



QUALITY OF LIFE IN EUROPE

Perceptions of social integration and exclusion in an enlarged Europe



Perceptions of social integration and exclusion in an enlarged Europe

The following reports constitute part of the Foundation's series on quality of life in Europe.

Perceptions of living conditions in an enlarged Europe (consolidated report) (J. Alber and T. Fahey)

Low income and deprivation in an enlarged Europe (H. Russell and C. Whelan)

Perceptions of social integration and exclusion in an enlarged Europe (P. Böhnke)

Life satisfaction in an enlarged Europe (J. Delhey)

Working and living in an enlarged Europe (K. Kovács and B. Kapitány)

Health and care in an enlarged Europe (J. Alber and U. Köhler)

Fertility and family issues in an enlarged Europe (T. Fahey and Z. Spéder)

Migration trends in an enlarged Europe (H. Krieger)

These reports and accompanying summaries are available on the Foundation website at www.eurofound.eu.int/qual_life

Authors: Petra Böhnke

Research institute: Social Science Research Centre (WZB), Berlin

Foundation project: Quality of life in central and eastern European candidate countries

Research managers: Hubert Krieger, Robert Anderson



European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

QUALITY OF LIFE IN EUROPE

Perceptions of social integration and exclusion in an enlarged Europe

Cataloguing data can be found at the end of this publication

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2004

ISBN 92-897-0246-X

© European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2004

For rights of translation or reproduction, applications should be made to the Director, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, Wyattville Road, Loughlinstown, Dublin 18, Ireland.

The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions is an autonomous body of the European Union, created to assist in the formulation of future policy on social and work-related matters. Further information can be found on the Foundation website at www.eurofound.eu.int.

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions
Wyattville Road
Loughlinstown
Dublin 18
Ireland
Telephone: (+353 1) 204 31 00
Fax: (+353 1) 282 42 09 / 282 64 56
Email: information@eurofound.eu.int
www.eurofound.eu.int

Printed in Denmark

The paper used in this book is chlorine-free and comes from managed forests in Northern Europe.
For every tree felled, at least one new tree is planted.

Foreword

The Lisbon Summit highlighted social policy as a core element in Europe's strategy for becoming 'the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with better jobs and greater social cohesion' by 2010. This objective defines a series of social policy challenges for the EU. A separate joint report of the Directorate General for Employment and Social Affairs and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions addresses several of these key issues, such as social exclusion and poverty, the relationship between quality of life and quality of work, fertility, migration and mobility, satisfaction with quality of life, care and intergenerational solidarity.

This particular report, which provided some of the material for the above study, focuses on the issue of social exclusion and social integration.

Examining quality of life in 28 European countries, including the acceding and candidate countries as well as the current Member States of the EU, this report provides, for the first time, an analysis of views and experiences of the citizens of the new Europe regarding the risk to social integration arising from marginalisation, deprivation and poverty. The analysis is based on data from the European Commission's Eurobarometer survey carried out in the acceding and candidate countries in Spring 2002 and standard EU 15 Eurobarometers.

This report represents one in a series of reports on quality of life in an enlarging Europe that will be published by the Foundation on the basis of its own survey's findings in the next few years.

Willy Buschak
Acting Director

Country codes in figures and tables

<i>EU Member States (protocol order)</i>	
Belgium	BE
Denmark	DK
Germany	DE
Greece	EL
Spain	ES
France	FR
Ireland	IE
Italy	IT
Luxembourg	LU
Netherlands	NL
Austria	AT
Portugal	PT
Finland	FI
Sweden	SE
United Kingdom	UK
<i>Acceding countries (protocol order)</i>	
Cyprus	CY
Czech Republic	CZ
Estonia	EE
Hungary	HU
Latvia	LV
Lithuania	LT
Malta	MT
Poland	PL
Slovakia	SK
Slovenia	SI
<i>Candidate countries (protocol order)</i>	
Bulgaria	BG
Romania	RO
Turkey	TR
EU 15	15 Member States of the European Union (pre-May 2004)
EU 25	25 Member States of the European Union (post-May 2004)
AC 10	10 countries to accede to the European Union in May 2004
ACC 13	10 acceding countries, plus the three candidate countries

Note: Unless otherwise stated, the aggregate figures for EU 15, EU 25, AC 10 and ACC 13 reported here are weighted to adjust for country population size.

Contents

Foreword	v
Introduction	1
Towards an inclusive society: Social exclusion and its policy relevance	2
The link between social exclusion and quality of life	4
Data and methodology	5
1 – Overview of the causes of social exclusion and the preconditions for social integration	9
Reasons for social exclusion	9
Preconditions for social integration	12
2 – The perception of social exclusion	15
Distribution of perceived social exclusion in 28 European countries	15
Macro analysis: what drives the level of social exclusion in a country?	18
Micro analysis: who is at risk of social exclusion?	23
3 – Other subjectively perceived integration deficits	37
Family integration	37
Social support network	40
Participation in social life	42
Conclusion	45
4 – Relationship between precarious living conditions and perceived social exclusion	47
5 – Family support and economic resources	53
6 – Conclusions	57
Bibliography	61

Additional data on this subject are available from the Foundation at ter@eurofound.eu.int

Introduction

The convergence of living conditions and the fight against poverty and social exclusion were given high priority in the Maastricht Treaty, and policy discussions have paid much attention to this subject since then. In particular, the Lisbon summit 2000 underlined the need to improve the understanding of social exclusion and to organise policy cooperation so that knowledge of how to effectively address social exclusion can be shared. These challenges will be even greater when the acceding countries join the European Union in 2004 and the heterogeneity of living conditions inevitably increases. It is of central importance to have comparable information about living conditions and quality of life in the individual Member States during the course of European integration. Social reporting and empirical social research can help to shed some light on the ongoing processes; for example the fact that when disadvantages are reinforced, social integration, social protection, and social rights are weakened.

Social exclusion is a term with various meanings. This report focuses on social exclusion and social integration as two sides of one coin. This is in line with the official EU view that precarious living conditions such as long-term unemployment, poverty or multiple deprivation imply a risk to social integration. It also follows the consensus that sufficient income, health, labour market attachment, social support and family back-up are important factors that contribute to a decent life for people.

However, the examination of social exclusion phenomena in this report has a unique perspective; instead of taking the Laeken indicators as a starting point, which monitor a multidimensional perspective on objective dimensions of social exclusion and poverty, the focus here is based on individuals' own perceptions, on how they evaluate their chances of belonging and being a part of their society. Thus, social exclusion is viewed in terms of social relations and captures a sense of subjective marginalisation. Perceiving oneself to be on the margins of society might result in a dissenting attitude to consensual moral and political values, it might increase ignorance of generally accepted rules and laws, it is very likely to diminish well-being and result in aggressiveness, depression or socio-psychological break-down; all in all, widespread self-perceptions of marginalisation could threaten social order and the stability of society. Consequently, overall recognition and a sense of belonging are taken as indicators of successful integration, and the lack of them as an indication of serious integration deficits.

The analysis of the underlying determinants that lead to such a perception is of major importance to policy makers and is therefore the core task of this report. Social exclusion is understood as a relational term, and encompasses more than deprivation issues. Such a research perspective is especially fruitful, when living conditions in 28 countries are compared: The adequacy of dimensions such as unemployment or poverty, accepted as representing social exclusion risks even in highly divergent European regions, becomes a matter to scrutinise. The question is, if the same risks and disadvantages bring about a perception of marginalisation even if political, economic, social and cultural circumstances are different.

This report focuses on an empirical analysis of comparable, representative and comprehensive survey data for 28 European countries. The aim is to get a sound and comprehensive picture of the perception, distribution, main characteristics and determinants of social integration and social exclusion, as well as the groups most at risk and related policy implications. However, there are several limitations of the data, that have to be kept in mind.

Unfortunately, the Eurobarometer data do not provide satisfying information on income, moreover reliable information on household and family composition is missing, so that it was impossible to calculate equivalent household income measures for all countries or to draw a poverty line that matches international standards. Instead, alternative poverty measures are used, mostly relying on the self-reported experience of economic strain. Since we harmonised the survey for the candidate countries with existing data from the Member States, some interesting information can only be displayed for the candidates: health data for example as well as the availability of consumer goods and basic essentials for a decent standard of living. In addition, the analysis of multidimensional disadvantages is severely limited through the small number of cases in some countries. Last, it has to be kept in mind, the study does not include ethnic minorities, particularly Roma.

Towards an inclusive society: social exclusion and its policy relevance

The issue of social exclusion is of particular concern to European policy makers and those who have attempted to promote a European social model since the beginning of the 1990s. Focusing on social exclusion means turning attention to the problem that comes with high unemployment rates, increasing inequality and poverty, i.e. that people have fewer opportunities to participate in social life. It has been predicted that divisions will beset modern European societies as a result of changing labour market organisation and significant challenges to social protection systems. Widespread long-term unemployment, poverty and the fear of the rise of an urban underclass in particular contribute to the notion of polarised societies with an unbridgeable gap between insiders and outsiders. Therefore, access to employment and the fight against poverty play a major role in achieving equal distribution of life chances and promoting social integration and cohesion throughout Europe. The term social exclusion can be described as comprehensive, multidimensional and dynamic; it generally refers to limited chances for individual participation, economically, socially, culturally as well as politically, and addresses the issues of reinforcing processes of accumulated disadvantages and the weakening of social rights (Barnes et al, 2002; Sen, 2000; Littlewood, 1999; Abrahamson, 1998; Kronauer, 1998; Room, 1998; 1995; Silver, 1994).

Although the term 'social exclusion' was rooted in the academic discussions of the 1960s and 1970s, it was not placed in a European Union context until the late 1980s, when it became a broader social policy issue. The term was originally used in the French political debate of the 1960s to describe a broad notion of detachment from mainstream values and social order. In 1974 René Lenoir estimated that one-tenth of the French population belonged to the excluded: the mentally and physically handicapped, suicidal people, aged invalids, abused children, drug addicts, delinquents, single parents, multi-problem households and others (Silver, 1994: 532). Issues of reintegration and solidarity have been at the centre of the debate on *exclusion sociale*, which has identified risk groups marginalised from labour market participation, unprotected by social insurance and 'invisible' in political debates.

