the EU were living in low-income households in 2001.[17] The percentage was even higher for dependent children under 16, covering 19% in EU as a whole. However, the differences are significant between the countries, ranging from about 5% in Nordic countries to 27% in Portugal.[18]

There seems to be a general agreement about regarding poverty as one of the main indicators of social exclusion. But what else is there to say about social exclusion? Should social exclusion be equated to poverty? How should social exclusion be defined? In this chapter I will start by looking back briefly at the emergence of the concept. A definition will be suggested which builds on three main principles.

2.1.1 Social exclusion is multidimensional

The concept of social exclusion originates from the discussions in France in the mid 1970s about new forms of poverty.[19] At that time, the concept referred to a growing part of the population which, for different reasons, was not covered by social insurance. The definition was broad, but as Ash Amin, Angus Cameron & Ray Hudson mentions in *Placing the Social Economy* where they trace the origins of the concept, it didn't include unemployment or even low wage workers:

> Interestingly, given the subsequent history of the term, this list encompasses a wide range of individual conditions and problems and social ills and pathologies but does not explicitly refer to the unemployed or any other group whose exclusion might be attributed primarily to *economic* deprivation.[20]

Partly, Amin et al relates this interesting fact to the period. The concept emerged towards the end of the long period of 'full employment' in Europe. The phenomenon of mass unemployment didn't exist yet, nor did deregulated labour markets and low-wage sectors.

The recessions of the late 1970s and the 80s led to redefinitions which put a stronger emphasis on unemployment. The term, however, did not catch on in wider circles until the 1990s. Since then, a growing number of organisations, institutions and research projects have issued statements about social exclusion.

A widely accepted principle in a definition of social exclusion seems to be the **multidimensional perspective**.[21] Social exclusion could, but not exclusively, appear as unemployment and poverty. Indeed, the *Joint Report on Social Inclusion* represents a multidimensional perspective. According to the report, social exclusion could appear as a long-term dependence

on low/inadequate income, long-term unemployment, persistent low quality employment (working poor), poor qualifications and low level of education, disability, poor health, drug abuse and alcoholism, growing up in a family vulnerable to social exclusion, living in an area of multiple disadvantage, poor housing conditions and ethnic background.

This means that individuals could appear as socially excluded in one sense but not in others. Residents in an area characterised by social exclusion appear socially excluded just by living there. Yet, to the extent that they have a job they are not socially excluded. Similarly, belonging to an ethnic minority doesn't mean that you have a poor health and appear as socially excluded also in that sense.

Furthermore, the multidimensional perspective recognises differences between cities. Social exclusion could have different characteristics in different cities. Poor housing conditions could for example mean a slum in one city and a high standard but with overcrowded residents in another. Some cities don't have many residents with non-native ethnic backgrounds but a lot of low wage workers. In other cities, non-native ethnic background is a prime characteristic of social exclusion while a low wage sector hardly exists. Accordingly, different cities shouldn't pursue the same policies.

One of the most comprehensive research projects about social exclusion in a European context was called URBEX ('The Spatial Dimensions of Urban Social Exclusion and Integration').[22] Financed by the EU 4th framework programme and undertaken 1999-2002, URBEX comprised a thirty-strong international team of senior and junior scientists. The aim was to carry out an innovative and comparative investigation of social exclusion and integration in 22 neighbourhoods, located in eleven European cities: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Brussels, Antwerp, London, Birmingham, Berlin, Hamburg, Milan, Naples and Paris.

The URBEX project urges for a multidimensional perspective in order to understand the needs for a more differentiated policy in combating social exclusion.

> Among the most relevant findings is that per city and per neighbourhood, differentiated policies are required in order to get to grips with social exclusion issues in small-scale areas. [23]

As a consequence, cities and states may certainly learn from each other "*but should be cautious about copying policies. Our general feeling is that a much more differentiated and context-sensitive type of intervention will produce the best results.*"[24]

2.1.2 Social exclusion presupposes society

The multidimensional perspective points out the different directions in which we have to look, but it doesn't necessarily enable us to perceive social exclusion. As Petra Hoelscher says in her thematic study on policy responses to prevent and reduce child poverty, "*it is possible to be poor but socially included as it is to be excluded without being poor … Poverty and social exclusion are two ways of describing the life situation of people that are not able to reach a standard of living that is seen as acceptable in a given society*".[25]

Hoelscher describes poverty and social exclusion as different thoughts, although complementary and interacting. But how should this difference be understood? Indeed, poverty has become an important indicator of social exclusion. The most common definition of poverty refers to a lack of income compared to the median income of a society.[26] That's the definition used in for example *Social situation in the EU*.[27]

I suggest that we associate poverty with a deviation from what is normal to have in society. In that sense, the multidimensional perspective high-lights the have-nots, not only in terms of poverty but also e.g. education or health. But social exclusion is more than that. Social exclusion is not only about what to have or not have. It's also about what to do and not do. The concept of social exclusion highlights the do-nots as well.[28]

Social exclusion means not taking part in the making and development of society. I suggest that we define social exclusion as the combination of not have and not do, also not in only one dimension but several. For this reason we need the reference to society. I will treat the **presupposition of society** as the second principal standpoint in the definition of social exclusion.

Such a standpoint is pursued by the *Joint Report on Social Inclusion* in the treatment of the different characteristics of social exclusions as risks, not facts. According to the report, a significant agreement on the importance of the factors above exists, "*although the importance of the risk factors considerably differs between the member states*".

But, when does a risk turn into a fact? What makes for example a long-term unemployed person become excluded, instead of just risking becoming excluded? When does poverty turn into social exclusion from having been a risk? The report doesn't answer such questions. In my interpretation, that's because it defines social exclusion in relation to existing societies at a particular time, in terms of both having and doing:

> Throughout this report, the terms poverty and social exclusion refer to when people are prevented from participating fully in economic, social and civil life and/or when their access to income and other resources (personal, family, social and cultural) is so inadequate as to exclude them from enjoying a standard of living and quality of life that is regarded as acceptable by the society in which they live.[29]

Hence, social exclusion can't be defined without reference to society, a view which Eurocities subscribe to in a document called *Position Paper on Social Inclusion*:[30]

> Eurocities strongly advocates to politically define social exclusion as a dynamic process, in which not only the affected groups and their living circumstances are targeted, but the causes, the agents and mechanisms of exclusion as well. Inclusion policies to promote the full participation in society are only successful if the obstacles that block their access are done away with, if the causes of exclusion are removed, the agents change their attitudes and practices and the mechanisms of exclusion disappear.[31]

Besides referring to labour market blockades, the paper underlines how policies may contribute to social exclusion by ways of operation, "*e.g. often through stigmatising and 'correcting' approaches.*"[32] In fact, definitions of social exclusion could contribute to the creation of social exclusion. In the defining process, one has to be aware of that risk.

This second principle is also very obvious in the ways URBEX stresses the type of welfare state, the historically grown economic structures and social networks. For example, URBEX concludes that the nature and organisation of the welfare state has a fundamental influence on patterns of neighbourhood difference.[33] In general, neighbourhoods in countries with weak welfare state systems are more likely to embody elements of greater inequality and crisis.[34] Such differences between neighbourhoods, depending upon the particular society, may prevent the applicability of the best-practice policies.

> What may be labelled as a neighbourhood solution in one context may create neighbourhood problems in another. The major sources of the differences between the cases we investigated are in the fields of education, policy interventions at various levels over the past decades, economic structure at the metropolitan level and opportunities to cope with recent changes in the world economy, types and levels of welfare state interventions, and local and regional histories.[35]

The concept of social exclusion refers to combinations of have-not and do-not. It's not enough that you don't have (money, family, language, education, health, housing etc). As long as the lack of having doesn't

prevent you from doing, you are not socially excluded, although you may run the risk of it. Social exclusion becomes a fact when the lack of having prevents you from doing; i.e. taking part in society. At the same time, taking part in society is very important to get what you need to have.

However, you don't necessarily get what you need by taking part. Take for example the education system, which I will deal with later in chapter 3.4 (page 62). Do young people really learn what they need in order to take part in the making and development of society? And what about grades? Do they really provide an adequate representation of the knowledge needed? Later I will argue that we can't be sure about that. Moreover, I will substantiate the claim that young people without grades don't necessarily lack an adequate knowledge.

2.1.3 Social exclusion contains potential

In addition to the two principles above, I will state a third principle. People who don't have what is normal to have in society could have something else. And people who don't take part in society could take part in something else. In short, **potential** exists among people who live in situations characterised by social exclusion (for a definition of potential, see page 18). Potential for what and what could such potential consist of?

According to Eurocities a culture of poverty may emerge, but also a breeding ground for crime, vandalism and drug addiction as well as verbal harassment and violent behaviour. It is in the light of such undermining forces that the Eurocities paper stresses the urgency of a solution. The increasing divide between social inclusion and social exclusion threatens directly urban social cohesion by being a "*rupture of the urban social texture.*"[36] Not only the future of individual cities is at stake, but the whole "project Europe" which will fail, the paper claims, "*if cities fail to safeguard social cohesion in an open, tolerant and democratic urban society.*"[37]

In arguing for a solution, the paper criticises the failure of sectoral approaches, "*following the lines of traditional bureaucratic competencies and divisions of interests*",[38] and the lack of institutional changes. It also rejects the "top-down" development and implementation of traditional policies, which "*turned out to be ineffective, because they left the target population without the feeling to be the owners neither of their own problems nor of the solutions, and because they made no use of the experience and expertise the 'dependent' had gathered in daily life.*"[39]

Instead, it argues for an integrated and area based approach which targets processes rather than groups. Different policy sectors have to be integrated. All democratic, public and private entities have to join forces over and across borders. Crucially, the policy depends upon the participation of the residents concerned. "*Only with direct participation of the affected citizen, social policies can succeed.*" The paper urges a policy which makes maximum use "*of the 'social and cultural capital' of the marginalised groups themselves.*"[40] It pleads for innovative and, if necessary, experimental policies in content as well as organisation, which could establish forms of direct participation and real influence of the urban residents.

I support the perceptions of problems and solutions, represented by Eurocities in the *Position Paper on Social Inclusion*.[41] However, I want to stress the positive potential of social exclusion as well. Potential that exist among people who live in situations characterised by social exclusion could certainly be negative, in the sense of undermining society and posing threats like the ones exemplified above by the Eurocities. But social exclusion could also contain positive potential. It's my firm belief that problems associated with social exclusion can't be solved if the solutions don't build on the positive potential of social exclusion.

2.2 Social exclusion in the cities

Indeed, the network application expresses all the three principles in the definition of social exclusion. In chapter 1.1 (page 18), these principles were highlighted as characteristics of how the application defines the problem. Again, it testifies to the potential of the application. Not only did it enable the partners from very different contexts to join, but it also paved the way for a definition of social exclusion which could be underpinned by contemporary research. In that way, the application turned out to be a crucial contribution to the mutual ground of practitioners and researchers, described in the Introduction.

The definition of social exclusion prevents us from taking social exclusion for granted. It's been made clear that the existence and appearance of social exclusion differs between cities. Thus, when defining the associated problems, such differences have to be taken into account. Nor should the problems with social exclusion be taken for granted. What may seem to be the problem could simply be a symptom, concealing the real problem itself.

I will define the problems of social exclusion primarily by using the local reports about the examples, written as a part of the network. To some extent, I will also use public statistics and other sources of facts, but primarily, social exclusion and its associated problems will be described and defined on the basis of the local reports. In addition, I have made some interviews which will be used as well.

This means that the city chapters are not fully comparable. The chapters don't cover exactly the same issues. Essentially, they reflect the number and content of examples from each city, other information provided by the partners, the accessibility of other information and the quality of it all. However, this network hasn't aimed at making full-scale comparisons of the cities. Instead, it focuses on young people associated with social exclusion and how the examples of good practice have brought about changes to social inclusion. For that purpose, I consider the content of each chapter to be sufficient.

2.2.1 Malmö (Sweden)

Malmö is the third largest city in Sweden, populated by 267 171 (1 Jan 2004), and the regional capital of a conurbation with 528 000 inhabitants (1 Jan 2002).[42] The city has a rich industrial heritage with large-scale manufacturing industries, mainly with shipbuilding and textiles dominating for several decades. Malmö has been regarded as the cradle of the Social Democratic movement in Sweden, due to all the organisations that started there in the late 19:th century. After the franchise reform in 1919, the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP) retained power over the local council for an uninterrupted period of 66 years. In Malmö, industrial society materialised, but it was also organised in a social democratic way.[43]

When the Social Democratic Party lost its power in 1985, Malmö was in a process of profound change which peaked in the first part of the 90s when a large part of the remaining industries closed. Within just a few years (1990-93), the employment rate dropped from 78% to 61%. The recession of the ´90s hit Malmö harder than any other city in Sweden. At the same time refugee immigration increased sharply. Hence, the share of inhabitants born in another country rose during the ´90s from 16% to 23%.

Since 1994, the SAP has been back in power, presiding over a very divided and segregated city. At one pole of segregation, the decline has turned into an expansion, indicated by the establishment of a University (1998), the building of the Öresund Bridge (2000), the housing exhibition (2001) and just recently the Turning Torso

in the old harbour, a 54 floors and 194 m high housing skyscraper. At the other pole of segregation, large parts of Malmö have become characterised by social exclusion. It is associated with immigrants, often the ones that bear the brunt of long-term unemployment, poverty and social exclusion in general.[44]

Currently, of all inhabitants in Malmö, 25% are born outside Sweden (1 Jan 2004). More than 160 languages are spoken in Malmö. More than half of the school children have a foreign background, defined as born abroad or with at least one parent born abroad. Unfortunately, poverty makes its mark on their childhood and adolescence. According to a study initiated by the organisation Save the Children, 32% of the children (age 0-17) live in poverty-stricken households, the highest percentage among municipalities in Sweden.[45]

The high and increasing amount of young people with a foreign background has put an imprint on many schools. At one of the schools in the large area characterised by social exclusion in Malmö, Kroksbäck School, 74% of the pupils finishing the ninth and final compulsory year 2003 (age 15) had a foreign background. The figures are based on a definition of foreign background that includes pupils born abroad, and/or whose parents both were born abroad. If foreign background also includes pupils with only one parent born abroad, the share will become even higher. Maybe the share with another mother tongue than Swedish will give a more truthful picture. According to the headteacher at Kroksbäck School, 85% of all pupils in the ages 6-15 have another mother tongue than Swedish.

A lot of the children are born abroad and often also have inadequate school grounding. As the principle at Kroksbäck school says, it can "*sometimes be difficult for us to figure out their competences because of language difficulties. There are also cultural and religious differences that obstruct the children's adjustment and possibilities. Many are Muslims. The protection of culture, religion and traditions can add to a strengthening of social exclusion.*" 36% of the pupils finishing the ninth and final compulsory year 2003 (age 15) didn't pass the exams. Thus, they were not entitled to continue studying on the upper secondary education. A high proportion of these pupils have another mother tongue than Swedish.

So what's the problem? The ethnic minority background of these young people? No, that's not the problem defined by the good example at Kroksbäck School called the **Study Workshop**. According to its point of departure, a major reason as to why the pupils don't pass exams is the pursuit of education in Swedish, i.e. a foreign mother tongue for immigrant pupils. To many, the Swedish language becomes a barrier for learning other subjects. Irrespective of interest and talent in for example physics, pupils may still fail due to language problems. Thus, to the **Study Workshop**, the problem is not the pupil, but primarily the school creating an institutional barrier. To solve this problem, the **Study Workshop** offers education to the pupils in their mother tongues. In that way, an effort is made to normalise bilingualism.

A related problem, also associated with social exclusion, concerns the contacts with the parents and families. According to the headteacher at Kroksbäck School, many parents "*are not familiar with the Swedish society in general, and especially not the world of the school. This makes the school's cooperation with the homes, and the parents' possibilities to help and support their children during the education more difficult*".

To the headteacher at Öresundsgymnasiet in Malmö, this lack of knowledge among parents about Swedish society and the Swedish school is one of the most serious problems:

> This is one of the most serious threats towards the young people. They can mislead their parent throughout the whole educational system; they can make them believe that they graduated. It is considered an embarrassment for the family if they have to repeat a year in school. This is exclusion.

This problem has been addressed by a good example at another school in this large and coherent area characterised by social exclusion. It's Hermodsdal School, where 74% of the pupils finishing the ninth and final compulsory in 2003 (age 15) had a foreign background. According to Laid Bouakaz, a former teacher at the school and currently a postgraduate student at Malmö University, the largest immigrant groups come from Iraq, Lebanon, Bosnia and Afghanistan. Altogether, around 28 languages are spoken among the children at the school. The Arabic-speaking students make up the biggest language group. It's common to not have completed the Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) course. That doesn't mean that the level of education has to be low. There are many well-educated parents. The range of education levels is wide, though, and many have a low education. Some are illiterate. All of this makes communication difficult and a major challenge.

A good example called the **Parental Education** faced up to that challenge. Parents were offered an education, not about family relations but about the Swedish school system and how to become an active participant. The purpose was to increase the parents' knowledge about the school and community, to build a tighter bond between the school and the community and to start up a parental association. The initiative was taken by Laid

Bouakaz and instead of taking for granted what the parents needed to learn, he started by asking them. At special meetings during the autumn, parents as well as staff got to give their views of what a parental education should contain. Thereby, an interest for participating in the education was awakened as well.

The **Parental Education** project has pointed out the problem of insufficient knowledge about the Swedish education system and society among immigrant parents. However, there is a problem of insufficient knowledge among the school teachers as well. School teachers and indeed ethnic Swedes in general know far too little about social exclusion and what it means to grow up under such circumstances. Such a problem has been defined and tackled by the good example called the **Nightingale**.

In spite of the multicultural character of contemporary society and the fact that many young people grow up under conditions characterised by social exclusion, students in higher education learn too little about that. Due to the high share of failure in education among young people with a foreign background and the concomitant uneven recruitment, students don't even meet particularly many other young people with such backgrounds. Instead, many students have a background in the middle-class with Swedish origins. The **Nightingale** project offers them the opportunity to get many new, important and enriching experiences.

However, even without projects like the **Study Workshop**, **Parental Education** and **Nightingale** many young people with a background in social exclusion succeed in compulsory school and continue at upper secondary school. Still, they experience problems in the school environment. The structures and culture of the school could entail problems for young people without a middle-class as well as Swedish background.

That problem has been addressed by the good example called the **Integration Coordinators** at the Öresundsgymnasiet, an upper secondary school. It aims at changing the school in order to make young people feel appreciated and at ease, regardless of background and circumstances. The school has been rewarded with several awards for its work on multi-cultural values and integration, amongst others the City of Malmö's Award for Integration. The basis of these changes has been the work of the **Integration Coordinators**, Minka Huskic and Mujo Hailovic. They are both social pedagogues with a multi-cultural focus and have a

master's degree from IMER (International Migration and Ethnic Relations) at Malmö University. In addition, their foreign background enables them to be particularly understanding.

The schools in the URBACT projects are situated in housing areas characterised by social exclusion. In Sweden, such areas usually have a high share of immigrants, affected by long-term unemployment and poverty. Many of the families haven't lived in Sweden for a long time, and haven't been able to get into the labour market. For that reason, young people don't get to know anything about what it means to have a job. According to the headteacher at Öresundsgymnasiet in Malmö, the pupils lack knowledge about the Swedish labour market and have little or no contact with local companies. Many pupils with an excluded background have not even seen an adult go to work in the morning.

This problem has been identified and addressed by the **Mentor Company Project**. Moreover, the project has addressed the corresponding problem of insufficient knowledge among employers and companies. Sonja Lindlöf, one of the people behind the project, believes that there are strong prejudices towards immigrants among the companies and that the media plays a big role in strengthening these prejudices. As a result, many young people with a foreign background have problems getting jobs in Swedish companies.

Associated with the ethnic background is often bad mental health. Many people suffer as a result of wars and other traumatic experiences. "*There is a lot of sorrow*", says Laid Bouakaz. Similarly, the report from Göteborg on the **Parental Board** refers to problems "*from war trauma and posttraumatic stress, which have a large influence on the physical as well as the psychical health of both parents and children*".

However, dwellings in the socially excluded areas in Sweden are in general not marked by poverty, but often have a high material standard. The regulations of the Swedish housing market also make the conditions of living comparatively safe. Tenants have their rights, and can't be evicted without reason.

Nevertheless, the dwellings are often small compared to the size of the families. The building of the big housing areas during the ´50s and ´60s were planned to house nuclear families with just a few children. Nowadays, they are often inhabited by larger families, maybe even with relatives. "*It is not unusual to have 7-8 persons in an apartment with 2-3 rooms*" says the headteacher of Kroksbäck School. Laid Bouakaz knows about a case at Hermodsdal School with 10 children and parents living in a three-room home. As a result, the preconditions for doing homework become very unfavourable.

Moreover, there is usually a lack of favourable conditions for positive social development. Most of the areas in Sweden now marked by social exclusion were built during the 1960s and early 1970s, for consumers with a job, as a part of the so-called "million homes programme". It was planned that the inhabitants in the new areas should eat, watch TV and sleep, but nothing else, absolutely not spend time together. Because of this, almost no space was given to small shops, restaurants, pubs, associations or social spaces in general. The areas are thereby not built for an unemployed population. Unemployed people living in areas marked by exclusion, thereby easily become socially isolated.

More or less all dwellings in areas marked by exclusion are rented flats, most usually in blocks. Many are owned by the council housing company (MKB), but private house-owners also exist. In Kroksbäck, all rented flats are owned by MKB. At Hermodsdal it's the opposite; private house-owners own almost all of the rental flats.

The background in the million dwelling programme as well as the dominance of rental flats and blocks soon gave these areas a bad reputation, long before they became dominated by immigrants. The growing feature of immigrants, often long-term unemployed and dependent on social benefits, but especially the recent reports about violence and criminality have made the reputation worse. It only seems to get worse and worse.

Against the background described above, the conditions for adolescence don't seem very favourable. How easy is it to keep up in class when the education isn't in one's mother tongue, and the pupils have to catch up with much that the Swedish pupils already have learned? How much support can parents give when they have difficulties with the language and lack knowledge about the Swedish school system? How can the pupil do homework when the family is living in a crowded home? In what way can long-term unemployed and maybe even depressed parents function as role models? How can they keep up their authority as parents? Social exclusion is also about not being able to afford, not being able to buy the right things and clothes. The area's bad reputation can also make it stigmatising for the young people to live in.

To conclude, it's not difficult to find an explanation to why young people don't pass exams. Indeed, educational failure has become one of the major indicators of social exclusion. In 2005, more than 23% of the pupils in Malmö finishing the ninth and final compulsory year (age 15) didn't pass the exams, far above the national average of 11%. Without a pass, young people are not allowed continue studying in the upper secondary

school (gymnasium). Instead, they are offered a place at an individual programme (IV-programme). Through an individually adjusted study path, the IV-programme makes it possible for the young people to catch up and of the threshold for admission to the upper secondary school. Thus, it's the lack of exam results that indicates the problem and makes the young people characterised as socially excluded.

Such an individual programme was arranged for 3 years (2000-2003) by the NGO in Malmö called the Brewery. The education was organised in the former brewery; nowadays one of the biggest in-door skate parks in Europe. The former brewery was closed down in the early 1990s but rebuilt a couple of years later by a group of skaters, who together with the youth organisation Young Eagles and YMCA had formed the Brewery association during the autumn of 1997. The skate park was inaugurated in 1998. Two years later, three teachers were employed to start the **Brewery's IV-programme**.

The **Brewery's IV-programme** addressed a problem which has become increasingly common. However, in the shape of individual programmes, it has turned out to be difficult to solve. The **Brewery's IV-programme** was not entitled to tackle anything other than problems associated with the individual. For example, structural problems at the compulsory schools and problems with the grading system were beyond the reach of the **Brewery's IV-programme**.

Within such narrow restrictions, is it really possible to solve the problem with incomplete grades? When the pupil leaves the compulsory school (year nine at the age of 16), the problem is torn out of its structural context. But, the causes might as well have to do with the nine-year compulsory schooling. Maybe, the compulsory schoolteachers need to learn more about the pupil's home conditions and cultural background. Maybe the school needs to become better at connecting education to the pupils' own experiences and cultures, to thereby strengthen their motivation. But, then maybe the pupils' participation needs to be strengthened.

2.2.2 Göteborg (Sweden)

Göteborg is the second largest city in Sweden, populated by 478 054 (31 Dec 2003) and the regional capital of a conurbation with 803 941 inhabitants (1 Jan 2002).[46] Just like Malmö, Göteborg has a rich industrial heritage, though more trade-oriented due to the large port, the largest in Sweden. International relations and trade routes have always been more important to Göteborg than to Malmö.

The recession of the 90s hit Göteborg almost as hard as Malmö. The employment rate dropped from 81% (age 20-64) in 1990 to 65% in 1994. However, since then, employment has partially recovered to 71%, which hasn't happened in Malmö. A significant industrial sector still exists in Göteborg, employing 17% of the workforce (compared to 13% in Malmö), manifested by large-scale multinational manufacturers like Volvo and SKF.

Also in Göteborg, the recession during the 90s coincided with a sharp increase in refugee immigration. 20% of all inhabitants in Göteborg are born outside Sweden (1 Jan 2004). A substantial share of the children and young people live in poverty. Of all the children in Göteborg (age 0-17), 22% live in deprived households, according to the organisation Save the Children.[47]

Just as Malmö, Göteborg is a very segregated city. The examples provided from Göteborg belong to the areas most characterised by social exclusion. The project **Summer Workers** is located in the City District of Bergsjön where 62% of the children (age 0-17) live in poor households. Only Rosengård in Malmö has a higher percentage (70%) among the metropolitan City Districts in Sweden. According to the local report, only around 6% of the pupils aged 13-15 at the Bergsjön School have Swedish as their mother tongue. The largest immigrant groups are Bosnian, Kurdish, Arabic and Somali.

The problem addressed by the project **Summer Workers** has a general validity in areas like Bergsjön. The local report describes the typical situation:

> For many children and young people in Bergsjön the school means security and routines on weekdays. Many of them are lacking activities during the summer vacation. That leads them to find their own "activities" that are not allowed or illegal. Those children who get into criminality often carry on their behaviour when the school begins again. Especially the vacation between 8th and 9th form is a critical period.

Due to the high level of unemployment, there is a lack of meaningful activities among the grown-ups as well. How do young people react, when their parents, brothers, sisters and even relatives don't get a job even if they have an education? To the chairman of the **Parental Board** at Nytorp School in the City District of Lärjedalen, Ghaleb Muhssen, the answer is obvious. He refers to this lack of positive experience as one of the problems that need to be solved. As he says, "*why should I educate myself and take a student loan, when I will still be working in my uncle's pizzeria?*" Moreover, the pupils lack knowledge about the responsibilities that comes with a job and in what ways it's acceptable to behave towards an employer. The pupils are used to the relatively harmless consequences at school, and do not

know that being late or behaving badly is not accepted at an office.

Consequently, the schools in the socially excluded areas have low educational attainment. In 2003, 52% of the pupils at the Bergsjön School finishing the ninth and final compulsory year (age 15) didn't pass the exams. The percentage was almost as high, 48%, at the International School Gårdsten in the City District of Gunnared, where the projects **Circles on the Water** and **Success Alternatives** have their location. According to the study by Save the Children, 48% of the children (age 0-17) in Gunnared live in poor households.

Success Alternatives has been carried out at the International School Gårdsten, where 90% of the pupils finishing the ninth and final compulsory year 2003 (age 15) had a foreign background. The project has tackled the problems of grading. Indeed, grading has become one of the main indicators of social exclusion, the share of young people that don't pass the exams being a measure of the problems. But could we be sure that the grades measure the right knowledge? If not, the problem is not necessarily the social exclusion indicated by grading, but grading itself.

According to the **Success Alternatives** the problems are not only insufficient knowledge, but also the definition of knowledge and the way of grading it. Such problems hit young people with a foreign background in multi-cultural schools. Besides their often insufficient knowledge measured by grades, they could have other knowledge, but one that the grades don't measure. It's most obvious in the case of multi-cultural knowledge, which there will be a great need of in a society that gradually becomes more multi-cultural. The grades don't say anything about the multi-cultural knowledge, though, and so no value is attributed to it, since there is a lack of other types of assessment in the school.

Besides weakening the motivation of the young people, the problems of defining and methods of grading success could also impair the relationship with their parents. They may think that the Swedish society doesn't want to take advantage of the other competences that they know that their children have as a result of what is or is not reflected in the grading system. This signals to the parents that their cultural heritage is of no importance whatsoever.

In addition, the project **Success Alternatives** emphasis how defining and grading success become a problem for the schools and their staff. They might spend a lot of time and effort in helping to create a basis for further learning, i.e. safety, confidence and hopes for the future but, as long as success isn't visible in improved grades, it is not noticed at all. This is because there is a lack of ways of evaluating how the school works and succeeds with the conditions for learning.

The **TISUS-group** in Göteborg highlights a very obvious problem of grading affecting young people who have finished studying at upper secondary school and been graded in their native countries. In Sweden, regardless of their knowledge such grading doesn't count. Instead, they are obliged to start by studying Swedish as a second language for a couple of years and then relearn a full upper secondary education. Such great demands run the risk of undermining their motivation and result ultimately in social exclusion.

2.2.3 Copenhagen (Denmark)

Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, is populated by 501 664 (1 Jan 2004).[48] The whole metropolitan conurbation consists of 1.4 million inhabitants. Copenhagen has a comparatively young population as many young people move there to work and study. During the last 20 years, the population has on average become 6 years younger, while at the same time the rest of Denmark has become 3 years older. Copenhagen has become less dependent on manufacturing because of its large universities, institutions of different kinds, its attraction as a congress city and its general position as capital city. Only 9% of the workforce belongs to the industrial sector. Unemployment peaked at 16.6% (age 16-66) in 1994 but has then declined. On 1 Jan 2004, the unemployment rate was 7.1%.