In the early 1990s this understanding of social exclusion was taken on board in the European discussion on poverty. Until then the European debate had been mainly influenced by the Anglo-Saxon research tradition, which focuses on issues of relative deprivation and concentrates on access to resources (Townsend, 1979, 1987). Thereafter, an understanding of disadvantages which tackled lack of resources as well as inadequate social participation was developed. The fight against social exclusion has been a major concern of EU policy since the early 1990s. Facilitating

participation in employment and access to resources, rights, goods and services for all have become key European goals. In order to increase transnational policy cooperation, all Member States have been asked to prepare national action plans on social inclusion. The first action plans, on which the European guidelines for the fight against social exclusion were supposed to be based, were submitted in August 2001. This open method of coordination for social inclusion has also been agreed by the candidate countries in order to facilitate efforts to translate the EU social objectives into their national policies: In December 2003 the ten future Member States and the European Commission signed the Joint Inclusion Memoranda, setting out key challenges to be faced in combating social exclusion in these countries.

In principle, social exclusion can be related to any lack of essentials in the domain of daily life, be it income, employment, housing, education, social networks, health etc. However, the accumulation process, which focuses on labour market access as being a major factor in the risk of social exclusion, is central to the social exclusion approach. Employment and job security promise an income to satisfy basic needs, and provide social integration and social identity at the same time. The hypothesis underlying the social exclusion approach is that the interdependence of social disadvantages and weak labour market attachment is key to the vicious cycle primarily responsible for social exclusion. It is not the analytical substance of the concept of social exclusion that contributes to its prevalence. Instead, the comprehensive and general nature of the term encapsulates what recent social changes have been predicted to cause: the emergence of a permanently excluded section of the population which is severely limited in its ability to participate. At the same time, the ambiguous meaning of the term incorporates the widespread fear that ongoing social change represents a threat to middle class integration and mainstream values.

At the European level the shift from poverty to social exclusion is not merely a shift in terminology. It reflects the need for a multidimensional approach to the study of disadvantages and the major concern that the notion of poverty, which has until recently been predominantly restricted to its financial dimension, should be broadened. When analysing social inequality, this implies a shift from concentrating on the just distribution of material resources to equal opportunities for social participation, integration and the realisation of social rights. Apart from basic essentials and the guarantee of a minimum standard of living, the social exclusion approach draws attention to inadequate social participation, lack of social integration and lack of power, or in other words, to the process of becoming detached from the moral, social and political order of a community (Room, 1995, p.5).

Thus, such an understanding of social exclusion is closely linked to notions of citizenship and social rights as defined by T. H. Marshall (1950). Despite its analytical and theoretical weakness, the concept of social exclusion has helped foster a particular vision of the importance of basic social rights, including access to education, training, employment, housing etc, and of the important role this should play in European integration.¹ In this view, the debate on social exclusion is at the same time a debate on European labour market and social policy reforms. The goal is to avoid extreme disparities and polarised societies which have a highly integrated core work force on the one hand and a marginalised group persistently dependent on social benefits on

¹ See Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, Nizza 2000, documented at www.europarl.eu.int/charter/pdf/text_en.pdf (07/09/2003), find information on the Amsterdam Treaty at <http://europa.eu.int/abc/obj/amst/en/> (07/09/03) and about the European Social Policy Agenda http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/general/com00-379/com379_en.pdf (07/09/03).

the other. The aim of an 'inclusive Europe' means reducing barriers to participation and allowing everyone to be fully integrated into the economic and social life of society.

The link between social exclusion and quality of life

Quality of life refers to the overall well-being of individuals in a society, defined according to desirable value-based societal goals such as the equal distribution of life chances, the assured achievement of a minimum standard of living for everyone, or access to employment and social protection systems. Moreover, as has already been mentioned, the aim of an inclusive society which enables participation and integration is of central concern to European policy makers. Several policy documents underline the public consensus in the European Union about the importance of the attainment of social rights, social cohesion and social integration. This consensus includes an understanding that people should have equal opportunities to participate: they should have easy access to employment and to social protection systems and institutions which promise a generally accepted minimum of basic essentials (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2003). As a consequence, the link between quality of life and the debate on social exclusion is direct and of utmost importance. Policy thinking which aims at promoting social integration, access to employment, the reduction of poverty and the creation of a strong sense of solidarity and belonging automatically implies an improvement in quality of life for everyone. Thus, quality of life can serve as an overarching framework for concepts that stress social integration and exclusion issues.

The overall wellbeing of people living in a society not only reflects living conditions and their control over resources, but also the way in which people feel about their lives. Descriptive and evaluative aspects are both crucial conceptual issues for capturing individual quality of life. For the exclusion perspective this means that although sufficient resources and satisfying outcomes are key elements, subjective assessments about solidarity, a sense of belonging and the ability to participate are also important when it comes to a comprehensive understanding of social exclusion processes and how to avoid them.

Shedding light on poverty and inequality issues from the quality-of-life perspective brings decisive benefits. Integration, not the distribution of resources, is at the heart of this research and policy perspective; this is a turning point in the study of social disadvantages and vulnerable groups. For Dahrendorf and Sen for example, whose thinking about 'life chances' and 'capability deprivation' comes very close to the quality of life perspective, one important aspect of establishing quality of life is the creation of an institutional and political setting which enables people to take advantage of opportunities and fulfil their potential. Such a perspective focuses on substantial liberties in democracies and is closely connected with the idea of social rights and equal opportunities for everyone (Sen, 1999; Dahrendorf, 1988).

It goes without saying that the risk of social exclusion diminishes quality of life. Theoretical and conceptual thinking about the measurability of relevant societal goals both recognise a basic idea concerning the interplay of welfare and quality of life: that social and employment policy impact on life chances and the chance to participate, and that there are structural preconditions which enable people to live decent lives. The debates on quality of life and social exclusion focus

attention on one main characteristic of immediate policy relevance: the improvement of living conditions in a general sense and the realisation of equal life chances.

Data and methodology

Up to now there has been a considerable gap between conceptual thought and the empirical analysis of social exclusion phenomena. Not even the small consensus about multidimensionality and the dynamic nature of social exclusion has been given much attention in empirical research (exceptions are Paugam, 1996; Burchardt, 2000). The so-called Atkinson Report (Atkinson *et al*, 2002), which was published on behalf of the Belgian government during its EU presidency, looked at the question of which social indicators are suitable for providing comparable information about a country's exposure to social exclusion, as well as the individual's. The report concentrates mostly on indicators like income and employment, and there is additional information about education, housing and health. Additional non-monetary indicators that measure social exclusion are left to individual countries in order to ensure that specific cultural, historical and political circumstances are not ignored.

Most studies start with the assumption that an analysis of poverty, unemployment or multiple deprivation captures social exclusion in all its dimensions. Of course, there are arguments and empirical results that sustain this position. Labour market access, for example, significantly increases social integration in the EU Member States. However, marginalisation and exclusion are also experienced subjectively, for example in terms of the feeling of not belonging to society or feeling left out of it. Consequently, there are good reasons to distinguish between several forms of deprivation on the one hand, and the perception of social exclusion and belonging on the other.

The analysis presented in this report starts from the hypothesis that there are indisputably some decisive factors which promote social integration and a sense of belonging: 1) basic essentials in terms of material resources, 2) access to employment and 3) family integration or social support in general. The overall research question this report deals with concerns the interrelationship of these social integration dimensions in different European countries, and the circumstances under which deficits in these areas of life lead to the perception of feeling left out of society. This kind of analysis is directly associated with the large amount of work done in the field of poverty, deprivation and unemployment research, which deals with the impact of disadvantages on social contacts, social and political participation and subjective well-being (for example Gallie, Gershuny and Vogler, 1994; Gallie and Paugam, 2000; Gallie, Kostovar and Kuchar, 2001).

Additionally, it is worth including *interfering* or *mediating* aspects in the research that would prevent respective disadvantages from resulting in perceived exclusion. The age of the respondent could be such a mediating aspect if it is understood as a proxy for biographic experiences and future expectations that influence the evaluation of certain living conditions. Available support might vary according to household composition and family situation. Moreover, the different meaning several integration domains have in specific national or regional value systems might influence determinants of social exclusion as well. This points to the importance of historically- and culturally-influenced relationships between the market, state and family, such as different types of national welfare mixes.

Such a focus on the subjective perception of social exclusion should not be mistaken for an argument in favour of the relativity of social disadvantages. Of course, it only makes sense to argue for an improvement in living conditions, if objective (in the sense of consensually agreed) criteria and guidelines, which are politically modifiable, exist. Nevertheless, asking for subjectively perceived degrees of belonging and integration gives us the chance to analyse which integration deficits have significant consequences for quality of life, to what extent, and under what circumstances. Beyond a basic consensus about a minimum standard of living, the perception of precarious living conditions and its consequences promise insights into detailed risk determinants and the circumstances under which integration deficits are perceived to severely restrict opportunities to participate in social life.

Such arguments become even stronger when a comparative analysis of social exclusion across several countries with different historical, cultural, social and economic developments is made. The EU, in its fight against social exclusion in the last decade, has focussed on growing difficulties with labour market access and on increasing poverty in countries accustomed to a relatively high standard of living. In the acceding countries – which are coping with a considerably lower standard of living, widespread poverty even in absolute terms, and severe system changes in the recent past – the understanding of social exclusion might vary considerably. What people regard as necessities for integration might differ between Member States; there might be different comparative yardsticks and reference groups when evaluating whether living conditions are appropriate or insufficient, because the overall welfare level in a country or in the neighbouring countries might influence the perception of social exclusion and how people feel about their lives.

Hence, this comparative report on social integration and social exclusion is based on the *perceptions* of respondents. The aim is to find out how people feel about their lives when it comes to opportunities for participation and integration, how perceived marginalisation is distributed in the acceding countries compared to the Member States, and how it is related to poverty and unemployment. Furthermore the report aims to detect what similarities and differences there are in *risk groups* in different countries and to relate these findings to policy relevant contexts. Additionally, there is information available showing what people think the preconditions for social integration are and what they think the reasons for social exclusion are. Finally, differences and similarities in integration patterns are explored: how important are basic essentials, labour market attachment, family integration and social back-up in providing a general feeling of belonging and affiliation?

Which data source can be relied on to answer such questions? The Candidate Countries Eurobarometer questionnaire 2002 and the Standard Eurobarometer fielded in the 15 Member States (EB 56.1, 2001) asked comparable questions about social integration and the perception of exclusion, alienation, and insecurity. On behalf of the Foundation a harmonised data set has been established to allow comparative analysis in several fields of quality of life in order to get an insight into the heterogeneity of living conditions the EU will face after acceding in 2004 (see Nauenburg et al, 2003).² Table 1 gives an overview of the respective core variables used for the analysis of

² The 'Quality of Life in the European Union and Candidate Countries' project, funded by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions in 2002/3 was coordinated by the Social Research Science Centre Berlin (WZB), with the Economic and Social Research Institute Dublin (ESRI) and the Demographic Research Institute in Budapest (DRI) as partners.

perceived social exclusion, shows which of them serve as breakdown variables or give additional analytical input.

Table 1 Core variables for the analysis of perceived social integration and exclusion

Domain	Indicator
Perceived social exclusion and integration	Reasons why people live in need
	Reasons for social exclusion in general
	Necessities for a good life
	Perceived lack of recognition
	Perceived marginalisation
	Perceived uselessness
	Perceived inferiority and lack of acceptance
Social network and family integration	Lacking social network support
	Feeling left out of family
	Satisfaction with family life
	Loneliness
	Satisfaction with social life
Labour market attachment	Having children
	Working conditions: self-reported stressful working conditions; coming home from work exhausted
	Employed/unemployed or temporarily not working
Economic resources	Unemployment experience in the past
	Experience of long-term economic strain
	Serious solvency problems
	Income
Breakdown variables	Perception of poverty
	Future expectation of improvement of the standard of living
	Country/country groups
	Occupational class
	Marital status
	GDP per capita
	Unemployment rate
	Gender
	Educational level
	Employment status
	Household income quartiles
	Unemployment experience
Long-standing illness	

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

To sum up, this report deals with the following questions and hypotheses:

1. What are the perceived preconditions for social integration in different countries and how do evaluations differ between disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged groups? First is the hypothesis that access to material resources is the most important factor preventing social exclusion (the more deprived people are, the more important it is). Country profiles may be expected to show differences in the priority that is given to social networks and family integration compared to material resources.
2. What do European citizens perceive to be the reasons for social exclusion processes in general and how are these opinions related to European social policy? Structural reasons such as unemployment or social welfare cuts are expected to be more prevalent in the former communist countries and individual failure like alcoholism or even laziness, for example, to be the predominant reasons in liberal and conservative welfare state regimes.

3. How is perceived social exclusion, measured as a lack of recognition, and feeling useless, inferior and left out of society, distributed in different countries? What are the determinants of perceived social exclusion from a comparative perspective: are there gender-, class- or group-specific risks of social exclusion and is labour market access crucial for the exposure to social exclusion? Here the analysis starts from the hypothesis that the level of perceived social exclusion will differ between countries according to their overall level of welfare: the lower the GDP per capita or the higher the unemployment rate in a country, the higher the exposure to social exclusion. On the micro level, the hypothesis underlying EU social policy, that multiple deprivation and individual unemployment experience are crucial factors that launch social exclusion processes, will be investigated.
4. Is perceived social exclusion inevitably combined with lack of social ties, weak participation and disrupted social networks? What role does family support play in mitigating the consequences of material shortcomings and helping to promote a feeling of belonging? In what way and to what extent is socio-economic precariousness connected with reduced social participation? It is assumed that multiple deprivation and labour market access will be the most important factors influencing subjectively perceived social exclusion, and that the weaker the family is, the more pronounced social exclusion will be. Different integration patterns will be investigated with respect to the relative importance of different integration providers (income, job, family integration, social network support, social participation) to the perception of affiliation.

Overview of the causes of social exclusion and the preconditions for social integration

Reasons for social exclusion

Politicians regard unemployment and poverty as the main drivers of social exclusion processes. For policy planning reasons it is important to know whether European citizens in different countries share this view, and whether there are considerable deviations in opinions about the nature of social exclusion in the acceding and candidate countries and the Member States. Table 2 and Figure 1 (overleaf) summarise opinions about why people live in need and indicate how the respondents explain the existence of poverty and social exclusion in their own countries. Respondents were asked to choose between, on the one hand, reasons that emphasise external and structural factors such as social injustice or unemployment, and on the other hand, reasons that stress individual failure such as laziness and lack of willpower. Research in this area shows that respondents in affluent countries and countries with a dominant policy practice enforcing individual responsibility more than governmental protection were more likely to explain social exclusion by individual failure. Additionally, individual living conditions can influence judgements as well: the better off people are, the more likely it is that they stress individual responsibility; and the poorer they are, the more they will blame living conditions for weakening social integration. This assumption is in line with attribution theory in social psychology research, which holds that success is more often attributed to individual capabilities, and that failure is attributed to external causes like bad luck or structural change.

Table 2 European citizens' perceptions of why people live in need, % of population

	EU 25		ACC 13		EU 15		AC 10	
	Total	Poor	Total	Poor	Total	Poor	Total	Poor
Injustice in society	37	53	60	72	35	49	50	63
Inevitable part of modern progress	22	16	14	8	23	16	20	16
Laziness and lack of willpower	18	11	15	8	18	13	16	8
Because they have been unlucky	17	17	9	10	19	20	9	10
None of these	5	3	3	1	6	2	5	3

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Survey question: Why in your opinion are there people who live in need? Here are four opinions: which is closest to yours?

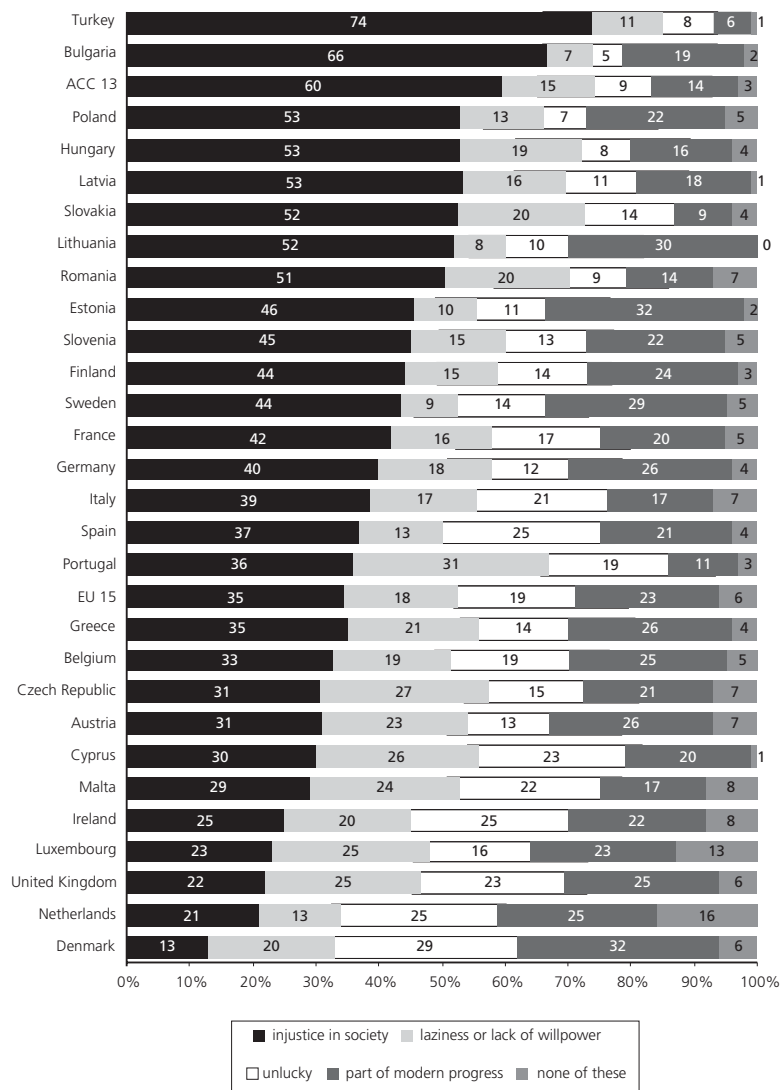
Notes: 'Poor' is measured as serious solvency problems (experience of serious problems during last year on either paying rent/mortgage, paying water, gas, electricity bills, repaying loans), which is an indicator of acute poverty. Unfortunately another poverty indicator is not available, household equivalent income, for example, or self-assessment of the living standard is not available in the respective standard Eurobarometer source that contains the question on perceived reasons for social exclusion.

Injustice in society is seen as the main reason why people live in need throughout the enlarged Europe (Table 2). However, in the acceding countries every second citizen shares this view (in the acceding and candidate countries the figure is even higher), compared to only one third of the respondents in the Member States. Instead, they are more likely to agree with arguments that stress fate and bad luck. External causes such as injustice in society and bad luck are seen as even more important by the poorer respondents; individual failure is less important. Living in poverty increases the view that social injustice in society is the main driver of social exclusion processes, and diminishes the view that individuals themselves are responsible for their poor living conditions

because they are lazy or they lack willpower. This pattern is observable in all country groups, although differences between the total population and the poor are more obvious in the Member States.

As the country-specific analysis shows, there is widespread support for the idea that society and government are responsible, especially in those countries with a very low level of national affluence and – another plausible and obvious explanation – which have a socialist past (where equality, justice and state responsibility played an important role). This view is supported by the fact that Cyprus and Malta show considerably different results from the other acceding countries. Finland and Sweden, which are very close with respect to ideas about their general policy strategy, put more emphasis on social justice and the idea that social and economic change is a driver of social exclusion than the other Member States.