The Danish cities have become associated with immigrants as well, but the share of immigrants is considerably lower than in the Swedish cities. 14% of the population in Copenhagen is born in foreign countries, compared to 24% in Malmö. However, areas characterised by social exclusion could have high shares. That's the case in Mjølnerparken, a part of the larger Nørrebro area, where approximately 60% of the inhabitants come from Arabic speaking countries (Palestinians, Lebanese and Iraqis). In the school of the area, 80 % of the pupils have another ethnic background than Danish.

The **AMUCK** project deals with the problems in this area. In Copenhagen, 27% of the young people drop out from the education system, compared to 21% in the whole of Denmark. Many of them have a foreign background (immigrants or descendants). Within the Copenhagen city council, a special organisation exists, responsible for educational- and occupational guidance for young people. It's called the Centre for Guidance. Trained teachers with close links to schools and local communities often carry out the guidance.

But the Centre for Guidance has also started different mentoring projects in recognition of the greater needs among some groups of young people.

One of these projects is **AMUCK**. The local report defines the problems as high unemployment and a poor linguistic as well as cultural integration in the Danish society. "*In addition to this there is quite a lot of vandalism in the area, which has generated a great deal of attention from both politicians and the media.*" 925 of the approximately 1 106 people of working age living in the area, receive welfare payments. In this environment, 1 000 children aged 8-14 grow up.

> The youngsters in 'Mjølnerparken' often get the feeling of not being respected by the Danes and the Danish society. E.g. they experience that the criminal behaviour of others is transmitted to everyone in the group – that they are stigmatised by the criminal activities of others. To simplify the situation; if one boy in the area behaves badly, the public opinion is that every youngster in the area is alike.

Another problem associated with social exclusion has been addressed by the **Pigeskolen** project, though in this case concerning girls. The local report describes the situation of a 16-year old girl with a Pakistani background, born in Denmark, and oldest of four girls, who take part in the project:

> The girls have a big responsibility at home, partly in shape of their role as the big sister, and partly because their mothers often are ill during long periods of time, leading to that the girls have to take over the mother's role in relation to the smaller siblings and the house holding.

2.2.4 Aarhus (Denmark)

Aarhus is the second largest city in Denmark, populated by 293 510 (1 Jan 2004).[49] The city takes part in the URBAN programme 2002-2007 and the area designated has a population of 21 338. 53% of the population in this area has a foreign background, compared to 11.5% in the city as a whole.[50] The population in the URBAN area is relatively young, 33% being younger than 20 years, compared to 23% in the city as a whole. 7.3% of all the residents in Aarhus live in the URBAN-area, but 10.5% of the young people, aged 0-19. The employment rate in Aarhus amounts to 70.1%, compared to only 47.3% in the URBAN area. 34% of all the cash payment recipients in Aarhus live in the URBAN area.

50% of the pupils at Frydenlund School, where the good example **School and Home** is located, have a foreign background. 30 different nationalities are represented at the school. According to the local report, the area around Frydenlund School is characterised by poverty and high unemployment, despite many well-educated parents among the residents. Dominated by houses built during the 1970s, the area is not considered attractive by ethnic Danes in general. Yet, the dwellings maintain high material standard, although not big enough to house some families with many members. Thus, overcrowded households exist in the area. The project **School and Home** aims at strengthening the involvement of immigrant parents in schooling and thereby enable a higher share of the pupils to succeed.

However, even young people that succeed in school could find it hard to become socially included, just because of their foreign background. They are the young people addressed by the **Leisure Time Shop** in Aarhus. They are characterised as "*well-functioning bilingual young people. Young people who are characterised as having significant social problems or criminal records formally fall outside the target group and are not eligible for help via this project.*" The majority of them are born in Denmark, although they originate from the Middle East, and speak Danish well.

Primarily, the young people are associated with social exclusion because of the difficulties they have

finding a job. In the explanation, the local report about the **Leisure Time Shop** points out two types of causes. The one deals with the family situation. Characteristically and most important, the parents don't have any connection to the Danish labour market, nor any knowledge about it, which the young people could draw on. Moreover, "*many of the parents suffer from psychosomatic disorders. Those of the parents that are refugees are also often physically traumatised.*" Furthermore, most of the young people live in housing areas with a rather bad reputation.

To address this kind of problem is not the objective of the **Leisure Time Shop** but rather to address the other type of issue, which concerns the employers:

> Some employers have as a norm a negative attitude to these young people - either because of prejudices or as a result of negative experience. Some of the young people that contact the Leisure Time Shop feel discriminated by employers because their ethnic Danish friends get jobs despite the fact that the young bilinguals had applied for the job first and were equally qualified.

The **Leisure Time Shop** targets a certain category of young people, but the problem defined is the lack of connections and barriers to the labour market, not the young people themselves.

2.2.5 Helsinki (Finland)

Helsinki, the capital of Finland, is populated by 559 046 (2004/2005).[51] The whole metropolitan conurbation consists of 1.2 million inhabitants. Like the rest of Finland, Helsinki was affected badly by the economic recession during the 90s. Many of the people who lost their jobs are still unemployed, despite long working experience and high education level. That's because the transformation of the labour market has led to new skills requirements. Currently, there are not enough young people with sufficient education and experience to meet demand not least as many older people retire. The unemployment rate in 1995 at 15.4% (age 15-64), has decreased to 7.6% (December 2005).

Finland has an even lower share of immigrants than Sweden and Denmark. In Helsinki, 8% of the population has another mother tongue than Finnish. Only 2.1% of the inhabitants has another citizenship than Finnish. In contrast, 24% of Malmö's population is born abroad, and an even higher amount has another mother tongue than Swedish.

The difference is also noticeable regarding the background of the young people. At the upper comprehensive level of the Myllypuro school, where the project **For Schools and Life** is located, 33% of the pupils (73/218) had an immigrant background (including the ones born abroad as well as those with at least one parent borne abroad). Most of them have Russian origins (25/73). In addition to the ones with an Estonian background (11/73), half of the young people with an immigrant background (36/73) stem from the former Soviet Union. This is a major contrast to the situation in Malmö. The major immigrant groups in Malmö are almost completely absent in Helsinki. Few speak Arabic.

The Myllypuro area, where the young people live, has 9 200 inhabitants (2004/2005). In comparison to corresponding areas in the Swedish cities, immigrants make up quite a small part. 13% of all inhabitants have another mother tongue than Finnish or Swedish. The amount of children (0-15) is 17%, which also can be stated to be quite a low amount. In the Malmö area Hermodsdal, children amount to 26%. Myllypuro instead has quite a large number of old age pensioners, 21% (65+), which can be compared to 9% at Hermodsdal.

The majority of the Myllypuro area was built during the 1960s, and thereby is of the same age as the Swedish Million Dwelling Programme (e.g. Kroksbäck and Hermodsdal in Malmö, Gårdsten and Bergsjön in Göteborg). Just like the corresponding areas in the Swedish cities, Myllypuro has a poor reputation. It is associated with a relatively high amount of immigrants, but also with a big building scandal. Parts of Myllypuro were built on contaminated land and because of that several blocks were pulled down.

All in all, social exclusion has a partly different character than in Malmö and Göteborg. The problems with managing schools with another language than the mother tongue, and for the parents to support their children are valid for Myllypuro as well. A considerably smaller amount of pupils are involved, though. This doesn't make the problem smaller for these particular pupils, but maybe even greater, since ethnic minorities are a relatively new phenomenon in the Finnish society. According to the local report, education in Finnish for immigrants isn't very well organised. Finnish culture is also said to be much more homogeneous than Swedish.

The **Voice of the Young** project in Helsinki defines a problem of general concern for schools, not only the ones characterised by social exclusion. "*Young people don't have enough possibilities to influence their lives.*" There is a lack of opportunities, arenas, ways for young people to have an influence, but also to "*learn the basic elements of democratic decision-making process.*"

According to the problem definition, the lack of

influence becomes both a major cause as well as a consequence of social exclusion. Young people become socially excluded due to their lack of influence and opportunities to take part in bringing about changes. It's particular devastating for young people who already live in socially excluded situations and who have the greatest need for such changes. Indeed, the **Voice of the Young** hopes to solve the problems of passiveness and indifference in democratic decision-making among young people, but not by addressing young people as individuals. Instead, the problem to be addressed is the lack of influence for young people in the school institution.

2.2.6 Gijón (Spain)

The city of Gijón is located in the north of Spain, on the coast of the Asturias region, and has a population of 275 830 (March 2002).[52] For a long time, the city has relied on a prosperous and comprehensive industrial sector, in particular iron, steel and shipyard industries. However, from 1980-2000 the industrial sector almost halved, from 31 189 to 17 684 employees, with serious consequences, described in the report *The implementation of European employment guidelines at local level*:

> The destruction of employment in the industrial sectors has brought about the appearance of serious, long-lasting unemployment situations, above all among the less skilled. Low skilled workers who have been made redundant in the mining, construction and iron and steel sectors have great difficulty in getting a job, and this is not made any easier because of the disappearance of small companies dependent on the large industries, as a result of the drop in activity of the latter. The prolongation of these situations of unemployment in turn leads to serious problems of poverty and social exclusion (page 9).

The decline of the industrial sector has been partly compensated by jobs in the service sector. During the 1990s, the number of jobs in the service sector increased from c. 44 000 to c. 60 000 (Ibid, page 8). Yet, the unemployment rate remains high, 15% in December 2000. 66% of the unemployed were women.

Spain has generally a low amount of immigrants, compared to Sweden, but the amount is especially low in the city of Gijón. Gijón takes part in the URBAN-programme, and the area chosen has 26 670 inhabitants. Only 2.7% of these are born abroad. When taking a walk in the area, one sees few signs of immigrants, such as special shops etc.

However, although not very many, immigrants have become a target group for the organisation called **CISE** (Centre for Solidarity and Employment Initiatives), established already in the 1980s.

> At that time, most children belonged to what we call high risk families, 50% of which were affected by all the factors which could lead to marginalisation situations: begging, drug addiction, crime etc.

Gradually, the share of immigrant children has increased. At the same time, the emphasis is no longer on problems with drugs and health. Instead, the major problems among the families have turned out to be unemployment, insecure working conditions, bad housing conditions, overcrowded households, low levels of education and even illiteracy. Still, the staff at **CISE** finds the children less socially excluded than the target groups in the 1980s and 90s. As one of the staff said in my interview, "*they go to school, they have friends, they have a social life. They are integrated in the community.*"

That's probably also because a high proportion still has a Spanish origin or at least speaks Spanish as their mother tongue. Of the 60 children aged 10-16 that took part in the **CISE** activities during 2003, 25 have Spanish origin. In addition, many of the others stem from Spanish-speaking countries like Colombia, Dominican Republic, Equador and Argentine.

Many of the conclusions drawn from Malmö and Göteborg are not very valid in Gijón due to the low share of immigrants. Hence, social exclusion in Gijón is not particularly characterised by language difficulties, other cultures or religions. The parents probably have no great lack of knowledge about the school system, its demands and possibilities. The school is on the other hand not unaware of the family's culture. There is also probably a good awareness of which knowledge that the pupils have, and how they develop. The cause of bad health that exists in Sweden is also lacking in Gijón. Very few suffer because of war or other traumatic experiences.

The houses are adapted to Spanish relationships and conditions. Since mainly Spaniards live there, there is probably no problem of apartments being too small. People with large families don't move in, unlike the situation in Sweden among some immigrant groups. Moreover the birth rate in Spain is very low, amongst the lowest in Europe.

For the above reasons, there is not a very strong connection between ethnicity and class. The excluded areas aren't dominated by long-term unemployed immigrants. The areas have a high unemployment rate, though, especially when it comes to young men and women, but in our international comparison, working poor appear to be the most characteristic feature. A sector with low wages and insecure working conditions has emerged. This leads many to have several jobs to be able to make a living. For young people, this means an upbringing in poor conditions, and maybe even with parents that seldom have time to be home.

In contrast to the situation in the Nordic areas, the young people see the adults go to work in the morning, but then they don't see much more of them. In the Nordic areas, the parents remain attached to home due to unemployment, but that debilitates their authority and function as role models. In the Spanish area, the parents could perhaps retain their potential as an authority due to more regular employment, but long working hours due to low wages make it difficult to realise their potential. Hence, in both cases the preconditions for practising parenthood have worsened, but for different reasons.

The lack of jobs affects young people in particular. The high rate of youth unemployment has been one of the problems addressed by the organisation **Abierto Hasta el Amanecer**. It started in the mid 1990s on the basis of a survey of 680 young people in the area La Calzada.

> The results were revealing and showed two main issues which affected all young people in the neighbourhood, without exception: unemployment, unstable future perspectives for the young people in town, the lack of leisure offer in the neighbourhood and the high economic cost of the offer available.

As one of its objectives, **Abierto** decided to provide young people with alternative activities for the weekends, evenings and nights. Secondly, **Abierto** wanted young people themselves to manage the activities and in that way jobs were created. Since then, **Abierto** has been able to create more than 200 jobs for young people working with leisure activities. Healthy and non-consumerist leisure activities have been promoted.

Still, youth unemployment remains a big problem. In 2001 (Dec), 32% of the young people age 20-24 were reported to be unemployed. The project **Mar de Niebla** in Gijón turns to a category of young people which seems to be the most excluded. They are the ones that take part in neither education nor employment or labour market measures. **Mar de Niebla** produced a study about life circumstances among young people between 16 and 24 years. The study included questions about level of studies, economic and labour market situation, individual opinions and perception of themselves.

> Many young people get lost along the way and society creates alternative formulas of occupational education, but on many occasions, young people with social difficulties do not even get to know about them or if they do, they are not motivated enough to participate in them.

Almost all of the young people taking part in **Mar de Niebla** have a Spanish origin. Most of them live in poor families. Some of the parents are long-term unemployed but more usually, they alternate between low-pay employment and social benefit payments. Almost all of the young people have failed in school. 40% of the young people live in one-parent families. However, they don't live in overcrowded households and "*shanty-town quarters have been eradicated in the city for more than a decade*". Furthermore, almost all of them belong to the same culture as the ethnic majority.

The high unemployment rate among young people and the low-paid jobs offered means that many young people can't afford to move away from home. But, this has yet another reason. In Gijón and generally in Spain, a high share of the residents own their homes. To be able to move away from home, young people in Gijón must be able to afford to buy a home. If one is unemployed or has a low-paid job, this is impossible. The banks simply don't let you borrow money. The consequence is that many young people have to stay in the parental home.

2.2.7 Gera (Germany)

The city of Gera is located in the eastern part of Germany, with a population of 105 000 (2004).[53] It used to be an industrial stronghold in the former DDR, but after the reunification Gera has been affected by mass unemployment. During the 1990s, the number of jobs decreased from 62 000 to 41 000. In particular, the mining and manufacturing industries lost 83% of its former employment. The high unemployment, amounting to 20.5%, has forced many to move from Gera. In 1984, Gera had a population of 131 313. 15 years later (1999), it had decreased to 117 253. Within a couple of years, the population is expected to fall below 100 000.

According to the official Thomas Seidel at the City Council, the unemployment rate among young people amounts to 25%:

> The problem is the shrinking population, the birth rate is low and the higher educated families move to other cities; they go west. In the city area we have no jobs for young people without education, the better educated are already there, taking the jobs.

Just like cities generally in the east, Gera has a low share of immigrants, only 1 400, corresponding to 1.9% of the total population (1999). More than half of them live in the area targeted by the URBAN programme, located in the central part, which has a population of 21 000. Thus, social exclusion in Gera is not associated with immigrants in the first place, but with high unemployment and deprivation. The area targeted by the URBAN programme used to be the large-scale industrial area in Gera with an employment of 42 000 in 1989. 10 years later, employment had dropped to 7 000. The rapid industrial decline after reunification affected the URBAN area in particular.

The URBAN area has an old housing stock as well. 81% of homes were built before the war, compared to 59% in the whole of Gera, though most of them have been renovated and have quite a high standard due to the massive investment put into housing renovation after reunification. Yet, as many as 20% of homes remain empty, compared to 9.5% in the whole of Gera, because of a poor reputation and inadequate infrastructure.

The project selected by the city of Gera, **Joint Social Streetwork**, is located outside the URBAN area in another area called Ostviertel which suffers from similar problems.

> The neighbourhood, where the middle school "Ostschule" is located, is a disadvantaged area of the city of Gera. Other facilities or offers for afternoon activities do not exist. Young people that live in this area have no place to go in the afternoons but the street. … The area is characterized by empty flats, old and run-down houses, and missing cultural offers.

Besides unemployment and poverty, the run-down character of the area and lack of opportunities seem to be the main problem. In contrast, according to the local report, the families in general don't suffer from poor health and have sufficient living space. No overcrowding exists. Furthermore, social exclusion is not associated with an ethnic minority culture. The residents in the area share the same culture as the majority population in Gera and speak the same language. Accordingly, the parents have no problems understanding the teachers in school and the demands of the educational system.

A major problem associated with social exclusion in Ostviertel seems to be depression and a lack of prospects. In general, people who have lost their jobs since the reunification have either moved away or stayed and remained unemployed since then. Then, what motivates the young people to get included in Gera? Why not get included somewhere else instead? Among those who stay, it's easy to understand that being socially excluded becomes normalised.

2.2.8 Velenje (Slovenia)

Velenje is the smallest of the cities in the network. The urban area of Velenje has a population of 26 742 (2002 census).[54] Yet, Velenje is the fifth biggest Slovenian city.[55] That's because Slovenia is a small country. Just recently, the Slovenian population exceeded 2 million. A large proportion lives in the capital Ljubljana, situated in the mid-west, which has a population of 265 881 (urban area).[56]

Velenje is situated in the mid-east of Slovenia. It's a young city, declared a municipality in 1952 and mentioned as a city in 1955. Hence, 94% of the dwellings have been built after the Second World War.[57] Velenje has been a heavily industrialised city and it still is, compared to the other cities in the network. Besides a service sector embracing 33%, 65% of jobs are in the so-called non-agricultural sector, which consists mainly of machine building and in the manufacturing of electrical and optical equipment.

Mining has been the basis of growth in Velenje. For a long time, the mine was the biggest employer. However, since the ´80s, mining has been in decline, although the sector still embraces 14% of the workforce. Indeed, the industrial sector is in decline in the whole of Slovenia but it remains a prominent part of the economy. In 2002, 29.7% of jobs were in the industrial sector, compared to 36.9% in 1995.[58]

In Velenje, the decline in industry has led to unemployment, although not at very high levels. The

official unemployment rate is 10.5% (Dec 2004) and on the decrease. According to our partner, the situation is not perceived as mass unemployment, at least not yet. As the mine is expected to close within 10-15 years, mass unemployment is mentioned as an obvious risk. However, just as in the other cities, young people bear the brunt of unemployment. As many as 40.7% of all the unemployed are younger than 26 years. I haven't had access to figures on youth unemployment in Velenje, but on the basis of other statistics, youth unemployment (age 18-25) has been calculated to 18%.[59]

In ethnic terms, Velenje is a homogenous city. According to the official statistics on the urban area, 95% of the population has Slovenian citizenship.[60] That doesn't mean that all have a Slovenian background. 83% are considered Slovenians. Among the remaining part, Serbs, Bosnians and Croats make up the biggest groups, thus ones that belonged to the former Yugoslavian republic. Thus, the social exclusion that has emerged since the ´90s is not associated with ethnic or cultural divisions. Moreover, Velenje doesn't seem to be a segregated city. No spatial divisions exist between different groups of the population. Neither are the houses run down, nor does any particular housing area have a bad image. Furthermore, young people don't grow up in overcrowded households, according to the local report.

Instead, the problems described concern the situation for young people. As indicated by the high levels of youth unemployment, the labour market doesn't offer the same opportunities as before to get a job and also to be socially active. Furthermore, there is a lack of alternative activities and meeting places. Instead, unemployed young people and ones that drop out from school tend to meet in the streets and develop ways of behaviour which the majority population finds hard to accept. The majority population tends to look down on those young people and reject them. In that way, the gulf widens and the young people tend to become isolated. Accordingly, they run the risk of getting into bad company and involved in drugs as well as crime. The lack of social coherence and future opportunities offered by society, makes getting involved in a youth gang an alternative. Violence within and between such youth gangs is not unusual.

> A lot of young people which are involved in crime activity behave very violently towards other young people and try to gain their respect through violence. A lot of those young people behave similarly towards their parents and most of parents feel helpless about that.

The problem was recognised in the mid ´90s, also due to demands of young people to establish some kind of youth centre. Indeed, a youth centre was established in 1997 and some years later, in 2001, the **Youth Day Care Centre** started, one of the examples proposed to the URBACT network. The programme targets the problems of a lack of activities, opportunities and meeting places for young people.

Basically, it deals with the problems caused by the high youth unemployment and worrying future prospects in the labour market, but also the insufficient ability of schools to catch up with the changes in society. In contrast to before, the school can no longer promise any self-evident future in the labour market. That makes it less motivating for some young people to go to school. As said in the local report, "*some children have really low self-esteem because they don't believe in the future*".

According to the local report, the young people have become excluded because of their behaviour, but that's of course only the final step in the causal chain explained above. Moreover, whether excluded or not, young people usually develop another knowledge, which the education system struggles to recognise. Such a lack of recognition makes it even less motivating for some young people to go to school. That problem has been addressed by the **Youth Day Care Centre**, emphasised by the program coordinator Mitja Gregoric:

During that time they have developed different kind of knowledge especially from activities like music, video and computer science. Now they try to get included back in society, but it is very hard because mostly they haven't finished their educational process. There are no jobs where they can show their skills or even use them. The youth centre tries to help them with that.

Most of the visitors at the **Youth Day Care Centre** are boys, 84%. According to the statistics kept by the centre, around 70% of the users live in families with lower incomes. That doesn't equate to poverty, the local report underlines. It's made clear that the "*users of the youth day care centre are not excluded because their family is poor*". However, most of the young people live in families where at least one of the members is unemployed, often long-term.

2.3 Concluding remarks

In this section, I have suggested a definition of social exclusion. I have also tried to define the problems associated with social exclusion on the basis of the local reports. Social exclusion could be defined as the combination of a lack of having (e.g. poverty) and not taking part in essential processes of society (e.g. employment). The definition revolves around three principles:

- Social exclusion has to be addressed from a multidimensional perspective, including among other things income, work, family, ethnicity, housing, culture and power.
- Social exclusion has to be related to the social inclusion of society, which means that we need to know about the structures of society in order to understand how social exclusion could appear.
- Social exclusion contains potential. Such potential could be negative and pose a threat to society, but it could also constitute inspiration and the force for a positive development of society.

The appearance of social exclusion indicates the existence of problems. It's often taken for granted that social exclusion is the problem. However, the problem could just as well be social inclusion. For that reason, it's crucial not to be deceived by the appearance of social exclusion, but to differentiate between causes and effects. From such a perspective, the local reports have helped me to identify some of the main problems associated with social exclusion.

Poverty seems to be the most general problem affecting young people. However, the family could be poor for two different reasons, each one with its own particular consequences:

- Long-term unemployment: In all the cities, families could be poor due to long-term unemployment and the low levels of social assistance associated with that. Being home all the time doesn't favour the authority of the parents and makes it difficult for them to serve as role models.
- Low-pay employment: In cities with partly deregulated labour markets, like Gijón, Gera and Velenje, parents could have a job, but often with insecure conditions and with low pay, forcing them to have not only one but perhaps two or even three jobs. Having a job may favour parental authority, but due to the long working days, they can't be at home to use it.

Foreign background is often associated with social exclusion though the problems don't stem from the foreign background itself, but from its clashes with the social inclusion of society. Thus, by having a foreign background, young people could be affected by such clashes. However, that's not a characteristic of social exclusion in all the cities:

- In the Nordic countries social exclusion tends to be associated with a high share of immigrants. The concomitant lack of knowledge among the parents about the labour market, school system and society tend to constitute a weak parental support for young people. Health problems and traumatic experiences tend to make that support even weaker. The clashes mentioned above could also cause overcrowded households, which leave no space for the young people to pursue their homework.
- In Gijón, Gera and Velenje, social exclusion is not particularly associated with immigrants, which means that parents tend to have a stronger role in the support of young people, due to the reasons mentioned above. Furthermore, the overcrowded households as a cause of social exclusion don't exist.

The education systems contain problems which could cause social exclusion of young people or make it more difficult for them to be included. The local reports point out several kinds of such problems:

- The pursuit of education in all subjects in the majority language disfavours young people with a minority language. In general, education systems tend to be ethnocentric which affects and discriminates against young people with a foreign background.
- The democratic influence of young people in the educational systems tend to be seriously underdeveloped which may affect in particular the excluded ones; the ones for whom the school offers the only opportunity to learn democracy and to believe in it.
- Grading has become one of the main indicators of social exclusion, but it could be questioned to what extent the grades measure the right knowledge. Hence, grading not only indicates but could also cause social exclusion.
- The informal knowledge that young people learn outside the school context, emphasised in the example from Velenje, isn't properly recognised by the education systems and made a basis for the development of self-esteem.

Also, labour markets tend to contain problems which could cause social exclusion of young people or make it more difficult for them to be included. At least two such problems are pointed out in the local reports:

- Labour markets tend to be ethnocentric which affects and discriminates against young people with a foreign background.
- In general, the increased demands on skills and education have made it more difficult for young people to get a job, not only regular ones but also temporary during the summer and leisure time.

A very special problem is the one of failure in school. Young people who fail, in particular the ones who get a receipt for their failure in the shape of insufficient grades, become the agents of a crucial problem. Even if it's caused by structural, systemic or cultural problems, the individual is made the owner of it. On that basis, problem definitions tend to be confined to the individuals and require them to change, regardless of the structural, systemic or cultural causes. Such solutions could perhaps solve the problems of the individuals, but not of the underlying causes which continue to breed individuals with similar problems.

3 YOUNG PEOPLE - TO WHAT?

The examples presented in this network aim to contribute to a change of young people's situation from exclusion to inclusion. They are supposed to be the force which causes a change. But to what? What is meant by inclusion? What kind of inclusion do we refer to? We have to make that clear. If not, we can't know if the young people's situation actually changes to inclusion. Perhaps, only an illusion is created, a change which gives the impression of the young people being included, though they are not. Thus, if we don't clarify what inclusion means, we can't judge the examples as good. It's particularly important to define inclusion in an international comparative network like ours, since it has different implications in our countries and cities.

Another important reason for clarifying and comparing, concerns the causes of the problems. The problems with social exclusion don't depend only on social exclusion. Not only exclusion is problematic, inclusion is too. As stated in section 2, social exclusion presupposes the social inclusion of society. If the social inclusion of society didn't exist, exclusion wouldn't be possible. If these practices are not to be merely solutions to symptoms, they also have to aim at changing the social inclusion of society, in particular its causes of social exclusion.

This third section will start by presenting a perspective on social inclusion and suggest a definition. Using this definition, I will refer to society as a social inclusion. Young people are supposed to be part of society. That's what the change of situation should lead to. Then, what makes society a social inclusion? That question becomes important to answer, first by looking back briefly on the legacy of what could be called the nation-society. It has a legacy in all the countries involved, but the conditions to become included differ. It seems appropriate to explore these conditions by focusing on labour markets, educational systems, welfare regimes, policy responses and how it takes place in the cities.

3.1 Social inclusion – what is that?

In section 2 (page 36), social exclusion was said to presuppose society. On a more general level, though, social exclusion presupposes social inclusion, both as a concept (logically) and as a phenomenon. Without social inclusion, there's nothing to be excluded from. It is impossible to be excluded from something that does not exist. Social exclusion may appear wherever there is social inclusion. Not everybody might be allowed to join a youth gang. For example, the local report from Velenje about the **Youth Day Care Centre** mentions how young people become included in youth gangs "*if they abuse drugs. The role model within that group of young people is the dealer*". Those that don't abuse drugs tend to become excluded. From what?

3.1.1 Social contexts

They are obviously excluded from a particular social context. And just when this social context has very obvious barriers, for example demands to use drugs, we can also perceive it as a form of social inclusion. People who find themselves inside the barriers take part in the inclusion. But whether you feel that you take part is another matter. A **feeling of participation and actual participation** do not necessarily go hand in hand. You can participate without feeling that you do, for example if all decisions are made above your head and you do not get the opportunity to have an influence on them. Or if you work without understanding the language. Social inclusion is strongest when actual participation and the feeling of participation coincide, that is, when you both feel that you participate and actually do.

Take for example the organisation **Abierto** in Gijón, where young people get employed in order to organise night leisure activities. Being employed, they actually take part, but the work they do makes them probably feel that they take part as well. As it builds and capitalises on their own interests and competences, the work creates favourable conditions for a feeling of participation.

In its simplest forms, actual participation can arise through a **social relation**, i.e. by just having a chat. At the Aarhus-conference, Martin Eriksson, presenting one of the groups work, referred to such a definition of what was called "real" social relations.

> And what we mean by "real social relations" is a broader view with an open group, an open system, free of power and not mandatory. There should be a will to do this, and it must be focused on intercultural and multicultural themes.

One example is the mentor project the **Nightingale**, where favourable conditions are created for a rewarding relationship between university students and school children. The meeting can be said to take place between the structures (compulsory school and university, respectively). No roles have been decided beforehand. The child doesn't have to be a pupil, and the student isn't going to teach directly in a set course or raise the pupil according to certain rules. The student is in a broad sense expected to act as an adult role model, but what this entails is open for individual interpretation.