Figure 1 Europeans' perceptions of the reasons people live in need, by country



Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Survey question: Why in your opinion are there people who live in need? Here are four opinions:- which is closest to yours? weight by weight2.

Tables 3 and 4 offer insights into the more detailed circumstances that could lead to poverty or social exclusion. Unfortunately the questionnaire does not distinguish between poverty and social exclusion here, although different conceptional logics are behind these terms. However, long-term unemployment is considered to be the main determinant of social exclusion processes throughout Europe; more than half of the acceding and candidate countries' population and also every second citizen in the Member States share this view. Respondents also believe that alcoholism, sickness and family break-ups play a key role in causing poverty or social exclusion. There are also pronounced differences between the acceding countries and the Member States. Social welfare cuts are widely perceived as determinants of social exclusion in the acceding countries, but only the poor in the Member States themselves are of the same opinion; approximately a quarter of the poor in the enlarged Europe considers restricted social welfare benefits to be responsible for serious disadvantage. Respondents in the Member States see drug abuse and immigration as being more important than do people in the acceding and candidate countries; this corresponds with higher immigration rates in EU15.

Table 3 Europeans' perceptions of the most common reasons why people are poor or socially excluded, % of population choosing each item

	EU 25	EU 25 poor	ACC 13	ACC 13 poor	EU 15	EU 15 poor	AC 10	AC 10 poor
Long-term unemployment	52	59	63	66	50	54	62	69
Alcoholism	36	27	36	21	32	19	55	44
Sickness	31	33	27	24	30	29	38	43
Family break-ups	28	27	29	25	27	26	31	29
Drug abuse	24	17	6	3	27	22	10	7
Lack of education	22	18	27	32	23	20	17	14
Social welfare cuts	14	24	25	26	12	21	20	30
Laziness	14	8	13	9	14	8	14	9
Lack of community spirit in society	13	14	12	14	14	16	9	12
Their parents were poor	10	15	17	23	10	14	12	17
They live in a poor area	10	10	14	21	10	12	6	6
They don't plan for the future	9	5	7	7	10	6	7	4
They are immigrants	8	6	1	2	9	9	1	1
They have too many children	6	10	9	14	6	11	5	7
They have chosen to be like this	6	5	3	2	6	5	5	4
Lack of concern amongst neighbours	5	6	3	4	5	7	2	2

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Survey question: Here are some reasons, which might explain why people are poor or socially excluded. Which three do you think are the most common?

Note: 'poor' is measured as serious solvency problems, see table 2, Q42, weight by weight2.

The poor themselves stress living conditions such as long-term unemployment, social welfare cuts, having too many children and – especially in the acceding and candidate countries – living in a poor area and lack of education as reasons for social exclusion. They relate personal failures such as laziness and alcoholism to social exclusion less than the overall population does. Country-specific analysis shows that unemployment is one of the most important reasons for social exclusion in most European countries other than Luxembourg, Portugal, Denmark, and Cyprus. Alcoholism and sickness, indicating health as the key dimension of social integration, are regarded as main drivers as well (Table 4).

Table 4 The three most common reasons why people are poor or socially excluded, country-specific analysis, % of population in brackets

Country	Most common reasons		
Bulgaria	Unemployment (87)	Sickness (34)	Social welfare cuts (27)
Lithuania	Unemployment (74)	Alcoholism (60)	Social welfare cuts (40)
Poland	Unemployment (69)	Alcoholism (53)	Sickness (42)
Slovakia	Unemployment (68)	Alcoholism (52)	Family break-ups (40)
Estonia	Unemployment (67)	Alcoholism (61)	Lack of education (24)
Finland	Unemployment (67)	Alcoholism (62)	Sickness (41)
France	Unemployment (64)	Sickness (30)	Family break-ups (27)
Latvia	Unemployment (62)	Alcoholism (58)	Sickness (28)
Turkey	Unemployment (61)	Lack of education (45)	Social welfare cuts (29)
Romania	Unemployment (59)	Alcoholism (35)	Social welfare cuts (31)
Hungary	Unemployment (56)	Alcoholism (56)	Sickness (43)
Germany	Unemployment (53)	Alcoholism (41)	Sickness (40)
Italy	Unemployment (49)	Sickness (29)	Drug abuse (26)
Sweden	Unemployment (49)	Alcoholism (46)	Drug abuse (42)
Ireland	Unemployment (47)	Alcoholism (43)	Family break-ups (33)
Belgium	Unemployment (46)	Sickness (41)	Alcoholism (35)
Spain	Unemployment (44)	Drug abuse (38)	Alcoholism (30)
United Kingdom	Unemployment (44)	Drug abuse (43)	Alcoholism (32)
Greece	Unemployment (43)	Drug abuse (26)	Sickness (24)
Netherlands	Unemployment (42)	Family break-ups (39)	Sickness (39)
Czech Republic.	Alcoholism (58)	Family break-ups (45)	Unemployment (44)
Slovenia	Alcoholism (53)	Unemployment (47)	Sickness (36)
Luxembourg	Alcoholism (45)	Drug abuse (42)	Sickness (30)
Portugal	Alcoholism (37)	Drug abuse (36)	Sickness (35)
Malta	Sickness (54)	Unemployment (47)	Drug abuse (31)
Denmark	Sickness (47)	Alcoholism (46)	Family break-ups (34)
Austria	Sickness (47)	Alcoholism (44)	Unemployment (39)
Cyprus	Family break-ups (49)	Sickness (46)	Laziness (33)

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Survey question: Here are some reasons which might explain why people are poor or socially excluded. Which three do you think are the most common?

Note: Q42, weight by weight³.

It can be concluded that the prevalence of unemployment and deprivation in a country as well as changes in the social welfare system, including cuts which affect a large number of people, determine the view that external developments on the political and societal level rather than individuals themselves are held responsible for poverty and social exclusion. Justice, equality and solidarity are highly appreciated values in the acceding and candidate countries and they are also valued in societies with a long-standing socio-democratic tradition, like the Scandinavian welfare states. Moreover, there is a Europe-wide consensus that health and family integration are another two main domains that provide integration and quality of life.

Preconditions for social integration

This brings us to the general question of which life domains are perceived as important preconditions for social integration. Is there a European consensus, or do evaluations vary between countries depending on their specific historical, cultural and political developments, and reflect actual levels of welfare and general economic development? The data provide information about what people regard as the necessities of a good life; the questions were formulated to be compatible with everyday comprehension.³

³ This is analysed in detail in Delhey (2003). Unfortunately, the respective item battery for this question does not include the health domain, which is, as other studies show, evaluated as one of the most central preconditions for social integration.

Generally, there are three main areas which ensure social integration, defined by Erik Allardt (1993) as having, loving and being:

1. *having*: resources and standard of living, including living conditions and prerequisites for attaining them, such as employment and income;
2. *loving*: social networks and emotional support, family, children, friends;
3. *being*: general recognition and participation.

First of all, *Having*, which means resources like a job, accommodation or a good education, is the most important factor in facilitating social integration and a good life in all Member States and the acceding and candidate countries. Despite lower average percentages in the Member States, the rankings of necessities are basically the same. Nevertheless, there are differences which should be noted: family life (living with a partner and having children) is reported to be very important in the acceding and candidate countries, whereas the Member States also put strong emphasis on social integration outside the family (leisure time and seeing friends) as well as on participation and recognition (feeling recognised by society, participation in associations). This structure remains more or less stable, with only slight deviations, when the results are displayed separately for the poor (those experiencing serious solvency problems). Overall recognition (*Being*) is not important to citizens who are likely to face economic problems in either the acceding countries or the Member States.

Table 5 Necessities of a good life, % of population saying that the item is absolutely necessary

	EU 25		ACC 13		EU 15		AC 10	
	Total	Poor	Total	Poor	Total	Poor	Total	Poor
<i>Having</i>								
Having a good job	91	89	97	98	90	87	95	96
Having sufficient accommodation	89	86	88	92	90	86	84	86
Having a good education	84	79	85	89	85	81	79	73
Having sufficient leisure time	83	78	79	82	84	84	74	64
Going out with friends or family	79	72	77	83	82	77	65	59
Having at least one holiday a year	69	67	81	85	68	65	74	72
<i>Loving</i>								
Living with a partner	80	77	90	92	79	76	84	82
Seeing friends regularly	72	67	68	75	75	75	57	47
On friendly terms with neighbours	69	70	79	87	69	70	69	70
Having children	60	66	80	83	57	62	73	74
<i>Being</i>								
Being able to help others	80	79	82	88	81	81	75	74
Feeling recognised by society	67	64	68	73	68	67	60	57
Having a successful career	54	51	67	77	55	52	51	47
Participation in associations, etc.	23	23	25	33	24	26	14	13

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Survey question: Not everybody has the same idea about what the necessities of good life are. For each of the following, please tell me if you think it absolutely necessary to live with nowadays or not?

Note: q36, weight by weight2, 'poor' is measured as experiencing serious solvency problems.

In order to get an impression of country specifics which are not visible when reporting results for groups of countries, it is appropriate to point out the high value Member States (especially

Scandinavian Member States) attribute to friends, leisure and participation; this is as high as the respective results for employment and resources. The vast majority, however, around 80% of the Member States from mainland and south Europe perceive living with a partner (but not necessarily having children) to be an absolute necessity for a good life nowadays; this is similar to opinion in the 10 ex-communist acceding and candidate countries. The high value of family integration in Spain, Portugal, Greece and Italy and its relatively low value in the Scandinavian countries is a well-known difference between the Scandinavian and the southern European countries. Recognition by society and participation is seen as of low importance in the ten ex-communist societies. One explanation might be that a general feeling of belonging and solidarity is less important if the level of welfare and standard of living is lower, and basic problems like supply shortages, poverty and unemployment are widespread (for country-specific results see Delhey, 2003).

All in all, despite country specifics the results show a general pattern of consensus about domains necessary for social integration: Employment, material resources, family integration and social support are the main forces which provide protection from being left out of society throughout the enlarged Europe. As a consequence, fighting unemployment and poverty, providing equal access to social security systems and strengthening family support are the most important policy areas for attaining an inclusive Europe. Bearing in mind the differences between the countries – the emphasis on social justice in the acceding and candidate countries, the different value people in different countries put on family integration – it can be assumed that integration patterns, and the distribution and the determinants of perceived social exclusion in the respective countries might differ as well.

The perception of social exclusion

2

Distribution of perceived social exclusion in 28 European countries

What evidence is there about perceived social exclusion in the acceding and candidate countries and the Member States? The available survey data provide important information on the perception of belonging, alienation and powerlessness. People were asked whether they agree or disagree with the following statements:

- *'I don't feel that the value of what I do is recognised by the people I meet'* (this measures perceived worthlessness and a sense that recognition is lacking),
- *'I feel left out of society'* (paraphrasing perceived marginalisation),
- *'I don't feel that I have the chance to play a useful part in society'* (uselessness) and
- *'Some people look down on me because of my income or job situation'* (feeling of inferiority and lack of acceptance).

Agreement with these items points to living conditions in the respondent's society which do not meet the demands of a widely accepted and consensually agreed minimum of social integration, participation and standard of living. Perceiving oneself to be on the margins of society might result in a dissenting attitude towards consensual moral and political values, it might increase ignorance of generally accepted rules and laws, it is very likely to diminish well-being and result in aggressiveness, depression or socio-psychological break-down; all in all, widespread self-perceptions of social exclusion could threaten social order and the stability of society. Consequently, overall recognition and a sense of belonging are taken as indicators for successful integration, and the lack of them as an indication of serious integration deficits.⁴

In a further analysis, agreement with these four items was taken to construct an *index on perceived social exclusion*.⁵ Table 6 shows the country-specific distribution of the index ranking from 0 (no agreement with any of the four items) to 4 (agree or strongly agree with all four items); Figure 2 displays the country-specific percentages of those confirming two or more integration deficits.

First of all, Table 6 clearly shows that the majority of European citizens perceive themselves as socially integrated. In 25 out of 28 countries more than half of the population does not experience any of the integration deficits listed; the exceptions are Turkey, Bulgaria and Slovakia. In the enlarged Europe, 68% of the population perceive themselves to be fully socially integrated while 19% of the EU 25 population agree with only one of the four items from the exclusion index. Furthermore, it can be seen that only a very small part of the enlarged European population (1%) agrees with all four items indicating the experience of extreme marginalisation (which means lacking recognition, and feeling worthless, left out of society and inferior all at the same time).

However, there is much variation between these extremes and country differences are striking. Figure 2 (p.17) shows how many people in each of the 28 countries perceive two or more of the integration deficits listed and thus represent those most likely to be at risk of social exclusion. Comparing the 13 acceding and candidate countries with the 15 Member States, it is striking that

⁴ Country specific results for all items are displayed separately to give an overview of how agreement or disagreement with these statements are distributed in the 28 European Countries.

⁵ The Cronbach test, measuring the reliability of such a construction procedure, gives a satisfactory result ($\alpha=.74$).

Perceptions of social integration and exclusion in an enlarged Europe

perceived social exclusion is more prevalent in the acceding and candidate countries; the highest shares are in Turkey, Bulgaria and Slovakia, where more than a quarter of the population lacks a sense of belonging. In these nations the perception of social exclusion, with its different dimensions, is very prevalent. Only in Slovenia do a relatively small number of respondents (less even than in the Member States) report the experience of social exclusion. In the acceding countries group, Poland is below the EU15 average and Cyprus and Malta are close to it. In conclusion, the acceding and candidate countries show a distinctly higher level of perceived social exclusion than the acceding countries. Looking at the performance of the EU Member States, the prevalence of perceived social exclusion ranks from 7% in Denmark and the Netherlands to 15% in Portugal and France.

Table 6 Index on perceived social exclusion, agreement with number of integration deficits, % of population

	0	1	2	3	4
	perceived social integration		←————→	perceived social exclusion	
Slovenia	81	14	4	1	0
Denmark	79	15	4	2	1
Spain	77	15	6	2	1
Austria	76	14	7	2	1
Cyprus	75	14	9	2	1
Malta	73	15	9	4	0
Ireland	73	16	5	3	2
Hungary	72	15	7	5	1
Germany	71	17	7	3	1
Netherlands	71	22	5	2	0
United Kingdom	69	17	8	4	2
Finland	69	18	7	3	4
Sweden	69	23	7	2	1
EU 15	69	19	8	3	1
Poland	68	21	8	2	1
Greece	68	21	8	3	1
Luxembourg	68	22	7	2	0
EU 25	68	19	8	3	1
Belgium	67	21	7	4	2
France	67	19	10	3	2
Portugal	65	20	9	5	1
AC 10	64	22	9	3	1
Italy	62	24	10	3	1
Estonia	59	24	12	4	2
Romania	59	22	10	6	3
Czech Republic	56	25	12	5	2
Lithuania	56	28	12	4	1
ACC 13	54	24	14	6	3
Latvia	53	28	15	4	1
Slovakia	45	29	18	7	2
Bulgaria	44	26	19	8	3
Turkey	39	27	20	10	5

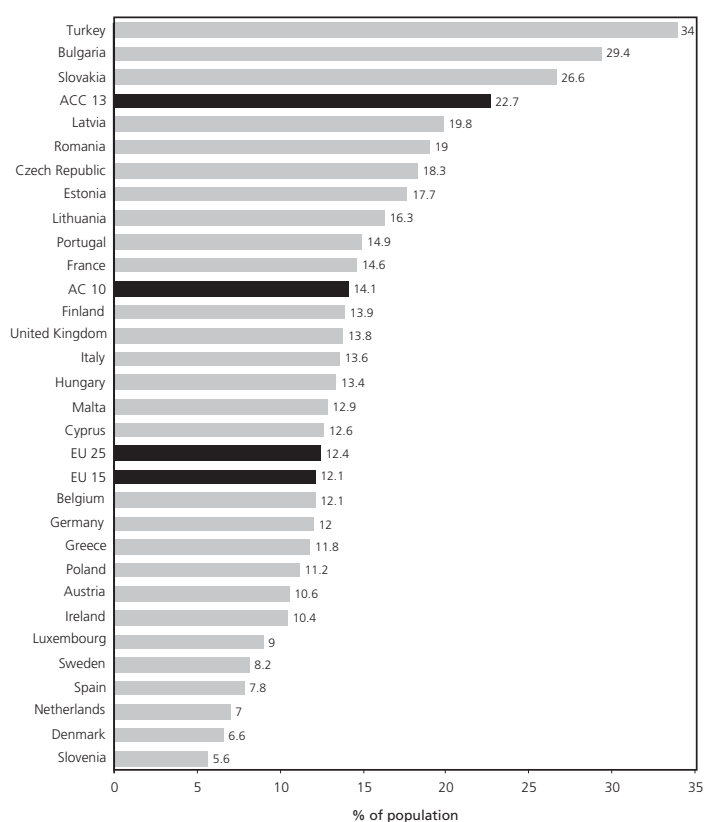
Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Notes: Social exclusion index, summing up agreement with four statements indicating the perception of social exclusion, the respective items are 'I don't feel that the value of what I do is recognised by the people I meet', 'I feel left out of society', 'I don't feel that I have the chance to play a useful part in society' and 'Some people look down on me because of my income or job situation' (agree or strongly agree), weight by weight2 for country group comparison, weight by weight3 for country-specific results.

It is difficult to identify a pattern in the distribution of such negative perceptions. What kind of assumptions can be made and what explanation do the results suggest for the level of perceived social exclusion in a country? Generally, patterns of distribution of perceived marginalisation might follow the overall level of welfare in a country as well as the type of welfare state regime and institutional settings of the social protection system. But this argument does not explain why for example French, Finnish or German respondents report perceived social exclusion to such a relatively high degree; and although the Scandinavian Member States report the weakest culmination of social exclusion experiences, the exception of Finland needs to be explained. Even if the important role the family possibly plays for social integration in the Southern European countries were to explain the low level of perceived social exclusion, it is not known why Portugal ranks relatively high, close to Estonia and Lithuania.

As Figure 2 shows quite clearly, Member States from central and south Europe show nearly the same level of perceived social exclusion, so that the welfare state argument, and the high value of family solidarity in southern Europe loses its persuasive strength as an explanation. Such argumentation is obviously not sufficient; determinants of perceived social exclusion might result from a mixture of macro and micro explanations with respect to the overall level of welfare, the experience of change and deterioration, cultural and political traditions, the welfare mix, the coverage of the social protection systems, and unemployment and poverty experiences. Further analysis will check at least some of these aspects.

Figure 2 Perceived social exclusion



Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Notes: weight by weight2 for country groups, weight by weight3 for country-specific results.

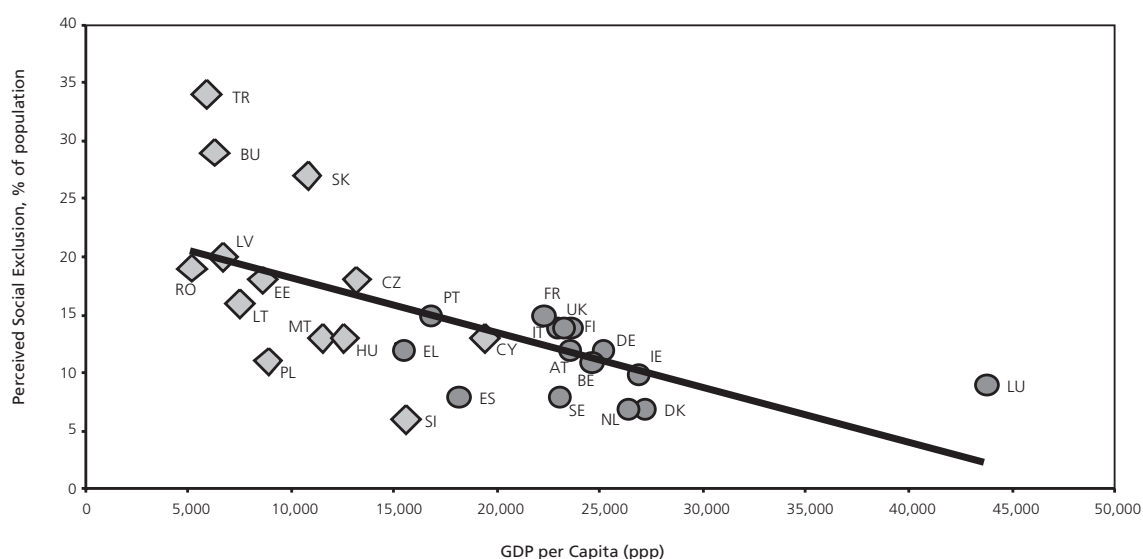
Macro analysis: what drives the level of social exclusion in a country?