At the same time, the structures of the compulsory school and university function as a framework of significant importance for the relationship. The framework implies that there are limits on the content of the meetings. They can for example not be about assault, criminality, racism, violence or abuse. But the framework also creates motivation. The student is motivated by the fact that the experiences can be used in education. The pupil is motivated by the opportunity to develop, in comparison to school, a different social relationship.

Complexity increases when we take part in a **social structure**, which we do by taking on a **role**, for example as a pupil in a school, an assistant nurse in a hospital, a drummer in a band or a local researcher in an EU project. The roles are associated with requirements. There are certain things we have to do. We also have to master the social relationships of the context. This requires **communication**. We have to understand each other and make ourselves understood. This requires **trust**, too. We have to trust each other. If we do not, we cannot function together in one and the same context.

The **Parental Board** in Göteborg shows the importance of structuring the social relationships and thus taking on roles. Parents at the Nytorp School wanted to have an influence and they were not satisfied to just attend various meetings. Only by the establishment of a board with a clear role for parents did they feel that they could attain that influence and power.

3.1.2 Empowerment

Indeed, all social structures consist of **power**. It's a type of power usually called structural as it belongs to the role.[61] It's included in the role to make decisions and have an influence, in some roles more and in others less or perhaps almost nothing. Structural power should be distinguished from what could be called intentional power, attached to the individual.[62] The distinction between structural and intentional power enables a subtle understanding of **empowerment**. On this basis, the definition needs to distinguish between the empowerment of roles and individuals respectively.[63]

Usually, the focus on empowerment concerns individuals. Such a focus characterised the discussions at the Aarhus conference. Laid Boukaz suggested a definition of empowerment as a "*process of knowledge where young people learn about their rights, obligations, responsibilities, understand and get self-confidence, self-esteem to participate in everyday life situations as citizens.*" Teis Trane seemed to have another opinion:

> I don't agree, empowerment is not about learning anything, it is a question of looking at your competences. And having the background in your own competences, you follow your individual steps. You don't learn anything, you get aware of things.

Boukaz didn't see the ideas as contradictory. To become aware of one's abilities can very well be a part of the definition, but here it concerns people with a fundamental lack of knowledge:

> But the thing we are interested in is people who are marginalised, and living on the edge. And these people don't know anything about their rights and obligations. The parents I met didn't know anything about the school. They haven't anything to be aware of, they didn't have any knowledge inside them to be aware of. That's why I talk about learning.

Boukaz also described empowerment as a process of change "*from being an object to being a subject*". And formulated like that, the definition includes both ideas. Trane's idea accords well with the belief represented by this report in the ability of young people. But, as an immigrant, one can end up in a situation where one's abilities aren't counted, but where other abilities are demanded instead. This is the situation that Boukaz refers to.

The discussions at the Aarhus conference enriched the definition of empowerment, but more specifically the empowerment of individuals. In addition, empowerment could concern roles as well, in line with the distinction made above between individual and structural power. An example of that is **Success Alternatives** where pupils were engaged in work to define and assess other successes than those assessed by grades. Normally, it's not included in the role as pupil to take part in defining and assessing success. For that reason, **Success Alternatives** implied an empowerment of the role (se also on page 82). The structural power in the role of a pupil was increased.

Just as with communication and trust, possessing power could make us feel that we take part. It's of great importance for the feeling of participation. So are our perceptions of each other and more generally our view on people. What do we believe about each other? What do we see? What do we take for granted? The answers put an imprint on our actions expressed in what we laugh at or how we explain our responsibility. In this network, we have agreed to adopt a potential-oriented view on young people, described in chapter 1.3.1 on page 23. In contrast, a problem-oriented view would have led to other priorities.

3.1.3 Causes of social exclusion

Does it sound meaningful? If it does, that also has an impact on our feeling of participation. All social contexts are permeated with **meaning**, more or less, clear-cut or many different, maybe contradictory meanings. It can deal with everything from single words to a report like this or even a whole culture. We express meaning in both words and actions. It's possible to pump in an incredible amount of resources in social contexts, e.g. in a school, but not without a meaning. Resources are necessary, but not sufficient. Who wants to be a part of something that lacks meaning?

No, perhaps we don't want to. And then, we may perhaps choose ourselves to stand outside. Not taking part may very well be caused by a lack of will. Perhaps, people simply do not want to participate. It may not feel meaningful enough. We don't feel motivated, have too little to say. We may not understand or trust each other. So, we choose to not take part. Not being allowed could be another cause of not taking part. But not taking part could also be caused by implicit preconditions, inherent in the structures, which entails difficulties for people with, for example, another ethnic background. That could be called structural racism, or more generally, structural selectivity.[64] Finally, the context implies requirements which make it difficult for you to take part.

The transformation of the social context into a social inclusion reinforces such causes of social exclusion. To contain causes of social exclusion, the context needs to be ordered and lasting. Also, the causes have to operate with regularity, not casually. Then, the context turns into a social inclusion. Thus, I would define a **social inclusion** as an ordered and lasting social context with causal forces that function regularly as barriers. In order to understand the different types of cause, we need to answer four types of questions:

1. In what way is the context uninteresting, unjustified, unhealthy or incomprehensible to the extent that some people opt out?
2. Who is excluded explicitly, by whom and on what basis?
3. What kind of structural selectivity is included within a context which excludes implicitly?
4. What demands claimed by the context to take part, for example education, are difficult to fulfil, why and for whom?

3.2 The social inclusion of nation-societies

The questions about causes of social exclusion apply to **society** as well. But first of all we have to ask if society really exist. The question is justified due to globalisation and many other cross-border developments. Perhaps the whole world has become one single society? No, I don't think so. And many people in poor countries would probably agree. The differences between the rich and the poor parts of the world are too many and too big in terms of for example standard of living, rights or beliefs. It's quite impossible to perceive us all as belonging to one and the same society. Neither do I think that the EU has become a society, although it bears some resemblances to it.

But what about the **nation-states**? Do their territorial borders coincide with the existence of societies? That's an open question, just as open as the borders have become. And to question the existence of society is my main aim. Certainly, it exists in our minds as imagery. We talk about society. It's referred to, mentioned in national curricula, wished for in terms of knowledge-society. As one society or as a part of a wider European society? It's not clear.

To a large extent, I believe that the imagery of society builds on earlier experiences. Once upon a time, mass unemployment didn't exist. We associate this earlier society with low unemployment, decreasing injustice, higher wages, increasing material standards of living. Those were the golden decades after the Second World War. The current discourse builds on these experiences, although all the countries and regions haven't experienced that age to the same extent.

It's certainly possible to raise doubts about how golden the golden age really was, but at least societies were more demarcated and visible. The territorial borders of nation-states coincided with the borders of systems, institutions, organisations, structures and social forces. That became evident when passing the borders was associated with showing pass-ports, customs duty and restrictions of many kinds. Capital couldn't move freely across the borders, neither could labour. Legislation and regulations within these borders were subjected to the elected politicians in national parliaments. Outside these borders, the politicians didn't have much power. And other politicians from outside the borders didn't have any power inside.

The existence of such borders, barrier-like and with multiple validities made it possible to identify and to be identified with particular societies. And the coincidence of those societies with the territorial borders of the

nation-states makes it justified to call them nation-societies. Because of the borders, the nation-societies functioned as social inclusions. The difference between being included and excluded was very obvious. If nowhere else, it was made clear at the borders.

Now, those borders have been dismantled. Indeed, the dismantling of such borders has been one of the main objectives of the EU. It's become much easier to pass the territorial borders of the nation-states, in particular for capital. Politicians in the national parliaments have handed over substantial shares of power to politicians and officials in the EU.

Quite paradoxically, it's in the age of dismantling the borders that **social exclusion** has caught attention. This attention seems to indicate that society has become a social inclusion just recently. However, it hasn't. Instead, the earlier borders have been replaced by new ones, this time with another geographical location, which I will explore further in chapter 3.7 (page 72). The coincidence of the earlier borders with the territorial borders of the nation-states made them look natural and geographically determined. Yet, they were not. They were socially constructed, indeed by intention through political negotiations and decisions.[65]

To understand how nation-societies have developed into new forms of social inclusions, it's necessary to explore the context of society. Indeed, society consists of social contexts, not one but many, some more structured and systemic, others less. Of course, all of us don't take part in all these contexts. We could even be excluded from many social contexts without being excluded from society. Perhaps, it's not important for us to take part and for that reason we choose not to. Because of my age, I'm not allowed to be a pupil in compulsory school. Thus, my exclusion from that context doesn't seem strange.

These are the types of causes that I mentioned earlier and they apply to any social context that has become a social inclusion. Thus, they apply to society as well, as **causes of social exclusion**. It doesn't seem to be interesting, justified, healthy, reasonable or enjoyable for everybody to take part in. People are excluded explicitly as well as implicitly. Requirements are made which a lot of people find difficult to meet. Such an explanation of social exclusion seems to accord with the one suggested by Petra Hoelscher:

> The concept of social exclusion, on the other hand, is interested in the conditions for participation of an individual in the society and in the question whether society acts as an agent of exclusion or inclusion.[66]

However, while Hoelscher hints at two kinds of causes, I suggest them to be four. In my typology, the conditions for participation mentioned by Hoelscher, includes causes to young people opting out (1) as well as high requirements (4). Similarly, society could act as an agent of exclusion both explicitly (2) and implicitly (3).

However, all of us participate in manifold areas of life. Being excluded from any social context doesn't lead to exclusion from society. All contexts of society are not equally important to take part in. Due to the development of nation-societies, we have become dependent on taking part in some social contexts more than in others. Which are these social contexts, why have we become dependent on them and what that this dependence mean?

It's possible to describe a universal feature of the development as increasing **dependence**. We have become more and more dependent on each other. This statement applies to Europeans in general. In an age where politicians and media focus insistently on the individual, it seems perhaps unfashionable to accentuate the dependence between us. Dependence is usually associated with the relations of poor countries to the rich ones. However, behind the smoke-screens of contemporary discourses, the dependence between us easily becomes very obvious. It's enough to just look around at home. How much of our belongings have we produced ourselves? How much would we be capable of producing if we wanted to? And what if something broke down, how much would we be able to repair? Not much. Perhaps just a tiny little part.

And it's not only one or two. We are dependent on so many others and for so many reasons. Extremely complicated and complex relationships of dependence have emerged, stretching out all over the world. How are these relationships mediated? What makes them connected? The answer is the capitalist market economy. It's the capitalist market economy that mediates the dependence between us, but not unconditionally. The mediations take place within frameworks of regulation. Such regulations have been set up on national bases to determine the conditions for the capitalist market economy and taking part in it. Thus, the regulations differ between nation-societies and accordingly, so do the conditions for the capitalist market economy and taking part in it.

3.3 Employment – barriers and/or insecurities?

The dependence on employment seems self-evident. It's taken for granted. However, that has not always been the case. And it still isn't in the whole of Europe. For example, what do the differences in employment rate

tell us? In Denmark and Sweden, more than 70% of the female population aged 15-64 has is in employment (2003). In Spain and Poland, it's only 46%. Does that mean that all those in Spain and Poland between 46% and 70% are not working? No, it doesn't.

3. Employment rate (% population aged 15-64, 2002)[67]

	EU25	DK	DE	ES	PL	SL	FI	SE	UK
All	62,9	75,9	65,3	58,4	51,5	63,4	68,1	73,6	71,7
Female	54,7	71,7	58,8	44,1	46,2	58,6	66,2	72,2	78,0
Male	71,0	80,0	71,7	72,6	56,9	68,2	70,0	74,9	53,5

Indeed, the registered unemployment among women in Spain and Poland is much higher than in Sweden and Denmark, but so is unemployment in general. The figures reveal a basic difference between these nation-societies. A considerable amount of women in Spain and Poland still work unpaid in their families. That kind of work has to a large extent been marginalised in the Nordic countries, also in the minds of people. As the headteacher at Öresundsgymnasiet says, "*The first question people ask you is: What do you do for a living?*"

4. Unemployment rate (% labour force 15+, 2002)[68]

	EU25	DK	DE	ES	PL	SL	FI	SE	UK
All	8,8	4,6	8,6	11,3	19,8	6,1	9,1	4,9	5,1
Female	9,8	4,7	8,4	16,4	20,7	6,5	9,1	4,6	4,5
Male	8,0	4,4	8,7	8,0	19,0	5,8	9,1	5,3	5,6

Indeed, many women work doubly both at home and by being employed, but it's the latter that counts. It's the latter that forms the basis of benefits and pensions. It's the latter that makes women part of the nation-society. In Spain and Poland, it's still possible to be part of the nation-society through unpaid domestic work, although a profound transformation is taking place in these nation-societies. Only ten years ago, the employment rate in Spain among females in workforce age was less than a third.

Hence, residents in the European countries have become increasingly dependent on employment. Being employed and taking part in the market economy as a producer has become crucial for an inclusive life, no matter if you produce commodities or services. People also take part in the market economy in the role of consumers, but the strength in that role depends substantially on the producer role. High wages equate with strong consumer power, while unemployment means the opposite. Yet, strong consumer power is not enough. In order to become socially inclusive, it is also a matter of using it in a '**normal**' way. As a consumer you take part by purchasing the goods and services of the day. It's particularly important for young people. Not having the right clothes, items and gear could become a reason for social exclusion.

3.3.1 Old and new models of economic growth

The dependence on the capitalist market economy goes back to the post-war boom and the dynamic called **Fordism**.[69] Fordism started as a labour process at the famous car factory in Michigan where its owner, Henry Ford, in 1914 raised wages and reduced the working day in exchange for rationalisations in the shape of assembly line production. Later, Fordism became a model of development inspired by the kind of **mass production** introduced at the Ford factory in Michigan. Indeed, mass production spread to large parts of Europe. However, in order for it to become a model of development, traditional ways of living had to be replaced by mass consumption norms. When that happened a virtuous circle of mass production and mass consumption emerged, also called a **regime of capital accumulation**.

The concept of Fordism stems from an approach in social science called the **regulation approach**. Fordism is one of its key concepts. The regulation approach turns neo-classical and **neo-liberal economics** upside-down. To the neo-liberals, the economy consists basically of a self-regulating relation between supply and demand. In its basic state, the economy is ordered. It becomes disordered when actors like politicians and unions intervene. To the regulation approach, the economy is on the contrary disordered and unregulated in its basic state. First of all, it consists of a contradictory relation between capital and labour. However, it could become ordered, which history has proved, but that requires different kinds of regulations.

Hence, besides the labour process and the regime of capital accumulation, the Fordist model of development also built on new **modes of regulation**, which included collective bargaining, monopolistic competition, centralised organisations and state intervention. That didn't solve the basic contradictions or got rid of them. Instead, such contradictions were temporarily bridged in 'unstable equilibriums of compromise'.

Fordism engendered the most profound and comprehensive transformations in nation-societies where collective bargaining took place on a national level between highly centralised organisations representing

the most powerful parts of the economy. That happened in Sweden, more than in any other European nation-society and to Malmö more than any other Swedish city.[70] In terms of nation-societies, UK represents the counter-pole to Sweden regarding the penetration, scope and impact of a Fordist development.

In Sweden, capitalism and indeed the whole of society developed incessantly to the benefit of industrial rationalisation and on the basis of collective agreements. It was not interrupted by 'stop-go cycles' as in Britain.[71] For that reason, Swedish industrial companies did very well in international competition, which entailed increasing profits as well as real wages, but also a constant demand for labour.

Industries that didn't keep pace in the rationalisation were left to either move abroad or close down. That happened to the textile industry when it couldn't rationalise any more by converting crafts into Fordist assembly-line production. And the unions agreed about it because they didn't favour a competition that relied on lowering the wages. Instead, the unions saw the support for rationalisation as the only way to continue increasing wages and engender a higher living standard.

In this way, the low-skilled part of the labour market eventually disappeared, more or less, and barriers consisting of high-skill requirements arose. Due to the strength of the trade unions, the barriers around the labour market were also built of rights, secured by collective agreements and supplemented by legislated ones, implemented by the long-lasting social democratic government.

Fordism lasted from the mid ´50s to the late ´70s as a dominating mode of development in the West. During that period, there was no talk about social exclusion, not surprisingly because, as Amin et al says, "*Fordism drew on an integrationist model of (national) society.*"[72] Fordism enabled an increasing amount of the population to take part in the labour market, enjoy an increasing standard of living and thus become socially included in the nation-society. Full employment indicated the success. Moreover, the expansion of welfare states tended to socialise risks and make welfare secure, although to a very different extent as I will show below.

Thus, when the term **social exclusion** was coined, it built upon the earlier experiences of social inclusion. The Fordist model of development made people included in the nation-societies, although basically by being dependent on the capitalist market economy. When the market started to tumble and people were made redundant, it became obvious that they also were excluded. By that time, people and politicians realised how dependent they had become on the capitalist market economy and this dependence is perhaps the most general and thorough legacy of Fordism.[73]

Of course, the Fordist model of development enabled people to rise from poverty and gain a high living standard. Fordism is also associated with strengthened democratic rights and increasing equality. As Bob Jessop states, "*education played a key role in the institutionalized compromise underpinning Atlantic Fordism.*" Nevertheless, the legacy of Fordism also included the crowding out of earlier production in the family and the civil society.[74] The civil society was transformed into an arena of consumption.

In the wake of the Fordist crisis, regulation theorists have tried to identify a new model of economic development. The continuous reference to post-Fordism indicates the difficulties. The new economy is not Fordism, but what then instead? No clear-cut patterns have emerged that are possible to identify. However, in recent years, the concept of **knowledge-based economy** has been suggested as a follower to Fordism. I won't go into details here about its characteristics and how it has been defined, but underline the focus on knowledge.

Accordingly, the focus on knowledge has made it increasingly important and indeed crucial, to define a view on knowledge. Otherwise, we couldn't be sure what we are talking about and we couldn't be sure what to support. In chapter 1.3.2 (page 24), a crucial distinction was made between information and knowledge. To make sure about that distinction we need a view on knowledge. However, the view on knowledge is too seldom taken into consideration and discussed, but instead taken for granted. For that reason, when knowledge is said to be promoted, it could in reality concern information and that won't favour the evolution of a knowledge-based economy. Indeed, a view on knowledge ought to be regarded as a competitive advantage.

5. Employment in Industry (% total employment, 2002)[75]

	EU25	DK	DE	ES	PL	SL	FI	SE	UK
All	26,0	22,5	27,8	31,2	28,6	36,9	26,7	23,3	19,0
Female	13,9	11,9	14,7	21,4	17,2	27,2	13,3	10,5	8,1
Male	35,6	32,0	39,0	40,6	38,2	45,2	39,3	35,0	28,7

Yet, Fordism still exists but on another global scale. What about the Chinese factories, for example? And what about continued mass consumption in Europe? It still seems to remain a general norm. Wealth equals mass consumption. We are urged to buy as much as possible in order to get the wheels going but also to remain happy. Moreover, Fordism has not disappeared

totally from Europe either. In some of the new EU member states, large-scale industrial capitalism along Fordist assembly lines has acquired a new stronghold. Even in some of the old member states, like Germany, workers have accepted to take part in the global Fordist competition by reducing their wages. But how long will such a downward race last?

6. Trade Union Membership (% of total employment, 2002)[76]

DK	DE	ES	PL	SL	FI	SE	UK
87,5	29,7	15,0	15,0	41,3	79,0	79,0	29,0

In order to favour and breed new models of economic growth, nation-states have changed the regulations. Indeed, following the neo-liberal revolution in the US and UK, starting in the late ´70s, **deregulation** has become one of the key words.[77] In most cases, it's probably more accurate to talk about re-regulation, but in terms of unfettering the market forces which neo-liberal economics regard as self-regulating, deregulation has certainly been accomplished in the UK.

Significantly, deregulation was possible in the UK due to the lack of Fordist development. Representatives of both labour and capital didn't have the same power and legitimacy as in Sweden, because of much more shattered industrial and business relations. Instead of consensus around rationalisation, conflict and disorder paved the way for a neo-liberal solution pursued by the Thatcher governments from the early 1980s and onwards. Moreover, as the barriers around the labour market hadn't become that high due to the lack of a Fordist development, they were also not that hard to dismantle and that became the main achievement of Thatcherism. A low-wage sector of the British economy has become firmly established. The new Labour government since 1997 has displayed some ambitions to rebuild the walls, for example by introducing a minimum wage, but very modestly.[78]

3.3.2 Three types of labour markets

At least three types of labour markets have emerged. Basically, the differences depend on how the nation-societies have responded to the crisis of Fordism in terms of regulation. And that in its turn, depend on the different preconditions for responding.

UK symbolises the **liberal labour market**, characterised by low barriers, but also insecurities, inequalities and weak unions.[79] For example, the Thatcher government legislated against secondary picketing and that legislation has been kept by the Labour government. The labour market as a whole is covered by a legislated minimum wage, though at a low level. Young people have to be pleased with an even lower level, 61,9% of the minimum wage for the ages 16-17 and 84,5% for the ages 18-22.

7. Minimum wages & collective bargaining coverage[80]

	DK	DE	ES	PL	SL	FI	SE	UK
Legislated min wage	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
% of average wage	50	35	33	36	44	>50	54	40
Collective coverage	83	69	68	1	100	90	>90	36

Among the new member states, the labour market in Slovenia seems to head in the liberal direction. Slovenia has a deregulated labour market and a legislated minimum wage which covers the labour market as a whole. A low wage sector exists in Slovenia, particularly in textiles, where the average monthly wage for a female worker is €540, thus just above the minimum wage. Poland as well seems to head in the liberal direction. The legislated minimum wage is considerably lower than in all the other countries. Young people and the newly employed in general receive 80% of the minimum wage during the first year and 90% during the second year.

The counter pole to the liberal is a type of labour market which exists in the Nordic countries. Due to the impact of unions and social democratic parties, this type is usually called **social democratic labour market**. It's characterised by high barriers and employment security. The barriers are made up of both skill requirements and rights. The existence of such barriers builds significantly on collective agreements. Although extensive deregulation has taken place in these nation-societies as well, collective agreements still cover and regulate most of the labour markets.

8. Types of labour markets

	DK	DE	ES	PL	SL	FI	SE	UK
Liberal				•	•			•
Conservative		•	•					
Social Democratic	•					•	•	

Because of strong unions and collective agreements with almost full coverage, legislated minimum wages haven't been implemented. Instead, minimum wages are regulated by collective agreements. Regulation at the social democratic labour market could be characterised as general. For that reason, minimum wages are much higher than the legislated ones in other nation-

societies. That has made it hard for a low-wage sector to establish.

In countries like Germany and Spain a third type prevails, usually called **conservative labour market**. It consists of a divided labour market. The one part is regulated and belongs to the privileged. Rights of different kinds and collective agreements have made that part surrounded by high barriers. Besides that part, a deregulated low-wage sector has arisen. The existence of this division depends basically on the lack of agreement at a national level between strong and legitimate representatives of capital and labour. Instead, such agreements have been implemented on the level of sectors or companies. In the absence of collective agreements with national coverage, minimum wages have usually been legislated, also on low levels, which have created space for the establishment of a low-wage sector. Due to the privileges of the ones included in the regulated part of the labour market, this type could be called Conservative, containing selective regulation.

Germany has no nationally legislated minimum wage. Instead, statutory minimum wages exist for a few specific branches, based instead on an EU directive.[81] Obviously, wages could be very low in the German low-wage sector. The collectively agreed minimum wages in a low-wage sector like hairdressing amounts to only 35% of the national average wage. And yet, it's collectively agreed. Furthermore, the coverage rate is lower in the eastern part of Germany.[82] The official Thomas Seidel from the city council of Gera, location of the project **Joint Social Streetwork**, describes the situation in my interview with him:

> In eastern Germany, we don't have these powerful unions. Most firms are small, staffed by 1-5. Not big ones, not industries. So these unions are not powerful because where it is small firms, the unions have nothing to say. The agreement is between the boss and the staff, personally. There's no framework or general rule.

The regulated part of the Conservative labour market has been described as rigid, protecting the insiders more than developing to the benefit of the labour market as a whole. Compared to the social democratic labour market, the barriers around the Conservative one consists less of competence requirements and more of rights, designed to protect male bread-winners, but then at the expense of his wife, sons, and daughters. And the excluded ones tend to get stuck in either long-term unemployment or low-wage employment. Thus, the Conservative labour market is both gender and age biased, females and young people being the typical outsiders. This abyss between insiders and the outsiders is deepening.

3.3.3 Problems for young people

All the three types of labour markets cause problems for young people. In liberal labour markets, it's easier for young people to get employment. However, low wages and employment insecurity can surely make you feel excluded, in spite of being employed and formally included. Should 'working poor' be regarded as socially included in the nation-society? Surely, the 'working poor' take part in the nation-society by being a producer, but not necessarily by being a consumer. Low wages and insecure working conditions prevent many people from living a decent and 'normal' life.

9. Youth unemployment rate (% labour force 15-24 years, 2002)[83]

	EU25	DK	DE	ES	PL	SL	FI	SE	UK
All	17,8	7,7	9,7	22,2	41,7	15,3	21,0	11,8	12,1
Female	18,5	5,8	7,9	27,3	42,7	17,2	20,9	11,6	10,2
Male	17,3	9,4	11,3	18,4	40,9	13,9	21,2	12,0	13,7

In a deregulated market economy it might be easier to get a job, but probably just as easy to loose it. Low wages could also make provision difficult. Poverty entrapment is prevalent, in particular for young households that "*bear the brunt of rising inequalities in the Anglo-Saxon world.*"[84] The difference in wages and working conditions could make it difficult for people to feel a part of one and the same society. Is it worth voting for in the national elections? Far too large differences could cause the break-up of society. It counteracts a joint feeling of participation (see page 54).

Nevertheless, it's much more difficult for young people to get into social democratic labour markets. The barriers cause social exclusion in accordance with the fourth type enumerated in chapter 3.1 on page 56. However, once inside, young people are entitled to rights and securities. Because of the regulations, the working poor hardly exist. To take part in the labour market means opportunities to make a decent living. For the insiders, social democratic labour markets favour feelings of taking part in one and the same society. However, the ones who don't manage to get inside the high barriers, could loose faith, opt-out and get engaged in crime.

The barriers consist of rights for the insiders which cause social exclusion explicitly. Also, the barriers consist of skills requirements which are hard to meet and which therefore operate as causes of exclusion. Furthermore, as the **Leisure Time Shop** in Aarhus and the **Mentor Company Project** in Malmö show, the barriers could also cause social exclusion implicitly. Both these examples tackle the social exclusion of young people

with an ethnic minority background, caused by the prejudices and insufficient knowledge of employers.

In the conservative labour markets, just as in the liberal labour markets, young people run the risk of get caught in poverty. Perhaps that risk is even greater in conservative labour markets where the protection of the privileged through regulation prevents young people from making careers, regardless of education. Probably, it matters quite a lot if these barriers consist primarily of rights or skills requirements. In nation-societies with social democratic labour markets, education could at least make the young people dream about becoming included.

3.4 Education – learning the right knowledge?

In a fundamental sense, knowledge is needed to be included in every social context and so in society. Looking back in history, growing up has always been associated with learning. However, if before young people learned mainly from their parents and family relatives, but also for example in church and through apprenticeships, national education systems have assumed a kind of monopoly on learning. National education systems have become responsible for defining what young people need to learn.

Thus, it has always been entirely normal for young people to learn as they grow up. But it's just recently that it has become normal to learn so much of what they need in schools. Young people go to school to learn what they need in order to get a job, make their living, get a home of their own and generally take part in society, i.e. everything that has to do with a socially included life. This has become very normal and needed. Indeed, not many other pathways exist. Young people have become dependent on going to school in order to become included in society.

3.4.1 General renewals of objectives …

All over Europe, **grading** is used as the main indicator of success as well as failure in school. It's taken for granted that a pass indicates that young people have learnt the right knowledge. Vice versa, it's taken for granted that young people without a pass don't possess the right knowledge. For example, the EU statistics about educational attainment in the Social Situation Report, published annually since 2000, is based on grades. However, the validity of the grades rests on **three conditions**:

1. That the objectives of the education systems reflect an adequate perception about what young people need to learn.
2. That the knowledge that young people actually learn accords with these objectives about what they need to learn.
3. That grading applies to the knowledge that the young people need to learn, stated in the objectives of the education systems.

But what if the objectives of the education systems have become obsolete? In that case, young people learn knowledge which is no longer relevant and the grades don't indicate success in breeding young people able to develop society. Or what if young people learn something else in school than the objectives of the education systems state? Or what if the grades measure something else?

Indeed, each one of the three conditions could be problematic. And it's enough that one of them is out of order to make grading problematic as an indicator of success. Furthermore, if grading could be regarded as problematic, the focus must turn from the individual to the education system.

So let's scrutinise the first condition above, the one about the **objectives** of the education systems. In fact, the education systems in all the countries have been updated and renewed in order to meet the demands of a changing society. **Firstly**, although formulated and distinguished in different ways, all include objectives which concern **democracy**. A **second** important characteristic is the view on knowledge. All the countries at least hint at a view on knowledge similar to the one pleaded for in this network. Schools are obliged to encourage young people to learn problem solving and develop an **active relationship to knowledge**.