Macro analysis focuses attention on the connection between economic performance and the level of unemployment and poverty in different countries on the one hand, and the prevalence of perceived social exclusion on the other. All three factors play a key role in the social policy debate about enhancing equal life chances and combating social exclusion. GDP per capita, total unemployment rate and poverty (which, due to the lack of income poverty data, is measured by experiences of serious solvency problems) serve as macro indicators for overall economic and welfare performance.

GDP per capita

Figure 3 could suggest the following pattern: the higher the GDP per capita, the lower the level of perceived social exclusion in a country. As noted above, Slovenia, Cyprus and Malta do not have to cope with widespread perceived social exclusion, and they enjoy relatively high economic prosperity compared to the other acceding and candidate countries. Nevertheless, in Poland, for example, GDP per capita is considerably lower than in Malta and Cyprus, but this has not affected the level of perceived exclusion in this country.

Figure 3 The relationship between GDP per capita (ppp) and perceived social exclusion



Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001, and Eurostat 2002

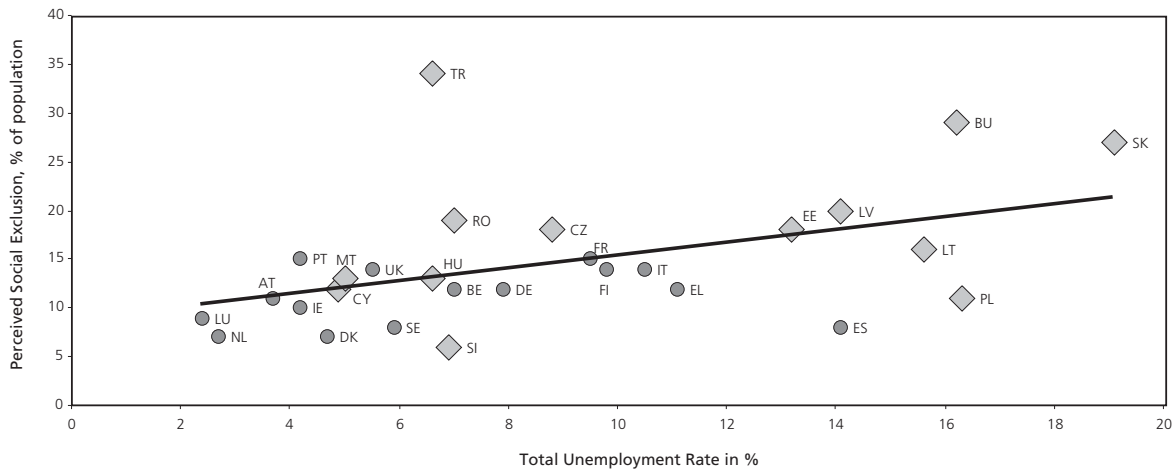
Note: Correlation Coefficient (Pearson): -0.603 ; $p = .001$, $N=28$

The same inconsistency can be seen with respect to Turkey, Romania, Latvia and Bulgaria; these countries are coping with an extremely low GDP per capita, but there is a difference in the extent to which people feel they are on the margins of society. Turning to the Member States, the overall level of national wealth measured in GDP per capita does not offer any convincing insights into why perceived social exclusion is differently distributed. There is a group of countries with a similar level of GDP per capita (€25,000-30,000), but significantly different levels of perceived worthlessness and lack of overall recognition. In United Kingdom, France, Italy and Finland in particular, determinants other than economic prosperity on the macro level must be drivers of social exclusion.

Unemployment rate

Next, the unemployment rate in a country is taken as an indicator of the dispersal of insecurity, poverty risk and general social and political instability, all of which could engender a feeling of social exclusion. Again, when the analysis is run for the enlarged EU of 28 countries, the association between the unemployment rate and the level of perceived social exclusion is positive and significant: the higher the unemployment rate in a country, the more widespread is the perception of social exclusion.

Figure 4 The relationship between the unemployment rate and perceived social exclusion



Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002, EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001, Employment in Europe 2001 and Eurostat 2002.

Notes: Unemployment rates refer to the year 2000. Correlation Coefficient (Pearson): .458; p = .014, N=28.

Many of the acceding and candidate countries have a similar level of unemployment, with around 7% of the population in Hungary, Romania, Turkey and Slovenia, for example, experiencing unemployment in the year 2000; however, the perception of social exclusion is distributed quite differently, with the lowest rates in Slovenia and the highest in Turkey. The same is true for the countries which have higher unemployment rates, of around 15% (Poland, Lithuania, Bulgaria and Latvia); this does not mean that these countries perform equally in terms of the distribution of perceived social exclusion. Instead, only a small group of people feels marginalised in Poland compared to almost one out of three in Bulgaria.

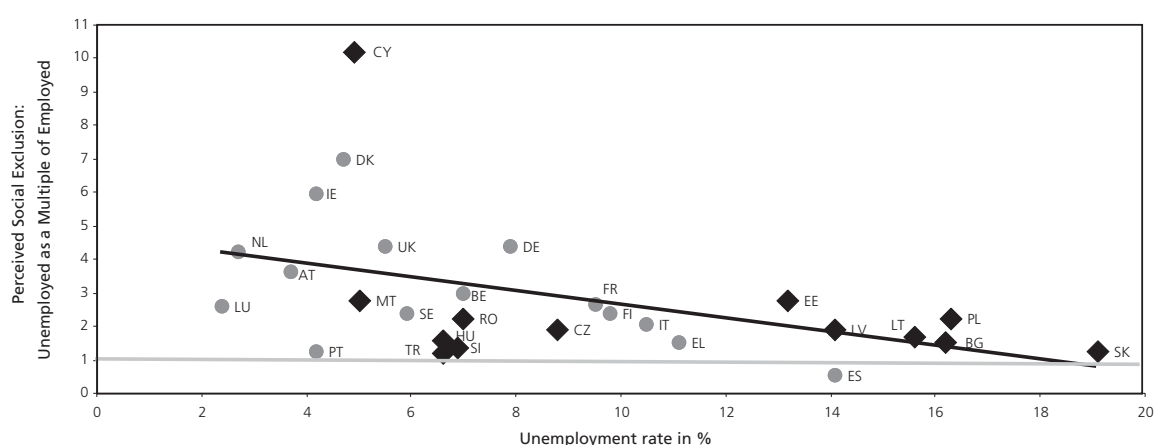
In the Member States there are unemployment rates ranging from between 2% (Luxembourg) and 14% in Spain. Some countries, such as the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden, perform well in both dimensions – low unemployment and low alienation. On the other hand, there are countries like Ireland, Austria, the United Kingdom and Portugal, which all have similar unemployment experiences, but where the population report a much more pronounced level of perceived social exclusion. Spain, which has a low level of distributed alienation despite a relatively high unemployment rate, is an interesting exception.

Obviously the connection between the level of unemployment and the level of perceived social exclusion is rather weak and other factors must play a role. For example, social assistance

networks for unemployed people may be rather different in different countries, as could the amount of unemployment benefit. Furthermore, individual unemployment experiences and the effect of unemployment on self-image might be different when a generally high level of unemployment is prevalent in a country and accepted as a common societal structure one has to cope with. This might explain the weak relationship between the total unemployment rate in a country and the distribution of perceived social exclusion: the higher the unemployment rate and the more widespread the unemployment experience is, the less affected is the self-esteem of the people concerned, and the less individuals will be felt to be responsible for precarious living conditions. Consequently, it can be assumed that the unemployed in countries with low unemployment rates must feel far more excluded than the unemployed in countries where joblessness is widespread.

In principle this assumption is true. Figure 5 shows the unemployment rate and an indicator of polarisation: the lower the total unemployment rate is in a country, the more polarised is the experience of social exclusion between the employed and the unemployed. Unemployed people in the Member States feel far more excluded and left out of society than employed people in countries with relatively low unemployment rates do. Almost no difference between labour market insiders and outsiders can be found in Portugal, Spain and Greece, although these countries have quite different total unemployment rates. It might be easier to cope with unemployment in Southern European countries, where strong family solidarity helps to lessen the consequences of losing a job. Generally there is less polarisation of the exclusion experience in the acceding and candidate countries. The Baltic countries, Poland, Bulgaria and Slovakia suffer from high unemployment rates, and differences in the perception of marginalisation between employed and unemployed are not very pronounced. Although the official unemployment rates are lower in Hungary, Slovenia, Romania, Turkey and the Czech Republic, there is no more polarisation. The generally weak economic performance of these countries or the strong black market economy might play an important role in explaining these patterns.

Figure 5 Unemployment and the polarisation of exclusion experience



Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002, EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001, Employment in Europe 2001 and Eurostat 2002.