OECD endorses such a conclusion regarding problem solving capability, in its *Education at a glance* (2005):

> In many countries, curricula in various subject areas call for students to confront problem situations by understanding the information given, identifying critical features and any relationships in a situation, constructing or applying one or more external representations, resolving ensuing questions and, finally, evaluating, justifying and communicating results as a means of furthering understanding of the situation. Problem solving is widely seen as providing an essential basis for future learning, effectively participating in society and conducting personal activities.[85]

Thus, examples that deal with democracy and an active relationship to knowledge could claim support from the National curricula. In fact, it should be regarded a success criterion to deal with it. It's also an important

potential to know about and build further on. Without going into depth, it seems that the national education systems fulfil the first condition above, at least more or less.[86]

3.4.2 … but not properly practised…

What about the second condition, the one about what young people learn in school? Do schools function in accordance with these new objectives? Hardly. At least not in Sweden, which the headteacher at the Öresundsgymnasiet admits:

> I believe, but have no proof of it, that our students are disfavoured from our traditional values, the mono-cultural Swedish middle-class perspective. Many teachers have difficulties in putting value in knowledge that differs from the traditional view on knowledge.

The correspondent criticism is probably justified in all the countries. Schools embody the building of nation-societies with all sorts of aspirations. It's become a "*culture in the walls*", as Sven Olsson, the headteacher at Kroksbäck School, put it at the conference in Aarhus. That has made schools designed for young people who have a background in the nation-society. For that reason, a clash appears in the relation to young people with another background.

In particular, that has happened in cities with a high share of immigrants like in Sweden, but also in Denmark. In the local report on the project **School and Home** a Somalian mother tongue teacher has been interviewed and he describes parts of the education system and labour market as closed:

> The Somalian mother tongue teacher says that the closure doesn't depend on an explicit wish to exclude some people on the basis of ethnicity. In his opinion, the explanation is that it's relatively new for the Danes to receive refugees and immigrants, and that we haven't had so much time together with other cultures in our own home country. This lack of understanding has led many unproved to define Danish culture as the best. It lies as an ingrained part of our whole way to perceive ourselves and the surrounding world and close off for the encounters with other cultures, he says.

To what extent do teachers at such multicultural schools manage to understand the background and living conditions of the young people? To what extent have they settled accounts with their own values and norms, stemming from schooling in the old nation-society? And what impact does it have on the learning conditions if they haven't settled accounts and learnt about the young people?

The answer is that we don't know. The mono-cultural and middle-class perspective that the headteacher at the Öresundsgymnasiet refers to probably has a substantial impact on the learning conditions in all subjects. Perhaps, it's particularly devastating for the learning of democracy. To what extent could young people learn to become democratic if they feel that the teachers don't understand them and their situations? Do they believe that their voices will be heard in a context which is imbued by the culture and a language of the nation-society? Many don't and that problem has been highlighted by the **Study Workshop** in Malmö. That creates the type of cause mentioned above as the first one in the typology. It causes the young people to opt out by not making them feel that they take part. To the extent that their knowledge, experiences and background don't count, young people tend to become alienated.

However, as the local report on **Llumbre** in Gijón implies, the "*culture in the walls*" doesn't solely affect immigrant pupils. Education systems are imbued by values and principles which tend to favour those who comply with the rules at the expense of those who react against it, even if such reactions turn out to be justified.

> Teachers are not prepared enough to address this reality. Those children who represent a burden in the class, disturb or do not pay attention or show interest in learning are generally not considered. The system is only for the good, clever and the ones who want to learn and are able to succeed. The only children taken into consideration in class are those who comply with the rules and do not disturb. The education administration makes this situation possible by ignoring the particular features of this social group, which is not small at all. They do not seek to find solutions for them. They are just expelled from the class, then from the school and they end up drifting from one school to another, without settling anywhere or having an interest in the system, as the system has never been interested in them. Some schools have started up some special programs for these youngsters and they have turned out to work very well. Nevertheless, they always have to overcome administrative barriers and education inspections, which discourage professionals who are really interested in these issues from making such efforts. Besides, they also provoke confrontations among teachers, which ultimately end up destroying whatever has been achieved.

Lack of democracy seems to be another general problem of education systems, underlined by the **Voice of the Young** project, which addresses the need to practice democracy in order to learn it. Obviously, schools don't function sufficiently democratically and consequently, young people don't learn democracy.

In recent years, the survey made by the OECD called PISA (Programme for International Student

Assessment) has gained increasing attention. Also, PISA is of great significance for the annual publication from the OECD, *Education at a Glance*, which contains a lot of indicators, besides student assessments, but nothing on how schools actually function, in particular with regards to objectives. Indeed, national institutions deal with those issues, making inspections more or less regularly, but not within an internationally comparative framework. Thus, *Education at a Glance* makes a lot of comparisons possible on "*the output of educational institutions and the impact of learning*", "*financial and human resources invested in education*", "*access to education, participation and progression*", and "*the learning environment and organisation of schools*", but nothing related to how school functions.

The difficulties are understandable. The way school functions depends basically on the objectives and they differ between the countries and also within some of them. Also, schools function differently due to "*financial and human resources invested in education*" and "*the learning environment and organisation of schools*", covered comprehensively in *Education at a Glance*. Furthermore, the differences depend on the role of schools in the nation-societies, also very difficult to account for. Yet, the differences between how schools function matter profoundly.

There is a serious lack of comparative knowledge about how schools function, in particular regarding the renewed objectives. For example, we don't know to what extent teachers manage or even try to make the young people in socially excluded areas believe in themselves, because many of the young people don't. Due to their background and situation in a socially excluded area, they have lost the belief in themselves and the future. Many teachers spend a lot of time and effort in trying to restore such beliefs. How many teachers? Are they successful? We don't know. And yet, for many young people, these efforts made by the teachers matters much more than mathematics. And that's not because mathematics is unimportant. It certainly is, but will the ones that don't believe in themselves really be able to learn it?

The chairman of the **Parental Board** in Göteborg summarises the need for change:

> More knowledge about the needs and problems of the parents is needed. You have to plan more on the long-term. How are the resources used? Not only seeing the shortages and obstacles. You could employ more multilingual teachers to be able to support those who need it. The school has to get a new role. It has to be a bridge to the families and should get another and a more extended role in local society. Commitment is needed from all (staff, parents, pupils) but also a political will. There is a lot of talk from the side of politicians but in practice very little is happening.

Given the profound differences between how schools function, what does for example the PISA survey of proficiency in mathematics among 15-year-olds tell us? The result of that survey has been discussed and debated intensively all over Europe. Among the OECD countries, Finland scored number 1, Denmark 10, Sweden 15, Germany 20, Poland 21 and Spain 22. Such a comparison doesn't take into consideration the differences between how schools function. It seems to be taken for granted that such differences only matters quantitatively, deriving for example from the quantitative amount of financial and human resources invested in education. But they don't. At schools located in areas characterised by social exclusion, the attainment of self-belief would perhaps be more interesting to know about than proficiency in mathematics.

3.4.3 … and poorly assessed!

First of all, it should be stated that assessment and grading matter. The pupils and their parents, as well as the school and other parts of society need to know about the attainment levels achieved. However, the support for assessment and grading shouldn't prevent criticism of the current systems. Perhaps, the assessment and grading systems need to change in order to reflect the renewal of objectives appropriately.

Grading should be regarded as valid only if it applies to the knowledge that the young people need to learn as stated in the objectives of the education systems. Well, it couldn't be if schools don't fulfil the second condition, functioning in accordance with the objectives. But surely, many teachers struggle to implement democracy and a view on knowledge which enables the young people to become subjects. How do they succeed? Unfortunately, we don't know, at least not in a comparative perspective. We don't know to what extent young people become democratic.

The problems of defining and grading success have been highlighted by **Success Alternatives**, but also by the **Integration Coordinators**:

> The marking system doesn't say everything, to become a doctor you need to have the highest grades in every subject, but that won't tell if you're to become a good doctor or not. There are other factors that are more important. You need to have a humanistic approach and especially an understanding of people who have other backgrounds. This can't be measured through grades.

It's certainly difficult to grade, in particular when schools and teachers still embody values and norms of

the earlier nation-society. The grades could very easily become reflections of such obsolete values and norms. Then, the grades run the risk of reinforcing the causes of social exclusion. Also, the grades run the risk of reinforcing the power of the teacher at the expense of the pupil. Then, how could such a school be regarded as democratic? Doesn't the school have to make itself democratic in order for the pupils to learn democracy?

10. Youth education attainment level, 2002 (Percentage of the population aged 20 to 24 having completed at least upper secondary education)[87]

	EU25	DK	DE	ES	PL	SL	FI	SE	UK
All	76,6	79,6	73,3	64,9	88,1	90,0	86,2	86,7	77,2
Female	18,5	5,8	7,9	27,3	42,7	17,2	20,9	11,6	10,2
Male	73,7	76,8	72,6	58,2	84,8	87,9	81,9	85,2	75,9

It could also be difficult to grade the other main renewal of objectives, the active relationship to knowledge. It's supposed to be covered in the grading process. In for example Finland, grading in each subject is supposed to summarise the whole learning process, attitude to learning, cooperation and reflective ability. But how could it be assured that all teachers put the same emphasis on for example reflective ability?

And what about the other countries? How could the youth education attainment levels, presented in *The social situation in the European Union*, be comparable if grading in the countries reflect different views on knowledge? Perhaps, the attainment level in one country expresses a much higher degree of reflective ability than in another country. However, we don't know.

OECD has tried to address this lack of comparability by including measurements of problem solving in PISA 2003. Problem solving was defined as "*an individual's capacity to use cognitive processes to confront and resolve real, cross-disciplinary situations where the solution path is not immediately obvious and where the content areas or curricular areas that might be applicable are not within a single subject area of mathematics, science or reading.*"[88] With this definition, the problem-solving tasks used were based on problem types, contexts, processes and reasoning. To me, it looks like a very ambitious and interesting attempt to highlight the outcome of an objective which all European countries and schools have to emphasis strongly for Europe to become the knowledge-based economy and society in accordance with the Lisbon-strategy. [89]

I've summarised the findings of the PISA study in the table below. Each student attains points for their performance. The mean score of these points for all the students that have taken part in each country is presented to the left in the table. Four proficiency levels have been identified in the PISA study and used to classify the results. The table presents the percentage of students that haven't reached the lowest level and the percentage that has attained results above the highest level.

11. Mean score in student performance and percentage of students below level 1 and at level 3 of proficiency on the OECD PISA problem-solving scale (2003)[90]

Country	Mean score	Proficiency levels	
		Below level 1 (below 405 points)	Level 3 (above 592 points)
Finland	548	5	30
France	519	12	23
Denmark	517	10	20
Germany	513	14	22
Sweden	509	12	17
OECD average	500	17	18
Poland	487	18	12
Spain	482	20	12
United States	477	24	12
Turkey	408	51	4
Mexico	384	58	1

None of the national education systems seem to highlight problem-solving capabilities explicitly. Instead, it's supposed to be covered by the existing grading systems. Given the insufficiencies pointed at above, that makes grading problematic. That makes grading not only a success indicator, but also a cause as well as an indicator of social exclusion. It makes you feel labelled and inferior. It stigmatises and makes others look down at you. It influences identify and personality. It implies that the young people aren't considered to have fulfilled the conditions for social inclusion.

And it's not only a problem for the young people in socially excluded areas. To the extent that grading doesn't cover the renewed objectives of the education systems, it becomes a general problem. Isn't there a big risk that pupils instead of learning knowledge just gather information? And how will they then function in society? Can people that can't explain themselves, take a stance, valuate, put things into a context and clarify connections really contribute to the development of the knowledge-based economy?

It's so easy to take the accuracy and validity of grading for granted. Then it also becomes obvious what the solution to the problems has to concentrate upon. The change of situation for young people from exclusion to inclusion must imply the crossing of the barrier. Examples of how the pupils can be helped over the

barriers in that perspective appear to be good. But if something turns out to be wrong with the barriers, the perspective has to be widened. Then, good examples also have to entail a change of the barriers; i.e. structural changes.

3.5 Welfare – on what conditions?

In the previous chapters, I have tried to highlight the processes of capitalist expansion which have made people dependent on employment.[91] Having an employment has become almost synonymous with being socially included in society. Moreover, employment has in its turn become increasingly dependent on a formal education. For those reasons, unemployment and educational failure have become core indicators of social exclusion. That makes unemployment and educational failure so important to avoid and combat, not only for the individual. The risks of unemployment and educational failure have become concerns for the nation-societies which are necessary to deal with and manage.

Traditionally, families have been responsible for managing risks. In some European nation-societies, such a responsibility remains with the family. In other nation-societies, the welfare state has replaced the family with the main responsibility for managing risks. Furthermore, some nation-societies rely primarily on market solutions. Finally, welfare has also been delivered by voluntary and non-profit work, often called the 'third sector' or the social economy. Market solutions, the welfare state, the family and the third sector/social economy constitute four main sources of managing social risks.

3.5.1 Welfare regimes

The different divisions of responsibility among four main sources of managing social risks have been the basis for the theory about welfare regimes, launched 1990 by the Danish social scientist Gösta Esping-Andersen, in the book *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, where he made the distinction between liberal, conservative and social democratic welfare regimes.[92] The theory has been elaborated and restated by many social scientists. Originally, the theory included the first three of these main sources (market solutions, the welfare state and the family). Subsequently, it's become necessary to incorporate the third sector/social economy, recognised by Esping-Andersen 1998 in *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*, although only in a note and not with any significant theoretical impact.[93] Below, I will refer to this fourth main source as the social economy.

The **liberal welfare regime** relies preferably on market solutions to economic and social problems. The labour market is deregulated in accordance with liberal principles. The welfare state restricts itself to assistance on low and basic levels, often means-tested. Risks are considered social only in a narrow sense and preferably individualised. The family doesn't play any substantial part in the management of risks. UK is usually regarded as the most clear-cut representative of a liberal welfare regime in Europe.

UK also exemplifies the significance of the **social economy** in a liberal welfare regime. Amin et al define social economy as "*non-profit activities designed to combat social exclusion*". Indeed, that's a very British definition, which Amin et al admits, at least implicitly, by presenting a typology of four models. Amin et al make distinctions between the Rhineland, the Nordic, the Mediterranean and the Anglo-Saxon models. A particular emphasis upon tackling social exclusion is a typical feature of the Anglo-Saxon model.

Another type of welfare regime has been called social democratic or Nordic. Both these labels have their disadvantages, as the one associates it with politics and the other with geography. The first label makes it look like a concern of a particular political party and the other of a particular geographical region. Neither is true. In principle, a welfare regime could materialise everywhere, though not everywhere on the same preconditions. The preconditions could favour the emergence of a particular welfare regime more than others.

Furthermore, the welfare regime in the Nordic countries has not only been implemented by social democratic parties. The social democratic party has certainly played a major role in Sweden, but not in Denmark and Finland. Yet, a similar welfare regime has been implemented in all the three countries. For that reason, Pekka Kosonen in his article on *Globalization and the Nordic Welfare States* prefers the label Nordic welfare regime, as being more neutral.[94] In my view, that's not very neutral as it seems to make the regime a pre-given privilege of the Nordic countries. Bearing in mind the problems of neutrality, I instead choose to call it social democratic, in accordance with two of the other types (liberal, conservative) which also have a political association. That underlines the similarities of policies in Sweden, Denmark and Finland, regardless of the parties in power. Correspondingly, the Labour government in the UK hasn't turned out to be that different compared to the previous Tory government.

Thus, the **social democratic welfare regime** relies

primarily on the welfare state. It involves and promotes welfare state institutions which support universal welfare rights connected to citizenship and financed by taxes. Every citizen gets the same assistance, also on high levels, regardless of class, status or earlier achievements. Risks are socialised in a comprehensive sense. The market functions in accordance with social democratic principles. The family has lost most of its earlier significance, due to policies of de-familialisation. Another characteristic feature of the social democratic regime is the active labour market policy. Denmark spends the equivalent to 1,6% of GDP on active labour market policy measures and Sweden 1,3%. In contrast, UK spends only 0,07%.[95]

The social economy is a deep-seated part of the social democratic regime. Although the term social economy hasn't been used very long, the phenomenon has a background in the popular movements. Basically, the social democratic model of social economy has not been designed to combat social exclusion, although the significance of it in tackling social exclusion has grown in recent years. Instead, it rests on the idea of organised self-help. As such, the social economy in various areas shares the responsibility for welfare provisions and delivery with the welfare state. For example, in Sweden unemployment funds run by the trade unions provide unemployment benefit, not the state.

The Nordic countries are usually described as typical examples of a social democratic regime. Opposite to the liberal welfare states, the Swedish, Finnish and Danish welfare states provide high welfare benefits depending on previous income and limited by a ceiling. Unemployment benefit provides a substitute for a loss of income, at a maximum in Denmark 90%, in Finland 90% and in Sweden 80%.

However, if you do not have any previous income, you are not entitled to the benefit. Moreover, it has to be a job income over a certain duration; in Denmark 52 weeks during the last 3 years, in Finland 43 weeks during the last 2 years and in Sweden 6 months during the last year. Furthermore, you must have been a contributing member for at least a year, in Sweden as in Finland to an unemployment benefit fund (in most cases run by the trade unions) and in Denmark as in Finland to an unemployment insurance fund.

Thus, youngsters who become unemployed after leaving school are not entitled to unemployment benefit. As they have not had a job, they do not fulfil that condition. Neither do unemployed immigrants. As long as you do not fulfil the job and membership conditions, you are not entitled to unemployment benefit. Instead, you have to rely on a minimalist social security, based on liberal principles. In Denmark, this social security is particularly low for immigrants who have lived in the country for less than seven years.

Thus, the social democratic regime applies to people who have a job or a previous work record, indeed the majority. For many unemployed youngsters or immigrants the Danish, Finnish and Swedish welfare states display a liberal character. The social democratic regime certainly dominates but some parts of the welfare states have to be described as being based on liberal principles.

In Denmark, Sweden and Finland, the social democratic welfare regime has engendered a kind of labour market waiting room. As long as you manage to take a seat in the waiting room, you are still part of the social inclusion of society. The high level of benefits enables you to live quite a decent and respectable life. You are excluded from being a producer in the market economy, but not as a consumer. But what about the fall down to the social security level? Is it possible for people who live on social security, such as young people and immigrants who have not yet got any employment record, or the long-term unemployed, to be socially included? Isn't it a risk that the low levels provoke unemployed young people to opt out and get engaged in the cash-in-hand economy instead?

The liberal principles of welfare restrict you from remaining an included consumer. The UK unemployment benefit provides no income substitutes but straight away a basic security in accordance with minimalist norms. The same level of benefits applies to everybody, regardless of earlier earnings. Those above the age of 25 get €328 per month. Young people between the ages of 18-24 get €260 per month. However, those who haven't worked for at least 12 months during the last 2 years don't get benefit but have to apply for a means-tested allowance, also on minimalist levels. Thus, unemployment may cause a substantial deterioration in living conditions. You become excluded from the legitimate market economy, both as a producer and as a consumer. Does that not indicate a social exclusion from nation-society, more generally?

The **conservative welfare regime** relies primarily on the breadwinner, usually male. Welfare rights are attached to status, based on social insurances rather than taxes and directed at the family. Just like the liberal one, the conservative welfare state favours social assistance over universal rights. The labour market accords to conservative principles by safe-guarding the privileges of the already included.

In Germany, usually held up as the typical example of the conservative welfare regime, the unemployed can claim benefit from the unemployment insurance and receive 60% of previous earnings, given that they have been

employed for at least 12 months during the last 3 years. Those who don't fulfil the employment conditions have to apply for a social security, amounting to on average €345 for a single household.

A fourth type prevails in southern Europe. As it relies on the family primarily, it could be called the **familial welfare regime**. A low female employment rate is a characteristic of the familial regime. Welfare is provided by inter-generational care within the family, supported by a low retirement age. Concomitantly, the familial welfare state is less generous than the conservative with regard to unemployment benefit.

The familial welfare state directs a considerable amount of its resources to generous pension schemes, also in terms of early retirement. The familial welfare state favours a passive approach to employment management, just like the liberal and conservative states. As Mary Daly states, "*government and social partners have preferred passive transfer payments over active labour market policies, have maintained high wage rates, and reduced labour supply by relying on early retirement.*"[96] Industrial restructuring and mass lay-offs have been transformed into early retirement. The figures almost speak for themselves. Within the ages of 55-64, 38,6% of Germans, 39,7% of Spaniards, 26,1% of Poles, 24,5% of Slovenians have employment, compared to 68,0% of Swedes.[97]

Spain represents a familial welfare regime. In line with the 19th Century principles of Bismarck, the unemployment benefit is divided between unemployment insurance and unemployment support. Those who have had a previous job for at least 1 year during the last 6 years and thus paid to the unemployment insurance, receive 70% of the previous earnings, though with a ceiling of 170% of the minimum wage (220% for those with children to provide for). Unemployment support amounts to 75% of the minimum wage. As a third and final possibility, claimants can receive social support, amounting to between €180 and €220, depending on the autonomous regions.

Hence, the familial welfare regime offers very low levels of support for those who don't comply with the conditions for unemployment insurance. The local report on **Llumbre** in Gijón describes how the low levels in combination with rigid eligibility criteria could make the situation even worse. Moreover, the report shows how the system produces as well as reproduces social exclusion:

> The criteria are always applied the same way, ignoring the number of family members, rent expenses, etc. This way, for example financial aid can be granted to families with an income lower than 480€ but, if their salary is just a little over 480€, they are no longer eligible for that aid. It does not make a difference if we are talking about one person living with those 480€ or five people. It does not make a difference either if the rent is 300€ or 20€. This is an unfair situation and it does not provide a solution for real problems. These families are living in abject poverty and are facing debts everywhere. As absolutely no-one would like to be in this situation, young people start working as soon as possible in order to try and bring some money home, leaving their studies unfinished, renouncing education and often committing petty crime and theft. This is a catch-22 situation.

The new member states seem more difficult to classify. According to Zsuzsa Ferge, "*most of them seem to share just one feature: the absence of a project for a welfare system …*"[98] During the 1990s, the Eastern European countries were pushed by international organisations like the IMF and the World Bank to pursue neo-liberal policies, including the withdrawal of the state, deregulation and privatisation. Existing universal benefits "*including price subsidies, the health service, and family benefits were curtailed across the region. They were either simply withdrawn or transformed into public or private insurance, or into means-tested benefits.*"[99]

Instead, there was a rebirth of the social economy, although with poor conditions and assuming responsibilities carried out by welfare states in Western Europe.

> One of the consequences of state retrenchment and poorly funded 'third sector' is the serious and harmful overburdening of families, particularly women. … There is now a shift to a new model in which the most legitimate female role is that of the mother and housewife.[100]

In Poland, such a reliance on the domestic work of females harmonises with traditional family values, supported by Catholicism just as in Southern Europe. Accordingly, employment among females is just as low as in Spain (46%). Benefits in Poland are means-tested from the start and offered at low levels, maximised at 50% of the national minimum wage. Those who claim must have an employment record of 1 year during the last 18 months.[101] Others have to rely on a means-tested social security payment amounting to €109 per month and person.

In Slovenia, the social protection system is modelled on the principles of Bismarck, with mandatory employee contributions to insurance funds. Claimants of benefits from such a fund, receiving 70% of a national average wage, must have an employment record of 12 months during the last 18 months. Those who haven't, receive means-tested unemployment assistance at 80% of the

minimum wage. As a final solution, social security is offered but only covering up to €161 per month and person.

3.5.2 What has proved to be sustainable?

In recent years, many economists have started to use theory on welfare regimes. One of the most influential is André Sapir, who prepared a paper for the ECOFIN informal meeting in Manchester under the British Presidency of the EU, in September 2005.[102] He criticises the notion of one European model and, on the basis of the political sociology of Esping-Andersen and others, claims the existence instead of four different ones, labelled the Nordic, the Anglo-Saxon, the Continental and the Mediterranean. Sapir compares the models in different respects and summarises with a typology based on two criteria; efficiency and equity.

> Nordics enjoy an envious position, with a social model that delivers both efficiency and equity, whereas Mediterraneans live in a social system that delivers neither efficiency nor equity. On the other hand, Anglo-Saxon and continental countries both seem to face a trade-off between efficiency and equity. Anglo-Saxons have an efficient but inequitable social model, while continentals enjoy far more equity but far less efficiency.[103]

On that basis, Sapir concludes that "*both Nordic and Anglo-Saxon models are sustainable, while continental and Mediterranean models are not and must be reformed*".[104]

Esping-Andersen points out how the strong reliance on the family is in the process of undermining it; "*the great paradox of our times is that familialistic policy appears counter-productive to family formation.*"[105] An increasing number of women can't and won't "*rely on both the wage and the accumulated pension rights of the male bread-winner.*" Instead, women want to earn their own living by getting employed. Hence, the increasing employment rate among females. But the welfare states of the familial and conservative regimes haven't been designed to support female employment. The family is still expected to care for welfare. And as the labour market protects the privileges of males, women find it hard to combine employment and parenthood.

As a consequence, the fertility rate has decreased dramatically and nation-societies with familial welfare regimes have now among the lowest birth rates in the world. Women do not dare to give birth to children because in the absence of state support, they cannot afford to raise them.

12. Total fertility rates (2002)[106]

EU25	DK	DE	ES	PL	SL	FI	SE	UK
1,46	1,72	1,31	1,25	1,24	1,21	1,72	1,65	1,64

Not only women suffer from the protection of male bread-winners in the familial and conservative labour markets, but also young people. Instead, young people tend to get stuck in either long-term unemployment or low-wage employment. Because of that and also the minimalist benefit systems, many young people can't afford to move from home and remain living at home until a quite old age, even beyond the age of 30. That further increases the burdens of the family.

In fact, a corresponding pressure is put on families in nation-societies with social democratic welfare regimes. When young people fail in school or get unemployed, families are expected to take part in the risk management. However, such participation runs counter to the logic of the social democratic welfare regime as it usually keeps both parents fully engaged in employment, lacking the time to care for the family. In contrast, many immigrant parents don't lack that time

due to unemployment. Also, among immigrants, family ties have often remained stronger, due to traditions, culture and religion.

However, long-term unemployment in nation-societies with social democratic welfare regimes tends to undermine the authority of unemployed parents. Furthermore, the active approach to employment management, also a characteristic of social democratic regimes, tends to undermine the strengths in family ties. It rather forces parents to take part in various labour market measures, one after the other, without regard to the parental support needed by their children.

Hence, families are forced to deal with societal problems which they haven't got the capacity to solve. The resulting tensions, rows and decreasing trust, weakens the family institution even further and causes many to split. In nation-societies with familial welfare regimes, the low birth rate could be regarded as the corresponding result of the pressure on the family institution.

It seems that all the welfare regimes cause new problems in dealing with the problems associated with social exclusion. The family in the conservative and familial regime, being the prime risk manager, has weakened and the response of the familial welfare states tends to make it even weaker. In the liberal regime, the market constitutes the prime risk manager and it hasn't succeeded very well in solving the problems of social exclusion. Instead, too many young people have been made dependent on insecure working conditions and become trapped in poverty.

13. Human Development (HDI) & Human Poverty Index (HPI-2) (2003)[107]

HDI-Rank	HDI-Value	country	HPI-Rank	HPI-Value
1	0,963	Norway	2	7,0
6	0,949	Sweden	1	6,5
13	0,941	Finland	4	8,2
14	0,941	Denmark	5	8,9
15	0,939	United Kingdom	15	14,8
20	0,930	Germany	6	10,3
21	0,928	Spain	11	11,6
26	0,904	Slovenia	-	-
36	0,949	Poland	-	-

The most sustainable regime has proved to be the social democratic one, which the table indicates, published by the UNDP.[108] The left of the table shows the Human Development Index. The Human Poverty Index to the right is perhaps even more relevant for the theme of this network and report. According to that index, Sweden ranks number one among the OECD countries, Finland fourth and Denmark fifth. No value has been calculated for Slovenia and Poland.

The social democratic welfare regime relies on the welfare state as the prime risk manager. Yet, it's a type of welfare state which reinforces and also causes social exclusion by linking benefits to previous employment records. The welfare state certainly spends a lot of resources on labour market measures, but in spite of that, social exclusion remains to be a big problem, in particular regarding young people. The family could hardly solve the problems as the parents are either both too busy working or they have lost a lot of their authority due to long-term unemployment. Finally, a labour market without high demands on qualifications, offering young people without a completed education jobs, hardly exists.

But what about the fourth pillar, the social economy? Some of the good examples in the network show how very meaningful activities could be established outside the market, the welfare state and the family. What about **Abierto** in Gijón, for example, or the **Summer Workers** in Göteborg? In Section 4, it will be made clear how such examples could fill in a vacuum.

3.6 Policies – seeing problems or potential?

As mentioned in the chapter on models of economic growth (page 58), nation-states have responded to the economic crises by de-regulation and re-regulation. The most influential of such policy responses has been called workfare which is associated with a problem-oriented view on young people. However, corresponding alternatives exist and on the European level, the newly adopted Youth Pact should be mentioned as one of the most promising examples. This chapter will present both in order to clarify the opposite poles of existing policy alternatives regarding young people.

3.6.1 Workfare

There is a strong tendency among welfare states to be transformed into workfare states. The transformation into workfare is primarily indicated by the subordination of social policy to the demands of economic policy.[109] The idea about workfare stems from the Clinton administration in the USA and its so-called Welfare to work programme. In Europe, UK is probably the nation-society where workfare has had the most profound impact so far. Indeed, the liberal welfare state with its emphasis on selective and means-tested measures seems to be a favourable breeding-ground for workfare. According to Amin et al, workfare is at the core of the

main policies of the Labour government to tackle social exclusion, the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal and the New Deal for Communities. That means a redefinition of citizenship:

> Redefining citizenship as having a job necessitates policies to get the unemployed back into work in the mainstream formal labour market, with scant regard for the quality of such jobs as they might come to occupy.[110]

Workfare has become a widespread tendency in Europe which puts an imprint on debates, discourses, policies, measures and treatments. It's manifested as labelling, blaming and demanding certain efforts in return for assistance. For example, the force inherent in labelling was displayed by Nicolas Sarkozy, the French minister of interior, in his statements to the riots during the autumn 2005, using the word 'racaille'. Labelling has a causal force of its own. By labelling, the socially included could reinforce social exclusion and perhaps even create it. That's why defining the problems have become so important. What views on people and society do the problem definitions and solutions express?

3.6.2 The European Youth Pact

However, workfare isn't the only tendency in contemporary policy responses. The newly adopted European Youth Pact represents a very different view, in my perception the opposite to workfare. Proposed in October 2004 by the Heads of State and Government of France, Germany, Spain and Sweden (Jacques Chirac, Gerhard Schröder, José Luís Zapatero and Göran Persson), the strategy was identified as such in the Commission's White Paper *A new impetus for European youth* and the subsequent Council resolution of 27 June 2002, which set the framework for youth policy in Europe.[111]

At the Spring European Council of 22-23 March 2005 the pact was adopted by the EU Heads of State and Government as one of the instruments contributing to the achievement of the Lisbon objectives. The strategy of the European Youth Pact addresses a range of issues and policy areas that are of high concern for young people, aiming "*to improve the education, training, mobility, vocational integration and social inclusion of young Europeans, and to facilitate the reconciliation of working life and family life.*"[112]

Following up the adoption of the Youth Pact by the European Council, the European Commission adopted a Communication on European policies concerning youth (30 May 2005). The Communication sets out how the Pact can be put into operation, defines actions to strengthen active citizenship of young people, addresses a youth dimension in other policies, lists community programmes relevant to youth policy and examines how to further involve young people in the political process. *"For the first time, the European Union can employ a truly integrated policy approach for young people",* the Communication concludes.[113]

It seems clear that the European Youth Pact represents a different view on young people than the workfare policies. The whole framework for youth policy breathes a new belief in young people. "*It is time now to regard youth as a positive force in the construction of Europe rather than as a problem*", the White Paper states.[114] In this quotation, the Commission clearly expresses and takes a stance for a particular perception of young people. The emphasis is no longer on what young people need to get or on disciplinary actions. In the first place, young people have something to offer. They are not only in the making, but also a capacity in their own right.

"*How does one get credit for personal experience that education systems do not formally recognise?*", the Commissioner Vivianne Reding, responsible for education, culture and youth asked in a booklet about the new youth policy, published by the DG for Education and Culture in 2002. Obviously, such a question rests on the belief that young people have personal experiences of a value, acquired separately from what they learn at school.

On the basis of a clearly potential-oriented view on young people, the European Youth Pact favours participation as the "*first and foremost*" priority theme.

> Participation should be developed primarily in the local community, including schools, which provide an ideal opportunity for participation. It must also be extended to include young people who do not belong to associations.

The White Paper doesn't rule out any level in promoting participation. Pilot projects to promote participation of young people will be proposed at every level of government. In its Communication, the Commission highlights participation as one of the keys "*in building healthy societies*".

The framework for youth policy calls for changes of institutions and processes of society. For example, the demand for a boost of complementarity between formal and non-formal education would imply profound changes. So would "*developing a labour market which favours the inclusion of young people*".[115] However, the demand for profound societal changes was stated more explicitly by the small group of youth research experts[116] from different parts of Europe, asked by the European Commission to take part in the White Paper consultation process.[117]

The researchers have a great belief in the strengths of young people.[118] The perception of contemporary young people as passive, evidenced in the decline in the political participation of young people, is rejected, as "*all evidence suggests that young people put a growing emphasis on shaping their lives. They do it as individuals, as couples, as participants in changing social constellations.*"[119] Contemporary young people learn to live another life than expected by the older generations. To understand and bolster these new patterns, the researchers call for a far more holistic youth policy based on the fact that "*young people's lifeworlds no longer make sharp divisions between learning, working, loving, playing and living.*"[120] It's described as a "*quality of interconnectivity that is becoming characteristic of the ways young Europeans live and experience their lives today.*"[121]

As a consequence, new forms of participation have to be developed: "*The present challenge of participation is to make the social and collective moments and implications of individual life projects more visible, building bridges where individuality can be realised in a social context.*"[122] The researchers highlight the need for explorative and innovative research on such developments.

3.7 Taking place in the cities

This network deals with the change of situation for young people from exclusion to inclusion. Moreover, the network focuses on young people in the cities. Thus, we need to know what social exclusion means in the cities. I tried to clarify that concretely in chapter 2.2, using a definition presented in chapter 2.1. This section has presented the conceptual tools needed to understand social inclusion. However, it remains to be clarified how social inclusion takes place in the cities.

3.7.1 The borders between inclusion and exclusion

In general terms, I have defined social inclusion as an ordered and lasting social context with causal forces that function regularly as barriers. Also, I've argued that nation-societies emerged as social inclusions when the territorial borders of nation-states coincided with the borders of various systems and structures (economic, administrative, political etc).

Now, the social borders have reappeared spatially, but not as clearly in the same location as the previous ones and not with an intentional location. The emergence of the new societal borders is a quite unintentional consequence of the societal development. The problems associated with these borders have brought attention to them. Clearly, they exist in the cities, in particular the big ones, where areas characterised by social exclusion are pointed out. But in contrast to the earlier ones, the new borders lack a precise location. That ought to make them difficult to perceive as societal, just like the older ones. The older ones appeared very clearly but were not referred to as a distinction between social inclusion and social exclusion. The new ones lack a similar spatial exactness in location and don't stem from intentional decisions, but yet the current discourse characterises the life outside them as social exclusion.

Thus, the current complexities of social life that we perceive as societies turn in two directions. In the one direction, they show openness and in the other they are closed. The question arises again: Does society still exist? Could such contradictory contexts be called societies? A lot of the included who benefit from all the new opportunities of passing the old borders freely would perhaps say no. But to a substantial share of the population in the cities, the society definitely still exists because society is what they are excluded from. Thus, society has become a new form of social inclusion, most obvious for the ones excluded from it.

The dismantling of the earlier borders has made social scientists hesitate to use the term society. It's claimed to be too ideologically imbued.[123] In my view, it's legitimate to use it. The barriers that appear in the cities, which explain the existence of social exclusion, belong to society. Thus, if nowhere else, **society makes itself tangible and efficacious as barriers in the cities**. And as these barriers differ between the nations, due to laws and regulations legislated by the nation-states, I have found it reasonable to talk about different nation-societies.

And the borders of these nation-societies literally take place in the cities. The borders consist of the four types of causal forces, presented and explained in chapter 3.1.3 (page 56). Thus, the borders signify that the social inclusion of society causes social exclusion by getting people to opt out, excluding explicitly, excluding implicitly and call for high demands on participation, in terms of skills and education. These types of causal forces are what the borders consist of. Such causal forces are generated by the social inclusion of nation-societies and appear as borders. And these borders literally take place in the cities.

At schools in socially excluded areas, it becomes clear that teachers embody the familiar and established, while the young people tend to represent the alien. That's

the case in particular at schools with a high share of immigrant pupils, but as the local report on **Llumbre** in Gijón makes clear, education systems embody values and principles which tend to favour those who comply with the rules at the expense of those who react against it, even if such reactions turn out to be justified. In the viewpoints, attitudes and reactions of the teacher, the nation-society becomes visible. More precisely, the meeting between the teacher and the young people takes place at the border between social inclusion and social exclusion, teachers representing the former and young people the latter. That creates other pre-conditions than at schools located in areas where the residents in general manage to provide for a decent living and belong to the ethnic majority.

Metaphorically speaking, the borders between social inclusion and exclusion differ in size, height and thickness between the cities. That's because the cities belong to particular nation-societies. For that reason, the preconditions for good examples differ profoundly. It makes a difference if the young people have a foreign background or not. It makes a difference if their parents work in a low-wage sector, often then in total many hours per day, or not. It makes a difference what benefits and assistance the families could claim and on what conditions.

Again metaphorically speaking, it makes a difference if the border is high or low, thick or thin. It's easier to climb over a low border, like in cities with deregulated labour markets, but at the same time, the low borders make the nation-society look less distinct. Whether you take part or not in the nation-society could become unclear. That doesn't favour a feeling of participation. Instead, it could make you feel excluded although you actually take part. In contrast, high borders could be difficult to climb over, but once achieved the actual participation enabled promotes a feeling of participation. On the other hand, those left outside the high border could easily feel totally excluded and loose faith in the nation-society entirely.

In sum, the problems of social exclusion may appear as similar, indicated by for example unemployment figures and education attainment levels. However, if we include not only the symptoms but the causes engendered by the nation-societies, often not that obvious, it becomes clear that the good examples to some extent have to tackle different problems. Such causes of social exclusion often strengthen each other and thus make social exclusion deep-seated. This is very well described in the local report on the **AMUCK** project:

> In general there is a tendency that ethnic minorities – especially bilingual boys – often experience discriminatory treatment e.g. on the streets and the labour market, which make them loose confidence in the Danish society – and the Danes. Many of the youngsters feel insecure in the company of Danes and therefore choose an isolated life in 'Nørrebro' along with other bilinguals similar to themselves. This often affects their schooling in a negative respect. This happens also because they already are part of a socially burdened and marginalised group. The youngsters don't seem to have any faith in the future or a career option.

To those young people, it becomes obvious that borders of social inclusion exist. Because the borders belong to the nation-societies, it is important to be aware of different systems and structures. In order to understand the social exclusion taking place in the cities, we need the knowledge such as the one presented in this section of the report. We need to conceptualise how nation-societies operate as social inclusions.

3.7.2 Shifting the borders – urban potential

Thus, the borders between social inclusion and exclusion appear in the cities. But that also means that the borders of the nation-societies are raised, maintained, negotiated, contested, replaced and dismantled in the cities. For that reason, the question of competence and authority has to be brought to the fore. Who has the right to establish, maintain or perhaps shift the borders? What power do the cities have?

That differs profoundly between the cities and nation-societies. Cities in the Nordic countries are the most powerful ones:

> The opportunities for local authorities to develop an autonomous policy are still relatively limited in France and Italy (although increasing in both countries), and very constrained in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Portugal and Greece. The Northern countries and Luxemburg, where the local autonomy is in fact the foundation of the administrative system, represent the other extreme (although in Denmark the national government is increasingly assuming control).[124]

Also Spanish cities have a high degree of power. Just like in Sweden, local tax returns in Spanish cities account for over six tenths of the total municipal budget. In general, the degree of local power is largely tied up with taxation rights. In nation-societies with a lower degree of municipal power, it's not in the hands of the cities to decide about the borders to the same extent. Instead, crucial decisions are taken by national authorities. In Germany, it's the regional authorities which have a high degree of power, deciding for example on schools.

In nation-societies where the power is split upon different levels (local, regional, national and even a fourth level in for example Spain), that probably affects

the appearance of the borders and makes them more unclear. Moreover, such a split makes them probably more difficult to shift. Where the cities have a high degree of power, the borders become part of one and the same local political discourse and agenda, which therefore probably makes the borders more apparent. Also, the appearance and location of the borders as well as the issue of shifting them becomes to a higher extent a concern for such city authorities.

The existence and strength of a metropolitan policy is often pointed at as an indicator of the concern for social exclusion in the cities. For that reason, the UK, France and the Netherlands seems to be the most advanced countries as they have the most advanced metropolitan policies.[125] However, in these three countries cities have a relatively low level of power. Thus, the metropolitan policies could be understood as a way to compensate for the low level of power at the local urban level. The cities don't have enough power to carry through changes. That's why such power has to be granted from above.

However, the metropolitan policies don't cover the urban context in its entirety. Such policies have usually been designed to tackle the problems as they appear. Thus, problems concerning the fabric of society and the way society functions as a social inclusion could hardly be tackled by metropolitan policies. Therefore, an advanced metropolitan policy in countries with a low level of local power runs the risk of becoming stigmatising and blaming, which counteracts a policy of bottom-up and empowerment. In contrast, cities in countries with a high degree of local power have the opportunity to tackle the problems in their entire urban contexts and thus carry through shifts of the borders. Thus, we have reasons to expect the most from the Nordic cities as they have a higher power to prevent and do something about the problems. For the same reason, cities in the Nordic cities to a higher extent than elsewhere should be held responsible for the existence of social exclusion.

The outcome of all the efforts creates the preconditions for the theme of this network. The situation of young people is supposed to change from exclusion to inclusion. In order for this to happen, will the young people have to cross the borders or do the borders have to be shifted to encompass the young people? The two main options regarding the change of situation for young people from exclusion to inclusion:

1) Empowering and/or forcing young people to cross the existing borders of the nation-societies.

2) Shifting the borders, thus changing the causes of social exclusion, making it possible to capitalise on the potential of young people.

Regarding the first option, this network and report favours empowerment on a basis of the potential-oriented view. Typically, the priority of force and pressure draws on a problem-oriented view, which this report has taken side against. Moreover, a problem-oriented view doesn't really bring the second option above to the fore. If young people are regarded as problems, the solution will focus on how to make them change. In contrast, the potential-oriented view recognises the problems of the borders as well as the potential of the young people. Thus, the potential-oriented view favours a combination of supporting the young people and shifting the borders.

Essentially, shifting the borders has to rely on the potential of the young people. As Soto & Lapeyre (2004) emphasise, "*there needs to be a shift from seeing young people and immigrants as the problem to seeing them as a unique resource. All energies need to focus on the mobilisation of the internal and external resources of young people themselves.*"[126] Indeed, the next section in this report highlights a variety of aspects on the potential of young people themselves.

Examples like **AMUCK** and the **Nightingale** show the benefits of using young people as mentors. **Success Alternatives** has proved that young people can take part in developing criteria as well as assessments of success. However, not only the young people themselves in areas characterised by social exclusion have potential, but of course also their parents. Such potential of parents and how to make use of them are shown in examples like **Parental Education**, **Parental Board** and **School and Home**. Another type of potential is represented by the community organisations. The strength and significance of community organisations becomes obvious in examples like **CISE**, **Llumbre**, **Abierto**, the **Brewery's IV-programme** and **Joint Social Streetwork**. Furthermore, companies have potential to use, shown by examples like the **Summer Workers** and the **Mentor Company Project**.

Finally, areas characterised by social exclusion are often described and talked about as deprived. However, the population could have another perception of them. This is where they live, enjoy friendships and struggle. It's not unusual that people feel a sense of pride for the area. Indeed, such a sense of belonging and identity could constitute the basis for crime and violence. But it could also become an important potential for a revitalisation which the strategies should capitalise on. The local report on **Abierto** describes such a potential in the area La Calzada, though not without problems, as the report underlines as well:

> … the existence of a neighbourhood identity and

consciousness, which doesn't exist anywhere else in the city and which makes of La Calzada a different neighbourhood, never in a bad sense, but as something positive. This fact offers a great potential every time that an activity is proposed, as the whole neighbourhood normally gets involved. … the neighbourhood identity enhances here more than anywhere else the involvement in associations and political movements. Residents associations are very important and powerful in the area, though it's rather linked to adults and not to young people, who are left out. This might be due to the very adult presence which doesn't favour their integration in associations or political parties, or may also be a consequence of the growing lack of interest of young people in getting involved or being committed.

3.8 Concluding remarks

In this section, I have referred to the conclusion drawn recently by the economist André Sapir about the sustainability of four models of development. On the basis of efficiency and equity, he finds the Nordic and Anglo-Saxon models sustainable, while continental and Mediterranean models are not. The analysis builds on the theory from political sociology on welfare regimes, also presented in this section, and his conclusion seems legitimate. However, as an economist he tends to focus on market efficiency and neglect the preconditions of democracy. Indeed, as he says, "*Nordics enjoy an envious position, with a social model that delivers both efficiency and equity*", though the fact that the Anglo-Saxon model has a high efficiency but performs very poorly in equity, doesn't seem to be regarded as too devastating.

In this chapter, I have paved the way for an understanding of the relationship between efficiency and equity by suggesting the distinction between actual and feeling of participation. Actual participation means playing a role. Feeling of participation depends on the meaning of that role, the power it holds and the basis of it in trust. Social inclusion is strongest when actual participation and feeling of participation coincide, that is, when you both feel that you participate and actually do. When people take part in ways which don't make them feel part, and that's a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon model, that could make them feel for opting out and taking part in something else.

Opting out is one of four types of causes in the typology suggested, the other three being explicit as well as implicit exclusion and demands that are difficult to meet. These four types explain the appearance of social exclusion, though presupposing that society has become a social inclusion. In general, I have defined social inclusion as an ordered and lasting social context with causal forces that function regularly as barriers. And that's how society appears in the cities. However, such borders operate differently depending on the difference between what I have called nation-societies. I do think that such nation-societies still exist, but displaying an openness in the one end and a closure in the other end. If nowhere else,

nation-societies appear as borders in the cities, causing and highlighting the existence of social exclusion.

The borders differ due to the differences between nation-societies. A major difference concerns the labour market. Three types of labour markets have been identified. The liberal type is characterised by low barriers, but also insecurities, inequalities and weak unions. The social democratic type contains high barriers, employment security and strong unions. The conservative type consists of a divided labour market, the one part with high barriers and strong employment security, while the other part has low barriers and weak regulations.

All the three types of labour markets cause problems for young people. The liberal labour market makes it easier for young people to get a job, but just as easy to loose it. In the conservative type, young people tend to get stuck in the low-wage sector. The social democratic type tends to make it difficult for young people to climb the high barriers and get included in any kind of job.

The theory of welfare regimes explains the differences between nation-society in dealing with the risks of becoming excluded. The regimes differ due to different structural couplings of the market, welfare state, family and social economy. The liberal regime relies primarily on the market and the social democratic on the welfare state. The conservative and familial regimes both rely on the family, but to different extents. It's the latter two welfare regimes that André Sapir rules out as unsustainable.

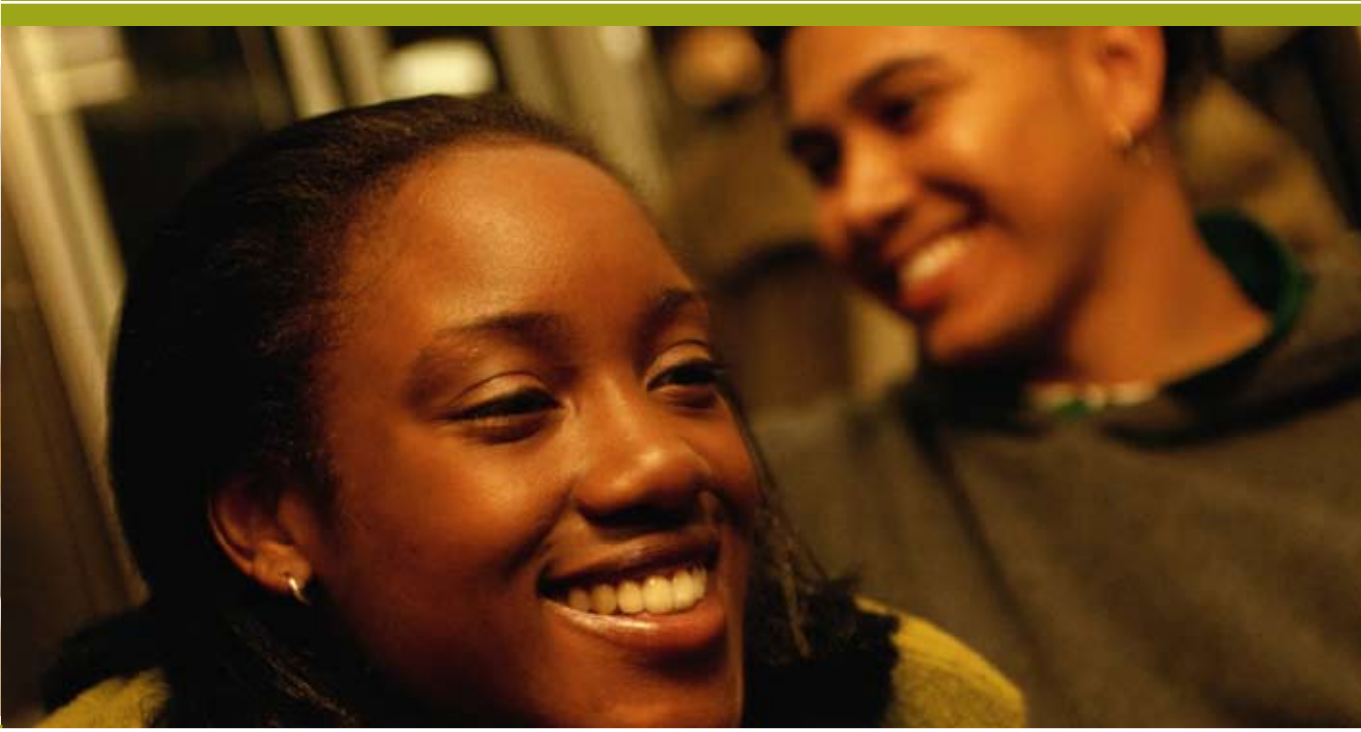
On the basis of my analysis, I regard also the liberal regime as unsustainable. That's because of the divisions it allows and creates which doesn't favour a joint feeling of participation in the nation-society and thus threatens to undermine democracy. The shift from welfare to workfare tends to strengthen and fuel that threat even further. Moreover, the widespread existence of low wages doesn't engender the kind of quality in demands, associated with the knowledge-based economy. In the Fordist model of economic development, mass production and mass consumption constituted a virtuous circle of supply and demand. For such a circle to become virtuous again, knowledge-based production has to be related to knowledge-based consumption. And the widespread existence of low wages doesn't favour that.

Furthermore, the emergence of such virtuous circles depends on education. Young people need to be properly educated in order to be able to take part in the knowledge-based economy, not only as producers but also as consumers. For that reason, the objectives of the national education systems have to be renewed, particularly in favour of an active relationship to knowledge and learning to become democratic. Such renewals have been made in all the countries. However, as I have showed in this section, renewing the objectives is a necessary but not sufficient precondition. If we want the young people to be able to take part in the knowledge-based society, we also need to be sure that they learn the knowledge prescribed in the renewed objectives and furthermore, exactly that knowledge and nothing else has to be graded.

But we couldn't be sure about that. We couldn't be sure to what extent schools make it possible for young people to learn an active relationship to knowledge and become democratic. On the contrary, it seems that the implementation of the renewed objectives varies substantially. Moreover, we couldn't be sure to what extent the grades operate in line with the renewed objectives. On the contrary, too often it seems that they don't. However, what we do know is that grades could operate not only as a confirmation of social exclusion but also as a cause of it. This means that young people could become socially excluded on illegitimate grounds. Furthermore, they get ownership of problems which they haven't caused, but yet become responsible for solving.

The newly adopted Youth Pact offers an alternative policy response. It manifests a potential-oriented view significant beyond a limited perception of youth issues. On the basis of a clearly potential-oriented view on young people, the European Youth Pact favours participation as the "first and foremost" priority theme. Also, the framework for youth policy calls for profound changes of institutions and processes of society, for example the demand for a boost of complementarity between formal and non-formal education.

4 GOOD EXAMPLES



This research report is founded on a total of 23 examples of good practice presented to the URBACT network. All of them claim to solve problems which change the situation of young people from exclusion to inclusion. That's the common denominator. However, as we have seen in section 2, within this frame the examples solve different problems. Moreover, the examples differ in terms of problem definition. Furthermore, they take place in different contexts, as shown in section 3. For those reasons, it seems obvious that they also pursue different solutions. How could they then be comparable? On what ground is it possible to learn?

As stated in section 1, this network has three levels of ambition. The first level concerns informing each other about our good examples. That's not very hard to do. If that ambition was to direct this section of the final report, I would present the good examples each one in turn. However, that won't fulfil the ambitions at the second level, dealing with learning from comparisons. Some kind of ground needs to be established in this chapter which makes comparisons and learning possible.

In the preparation of such a ground, I will suggest a distinction between three types of criteria. One of these types will be called **content criteria** and that's the one which makes comparisons possible. Five content criteria will be defined. The 23 examples of good practice will be presented by defining these criteria. For example, each one of the examples that fulfil the first criterion will feed the definition of it. Thus, instead of presenting the good examples each one in turn, I will present them with regard to their fulfilment of the five criteria.

4.1 Criteria of good examples

But are comparisons of good examples really possible? That's the first question to be asked. Because the answer is not at all obvious. In the study of the social economy, Amin et al seems doubtful:

> Our aim is not to look for best practice, because our argument is that success and failure are to varying degrees a product of context, and therefore not readily separable or transferable from local and non-local social and institutional settings.[127]

I agree, regarding each example as a whole.[128] The examples in our network illustrate this problem very well. Although all of them are supposed to carry through changes from social exclusion to social inclusion, they address so many different problems, as we have seen in section 2. Moreover, section 3 has made clear the profound differences between contexts.

To put it simply, an example could be regarded as good if it manages to solve the problem. How well it succeeds depends entirely on the context. Thus, in order for it to be compared with another example, both have to address the same problem. That doesn't necessarily make them transferable. If the contexts of the examples differ substantially, they couldn't simply be swapped. Each example is so embedded in its own context of aspirations, attitudes, resources, experiences, time frames, localities, political will, knowledge, support etc. Thus, transferring examples will have to take into account all these contextual differences, even if they try to solve the same problem.

Yet, I disagree. I do find comparisons possible. In my view, the conclusion made by Amin et al rests on a certain type of criteria which could be called **context criteria**. As the success of the example depends on the context, we need to establish criteria which build on the context. For that reason, such criteria can't be used in the assessment of examples in other contexts. Context criteria enable us to assess how good the example is, but not if its' better than others or even best. Thus, the conclusion made by Amin et al applies to context criteria.

However, comparisons could be enabled by another type of criteria, which I will call **content criteria**. Regardless of the specific problems addressed by the examples, it's possible to identify five problem areas of general validity. Every example relates to these five problem areas, whether on purpose or not, and regardless of the contextual differences between the cities. Due to the general validity, it's possible to regard the areas as present in all the cities, though taking shape in different forms. Identifying and high-lighting this content enables us to create criteria for how to deal with it successfully.

I have derived the problems from the theory on social contexts, presented briefly in chapter 3.1 (page 54). The theory makes me aware of which various problems that need to be addressed in order for social contexts to be real and functional. However, the theory doesn't say anything about the concrete appearance, the priorities and divisions of such problems. It's not the theory that has prescribed me to divide the problems into five areas. Instead, it's the concrete context of the network and its theme that has enabled me to make the priorities and the divisions.

To make it very clear, the potential for making the priorities and the divisions don't only consist of the ideas about the network and its theme. It's not only a result of pure thinking. The local reports on the examples have certainly been an important source of inspiration, but I want to highlight in particular the opportunities to deal with the local reports, make suggestions and then

get feedback. The five criteria could be regarded as a very fruitful outcome of the discussions, criticism and challenges, the give-and-take of the mutual ground of practitioners and researchers, described in the Introduction. The criteria answer to the following five problem areas:

1. People take part in all social contexts. Without people taking part, social contexts won't exist. For that reason, we need a criterion for how to treat and relate to people, in this case the young people and even more specifically, the ones associated with social exclusion.

2. Social relations constitute the basic characteristic of social contexts. If a context doesn't include social relations of any kind, it's not possible to call it social. For that reason, we need to clarify the significance of social relations regarding the specific theme of "Young people – from exclusion to inclusion".

3. Social contexts get structured in institutions, and schools constitute the main institution concerned with young people's change from exclusion to inclusion. Chapter 3.4 (page 62) has clarified some of the crucial school problems. In fact, school structures could cause social exclusion. For that reason, we need to state a general criterion for how to deal with school structures.

4. Schools don't exist in a void, but in the wider context of society. As shown in chapter 3.3 (page 57) and 3.4 (page 66), the context of society contains many causes of social exclusion. Also, such causes become apparent at the borders between the social inclusion of society and social exclusion, taking place in the cities, particularly in schools. For that reason, a criterion is needed for how to deal with the relations between the school and its societal context.

5. It's a characteristic feature of all social contexts to be associated and indeed permeated by meaning. Without meaning, it wouldn't be possible for people to understand what to do, how to behave and thus to take part. Also, the meaning of a context is essential for the feeling of participation. In modern societies, learning has become emphasised as the most important meaning of adolescence, particularly in the age of transition towards knowledge-societies. For that reason, we need a criterion for how to deal with learning and knowledge.

On the basis of these problem areas and the presentation of examples in the local reports, five content criteria have been developed. They will be presented, defined and further explained in the following chapters.

In contrast to context criteria, we need content criteria to make comparisons of the good examples. Moreover, we need what I will call **form criteria**, which constitute the preconditions for us to be able to know what we're talking about. The form criteria determine what can be seen as an example. But what form criteria? This is exactly what we started to work on during the conference in Malmö, February 2004 and the continued work with the knowledge about the good examples has later made

me even more convinced about the importance of the questions. For us to be able to learn from each other's good examples, and compare the content of them, we need to work out answers to the same questions. And these specific questions are the ones I want to see as the form criteria.

For the good to be able to make up an example, there has to be a background and reasons, goal settings and strategy, initiative takers, partners and interested parties, process and results, documented as well as assessed. We have asked questions about all of these things in the network. And to the degree that answers to the questions under any heading have been lacking, then the good cannot qualify as an example. Then the form criteria haven't been fulfilled. The answers to the questions, and thereby the fulfilling of the form criteria have been made visible as good examples.

The answering of the questions has simultaneously put them to the test as form criteria. Is it exactly these questions that make the good visible as an example? Are the questions functional for making examples visible in all cities? Do they maybe have to be changed or completed? Can any of the questions simply be seen as unnecessary, and accordingly be deleted? Answering has led to a development of the questions into form criteria.