Notes: Unemployment rates refer to the year 2000. Correlation Coefficient (Pearson): -0.463 ; $p = .013$, $N=28$

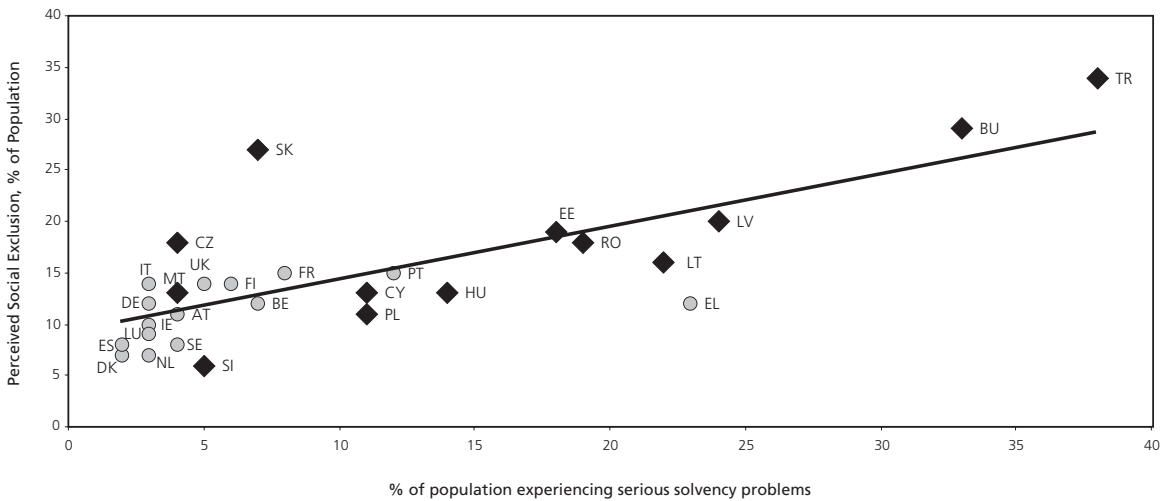
Reading example: In Malta, with a total unemployment rate of 5% in the year 2000, the perception of social exclusion among the unemployed is nearly three times as high as among the employed.

Poverty

The dispersal of poverty in a country is another indicator for instability and collective experiences of disintegration. Deprivation and poverty are plausible explanations for social exclusion, because financial resources and access to basic goods are prerequisites for participation in social life. Unfortunately, comparable official poverty rates for all 28 European countries are not available, and the harmonised data set on quality of life does not contain reliable information on income and household composition from which an equivalent income measure to draw poverty lines can be calculated. Again, self-reported serious solvency problems are used as a proxy for acute poverty, because this is the only adequate alternative indicator.

The overall picture shows the following pattern. The higher the prevalence of acute poverty in a country, the more widespread are experiences of social exclusion throughout the population. This is especially true in the acceding and candidate countries; serious solvency problems are particularly widespread in Turkey, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Estonia. In comparison, only a small number of people in the Member States suffer from serious solvency problems. Nevertheless, although it is less striking and less obvious, the distribution of perceived social exclusion also follows the same logic. However, there are differences in the level of perceived social exclusion among the Member States which cannot be explained by a simple reference to collective poverty experience. There is a group of countries with similar rates of extreme poverty (Netherlands, Luxembourg, Ireland, Germany, Italy), but different levels of perceived alienation. This could be because the strong poverty indicator used might not be appropriate to assess those who are at risk of relative poverty in affluent countries.

Figure 6 The relationship between poverty and perceived social exclusion



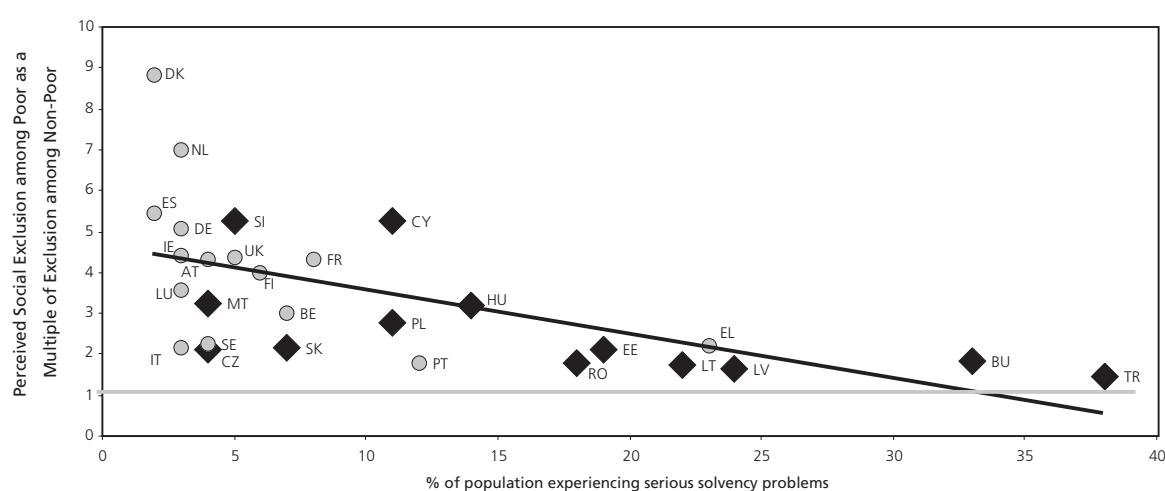
Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Notes: Poverty is measured as serious solvency problems (experience of serious problems during last year on either paying rent/mortgage, paying water, gas, electricity bills, repaying loans). Correlation Coefficient (Pearson): .751; p = .000, N=28

Once again, it is appropriate to test the assumption that polarisation between the poor and non-poor is more pronounced when the overall level of poverty is small. Figure 7 confirms this view, at

least when Member States and the acceding and candidate countries are compared. Being poor in the Member States causes a distinct feeling of being an outsider and widens the gap between the poor and non-poor as far as chances of integration are concerned. This gap is far more pronounced than in the acceding and candidate countries. However, important questions remain. Why do Denmark, the Netherlands, Spain, Germany, Ireland, Austria, Luxembourg and Italy differ strongly in terms of polarisation between poor and non-poor when they do not differ in their prevalence of serious solvency problems; and why do countries with different economic and welfare profiles (Italy, the Czech Republic, Sweden, Slovakia, Poland, Romania, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Bulgaria and Turkey) not differ as far as polarisation is concerned?

Figure 7 Poverty and the polarisation of exclusion experience



Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Note: Correlation Coefficient (Pearson): $-.587$; $p = .001$, $N=28$.

Reading example: In Germany, where around 3% of the population experience serious solvency problems, the perception of social exclusion among the poor is nearly five times as high as among the non-poor.

Conclusion

In order to explain country differences in the overall level of perceived social exclusion throughout the enlarged Europe, three aggregate indicators have been used to operationalise economic and welfare performance in different countries. GDP per capita, the total unemployment rate and the prevalence of serious solvency problems used as a poverty indicator. They explained far less than has been expected, but revealed some general patterns which will help a better understanding of how social exclusion experiences are distributed. Generally, the results show that

- the lower the GDP per capita, the higher the level of perceived social exclusion
- the higher the unemployment rate, the higher the level of perceived social exclusion
- polarisation between the employed and the unemployed is far more pronounced in countries with a low total unemployment rate
- the higher the prevalence of acute poverty, the higher the level of perceived social exclusion
- polarisation between poor and non-poor is far more pronounced in countries with a low dispersion of acute poverty.

However, these patterns leave many questions unanswered and despite some coherence, several inconsistencies and country differences remain unexplained. Next, the micro level is examined in order to analyse the individual experience of social exclusion and its determinants.

Micro analysis: who is at risk of social exclusion?

Micro analysis can more efficiently establish who is affected by perceived social exclusion in different countries, and which socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics are shared by those who perceive themselves to be on the margins of society. Are there similar risk groups in different European countries and if not, how can the differences be explained? What drives the individual experience of social exclusion, especially in the acceding and candidate countries, and how far do the results reflect the EU social policy goals which have been identified as important in the fight against social exclusion in the Member States?

Occupational class, employment status, income and multiple deprivation are treated as important variables which might explain the perception of social exclusion in individual countries.⁶ In a second step, polarisation indicators will be shown in order to get an impression of how polarised societies are as far as the perception of social exclusion in the higher and lower social positions is concerned.

Income

Table 7, and Figures 8 and 9 show results for income groups and the numbers from each group perceiving themselves to be socially excluded. Income groups are built as household income quartiles, which are unfortunately not adjusted by household size, because the relevant information for the Member States is missing from the Standard Eurobarometer Survey that included the social exclusion questions. The results are therefore not very precise; even more regrettable is the fact that a poverty line can not be derived. As an alternative the self-reported experience of serious solvency problems is taken once again.

One obvious result of these calculations is the overall pattern that the lower the income and the worse the financial situation of a household is, the more people have to cope with a self-image dominated by inferiority and worthlessness. This is especially true in Turkey, Finland, Bulgaria, Slovakia and Latvia, where one third of the population in each country feel that living with a low income means being left out. Precarious living conditions, such as poverty and solvency problems, induce even worse self-esteem. In Germany and France, and also in Slovakia from the acceding countries, more than half of the very poor lack acceptance and affiliation. The ratio of the prevalence of exclusion in the highest and lowest income quartiles shows the concentration of such negative self-esteem in disadvantaged circumstances, irrespective of the general level of exclusion

⁶ In the appendix cross tabulations according to age, gender, education and health are also displayed for each country separately. These socio-economic and demographic variables fail to explain much of the distribution of perceived social exclusion. Differences between men and women are not very pronounced, and not even significant, in all countries. No clear age group patterns are visible when comparing 28 European countries. Instead, as expected, illness is clearly associated with the perception of social exclusion in all the acceding and candidate countries; unfortunately data are not available for the Member States. The connection between social exclusion and education follows the same structure as class and income: the lower the educational level, the higher is the risk that people perceive themselves as socially excluded. Polarisation between the highly educated and those with low levels of education is not at all pronounced in Slovakia, Romania, Portugal, Italy, Finland, Germany, Austria or Sweden. However, it must be borne in mind that the level of education is measured in self-reported years of age ('when did full-time education stop'), which is not very reliable.

Perceptions of social integration and exclusion in an enlarged Europe

in a country. Again, the fact that the more widespread precarious living conditions are in a country, the less polarised is the experience of perceived social exclusion, is confirmed. Figure 9 shows that in Finland, Germany, Belgium, France and Austria, all wealthy states, the poor are much more strongly affected by negative self-esteem than the non-poor. The gap between inside and outside is obviously most prevalent in countries which are accustomed to a relatively high standard of living, and which are well protected by stable social security systems, so that poverty and precarious living conditions are not the norm.