To sum up, in order to be compared, the good examples **firstly**, have to be clearly limited in several aspects. Knowledge about the good examples also has to exist in these specific aspects. This can be called form criteria. To be seen as an example, it has to fit into particular forms. **Secondly**, certain content is needed. To be seen as good, the example has to fulfil certain criteria of content. **Thirdly**, the good examples have to be related to their context. If not, we can't assess how good the example is. The example becomes good only in relation to the problems that are to be solved and the context in which the solution takes place.

4.2 Good examples of the criteria

In this network, it's the content criteria that have made mutual learning possible. The five content criteria were originally suggested and put to trial at the conference in Aarhus, 2004. The suggestion got support from the participants, which was confirmed at the conferences in Gera (January 2005) and Gijón (May 2005). In the following chapters, the 23 examples will be presented in the light of the five content criteria. Simultaneously, the 23 examples will be used as illustrations of the five criteria and help to refine the definitions of them.

4.2.1 Empowerment

The first criterion answers the problem of how to treat and relate to people, in this case the young people and even more specifically, the ones associated with social exclusion. It's turned out that efforts associated with the theme "Young people – from exclusion to inclusion" should be characterised first of all by an empowering relation to young people. The criterion accords fully with the potential-oriented view, stated in chapter 1.3.1 (page 23). As the URBACT expert Paul Soto concludes in the book on policy approaches, youth empowerment "*has to be the first and central building block for neighbourhood strategies. It cannot be left until a later stage or relegated to a secondary position.*"[129]

In chapter 3.1 (page 55), I defined empowerment on the basis of the distinction between intentional and structural power. Accordingly, the definition needs to distinguish between the empowerment of roles and individuals respectively. Supported by the discussions at the Aarhus conference, I defined the empowerment of individuals as a change "*from being an object to being a subject*". Such empowerment includes becoming aware about your skills, but also learning about rights, obligations and responsibilities in order to participate in everyday-life-situations as citizens.

The other aspect in the definition is empowerment of roles. In chapter 3.1, I referred to **Success Alternatives** as an example, where the role of the pupils was empowered. Such an empowerment is made difficult by the given, hereditary, predetermined and long-term planned structures. The pupils adjust to a high level of these given structures, learn to live with them and make themselves reflections of the expectations of the school. Therefore, it took time and required a lot of patience before the pupils could express their own opinions. In terms of the definition, the empowerment of the role required an empowerment of the individuals.

But, when the pupils started to believe in the project, and felt like a part of it, an impressive creativity emerged, also among pupils that otherwise were seen as "weak". A major involvement from the project teachers was demanded though, re-planning, flexibility in working methods and recurring evaluations, which above all says a lot about the tardiness of the school structures.

> To work this way takes time, it's hard work, difficult and uncomfortable. One constantly has to reappraise one's way of working, look over how one meets the pupils, evaluate how one works, take time for extra planning, etc. BUT it gives so many positive experiences and insights that it has given very much back. The class has developed, the pupils have grown and our relations to the pupils have been given new dimensions.

The main goal of **Success Alternatives** was to develop new ways of assessing competence that the grades don't measure. The work was carried out by a class of eight-graders (age 14-15) at the International School Gårdsten in Göteborg. For almost a school year, one lesson every week was used to work on the project. The work was led by two teachers.

Success Alternatives shows how some roles need to be empowered in relation to other roles. But roles can also be unfair in themselves. Because of its construction, one specific role is more suitable for some social categories than others. It can for example be that education takes place in the majority language. Then it becomes more difficult for children with another mother tongue to keep up. This problem has been given attention and an attempted solution has been tried at Kroksbäck School in Malmö, through the establishing of a **Study Workshop**.

The **Study Workshop** for pupils with another mother tongue than Swedish was started in 2001. Six qualified teachers with Arabic, Albanian and Pashto as their mother tongues have been employed to lead the education. The teachers have a competence of altogether nine different languages, i.e. enough to be able to communicate with the majority of the pupils and their parents in their mother tongue. The goals are to increase the amount of pupils with passed grades, to strengthen the pupils' confidence and interest for education, and to increase the parents' involvement and insight into the Swedish school. The educational approach aims at normalising bilingualism. The pupils' knowledge of Swedish and other subjects is to be strengthened by them being offered education in their mother tongues. In that way, the pupils become empowered as well.

The **Study Workshop** has made it easier for the children to express themselves and their whole personality. As the headteacher says, "*behind their language barricade, they know a lot of things*". The children discover this themselves when they are allowed to express themselves in their mother tongue. And others discover it. It strengthens their self-confidence and self-esteem. It makes them feel safer. The establishment of the **Study Workshop** doesn't only create a forum for the use of the mother tongue, but also legitimises another mother tongue. The use of the mother tongue is accepted and made normal. The **Study Workshop** has in that aspect led to a normalisation of bilingualism. Altogether, this empowers the children. And this has become apparent in the improvements of the grades, but above all in an increased belief in the future, broadened minds and higher levels of ambition.

Similarly, the work of the **Integration Coordinators** could be said to normalise multi-culturalism. The two **Integration Coordinators** speak a variety of languages, which makes it easier to communicate with many of the pupils at the school.

> Regarding the work towards the pupils, it is concentrated on increasing the awareness of their own potential, increasing their independence and their critical thinking. Besides individual conversations with the pupils, a couple of groups have been started. The groups include a group on integration and a group on study environment. Pupil democracy is a keyword in the work of all these groups. Field days, study visits and cooperation with the university and organisations such as BRIS (Short for Children's Right In the Society), makes sure that the work is not isolated in the school.

Processes of empowerment can also concern individuals outside the roles as pupils. A good example of this is the mentor project the **Nightingale**, where close relations are created between students at Malmö University and pupils from compulsory schools in areas characterised by exclusion. For a year each student acts as mentors to a pupil (mentee) in the age group 8-12. Students have to apply for the mentorship, and their suitableness is tested. The children are chosen by the staff of the school. Student and child meet each other one afternoon a week.

Through the student (the mentor) the children becomes aware of the existence of the university and its possibilities. Even more important is that this awareness becomes related to the friendship relation to the student. The encounter with the mentor colours the children's view on the university. To the extent that the mentor is nice, decent and attentive, something also has to be good about Malmö University. As one of the children says; "*I am also going to study environment at Malmö University when I grow up, just like my mentor.*"

Another important effect is the children's broadened minds and strengthened self-esteem. The children are empowered, i.e. strengthened in the ability to act by themselves, think independently, choose and take standpoints. This happens through the children's experience of the world outside their own housing area, which often functions as a clearly defined enclave. Many children spend practically their whole adolescence in the enclave and because of that they know very little about the outside world. The project offers a ticket out of the enclave. This can lead to new hobbies and contacts with another cultural- and organisational life. But the subject is also strengthened through the children being seen for what they are, not as pupils, but as humans, certainly young but not necessarily subordinated.

Another mentor project is **AMUCK** (Clarifying Mentor-course aimed at increased Educational

knowledge Focused on Competence development) in Copenhagen. It turns to bilingual boys between the ages of 15-20 (mentees), who are at the risk of being excluded from the educational system. The mentors are older young people between the ages of 19-28, carefully recruited among the ones with foreign background and with the capacity to act as role models. The mentors have each been paired with a mentee.

The project has consisted of three steps. After the initial contact taken by the mentor and also in some cases contact with the parents to ensure their support, the mentor and the mentee, firstly, get to know each other. As a second step, a skills clarification is carried out, focusing on the skills of the mentee, not only the formal ones but in a broad sense and also wishes for the future. On that basis, action plans have been made for the rest of the project with goals, how to reach them and a timetable decided jointly by the mentor and the mentee, of course within the framework of the project. The third step consists of attaining the goals set up in the action plan.

To attain the goals the mentors and the mentees have visited educational institutions, had meetings with guidance councillors and prepared educational plans as well as applications to youth training. Moreover, they have had coffee meetings in cafés, visited the family of the mentee, discussed personal problems and engaged in sport activities. Goals have also been set up for the personal development of the mentees, comprising getting up in the morning, getting a job, setting up a bank account and saving up money for a driving license, taking initiatives and getting to know the world outside Nørrebro/Mjølnerparken.

The **AMUCK** is reported to be successful. Of the 13 boys that started as mentees, 12 of them remained and all applied for youth training in March 2005. As the local report states, most of the boys would probably have applied without the project, but as a success indicator of the project, the boys in general applied to other courses than they intended at the beginning of the project.

> The mentors have been role models for the boys. They have shown them some of the advantages of getting education instead of becoming a criminal and they have helped empower the boys in various fields.

Companies can also act as mentors for young people, which the **Mentor Company Project** in Malmö shows. It started in 2002 at the upper secondary schools Öresundsgymnasiet and Pauli School. The project offers pupils with foreign background the opportunity to make four visits and at least two weeks of paid internship at one of eight participating companies. According to the headteacher, the project was supposed to be *"a method to strengthen the children's self-confidence, increase their motivation for studies and make them believe that studying is worthwhile. But it was also about pupils becoming role models for other pupils."*

Asociación Cultural **Llumbre** in Gijón empowers younger children. The project aims among other things to stimulate the children's interests for learning, improve their ability to solve problems and encourage them in the search for their own abilities. **Llumbre** arranges activities linked to school work, such as help with homework, but also with a focus on creating positive spare-time alternatives (workshops, journeys, camping). The decisive thing, though, is that the activities are built on the interests of the young people, their commitment and participation.

A similar project is the one run by **CISE** (Centre for Solidarity and Employment Initiatives) in Gijón. Through different types of leisure time activities, the aim is to stimulate a critical awareness and promote responsibility-taking. Furthermore, it aims to help the young people to develop the everyday knowledge that might not always be a part of the school's ordinary education, but that has a big importance for the youths to be able to become independent; e.g. how one writes a CV, prepares for a job interview, writes an application and searches for a job. **CISE** also arranges support for young people in their school work. Within **CISE**, young people's participation also has a central importance:

> All these activities are carried out using an active and participative methodology which aims at involving children and young people in their own development and improvement, making them part of the program and encouraging them to express their own opinions.

To reconnect to the discussions at the Aarhus-conference, role empowerment has to be driven clearly and with force. To come to terms with social inequality, role changes have to be forced. Individual empowerment probably corresponds more to what Martin Eriksson's group called the natural ways.

Individual- and role empowerment most usually are linked together, though. For individuals to become empowered, empowerment is needed for the roles they play. That is what the example of the **Brewery's IV-programme** in Malmö shows, whose IV-programme had leadership as the overriding theme. The pupils were primarily going to learn to lead themselves and to take responsibility over their own lives. The whole educational approach was permeated with striving to empower the pupils, i.e. to strengthen their ability to take standpoints, act, choose and take responsibility The location in the Brewery's premises also contributed to this as the organisation's active members could function as role models.

There are quite a lot of similarities between the Brewery and **Abierto** (Abierto Hasta el Amanecer), the youth organisation in Gijón, which gives great importance to learning and development of young people from exclusion to inclusion. At the moment, 25 youths are employed by the organisation. They work fulltime (and probably more than that) planning, arranging, organising and leading free-time activities for youths. Unemployed young people are thereby offered a possibility to provide for their living. **Abierto** is located in the working class district La Calzada. When the organisation started in the mid ´90s, unemployment among youths was as high as 40%. Nowadays unemployment among youths is considerably lower, but still relatively high. The activity has been going on for seven years, and during this period of time a total of 200 youths have been temporarily employed.

The employment in itself strengthens young people, who otherwise are unemployed. Through employment, the young people take the step from exclusion to inclusion. The purpose and content can probably also contribute to empower the young people. The employment is based on their own experience and knowledge of youth culture, but also on contacts and networks. The work both demands and makes possible the development of skills in for example communication, planning, organisation and leadership. The young people also have to learn to stand for moral standards and for example the view on drugs that the organisation has adopted. The attention and confirmation from politicians and the council are also important.

> However, the greatest achievement of the initiative, from our point of view, has been the fact that the local administration has trusted young people to manage their own activities and public funds, thus creating employment among young people and, on the other hand, the good response given by the city´s young people, reflected in the high level of participation and the loyalty and harmonious atmosphere created during the program.

A special example, that isn't like any of the others above, is the **Pigeskolen** at Heimdalsgades Overbygningsskole (HGO) in Copenhagen. There, a voluntary meeting place for Muslim girls has been created. Activities are arranged between around 3 and 7 p.m. Two employees are responsible for activities and the premises, one from the youth club "First Floor" and the other a teacher from HGO. The activities are planned with the girls, and they decide themselves what they want to participate in, or if they perhaps just want to sit and talk. According to the local report, the two employees have succeeded very well in building up personal and confidential relationships. The girls have been able to talk about things that they feel are difficult to talk about with parents or other teachers, things that can clash between their background in Muslim and Danish culture. This has strengthened the girls and contributed to their personal development.

The example is different from the ones above since it doesn't really fit into the distinction between role and individual. The **Pigeskolen** in Copenhagen doesn't aim to empower a role similar to for example **Success Alternatives**. But, neither is it about empowering individuals, not in general. The girls' school turns to Muslim girls, i.e. a distinct category. So does to a certain extent also the mentor project the **Nightingale**, **Llumbre** and **CISE**, but not as narrowly and definite. Surely, it's individuals that are positively affected by the results, but behind that I discern a hope of changed prospects for Muslim girls in general; e.g. the category as a whole. The girls' school at HGO makes me attentive to empowerment also being about a definite social category, besides roles and individuals.

4.2.2 Strengthened social relations

The second criterion relates to the issue of social relations. It clarifies the significance of social relations regarding the specific theme of "Young people – from exclusion to inclusion". Indeed, social relations are the cornerstone of every social context. In chapter 3.1 (page 54), I showed how complexity increases when social relations develop into social structures. However, the significance of the social relations as cornerstones remains, regardless of the complexity. If the communication and trust needed in every social relation doesn't function, then the social structure will tend to disintegrate, whether it's an organisation, a school or a nation-society. The need for strong social relations was stressed also in the chapter about the view on knowledge (page 24). Learning doesn't take place in a social vacuum but relies fundamentally on the quality of social relations.

On this basis, the network has agreed about the need to strengthen social relations. Social relations have to be strengthened in order to enable a change in situation for young people from exclusion to inclusion. Thus, strengthened social relations will be stated as the second success criteria. The projects from the cities have provided us with examples of what this means and how it can be achieved.

At the Aarhus-conference Lasse Reichsten highlighted **Pigeskolen** in Copenhagen as an example of why and how social relations need to be strengthened:

> The girls´ class at HGO focuses mainly on the empowerment of the girls, but it also gives the girls an opportunity to meet outside of school and strengthen

> the social relations between the girls and share experiences and also create a relationship to grown-ups. Those grown-ups can help them reflect on their own lives. These girls live in religious Muslim families with certain rules, and they go and meet the Danish youth with completely different rules in school. So this is a place for them to talk and to discuss their own lives.

In the project **Circles on the Water**, an arena has been created for the strengthening of social relations at the Vättle School in Göteborg. They work with value exercises in separate girls' and boys' groups. New activities have been created during the afternoons, such as salsa and a film club. As one of the girls said at the local workshop: "*You have to laugh together*".

There are many similarities between Circles on the Water and the project in Helsinki called **For Schools and Life** at the Myllypuron compulsory school. There, a social worker has been employed to promote the pupils' well-being and sense of community. Thanks to training in social issues, the social worker is thought to complement the pedagogically educated staff. The social worker has a close cooperation with other staff. Just like Circles on the Water, the project has a preventive character.

Just like **Circles on the Water**, **For Schools and Life** does not interfere in the actual education. Instead, it's about creating areas for strengthened social relations before, after and alongside lesson time. Disgruntled pupils can contact the social worker for confidential talks. Teachers can send disruptive pupils to the special premises that the social worker is responsible for. Special activities are also organised for girls in general, girls with a Somali background, homework help, meetings between teachers and pupils on Tuesday evenings, and networking with other local actors.

Also, **Llumbre** and **CISE** are good examples of how social relations can be strengthened. In both of the cases, purposeful efforts are made on building up close relations to the young people, but also to create a spirit of cooperation, confidence, trust and tolerance.

The projects mentioned above accord with what Martin Eriksson's group called "real" social relations. They also have in common that they take place alongside ordinary education in school. But what about actual education in school? Isn't there a need also there to strengthen social relations? Yes, absolutely. That is completely necessary for learning. And I base that statement on the view on knowledge.

This was also pointed out by Lena Bilén in the second group account of social relations. She started from her own experiences of the good example **Success Alternatives** in Göteborg. There, the pupils have been a part of working out definitions of the types of success in school which aren't measured by grades. The grades don't say anything about for example the responsibility taken by the pupils and the ability to cooperate. Neither do they say anything about the multicultural competence of the pupils. Furthermore, there are no general and comparative measures of how well the school functions, e.g. its social relationships and processes.

What is demanded of the social relationships and processes of the school for the pupils to become good at taking responsibility, solve problems, cooperate and handle multicultural relationships? The pupils came to the conclusion that more time is needed for cooperation. The teachers also have to become better at helping the pupils to come to agreement, and to reach common results. To become good at taking responsibility, the pupils need to have more influence on what they learn, and in which way they are going to learn. When it comes to multicultural competence, the school has to give "*a possibility to develop the understanding of people in other cultures*" and create "*conditions for good cultural meetings*".

At the **Brewery's IV-programme**, much time was spent on building up personal and safe relations to the pupils. Furthermore, efforts were made to engage the parents. The **Brewery's IV-programme** was permeated by an awareness of the dependence of learning on the social context. Another good example of how social relations could be strengthened as a basis for learning is the **Integration Coordinators**.

The staff at the **Study Workshop** put very goal-oriented efforts into developing favourable social conditions for learning. Through many talks, the staff gather a thorough understanding of the pupil. Thereby, the pupils can be seen for what they are, which in the evaluation has been pointed out as an effect of recognition. The staff also strives to function as role models. "*You're like one of the family*", a girl said when she was asked to talk about the staff in the **Study Workshop**.

4.2.3 Structural changes of the school

Chapter 3.7 (page 72) made clear that the borders between the social inclusion of nation-societies and social exclusion take place in the cities. The chapter also clarified the two main issues at stake in changing the situation for young people from exclusion to inclusion. On the one hand, young people have to be encouraged and empowered in order to cross the existing borders. On the other hand, structural changes of the existing borders have to be accomplished.

It may seem that chapter 4.2.1 (page 82) addresses the first issue. However, it addresses both. Young people should be empowered not only to cross the existing borders but also to be able to endure in their criticism of them. Similarly, strengthening social relations (page 85) should not be regarded as a concern only for the young people but also for the socially included adults to understand the need of structural changes. The third success criterion targets such structural changes, more specifically school structures due to the age group dealt with in this network. The definition and understanding of this criterion has been enriched by the projects presented within the network, but also by discussions at the conferences.

At the Aarhus-conference, the demand for structural changes of the school received strong support. Sven Olsson summarised the opinion:

> Instead of trying to transform the pupils to our rigid school system, which can't succeed, we have to do the other way around: change the system and structure and competence, so it suits the pupils.

Bertil Nilsson proposed, in his group account, that there is a need for new competences and professions at the school. A greater flexibility is needed. Education has to be organised in a way that fits the parents and the pupils. The conditions shouldn't be decided by the systems, but by the needs that exist. Because of this, more of those employed at the school have to be connected to the local society. No local societies are alike, and the differences have to put their character on the local school.

One good example of the type of change that Nilsson's group asked for has taken place at Kroksbäck School in Malmö. There, the **Study Workshop** started as a project, but then was made a permanent and integrated part of the school. Thereby, a structural change has been brought about. The teachers of the **Study Workshop** nowadays often participate in the regular education of the school. In cooperation with other teachers, both parts have changed their ideas and values. According to the second evaluation (October 2003) a constructive change has been accomplished in the cooperation between the pedagogues in the **Study Workshop** and the other teachers.

Another structural change has taken place at Öresundsgymnasiet in Malmö. "*The new challenges, such as the changes the society and the school are going through, demand that we bring new competences into the school in order to meet the demands that are put on us*", says Kerstin Larsson, headteacher at the school.

> If I, as responsible leader, see skills gaps then I must act. It is a challenge for me. If the majority of the teachers don't fulfil their task, what shall I do? Should I employ more teachers, who might not fulfil their tasks either, or should I widen my perspective and look for other skills, that normally aren't used in the school?

She chose the last option and employed the two **Integration Coordinators**. Through individual contacts with pupils as well as parents, setting up working groups and giving lectures for the school personnel, the **Integration Coordinators** work for a change of the school. Besides, they make observations and come up with suggestions on further changes, all aimed at getting pupils with socially excluded backgrounds to feel welcome, at home and included.

> Several of the practices initiated by the integration coordinators are today part of the school's regular

activities, and are practiced by other pedagogues at the school. One of these things is the *study contract*, where the pupil together with the teachers agrees on what has to be done to improve study results, and how it should be done. This is later evaluated together with the pupil's parents. Furthermore, work has begun in boys' and girls' groups, where the discussion focuses on gender inequalities. One of the aims with these groups is to work counter to the patriarchal tendencies that are common among many of the families.

At the Nytorp School in Göteborg, a structural change has been carried through by the establishment of the **Parental Board**, a school board with a parental majority and a parent as chairman. The objectives are described on the website of the board:

> The parental representatives of the board want first of all to influence what is happening in school. The parents want to participate in the creative process in school from the beginning. That is to say that we want to participate in forming the life of the school, its future and the linking to the community and the labour market. Thereby we as parents may influence the future of our children. We will become much stronger through cooperation between parents and school. It is also important that the pupils get more influence in school. We should take advantage of their creativity and let them be part of the creative process. The most important questions for us are that the children feel good in school and get the possibility to benefit from their education.

The school board was established on the basis of an election by the parents. Formally, the board has been appointed by the district board. The teachers had a suspicious attitude in the beginning and felt an anxiety that they would be threatened in their roles. However, supported by a new leadership who finds it important to share the power with parents and pupils, the board has made itself a vital part of the school.

> Nowadays the board has a fully accepted position in the school and gains a lot of confidence. Without the support of the leadership in the school it is very difficult to develop real participation in decision-making.

The school board meets once every month, also with representatives from the co-opted council of pupils. Various issues are dealt with, but the school board doesn't interfere in teaching. The headteacher is still responsible for budget and staff issues.

> An important issue is to broaden the commitment of parents by arranging meetings for larger linguistic groups separately. Other vital questions are to improve mother tongue education, strengthen the influence of pupils and decrease the number of pupils moving out. The economy of the school, marks, quiet work environment in the classes, security and safety are often discussed. On the agenda is also exchange of experiences with other actors like boards, URBACT and politicians.

At the Aarhus conference, Jan Kürsting saw it as aggravating that all schools become more and more theoretical. This is a development that is happening in the whole of the EU. An effort exists, to make schools in EU more similar to each other. Thereby it becomes more difficult for pupils, parents and teachers to put their own imprint on local schools. They don't get the opportunity to make the school their own.

They had this opportunity, though, in the **Brewery's IV-programme**, where pupils' democracy was developed, based on experience from life in a community organisation. The Brewery has developed as a result of commitment by the community organisation, and democratically made decisions. This condition characterises the premises, forms of organisation, activities and values. Merely the actual location in the Brewery can inspire to commitments in democratic forms. The pupils got to witness with their own eyes what democracy could mean. These experiences and learning made up favourable conditions for the development of pupils' democracy. This didn't have to be driven by outside forces, but was a part of the conditions.

Schools usually are built to be able to keep a certain order. There are supposed to be classrooms, staffrooms, break halls, school meal service, etc. Much has been planned and regulated. But, there probably are a lot of other things within the walls, decided by tradition. The Brewery wanted to revolt against this whole order by arranging education in a completely different context. The need to create order was misjudged, though. The order that exists in the walls of every ordinary school probably can make changes difficult. But order simultaneously means security. There are routines for a little of everything, which has its place.

This whole safety was missing on the **Brewery's IV-programme**. It would have needed to be built up from the ground. But it wasn't. The education was planned, but not the way in which it was going to fit into context. That the teachers didn't have any deeper roots in the context made the situation even more complicated. The planners hadn't been part of the creation of the Brewery. It was set for problems.

According to Ronny Hallberg the first term in the autumn 2000 became very messy. No one had really foreseen what it would be like to have thirty pupils in the premises. Where would the pupils be allowed to stay? Would they be allowed to skate? When? What would be done with the breaks? Who would decide what? Where should one turn if problems appeared? Would the pupils have to pay full price in the café? The

lack of clarity led to tensions and conflicts.

The problems with the fundamental order were gradually solved during the fall. Big meetings were held at least once a week to discuss the problems, and a system of norms was built up. In the capacity of supervisor, Ronny Hallberg had to have the ultimate responsibility for the building of the normative system. He describes it as puzzling with different wills and interests. No one had foreseen the need for the role that was then created. But in retrospect, Hallberg describes it as very important.

At the Aarhus-conference, Sven Olsson pointed out the experiences from the **Brewery's IV-programme** and similar organisations as important for other schools to learn from:

> If you have community schools that you are trying to reform and change, it's much harder because you have teachers who work in a different way for maybe 20-25 years. You have the culture in the walls. If you start a new school, you can start from scratch, you can employ a crew with competences that you know fit in immediately.

In Gijón, the cultural association **Mar de Niebla** (Sea of Mist) runs education on similar premises as the **Brewery's IV-programme**. **Mar de Niebla** turns to young people who have dropped out from ordinary education and need more individualised support. Similar to the **Brewery's IV-programme**, one of the objectives is to help the young people to structure their life, reflect critically and increase their self-esteem. However in contrast to the **Brewery's IV-programme**, the aim is not for the young people to continue at an upper secondary school but instead to get employment. For that reason, another objective is to learn a trade, more specifically, the trade of bricklaying.

In the mornings, the participating young people learn bricklaying, while the afternoons are "*dedicated to work with their structuring of their free time, producing several activities, all about leisure, normally designed by the educators, but encouraging them to self-organisation.*" The association and the young people choose and design jointly the free time activities. The project hasn't been evaluated yet, but the association emphasises as a success factor the combination of formal education with informal and free time education. Certainly, ordinary schools have something to learn from the achievements of that combination, similarly emphasised by the **Brewery's IV-programme**.

In Helsinki, the **Voice of the young** project aims at structural changes by promoting and encouraging participation of young people in decision-making. Grounded in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the idea is that schools and youth centres have to practice democracy in order for the young people to learn it. Earlier, the Helsinki City Council favoured a model of youth councils but that was criticised for being an "*elitist form of democracy, creating a forum for already politically active young people but without real democratic meaning for most of the young people and definitely not activating large scale participation.*" Instead, the **Voice of the young** was launched in 1998, aiming to "*change schools and youth centres into arenas for participation by young people.*"

The local report describes the core of the project as "*the actual 'getting involved' at the classroom level*". Future Workshops were used, a problem-solving method of the brainstorming kind.

> Teachers are in fact the 'guides of the process' and the students review and discuss issues and ideas pertaining to their school environment. These ideas are voted on and the 5 ideas that received the most votes are reviewed further and discussed in work groups. Finally the class will narrow them down to one environmental issue, which will be presented to the student council of the school.

Every class carries out its own Future Workshop. Afterwards, each class selects two students to become part of the student council at the school. The council reviews all the class proposals and decides about the feasibility of each idea. Next, each student council elects 1-2 students to represent the school at the **Voice of Young** meeting with the Mayor where the final decisions about funding are taken. In 2005, the project has included 140 schools with altogether 40 000 students from 7-18 years.

The **Voice of Young** deals with improvement of the school environment. Hence, the local report enumerates issues like "*school bells need to ring on time*", "*washrooms need to be tidy and clean*", "*there is a need for more chairs in halls*" and "*more recreational equipment are needed to school yards*". That's a clear restriction. It means that the **Voice of Young** doesn't deal with the fundamental issues of schooling, i.e. why the school exists and what to learn. Then, how much will the young people learn about democracy if practicing it means to keep out from the fundamental issues?

4.2.4 Cooperation with the local society

Besides changing the school, structural changes have to be accomplished in the local society as a whole. Chapter 3.3 (page 57) has shown how labour markets generate barriers for young people and thus cause social

exclusion. Barriers are generated by the management of such risks as well, conceptualised in chapter 3.5 (page 66) as welfare regimes. The management of risks has turned out to create new risks. Hence, structural changes have to not only aim at the schools, but also deal with the labour market barriers and those of the welfare regimes.

Chapter 3.7 (page 72) has shown how the barriers appear as a border between the social inclusion and social exclusion of society, taking place in cities, particularly in schools. For that reason, cooperation between schools and the local society has been stated as the fourth criterion. It should be made clear that such cooperation deals with something much more profound than the relation between an individual school and its societal context. It deals with shifting the borders between the social inclusion and social exclusion of society.

In the group work at the Aarhus conference, there were problems finding a definition of a local society. Primarily, parents were included in the local society, but then voices were raised, wondering if the parents shouldn't be seen as a part of the school. Nevertheless, everyone agreed on seeing the local society as a resource. It is important that the school opens up towards the local society, but not because of initiatives from above. Cooperation has to grow from below.

To understand the situation of the parents, I propose that we start from the theory about social contexts, presented in chapter 3.1 (page 54). No matter how important we think that the parents are, they are not a part of the school if they aren't allowed to play a role. The parents must be given a role in the structures of the school, as shown by the **Parental Board**, the example from Göteborg. If not, they aren't participating, except temporarily and individually. In the local society on the other hand, the parents have an obvious role, and are there just as parents. And to the extent that parents get a role in the structures of the school, they become participants of both the school and the local society.

But, for the parents to be able to participate in the structures of the school, a common understanding has to be developed between parents and the staff of the school. Confidence and trust has to be created. How is this going to be accomplished? Lasse Reichstein at the Aarhus conference wondered what we mean when we say that cooperation has to grow from below?

> Do you have a strategy for this or are you just waiting for something to occur in the local society? Or do you fertilise the growth, or what do you do?

A good example of this is the **Parental Education** that was arranged at Hermodsdal School in Malmö during the spring term 2003. The purpose of, in total, six meetings was to increase the parents' knowledge about the school, bind the school closer to the local society and start up a parents' association. The education thereby had nothing to do with methods of upbringing. Its ultimate purpose was to establish a stronger support for the pupils.

The initiative to improve relationships was taken by Laid Bouakaz, language teacher at Hermodsdal School. He made the **Parental Education** a part of his own research studies at the Teacher Education at Malmö University. Because of this, it has to be characterised as an initiative from above. The education of parents didn't have its origin in a spontaneous occurrence in the local society. But, it wasn't a part of the kick-starting from above to also decide about the content and plan the whole education. The initiative was limited to planting and nurturing the idea, but it also contained the nourishment that Reichstein asks for in the quotation above.

The content namely wasn't decided from above and in advance. Parents as well as staff were engaged in the planning. Parents were asked what they wanted to learn, and the education was then tailored according to their wishes. The staff was also asked what they considered that the parents would learn. It wasn't one of the expressed goals to create confidence and trust between staff and parents. That this grew into a very important result anyway, was because of the layout of the process. It was driven in a way which let all voices be heard, furthermore in many different mother tongues. The project focussed on creating a well functioning communication and that is needed if confidence is going to emerge.

Another of the pronounced goals was the creation of a parents' association. The aim was to ensure that long-term advantage was taken of the results by establishing a stronger support for the pupils. The creation of the parents' association meant taking a structured advantage of the results of the education of parents, i.e. the knowledge, understanding, confidence, trust, commitment and contacts. The parents' association could take advantage of all of the power resulting from the education of parents.

In Denmark, there is a long tradition of participation by parents in schools. During the last 30 years, a system and culture has been built up which involves the parents actively in the schooling of the children.

> The parents put critical questions to the teachers and the management, and demand influence over how the school performs its work. On the other hand, the school expects that the parents participate and assist at various meetings and arrangements that the school is

organising, of both social and professional character.

In the school's meeting with immigrants, however these expectations are tested. Problems appear when it comes to communication, understanding and confidence, probably similar to the ones in the case above at Hermodsdal School in Malmö. But, in one respect the problems probably become bigger in Denmark because of the tradition of built-in expectations. Parents are expected to take an active part in school in a different way than in Sweden. This expectation is probably difficult for many immigrant families to understand. Thereby, they and their children risk to be excluded from an important part of participation in Danish society.

At Frydenlund School in Aarhus, many efforts have been made to handle the problem. One of the efforts is called the Integration Council. It's a part of the **School and Home** initiative and it turns to the parents. Its goal is to create a greater mutual understanding, make the bilingual parents visible, involve all parents in the democratic process, secure the influence of bilingual parents, make special efforts to provide for the needs of bilingual parents, and promote their integration in the local society.

All the parents are allowed to stand for the Integration Council and a general meeting elects the members. At the time of the local report (spring 2004), eight out of a total of 16 members, including the headteacher and teacher representatives, were parents with a foreign background, representing four language groups. The Integration Council hasn't got any power in decision-making on school issues. However, the Integration Council produces suggestions, views and takes an active part in the development of the Frydenlund School. For that reason, it hasn't changed the school structurally, like the **Parental Board** in Göteborg, although the headteacher Birgitte Rasmussen points to cultural changes achieved:

> The effort has not yet punctured a cultural closure completely. But the intensified cooperation with parents has contributed to make Frydenlund School more multicultural, in the sense that the bilingual parents have become more visible at the school.

The **Parental Education** in Malmö can be said to be a good example of how parents and staff can create potential together that previously didn't exist. Another good example of openness is the **Brewery's IV-programme**. There, the culture of young people was seen as a potential. Skating constitutes a culture of its own, but it turns to young people and has many connections to other young peoples' cultures. Even young people that don't skate can surely recognise themselves in some of the expressions that are a part of the culture of skating. It creates completely different conditions for learning than in an ordinary school, where walls, premises and corridors are permeated by a traditional order. Parts of the world that young people live in were not closed out, but made legitimate, accepted and normal. This created conditions for security. The closeness to the culture of young people also facilitated a use of cultural expressions in the teaching, for instance as examples, starting points for discussions or subjects for essays.

Local resources can also be used through employment of staff with a local connection. That was done in the **Study Workshop** in Malmö. The employment of pedagogues with foreign backgrounds enabled connections with community organisations and local groups. It also simplified the development of cooperation with the parents. For the parents, the pedagogues have been an important link into the world of the school. Many parents previously never came to parents' meetings, but now the message gets through when the pedagogues of the **Study Workshop** also participate, take the microphone and explain the importance of the school. The pedagogues have also, very purposefulyl, put effort into developing external contacts.

Another example of how to open the school towards the local society is the **Joint Social Streetwork** presented by Gera:

> In Germany, classes are finished in the early afternoons in general. So in the afternoons, schools are empty and closed. It is not permitted for students and non-students to stay on the schoolyard. The infrastructures of schools (sports facilities, etc.) are not used in the afternoons and are therefore not integrated into the neighbourhoods. The project focuses on opening the schoolyard for students and especially for non-students in the afternoons in order to give youths a place to stay instead of the street. The activities offered range from common leisure activities (sports, creative classes) to individual social work.

The project builds on a partnership between the Youth Department of the city of Gera, the association Streetwork Gera and the school Ostschule.

In Velenje, the programme called **Youth Day Care Centre**, established in 2001, offers opportunities for young people age 15-25 that need additional help and stimulation.

> One of the main objectives was to create a modern and cosy place for the young and to offer them contents that are in their best interest. Our first task is to "equip" young with social skills through which they can start to function and behave in the way that is acceptable for the community. It is very important that young people are guided through this process by professionals

and also with some help from volunteers. Through that process they gain new knowledge and skills which they can use in their growing up process. At last and most important is that they start to feel accepted and understood.

According to the local report, the young people visit the centre because "*they feel accepted here, it is better than on the street and it is better to do voluntary work.*" At the centre, professionals and volunteers work jointly to promote social skills, active participation and inclusion in society of the young people. The centre works preventatively with abuse of different kinds. The young people are prepared and motivated for job seeking, for example by being taught about how to write an application. Furthermore, the centre organises some sport activities. It's also considered of "*great importance that the young people know that there is always someone who could listen and help in their time of need (personal crises, fear, violence etc)*".

The **Youth Day Care Centre** programme cooperates with several institutions and organisations, like the employment office, the school centre, the faculty for social work, a local activity group and a network for exchanging know-how. In particular, the programme tries to engage those who already have succeeded in changing their way of life. They are presented and used as role models. Engaging those so-called expert 'streeters' is described as an innovation in Slovenia. It's stated as a goal that the users end-up as co-workers, assisting voluntarily. There is also a possibility for some to get a job in the programme.

In Gijón, schools and other public institutions have opened leisure activities at night-time, organised by the independent youth organisation **Abierto**. When it started in 1997, **Abierto** put as its first goal to create different free-time activities for young people during evenings and nights at the weekends. At that time there was a shortage of free-time alternatives in the old working class district La Calzada, where the organisation has its base. Among other things, there was a shortage of swimming pools, tennis courts, cinemas and centres for young people. There no longer is. During recent years, the Council has put many resources into building centres for sport, young people and culture.

At the same time, **Abierto** has built up an impressive variety of alternatives which focus on either culture or sports. The activities are arranged in public establishments (e.g. schools, city halls, sports halls, libraries, museums), which thereby lead to a better use of public resources. During one single evening and night as many as 50 activities can be run at the same time around the city. Besides all kinds of sporting activities, they can include for example dance, music, sewing, theatre, forging, design, print etc. The activities are led by 25 employees, but also by a great number of voluntary workers. During 2003, a total of 101 835 visitors between the ages 13 and 35 were registered.

In Malmö, the **Mentor Company Project** shows how upper secondary schools can open up towards the local society by establishing cooperation with companies. During the first year, 35 pupils with a foreign background from each one of the two schools got the opportunity to make four visits and at least two weeks of paid internship at one of eight participating companies. The objectives were to strengthen the pupil's self-confidence, increase the pupil's motivation for study and make them aware of the importance of higher education, create networks between immigrant pupils and the companies, and decrease prejudices

against young people with foreign background among the companies.

All pupils who applied to take part in the project were not accepted. The pupils had to struggle and compete for it by studying hard without truancy. The parents were also contacted, which the headteacher found very important:

> A thing that is not very obvious is to get the parents to understand that you can't sign an agreement about internship just to later ignore it and take your child to a trip to your home country at the same time as the internship is about to start.

No formal evaluation has been made of the project, but some obvious results seem to indicate success. According to the headteacher, many of the participating pupils have been offered continued employment during summer vacations and some have been offered regular jobs, alongside their studies. The headteacher also believes that the project has had an impact on the companies.

> I believe the knowledge about our young people is slowly increasing, while the prejudices are decreasing. It will surely become easier to get invited to a job interview in the future, even if you have a foreign surname.
>
> Some pupils who never would have got outside their patriarchal families have even got jobs this way. Some pupils have also shown much better results in school after the internship.

The **Leisure Time Shop** in Aarhus is another good example of improving the relations between young people with foreign backgrounds and employers. However, it's not about paid internship with a limited duration in time, but finding out of school employment on a regular basis, not for young people with problems but for the ones disadvantaged only by having a foreign background:

> The Leisure Time Shop is not a social institution and works chiefly with the more resource-strong young people that the staff can, without countering problems, send to any place of work whatsoever. Before the young people can start work they come for an interview where the staff at the Leisure Time Shop evaluates whether they are suitable to apply for jobs via the project, or if their social problems and/or any previous criminal record hinder them from getting a job via the project. This screening of the young people paves the way for more employers being willing to employ young bilinguals.

The project is run by the Department of Culture within the Aarhus Municipality. It aims at the 15-18 age group and in October 2004, 159 young people were involved, 92 of them boys and 67 girls. The staff employed by the project builds bridges by dealing with the barriers and lack of connection between the young people and the labour market:

> The Leisure Time Shop's task is precisely that of attempting to change the sceptical attitudes towards this group of young people. However, most of the firms that the project is in contact with are open to employing young bilinguals. In several cases it is even in compliance with the firm's overall personnel policy.

The Bergsjö School in Göteborg has cooperated with the housing company and local organisations in a project called **Summer Workers**. The objective is first of all to create meaningful activities for young people during the summer vacation. A group of young people aged 10-15 work from 9 to 3 every day, paid symbolically with a minor salary. Groups of up to 5 young people are supervised by personnel from the school, social office or housing company. The job lasts for at least one week. During the summer vacation 2004, all together 98 pupils participated.

> They are divided into three different teams with different tasks. Team 1 is making food for the others, team 2 is working inside the school with e g painting and renovation and team 3 is working outdoors taking care of buildings, garden and parks.

According to an evaluation and personnel interviewed in the local report, the joint work has strengthened relations between the adults and the young people. Such relationships have been maintained afterwards as a favourable basis for the young people in school. The staff has seen other sides of the young people, which they could enlighten teachers about. Moreover, the personnel have noticed an increased interest for different professions; "*some want to become painters, others to work in a shop or become a caretaker.*" Some young people interviewed in the local report praise the project as well, although they complain about the low pay. As an indicator of the success, "*the damage was non-existent during the summer 2004 compared to the costs during the previous summer vacations.*"

4.2.5 Renewing the view on knowledge

Chapter 3.4.1 (page 62) highlighted the renewal of educational objectives that has been accomplished all around Europe. The renewal favours an active relationship to knowledge, enabling young people to learn to solve problems, criticise and take standpoints. The view on knowledge expressed by the renewal harmonises quite well with the one stated by this network. However, the renewal has turned out to be problematic to bring about. It takes a while and a great deal of effort to get to grips with old views on knowledge,

ingrained as they are in the structures which engenders a structural selectivity which implicitly causes barriers, mentioned as the third cause of social exclusion (page 56). Also, the assessment systems don't clearly recognise the renewal of objectives. For that reason, we can't be sure to what extent young people acquire the new view on knowledge. Similarly, we can't be sure to what extent the disapproval of young people derives from an obsolete view on knowledge.

Hence, there is a need for examples which show what the new view on knowledge means and how it could be put to practice. Moreover, there is a need for examples which tackle the insufficiencies of the assessment systems. Achievements made on the basis of the renewed educational objectives and view on knowledge has to be recognised and made visible. Otherwise, the renewal will remain only words in the curricula.

At the Aarhus-conference, Nanna Brink-Larsen pointed out the importance of informal and everyday knowledge. The type of knowledge that the pupils mainly learn in school, was in its turn referred to as formal knowledge. The group meant that also the informal and everyday knowledge would have to be strengthened in school.

> In order to make pupils perceptible to dilemmas of different kinds, you need to be aware of the situations they are in, their self-image, the relationships between teachers and pupils and the relationships between social workers and clients. And you need to be aware of the informal knowledge that's invested, and perhaps work more on these aspects than just try to transmit formal knowledge.

According to Sven Olsson, the Swedish Curriculum supports such an emphasis on informal knowledge:

> If you read the curriculum very carefully, you can actually find what you call informal/ everyday knowledge. It is in the curriculum. So it's not a problem with the curriculum, it's our problem because we only work with one part of the curriculum.
>
> Many teachers know very well about it, but some of them don't know that these competences are their responsibilities as well. They should be included in the everyday work at the school, but its not obvious for every teacher, not as obvious as to teach maths and so on.

Consequently, transforming the view on knowledge primarily has to be a question of doing what is said in the curriculum. If the schools became better at following the curriculum, it would in practice mean that the view on knowledge was transformed.

As an example of which types of knowledge that then can be brought to the fore, Nanna Brink-Larsen and her group referred to the **Nightingale** in Malmö. In this close relationship to a pupil, the student gets the opportunity to gather many new and different experiences, like all of the glimpses into the life circumstances of the children, but also what it means to be a parent. This surely can be especially important learning if you have been brought up for example in the countryside or in residential areas, and have a middle class background. The special relation that is created also makes it possible for the student to get insights into the ways children think, and what is important to them, insights that not even the best textbook could mediate.

In the **AMUCK** project, the mentors have in fact been recruited on the basis of such informal knowledge.

> It was absolutely crucial that the mentors could behave as role models for boys in the target group. For this reason the mentors had to be young, but older than the target group and have ethnic minority background themselves. They also had to be either graduates and currently employed or still be in the educational system (youth or further education). And of course they had to have personality, experience and penetration power.

The significance of knowledge developed outside the school institutions is highlighted by the **Youth Day Care Centre** in Velenje as well. Young people learn from their involvement with music, videos and computers, but find it hard to get recognition for such knowledge. Thus, the centre aims at giving them such recognition and build further on it to secure self-esteem. Other examples of how informal knowledge could be recognised and appreciated are the **Brewery's IV-programme**, **Abierto** and the **Study Workshop**.

One way of recognising informal knowledge is to make it formal in an education. A good example of how that can be done is the course "To live in a multi-cultural Society" created by the **Integration Coordinators** as a part of their work. It aims at obtaining knowledge of "*how to work against fear, intolerance, xenophobia and hatred*". Another objective of the course is to "*explore what the social consequences are of a lack of solidarity or of ethical or humanistic thinking and acting*".

Knowledge is a central concept in the change of situation of young people from exclusion to inclusion. For that reason it matters profoundly what we mean by knowledge. What is knowledge? How does knowledge arise? Under which conditions? How is knowledge evaluated? In section 1 (page 24), I have characterised knowledge as a context. From the view on knowledge that I advocate, I have also claimed that the knowledge has to be created. It doesn't just exist. Furthermore, this creation is made on social conditions. Because of this, it is very important for social relations to become

strengthened, not only outside of school, but also during the lessons, in the course of education. That supports learning.

All learning implies creating knowledge to a certain extent. To make knowledge personal, and acquire it, the pupil has to create the knowledge anew. If not, knowledge turns into information, i.e. to pointing stars out in the sky, without connections and context. Knowledge can't just be transferred from teacher to pupil. Seen from the pupil, the teacher teaches information. If it's going to turn into knowledge for the pupil as well, the pupil has to work the information into her/his context of previous knowledge and experiences. Characteristic of the pupils that succeed with this is that they can explain their knowledge, critically judge its value, etc.

The teacher might not perceive this as a created knowledge. After all, it concerns knowledge that the teacher already has. Perhaps it's easier for the pupil to perceive it as created knowledge. It's the pupil that has to work hard, struggle and take time to reach understanding. Furthermore, the personal acquisition means that there probably are differences between the pupil's and the teacher's knowledge. That concerns all of us. The object of knowledge might be the same. We can surely agree on that. But, our knowledge about this object probably differs, if only just a little. This depends on whether we otherwise have different knowledge and experiences, which characterises the acquisition of all new knowledge. It is through working in the new in this context of previous knowledge and experiences that we transform information into knowledge. When the transformation is completed, we can understand and explain.

The project **Success Alternatives** at the International School Gårdsten has shown the potential of a renewed view on knowledge than the one that implies that knowledge is taken for granted. According to the approach to knowledge that still dominates within the school, the definition of knowledge has been decided beforehand. The pupils attend school to gather predetermined knowledge. In **Success Alternatives**, the pupils participated in defining knowledge themselves. This caused a change in the approach to the pupils, from objects to subjects. After an initial phase of brainstorming, the pupils and teachers jointly decided to work out definitions of ability to cooperate, take responsibility, ability to solve problems and multi-cultural competence. Ways of assessing these competences were developed on the basis of such definitions.

The project work has clarified the limitations of the grades. The graded knowledge isn't enough to be able to function in society. The pupils have to learn other competences (knowledge in a broader meaning) as well. The work of **Success Alternatives** has resulted in ideas about how such alternative skills can be defined. The project work has furthermore resulted in ideas of how alternative skills can be assessed. Such assessments shouldn't be made by grading, the pupils concluded, but through qualitative documents focusing on the individual development of each pupil. Otherwise, the risk is too great that measures and common templates develop into ideals for "the well-behaved pupil". In addition, it's just as important with assessments of the conditions for learning. Because of this, there is a need for national assessments of the ability of schools to favour processes and environments that enable the pupils to become democratic citizens.

The problems and limitations of grading have been the point of departure for the **TISUS-group** in Göteborg as well. TISUS stands for Test In Swedish University Studies. It targets students with a foreign background who have finished studying at upper secondary school and been graded in their native countries. As their grades don't count in Sweden, they are obliged to start by studying Swedish as a second language for a couple of years and then relearn a full upper secondary education. TISUS aims at shortening that long educational journey and prepare the students for the university.

TISUS offers them a specially designed education in the Swedish language enabling them to pass the TISUS-test. The education also includes mathematics and English as well as a deeper knowledge about the Swedish society, Swedish history and Swedish culture. The upper secondary school at Angeredsgymnasiet and the University of Göteborg cooperate, among else to develop an appropriate teaching method. Also, the education takes place both at the upper secondary school and at the university. In that way, the students get to know the university environment.

The **TISUS-group** started in the autumn of 2003. The interviews made during the work with the local report indicate appreciation:

> The interviewed pupils are all very positive to the creation of the T-group. Without the adapted education they would have a difficult situation. Nobody thinks that they would have had the energy to get through the Swedish upper secondary school. If they had been forced to lose such a lot of time, those who had the possibility would get the education in their native country or another country instead.

4.3 Concluding remarks

In this section, I have departed from a question about comparability. Is it possible to compare so different examples, solving different problems and taking place in different contexts? Is it possible to judge them as better than others? My answer is yes, but not the whole examples. An individual example as a whole could be judged as good only in relation to its context. The criteria for such a success could be called context criteria. The comparison between different examples could only take place with regard to certain aspects of the content, which I've called content criteria. But then the examples first of all have to be identified as examples by filling certain forms which I've called form criteria.

It's not among the objectives of this network to deal with local context criteria. That would have required far more knowledge about the local contexts. In contrast, form criteria have been developed within the network as a part of the work with the local reports. In order to qualify as an example, each practice suggested must include a background and reasons, target setting and strategy, initiative takers, partners and interested parties, process and results, documented as well as assessed. The form criteria make the examples comparable but the comparisons have been carried through by the use of five content criteria, elaborated as a part of the network process. These five criteria are where the partners and representatives of good examples could meet, compare and learn, regardless of all the contextual differences.

Firstly, **empowerment** could be defined as a change from being an object to a subject. Empowerment means to subjectify as opposed to objectify. The network has made us aware of a distinction between empowering roles and individuals. Good examples such as **Success Alternatives**, the **Study Workshop**, the **Integration Coordinators** and **Voice of the Young** show how the role as a pupil could become empowered. That doesn't necessarily mean an empowerment of the individual pupil. In contrast, good examples as **Llumbre**, **CISE**, **AMUCK**, **Pigeskolen** and the **Nightingale** empower individuals but no roles. The **Brewery's IV-programme** aims at empowering both the role as a pupil and the individual pupils. Also, **Abierto** is a good example of how both individuals and roles could be empowered, creating new roles which facilitate the

empowerment of young people. Empowerment initiatives ought to consider if individuals, roles or both are to be addressed because it requires different preconditions.

We can also learn from the comparisons how empowerment could be pursued by the use of mentoring. In the **Nightingale**, the mentors consist of students at the university who wants to draw on the mentoring experience in their education. In **AMUCK**, the mentors have been carefully recruited among the ones with foreign backgrounds and with the capacity to act as role models. Both examples contrast to the **Mentor Company Project**, which shows how companies can act as mentors.

Secondly, **strengthening social relations** could be defined as creating trust and improving communication in ways which favour empowerment. An example like the **Nightingale** shows how unstructured relations could be strengthened, the ones that don't consist of roles and don't take place in any particular context. The strengthening of such unstructured relations could also be located in a context within a school, which examples as **Circles on the Water** and **For School and Life** show. But also, examples like **Llumbre**, **CISE**, **Pigeskolen** and **Abierto** show how social relations could be strengthened in a certain context established outside the school. However, structured social relations need to be strengthened as well and thus as a decisive basis for learning. Examples like **Success Alternatives**, the **Brewery's IV-programme**, the **Integration Coordinators** and the **Study Workshop** show what that means and how it can be achieved.

Thirdly, **structural changes of schools** should be defined as changes which tackle intrinsic causes of exclusion, but also favour empowerment and strengthen social relations. The **Study Workshop** shows how learning could be facilitated for pupils with a foreign language by using their mother tongue, thereby encouraging their feeling of participation and preventing them from loosing faith as well as opting out. The **Voice of the Young** has a similar bearing on the feeling of participation by changing the structures in favour of pupil democracy. The **Integration Coordinators** at Öresundsgymnasiet show how the implicit exclusion of young people with a foreign background could be dealt with. The **Parental Board** in Göteborg has a similar impact, bringing in other experiences and thus enabling the board to highlight, discuss and tackle implicit causes of social exclusion. Also, the example paves the way for an empowerment of the pupils. **Mar de Niebla** and the **Brewery's IV-programme** show how new types of educational institutions could be built for pupils that have been explicitly excluded from school.

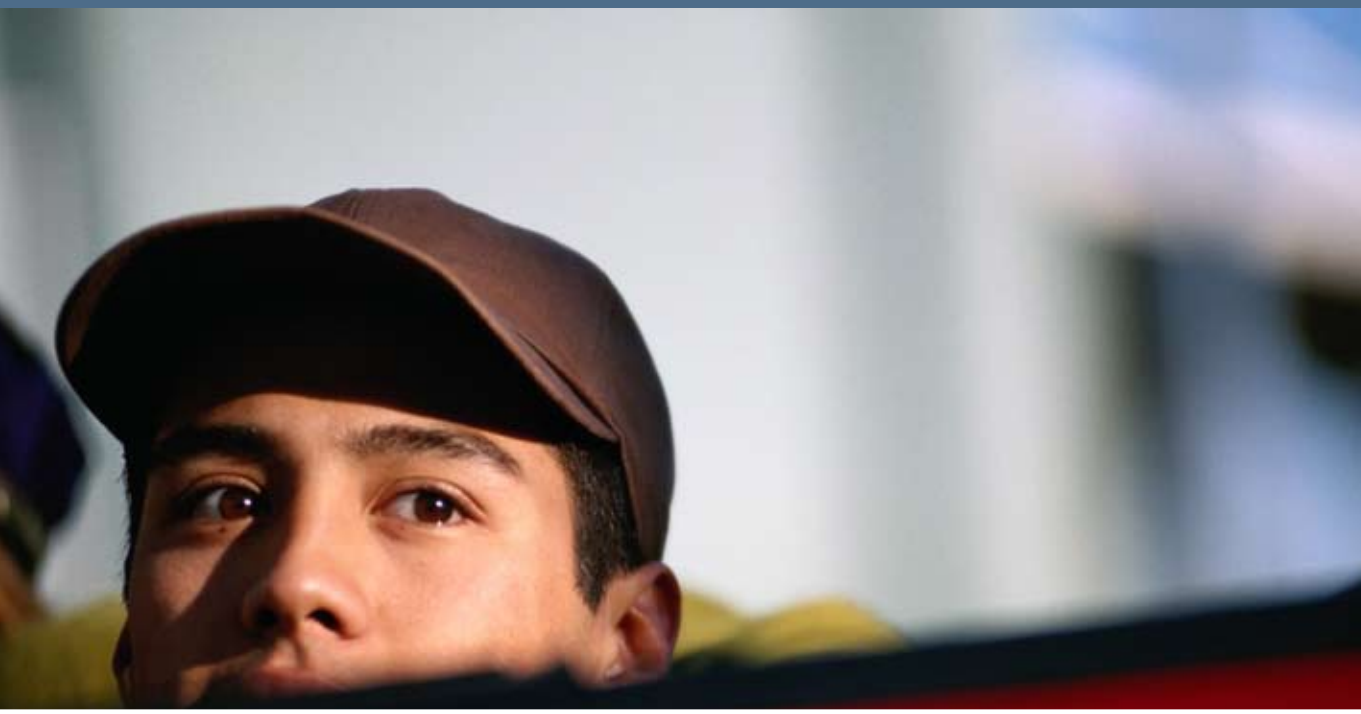
Fourthly, **cooperation with the local society** should also be defined with regard to the causes of exclusion, but at this level causes located outside the school as well. Thus, the definition includes tackling causes of exclusion inside as well as outside the school in ways which favour empowerment and strengthen social relations. The **Parental Education** in Malmö shows how staff and parents can break implicitly excluding barriers and create potential that previously didn't exist in order to promote empowerment. A similar break-down of barriers has been accomplished through the **School and Home** project in Aarhus by establishing an Integration Council with elected representatives for parents. The example **Parental Board** from Göteborg shows how the power of parents could be increased by granting them a majority on the school board. The barriers could also be broken down by opening the school for organised activities in the afternoons, shown by the example in Gera called **Joint Social Streetwork**.

The new educational institution of the **Brewery's IV-programme** built on the potential of involvement in community organisations and youth culture. The **Study Workshop** employed teachers with a foreign background and local connections, breaking down the implicit barriers but also creating new opportunities for the empowerment of pupils and strengthening social relations. Examples like the **Mentor Company Project** in Malmö and the **Leisure Time Shop** in Aarhus tackle implicit causes of social exclusion among employers, but it also empowers young people by providing them with footholds on the labour market. The **Summer Workers** in Göteborg and **Abierto** in Gijón are examples of how the barriers to the labour market could be dealt with by establishing new activities in the vacuum outside it, promoting the emergence of a

social economy.

Fifthly, the **renewed view on knowledge** should be defined in accordance with the view pursued in this report, also the one more or less stated in the objectives of the national education systems. It means subjectivating the pupils enabling them to perceive knowledge as a context which has to be created by themselves, also with regard to various social preconditions. Changing the view on knowledge is needed to tackle all the four causes of exclusion. Also, it contains an empowering potential, recognising the pupils as subjects in their relation to knowledge. On the basis of such a view on knowledge, examples like the **Nightingale**, **AMUCK**, the **Youth Day Care Centre**, the **Brewery's IV-programme**, **Abierto**, the **Integration Coordinators** and the **Study Workshop** show how informal and everyday knowledge could be recognised and built further on. **Success Alternatives** show how such a new view could be pursued, but it also highlights the implicit causes of exclusion embodied in the school institution which obstruct change. Also, **Success Alternatives** tackles the problems of grading. The example called the **Tisus-group** in Göteborg shows how the illegitimate and unjustified barriers caused by grading could be tackled, thus making the requirements more justified, rewarding and empowering.

5 STRATEGY FOR A REVITALISATION OF CITIES



As a third and highest level of ambition, the network has decided to create a strategy for change. In accordance with the objectives of the URBACT-programme, the strategy should promote a sustainable revitalisation of cities. However, in accordance with the objectives of the network it has to focus on the change of young people's situation from social exclusion to social inclusion.

The third level of ambition builds on the other two. As a first level of ambition, the partners were supposed to become engaged in an exchange process and inform each other about good examples. In order to learn from the exchanges and thus succeed with the second level of ambition, a basis for comparisons had to be established. It turned out that comparisons couldn't be made of examples as a whole. The success of an example as a whole could only be judged in relation to its local context by the use of local context criteria. No such judgements have been made by the network.

As a basis of comparison, five content criteria have been suggested, discussed at several conferences and agreed by the network. However, the examples first of all have to fulfil certain form criteria in order to become qualified as examples. The form criteria have been developed as a part of the work with the local reports.

The content criteria have enabled us to succeed with the second level of ambition. Regardless of all the contextual differences, we have been able to learn from each other by focusing on the content criteria. The good examples have contributed to defining the criteria and also enrich the contents of the definitions. Thus, we have enriched our understanding of the criteria by focusing on them in the comparisons of examples.

Moreover, the focus on criteria in the comparisons enables us to draw on the good examples as sources of inspiration. How could we empower, strengthen social relations, change schools structurally, support schools to cooperate with the local society and renew the view on knowledge for the benefit of changing young people's situation from exclusion to inclusion? Answers could be found among the network examples, constituting a rich source of inspiration.

Furthermore, the comparisons of the good examples, on the basis of theoretical knowledge and knowledge about the contexts, have also assured us of the general validity of the five success criteria. Examples that want to be good in the sense of changing young people's situation from exclusion to inclusion have to take the five criteria into account. As many of them as possible have to be fulfilled. Moreover, examples that run counter to any of the criteria couldn't be regarded as good. This lesson brings us up to the third level of ambition.

5.1 Fulfilling five content criteria …

Strategies that aim at promoting a sustainable revitalisation of cities by changing young people's situation from social exclusion to social inclusion have to pursue the five content criteria, or at least some of them. All around Europe, the change of situation from exclusion to inclusion requires empowerment, strengthened social relations, structural changes of schools, cooperation between schools and the local society, and renewing the view on knowledge.

- Empowerment: Opposite to objectify, empowerment means to subjectify, concerning roles and individuals, separately or together.
- Strengthening social relations: Creating trust and improving communication in ways which favour empowerment, applicable to structured as well as unstructured relations and located outside as well as inside school. Most important is to strengthen social relations as a basis for learning.
- Structural changes of schools: Tackling its intrinsic causes of exclusion, in particular the implicit ones, in order to prevent pupils loosing faith and opting out, favouring the feeling of participation, also in favour of empowerment and the strengthening of social relations.
- Cooperation between schools and the local society: Tackling the causes of exclusion in the local context of schools, in particular by breaking down the barriers between the school and its surroundings, also in favour of empowerment and the strengthening of social relations.
- Renewing the view on knowledge: Treating knowledge as a context, created on social pre-conditions and expressed in various forms, thus allowing for the gaps between practical and theoretical knowledge to be bridged.

5.2 … from a particular perspective …

In this network, we have developed a particular perspective on the theme "Young people – from exclusion to inclusion". This perspective has made it possible to state the five content criteria. Hence, the perspective has to be part of the strategy as well. Without the perspective, the content criteria would be incomprehensible. The perspective consists of three parts, drawing on the international discussions among

scholars, and elaborated further in this network:

- A potential-oriented view on young people: Contrary to a problem-oriented view, the potential-oriented view takes for granted that young people are capable of acting, taking standpoints and having an influence. The problem is not the young people, but the inability of society to highlight and make use of their potential. Social exclusion of young people often depends on that inability, manifested as barriers. For that reason, solutions to the problems have to build and capitalise on the potential of young people themselves. The potential-oriented view urges us to believe in the force of young people, but not what drives it, what its aims are and on what conditions it becomes real.
- A multidimensional and societal view on social exclusion: Social exclusion could be defined as the combination of a lack of having (e.g. poverty) and not taking part in essential processes of society (e.g. employment). It has to be addressed from a multidimensional view, a view which also relates social exclusion to the social inclusion of society. Hence, in order to understand and explain social exclusion, we need to know about the structures, systems and cultures of society.
- A renewed view on knowledge: The perspective itself has to be imbued by the renewed view on knowledge stated in the fifth criteria. That means an emphasis on revealing the underlying causes instead of just being limited to symptoms. Also, problem definitions have to be analysed apart from the problems themselves.

Thus, a sustainable revitalisation of cities has to build on a potential-oriented view on young people, treat social exclusion from a multidimensional view, relate it to the social inclusion of society and pursue a renewed view on knowledge. Nevertheless, we couldn't be sure about the success. As stated above, it depends on the context as well. Fulfilling the criteria takes shape in local contexts. And local contexts require their own context criteria. Thus, only the pursuit of the perspective and fulfilment of the content criteria won't guarantee any success. We need to know about the context as well and on that basis establish context criteria. It's not possible to elaborate such criteria for each city within this network. It requires much more knowledge, work and time. Hopefully, each partner will proceed further locally with that work.

5.3 … in order to change the societal context!

However, we have a common context which the criteria could be related to. That's the context of Europe. The comparisons made in section 3 of nation-societies resulted in some important conclusions. Among the welfare regimes in Europe, the social democratic has turned out to be the most sustainable. In contrast to the other welfare regimes, it delivers both efficiency and equity. That doesn't equal a lack of problems in the nation-societies materialising the social democratic regime. Certainly, nation-societies like Denmark, Sweden and Finland have problems as well but the embodiment of the social democratic regime puts them in favourable positions. The comparison of welfare regimes enables us to include some context criteria in the strategy for change. Practices that fulfil the content criteria must also favour a general development of European societies in accordance with the following characteristics:

- Labour markets: General regulation of labour markets has turned out to be the best option for a combined success of efficiency and equity. It's necessary in order to avoid young people getting caught in low wage sectors with insecure working conditions and poverty, but also to make them able to represent the high quality of demand which needs to be a characteristic of the knowledge-based economy. Moreover, the regulations have to consist of skills barriers in the first place and not barriers which protect the already privileged. Finally, the regulations have to build on collective agreements by legitimate representatives of the parties at the labour market.
- Educational systems: The renewal of objectives, stated in all the nation-societies and also at the EU level, have to be implemented much more vigorously, particularly the ones concerning an active relationship to knowledge and learning to become democratic. Otherwise, young people won't become either producers or consumers in the new virtuous circle of the knowledge-based economy. Moreover, new methods have to be established for monitoring the success of schools in implementing the renewal of objectives. Finally, the ways grading not only confirms but also causes social exclusion have to be tackled.
- Welfare regime: The combined success of efficiency and equity has to be supported primarily by a welfare state, not the market or the family, also one which offers general welfare rights, not means-tested, attached to citizenship, not status, and on

maximalist levels. Moreover, it seems reasonable to sustain the linkage of benefits to previous earnings. However, this dependence has become the biggest problem of the social democratic welfare regime as it causes a wide-spread social exclusion among young people, the ones who for obvious reasons haven't got any previous earnings.

- Social economy: Among the four pillars of welfare regimes (market, welfare state, family and social economy), the social economy should be looked upon as a possible solution to the problem of the social democratic welfare regime. In this network, organisations like Abierto in Gijón and the Brewery in Malmö represents highly interesting examples of creating new opportunities for young people. It seems that the knowledge-based economy and indeed the knowledge-based society won't become fully established without the reinforcement of such pillars.

A final question remains about the validity for cities of the context criteria stated above. The strategy asked for should promote a sustainable revitalisation of cities. Should the context criteria really be regarded as a concern for cities, associated as they are with the nation-societies and decided to a high extent at national levels? Yes, indeed. Cities have not only become motors of economic growth. They have also become locations for the border between social exclusion and the social inclusion of society. That makes the problems societal and a concern for society as a whole. Therefore, the problems appearing locally, associated with social exclusion, have to be solved also at national levels by changing the systems of nation-societies. Cities need to reinforce the pressures on national and EU decision-making bodies to carry through such changes. Otherwise, cities will remain the locations of societal problems, constantly bred and probably aggravated, without the capacity to solve them but only to tackle the symptoms.

Notes

1 http://www.urbact.org/
2 http://www.urbact.org/en/home/objectives
3 For further explanations, see M Stigendal (2002).
4 M Castells (2000) p 28.
5 See for example R Bhaskar (1989); A Sayer (1992); M Stigendal (2002).
6 http://www.urbact.org/
7 In this report, potential will be used as equivalent to causal force (sometimes also called causal power), one of the most important concepts in critical realism, the view on science mentioned in the Introduction (page 9). See for example A Sayer (1992) p 105.
8 P Soto Hardiman & S Jones. S McAdam & S Hallsworth & A Allain (2004) p 15.
9 M Stigendal (1999).
10 Interestingly, this characteristic of the application accords with the principles of the social democratic welfare regime, defined and explained in section 3.
11 URBACT (2004).
12 This and the following quotations stem from the presentations at the network conference in Aarhus.
13 W Kok et al (High level group) (2004) p 7.
14 R Arnkil (2005) p 3.
15 http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/social_inclusion/index_en.htm [accessed 27 February 2006]
16 European Commission (2002)
17 European Commission (2004d). The poverty threshold is defined as 60% of the national median equivalised income.
18 P Hoelscher (2004) p 3.
19 A Amin & A Cameron & R Hudson (2002) p 17.
20 Ibid, p 17
21 Eurocities (2000); S Musterd & A Murie (eds) (2002); A Madanipour & G Cars & J Allen (2003).
22 http://gp.fmg.uva.nl/urbex/ [accessed 7 February 2006].
23 S Musterd & A Murie (eds) (2002) p 25-26
24 Ibid, p 71.
25 P Hoelscher (2004) p 5.
26 Ibid, p 7.
27 European Commission (2004d)
28 As Petra Hoelscher puts it in P Hoelscher (2004) p 6: "The concept of social exclusion brings in an additional point of view, focusing not primarily on the resources of an individual or household but on participation in society …"
29 European Commission (2002) p 15.
30 Eurocities (2000).
31 Ibid, p 3.
32 Ibid, p 2.
33 S Musterd & A Murie (eds) (2002) p 19.
34 Ibid, p 72.
35 Ibid, p 10.
36 Eurocities (2000) p 6.
37 Ibid, p 8.
38 Ibid, p 5.
39 Ibid, p 6.
40 Ibid, p 12.
41 Ibid.

42 The figures and facts in this chapter build on the local reports and official statistics at www.malmo.se in case of no other references specified.
43 P Billing & M Stigendal (1994).
44 M Stigendal (2004).
45 See T Salonen (2005).
46 The figures and facts in this chapter build on the local reports and official statistics at www.goteborg.se in case of no other references specified.
47 T Salonen (2005) p 93.
48 The figures and facts in this chapter build on the local reports and official statistics at www.kk.dk in case of no other references specified.
49 The figures and facts in this chapter build on the local reports, official statistics at www.aarhuskommune.dk and the evaluation of the Aarhus URBAN programme 2005 in case of no other references specified.
50 The definition in this case includes the ones borne abroad and others with both parents borne abroad.
51 The figures and facts in this chapter build on the local reports and official statistics at www.hel.fi in case of no other references specified.
52 The figures and facts in this chapter build on the local reports and interviews in case of no other references specified.
53 The figures and facts in this chapter build on the local reports, interview with official Thomas Seidel at the Gera City Council, official statistics at www.gera.de and the application to the URBAN programme in case of no other references specified.
54 The facts and figures in this chapter build on the local reports in case of no other references specified. It's easy to get confused about the size of Velenje as three levels of statistics exist. The first level is called the urban area and has a population of 26 742. Secondly, as a municipality Velenje has a population of 33 642. Thirdly, as a so-called Administrative Unit, UE Velenje has a population of 45 049 and that includes two other smaller municipalities. For the first two levels, see Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Slovenia 2005: http://www.stat.si/eng/index.asp [accessed 20 March 2006].
Figures on the third level have been received from our partner. In case of significance, I'll make the level in consideration clear. For the rest, I'll assume that the same percentages have the same validity at all the three levels.
55 Facts about Slovenia: http://www.uvi.gov.si/eng/slovenia/publications/ [accessed 20 March 2006].
56 L van den Berg & E Braun & J van der Meer (2004) p 43.
57 A calculation made on the basis of facts about the municipality in the Statistical Yearbook: http://www.stat.si/eng/index.asp [accessed 20 March 2006].
58 National Action Plan on social inclusion of Slovenia (2004-2006) p 42.
59 On the assumption that Velenje has the same age structure as Slovenia in general, I've used the figures in the 2002 Census for Slovenia as a whole and calculated the young people age 18-25 to be 11.2% of the population. In absolute figures, that makes 5 059 persons in Velenje. As 40.7% of the 2225 unemployed persons are reported to be young people and that makes 906 persons, I've divided 906 with 5 059 and got 18%.
60 Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Slovenia 2005 http://www.stat.si/eng/index.asp [accessed 20 March 2006].
61 This is the view on power usually associated with Michel Foucault. See for example M Foucault (1986).
62 The concept of intentional power conceptualises the outcome of the debate among state theorists on the three faces of power. See M Franzén (1983), but also S Lukes (ed) (1986) and O Petersson (red) (1989).
63 This distinction is too seldom clearly stated, although sometimes hinted at, like in P Soto Hardiman & S Jones (2004) p 14: "Empowerment involves a double-edged process which aims at fundamentally changing the balance of power. On the one hand it aims to enable excluded people to take initiative, make decisions and acquire more power over their lives. At the same time, it forces social, economic and political systems to relinquish some of that power and to enable excluded people and groups to enter into negotiation over decision-making processes thereby playing a full role in society. " The "on the one hand" accords to what I mean with empowerment of individuals, while "at the same time" looks like empowerment of roles.
64 C Offe (1985) och B Jessop (1990). See also P Billing & M Stigendal (1994).

65 Similar argument by J Clarke (2001) p 35.
66 P Hoelscher (2004) p 11.
67 European Commission (2004) p 15.
68 Ibid, p 57.
69 See for example P Billing & M Stigendal (1994); M Aglietta (1976); B Jessop (1990a); B Jessop (1990b); M Benner (1997).
70 P Billing & M Stigendal (1994).
71 A Gamble (1988); M Benner (1997).
72 A Amin et al (2002) p 3.
73 See B Jessop (2002) p 16: "Lastly, when capital accumulation becomes the dominant principle of organization within the economy in its narrow sense, it also gains a significant influence on the overall nature of societies and, in certain circumstances, it may become the dominant principle of societal organization."
74 A Amin et al (2002) p 3: "Fordism reduced the historical reliance on civil society for income and welfare security … As a result, civil society came to be seen as the arena of self-help, associational activity and social life, not that of economic activity or preparation of it."
75 European Commission (2004) p 179.
76 Ibid, p 149.
77 C Hay (2001) p 43; M Castells (2000) p 134.
78 P Toynbee (2003).
79 G Esping-Andersen (1999) p 132: "Together with falling or stagnant real wages, the Anglo-Saxon nations have experienced a rather sharp increase in earnings inequality since the late 1970s. This is not true for either Continental Europe or Scandinavia."
80 Collective bargaining coverage: http://www.eiro.eurofound.eu.int/2002/12/study/tn0212102s.html [accessed 20 March 2006]. Minimum wages in Europe: http://www.eiro.eurofound.eu.int/2005/07/study/tn0507101s.html [accessed 20 March 2006]. Coverage reaches 100% in Slovenia, as a consequence of the fact that businesses are obliged to be members of all-encompassing 'chambers' of commerce and industry which also act as employers' associations on behalf of their members in collective bargaining. The high coverage rate in Finland is due to the fact that collective agreements have 'erga omnes' applicability in their respective sectors; this means that all employers, including non-organised employers, are obliged to pay at least the collectively agreed minimum wages.
81 http://www.eiro.eurofound.eu.int/2005/07/study/tn0507101s.html [accessed 20 March 2006].
82 http://www.eiro.eurofound.eu.int/2002/12/study/tn0212102s.html [accessed 20 March 2006].
83 European Commission (2004) p 179.
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88 OECD (2005) p 74.
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97 European Commission (2004) p 54.
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100 Z Ferge (2001) p 138.
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125 Ibid, p 27.
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127 A Amin et al (2002) p 117.
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TABLES AND FIGURES

1. Figure: Mutual ground of practitioners and researchers 13
2. Figure: Outlining the theme of the network in the report..... 15
3. Employment rate (% population aged 15-64, 2002) 58
4. Unemployment rate (% labour force 15+, 2002)..... 58
5. Employment in Industry (% total employment, 2002)..... 59
6. Trade Union Membership (% of total employment, 2002)..... 60
7. Minimum wages & collective bargaining coverage..... 60
8. Types of labour markets..... 60
9. Youth unemployment rate (% labour force 15-24 years, 2002)..... 61
10. Youth education attainment level, 2002 (Percentage of the population aged 20 to 24 having completed at least upper secondary education)..... 65
11. Mean score in student performance and percentage of students below level 1 and at level 3 of proficiency on the OECD PISA problem-solving scale (2003)..... 65
12. Total fertility rates (2002)..... 69
13. Human Development (HDI) & Human Poverty Index (HPI-2) (2003)..... 70

INDEX

Critical realism **13**, 24
Deregulation 60, 68
Education systems **62**, 71, 73
Empowerment 22, **55**, 74, **82**, 96, 102
Fordism **58**
Grading 42, 43, 62, **64**, 95
Knowledge, empirical 26
Knowledge, practical 13, 22, 24, **25**
Knowledge, scientific 12, **26**
Knowledge, theoretical 12, 22, 24, **25**
Knowledge-based economy 25, **59**, 65, 103
Labour market, liberal 60
Labour market, conservative 61
Labour market, social democratic **60**, 61
Local reports 26, **27**, 38, 80
Method 20, 21, 22, **27**
Nation-societies **56**, 63, 72
Neo-liberalism **58**, 60, 68
Questionnaire 22, **27**
Participation **54**, 61, 71, 72
Problems, definition 18
Potential **18**, 37, 70, 73, 91, 95
Poverty **34**, 39, 42, 44, 50, 59, 61, 70
Power **55**, 65, 73
Regulation Approach 58
Segregation **19**, 38
Social capital 19
Social economy **66**, 68, 70, 104
Social exclusion **34**, **50**, 56, 57, 65, 73, 74, 81
Social inclusion 54-56
Social relations **54**, 81, 85
Social structures 55
Success criteria, content **80**, 82
Success criteria, context 80
Success criteria, form 81
URBACT programme 12, 20, 27
View, multidimensional 19, **34**
View on knowledge 13, **24**, 59, 62, 64, 85, 93, 98, 102
View on society 19
View on young people **23**, 70
Welfare regimes, liberal 66
Welfare regimes, social democratic 66
Welfare regimes, conservative 67
Welfare regimes, familial 68
Workfare 70
Youth Pact 71

The marks in bold indicate where definitions are made.

Good Examples

City	Project	Section 2	Section 3	Section 4				
				1	2	3	4	5
Aarhus	School and Home	44	63				**91**	
Aarhus	Leisure Time Shop	44	61				**93**	
Copenhagen	Pigeskolen	44		**85**	85			
Copenhagen	AMUCK	43	73	**83**				94
Gera	Joint Social Streetwork	48	61				**91**	
Gijón	CISE	46		**84**	86			
Gijón	Llumbre		63, 68	**84**	86			
Gijón	Abierto	47	54, 70	**85**			92	94
Gijón	Mar de Niebla	47				**89**		
Göteborg	Success Alternatives	43	55, 64	**82**	86			**95**
Göteborg	Circles on the Water	43			**86**			
Göteborg	Parental Board	42	55, 64			**88**	91	
Göteborg	Summer workers	42	70				**93**	
Göteborg	Tisus-group	43						**95**
Helsinki	For Schools and Life	45			**86**			
Helsinki	Voice of the Young	45	63			**89**		
Malmö	Parental Education	39					**90**	
Malmö	Nightingale	40	54	**83**				94
Malmö	Study Workshop	39	63	**83**	86	87	91	94
Malmö	Brewery's IV-programme	**42**		84	86	88	91	94
Malmö	Integration Coordinators	**40**	64	83	86	**87**		94
Malmö	Mentor Company Project	41	61	**84**			92	
Velenje	Youth Day Care Centre	49	54				**91**	94

The marks in bold indicate where the main presentation of each example can be found.

Name	City	Malmö 0402	Aarhus 0409	Gera 0501	Gijón 0505	Helsinki 0512
Inger Grossen	Aarhus	●	●			
Birgitta Rasmusen	Aarhus		●	●	●	●
Jens Møller Hald	Aarhus				●	
Karsten Balterzen	Aarhus				●	
Teis Trane	Aarhus	●	●	●	●	●
Anders Thostrup	Copenhagen				●	
Anja Uglebjerg	Copenhagen			●	●	●
Arjang Farhadpour	Copenhagen				●	
Elham Tork Jokar	Copenhagen				●	
Jan Kürsting	Copenhagen		●			
Jeppe Johansen	Copenhagen		●			
John Vinter Knudsen	Copenhagen			●	●	●
Lasse Reichstein	Copenhagen		●			
Nanna Brink Larsen	Copenhagen		●			
Niels Andersson	Copenhagen	●	●			
Andreas Heimerdinger	Gera				●	
Andreas Stammwitz	Gera			●		
Anja Ruhland	Gera			●		
Anke Mitritzki	Gera			●		
Heike Föedisch	Gera				●	●
Janine Tavangarian	Gera	●		●		
Michael Kneisel	Gera			●		
Susan Ose	Gera		●	●		
Susanne Ragutt-Hinz	Gera			●		●
Thomas Seidel	Gera			●		
Beatriz Cerezo Estévez	Gijón	●	●	●	●	●
Eduardo Fernández Alvarez	Gijón				●	

Enrique Rodríguez Martín	Gijón	●	●	●	●	●
Herminia Bermudez Patón	Gijón				●	
José Ramón García	Gijón				●	
Marcos Juez	Gijón			●		
Natalia Fernández López	Gijón		●			
Anna Hägerlund	Göteborg				●	
Eva Eckerbrandt	Göteborg	●	●	●	●	●
Ghaleb Muhssen	Göteborg		●		●	
Håkan Obbel	Göteborg			●		
Jenny Hellring	Göteborg		●		●	
Lena Bilén	Göteborg		●	●		
Monica Andersson	Göteborg				●	
Reza Danai Poor	Göteborg		●			
Susan Runsten	Göteborg	●	●	●	●	●
Ulla Karlsson-Hedlin	Göteborg			●		
Thomas Mirbach	Hamburg			●	●	●
Anna Hirvonen	Helsinki			●		
Anna-Riitta Mäkitalo	Helsinki			●		●
Elina Kiviharju	Helsinki			●		
Leena Hiillos	Helsinki				●	
Marjo Kyllönen	Helsinki			●		
Merja Reijonen	Helsinki	●		●	●	
Minna Pitkäniemi	Helsinki		●			
Riitta Karvinen	Helsinki	●	●	●	●	●
Tiina Piiroinen	Helsinki				●	
Tiina Valtonen	Helsinki		●			
Tuula Hyppönen	Helsinki		●	●		
Anna Choinska	Lomza					●
Joanna Pliszevska	Lomza			●		
Wieslava Serwatko	Lomza			●	●	●

Bertil Nilsson	Malmö	●	●	●	●	●
Britta Ström	Malmö			●		
Carina Sild-Lönroth	Malmö		●			
Eva Morgan	Malmö			●		
Henric Kahlmeter	Malmö			●		
Kerstin Larsson	Malmö				●	
Laid Bouakaz	Malmö	●	●			
Martin Eriksson	Malmö	●	●	●	●	●
Mikael Stigendal	Malmö	●	●	●	●	●
Minka Huskic	Malmö				●	
Mujo Halilovic	Malmö				●	
Ronny Hallberg	Malmö		●			
Susana Polakof	Malmö	●				
Sven Olsson	Malmö		●			
Andreas Papacharalambous	Strovolos					●
Athena Christodoulidou	Strovolos			●	●	●
Kali Sofokleus	Strovolos				●	
Stavros Yerolatsites	Strovolos			●		
Kädi Lepp	Tallinn			●	●	
Reet Nõmmoja	Tallinn				●	●
Urmas Sadam	Tallinn			●		
Urve Raudsepp-Alt	Tallinn				●	
Audra Useliene	Ukmerge			●	●	●
Klavdija Stepanova	Ukmerge			●	●	●
Sigita Kriauciuniene	Ukmerge				●	●
Pauline Geoghegan	Urbact Secretariat		●	●	●	●
Jean-Loup Drubigny	Urbact Secretariat			●		
Aleš Ojsteršek	Velenje				●	
Helena Knez	Velenje			●	●	●
Mateja Drev	Velenje				●	●
Peter Vrèkovnic	Velenje			●		

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire has been used by the local researchers in documenting the good examples.

SUMMARY

BACKGROUND – RATIONALE

What were the issues concerning young people to be addressed? To what extent and in what ways were these issues described as problems? Why has it been a problem? For whom has it been a problem? Who has defined it as an issue? How do the issues relate to social exclusion?

CONTEXT

Young people – who are they?

In numbers and share of age group/population? Age groups and divisions? Girls / boys? Ethnic belongings and backgrounds? Other important characteristics?

Social exclusion – why are the young people associated with social exclusion?

Is it because they live in poverty? Has social exclusion something to do with gender inequalities? Are members of the family/household usually long-term unemployed? Perhaps members of the family/household have an employment, but then usually with a low quality ('Working poor')? Are the young people associated with social exclusion because members of the family/household usually have a low level of education and are perhaps even illiterate? Is it because they have got low assessments and grading of their competence? Do they and/or their family suffer from poor health? Do they take part in drug abuse to the extent that makes them part of social exclusion? Do they live in bad housing conditions? Does the location where they live have a bad image/reputation/history? Is the household where they live overcrowded (numerous family – small dwelling)? Is it because they live in a split family (lone parents)? Do they have a culture alien to social inclusion ('normality') that makes them socially excluded? Are they associated with social exclusion because of poor skills in the majority language? Is it because they have a violent behaviour and are involved in crime? Is it because the young people live in an area where people doesn't take part in politics by getting engaged and/or vote in the elections?

Social exclusion – causes?

Are the young people excluded due to their own choice? Does the social exclusion that these young people are associated with depend on discrimination and racism (also 'structural racism')? In what ways and to what extent? If social exclusion has something to do with gender inequalities, what are their causes? Does social exclusion depend on the structures of the labour market (perhaps strong regulations making it difficult to get inside for people who doesn't fulfil the requirements or perhaps a low wage economy, on the basis of weak regulations, where people may get a job but with a low quality)? Does social exclusion depend on the conditions for getting welfare support and benefits? Does social exclusion depend on the culture of the socially included – a cultural enclosure? Does social exclusion depend on they way competence (knowledge) is assessed and measured? Does it depend on the system of assessment and grading? Does social exclusion depend on the way the school functions (for example isolated from the local society, lacking knowledge about the young people, lacking an empowerment of the pupils as well as their parents), making it more difficult for some categories of young people to get included or even engendering the exclusion of them? Other important structural, institutional and cultural reasons to social exclusion?

OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGY

What were the objectives of the practice? How do the objectives relate to the theme "Young people – from exclusion to inclusion"? How and by whom were priorities set and refined? Conflicts/agreements/coalitions in addressing those priorities. What actions were taken? How were the actions chosen? Were political support mobilised and in that case how? How were resources and finances mobilised? How, in what ways and to what extent was social capital (social movements, associations, networks, social trust, norms) counted on as a resource in implementing the practice?

INITIATORS, KEY PARTNERS AND STAKEHOLDERS

Who was the initiator of the practice? Who have been the key partners of the initiative? What was the nature of the relations between key partners before the initiative? What was the nature of the relations between key partners during the initiative? Who has been regarded as the stakeholders of the initiative? How were the stakeholders involved, in particular young people?

PROCESS

Describe the project process, i.e. the activities, what the project does, how etc. Who has owned the process

(formal responsibility)? Who assumed leadership in implementing the initiative? What problems were faced in implementing the initiative? How were they solved? What important problems remained? Did the practice face any kind of barriers (attitudes, professional divisions/contradictions etc)? How were they overcome?

RESULTS

In relation to objectives

Were the objectives described above realised? To what extent? How were the results measured? Quantitatively? Qualitatively? Were indicators used to measure the impact of the results? Which ones? How? What evaluation process was implemented?

In relation to the features of social exclusion

Did the situation for young people change from exclusion to inclusion? In what ways and to what extent? In terms of poverty, gender inequalities, long-term unemployment of family members, quality of employment (family members), level of education (family members), assessments and grading of competence, health, drug abuse, housing conditions, image/reputation/history of the location, a less crowded dwelling, family unity, culture, skills in the majority language, violent behaviour, involvement in crime or increased participation in politics? How did the practice contribute to that?

In relation to the causes of social exclusion

Has the practice also changed the causes of social exclusion? In what ways and to what extent? Has the practice made the young people more willing to get included and take part in social inclusion? Has the practice eradicated discrimination and racism? Has the practice had any impact on the causes of gender inequalities? Has the practice led to changes in the structures of the labour market? Has the practice made key partners more aware about the need to develop new approaches (integrated, bottom-up, empowering, allowing innovation, taking advantage of social capital etc)? Has such new approaches been materialized in terms of organisational changes reinforcing the capacity to deal with issues of "Young people – from exclusion to inclusion"? Has the practice led to changes in the conditions for getting welfare support and benefits? Has the practice punctured the cultural enclosure, allowing social inclusion to be more multicultural? Has the practice brought about any changes in the system of assessment and grading? Has the practice brought about any changes in the way the school functions, for example by opening the school towards the local society, increased the staff's knowledge about the young people, empowered the young people as well as the parents?

CONCLUSIONS

What is good in this example?

What is required in order to make it sustainable?

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This Research Report presents the results of “Young People – from Exclusion to Inclusion”, a network within the URBACT programme. Led by the city of Malmö (Sweden), the network has also included Aarhus and Copenhagen (Denmark), Gera (Germany), Gijón (Spain), Velenje (Slovenia), Göteborg (Sweden) and Helsinki (Finland); each one represented by a co-ordinator and a local researcher. Besides, the cities of Lomza (Poland), Strovolos (Cyprus), Tallinn (Estonia) and Ukmerge (Lithuania) have participated as expert cities. The network has also published Operational Guidelines, a short and easy accessible report with an orientation towards practical usage. Furthermore, the Case Study Report contains detailed information about examples of good practice. All the three reports are available at the URBACT website.

Website
http://www.urbact.org

City of Malmö

URBACT

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