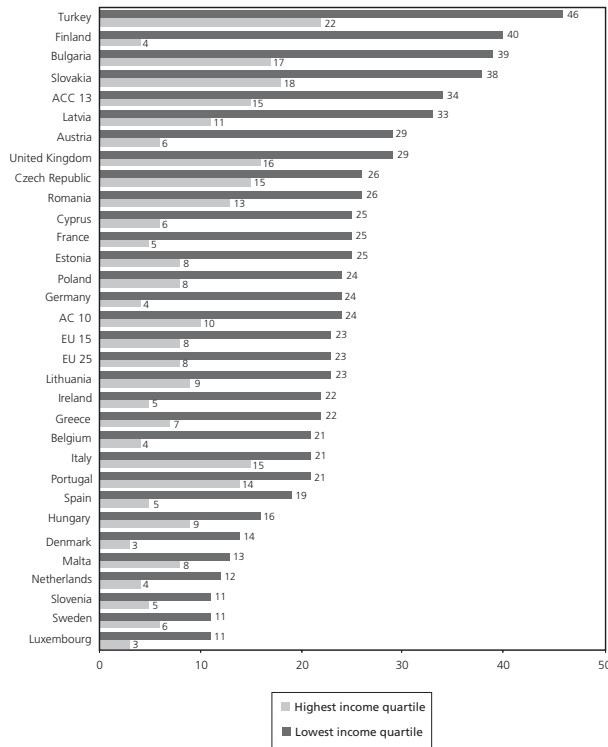
Table 7 Perceived social exclusion and income, % of population

	Total population	Highest income quartile	Third income quartile	Second income quartile	Lowest income quartile	Serious solvency problems	Ratio lowest - highest
% experiencing social exclusion							
Turkey	34	22	33	36	46	42	2.1
Bulgaria	29	17	29	32	39	42	2.3
Slovakia	27	18	28	32	38	54	2.1
ACC 13	23	15	21	26	34	38	2.3
Latvia	20	11	17	24	33	27	3
Romania	19	13	18	21	26	30	2
Czech Republic	18	15	15	23	26	38	1.7
Estonia	18	8	20	23	25	32	3.1
Lithuania	16	9	14	23	23	26	2.6
France	15	5	12	20	25	52	5
Portugal	15	14	11	19	21	25	1.5
Italy	14	15	10	17	21	28	1.4
United Kingdom	14	16	10	7	29	48	1.8
Finland	14	4	9	16	40	48	10
AC 10	14	10	12	15	24	29	2.4
Hungary	13	9	16	13	16	32	1.8
Malta	13	8	12	19	13	-	1.6
Cyprus	12	6	11	8	25	42	4.2
Belgium	12	4	9	16	21	33	5.3
Germany	12	4	7	18	24	56	6
Greece	12	7	13	13	22	22	3.1
EU 25	12	8	10	14	23	38	2.9
EU 15	12	8	9	14	23	41	2.9
Poland	11	8	9	10	24	25	3
Ireland	10	5	8	18	22	-	4.4
Austria	10	6	8	11	29	42	4.8
Luxembourg	9	3	6	11	11	-	3.7
Spain	8	5	7	5	19	-	3.8
Sweden	8	6	6	10	11	18	1.8
Denmark	7	3	5	7	14	-	4.7
Netherlands	7	4	5	7	12	-	3
Slovenia	6	5	5	6	11	21	2.2

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

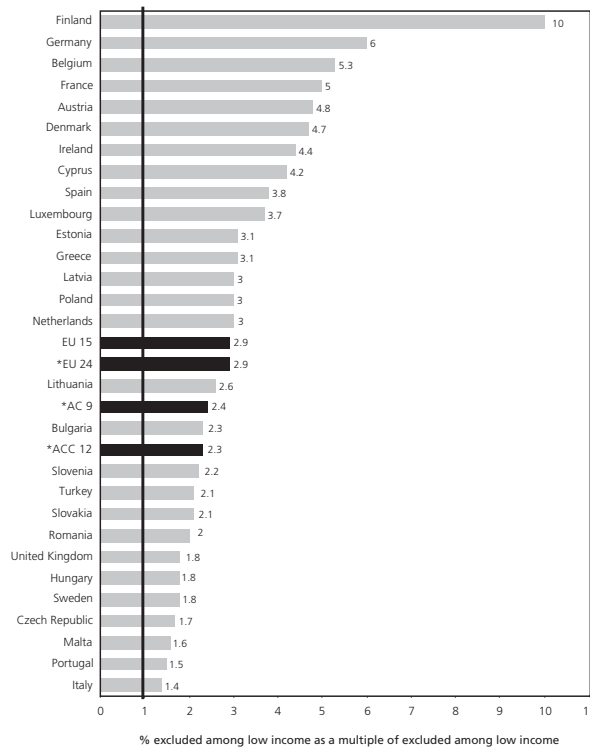
Notes: 'Ratio lowest – highest' refers to percentages of excluded among the lowest income quartile as a multiple of percentages of excluded among the highest income quartile; weight by weight2 for country group comparison, weight by weight3 for country specific analysis. (-) indicates number of cases below 30.

Figure 8 Perceived social exclusion and income groups



Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Figure 9 Exclusion experiences and polarisation between high and low income groups



Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001 *Malta excluded.

Occupational class

Another important indicator for social hierarchy is social status measured as occupational class position. One might object that a high occupational class position is closely connected with sufficient income and, thus, an analysis based on these grounds might not be very different from the above-mentioned income differences. However, there are other aspects connected with occupational class position which might vary with the economic and political system in a country, and which could affect unemployment risks, reputation and income differently in different occupational classes. Although all the countries of the enlarged Europe (with the exception of Turkey), with their huge system differences, are included in the analysis, an overall pattern has emerged: non-skilled workers are significantly more likely to be affected by perceived social exclusion than those with higher class positions. The exceptions are Finland, the Czech Republic and Italy. Differences between the other occupational classes are not very pronounced, although service workers are best off. Lacking specific skills and training carries a high risk of living in circumstances that cut off opportunities for satisfactory participation. All in all, polarisation is once again more strongly accentuated in the Member States than in the acceding and candidate countries.

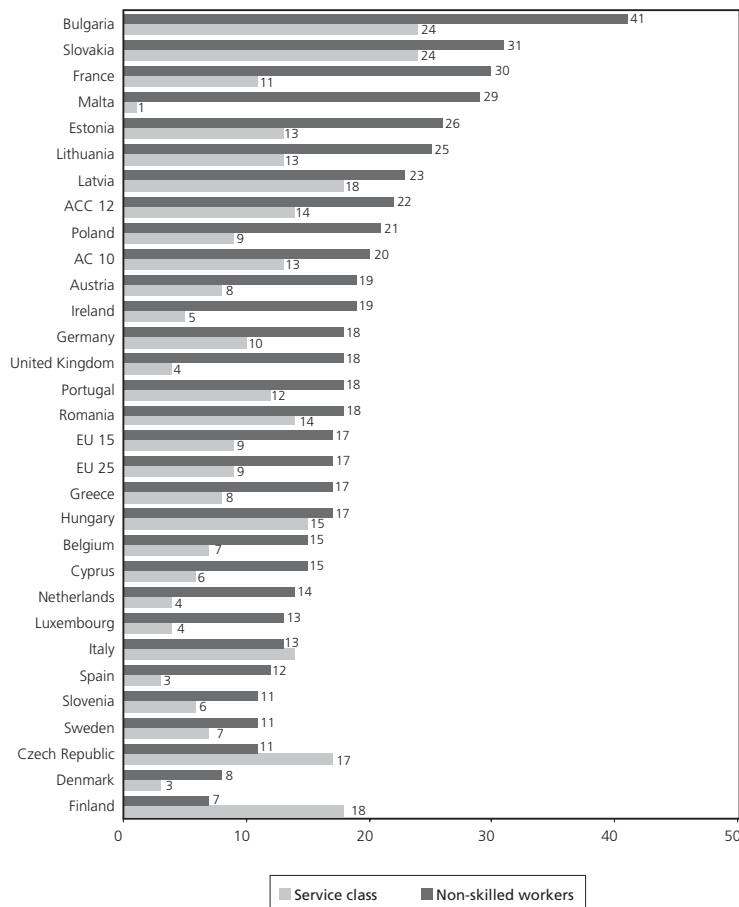
Table 8 Perceived social exclusion and occupational class, % of population

	Total population	Service and sales workers	Clerks	Technicians and associate professionals	Farmers	Skilled workers	Non-skilled workers	ratio service class and non-skilled workers
Bulgaria	29	24	27	-	-	32	41	1.7
Slovakia	27	24	26	18	-	35	31	1.3
Latvia	20	18	18	-	-	26	23	1.3
Romania	19	14	12	-	-	21	18	1.3
Czech Republic	18	17	19	-	-	24	11	0.6
Estonia	18	13	16	-	-	25	26	2
Lithuania	16	13	13	-	-	22	25	1.9
ACC 12	16	14	15	14	14	19	22	1.6
France	15	11	16	16	-	15	30	2.7
Portugal	15	12	9	13	22	17	18	1.5
Italy	14	14	15	9	-	12	13	0.9
United Kingdom	14	4	11	-	-	14	18	4.5
Finland	14	18	10	-	19	19	7	0.4
AC 10	14	13	14	14	13	16	20	1.5
Hungary	13	15	14	-	-	10	17	1.1
Malta	13	1	11	-	-	13	29	29
Cyprus	12	6	10	-	-	14	15	2.5
Belgium	12	7	11	7	-	10	15	2.1
Germany	12	10	10	7	-	16	18	1.8
Greece	12	8	11	10	9	23	17	2.1
EU 25	12	9	12	10	12	14	17	1.9
EU 15	12	9	11	10	11	13	17	1.9
Poland	11	9	9	8	13	14	21	2.3
Ireland	10	5	7	-	10	13	19	3.8
Austria	10	8	10	-	-	9	19	2.4
Luxembourg	9	4	11	-	-	11	13	3.3
Spain	8	3	5	12	-	8	12	4
Sweden	8	7	9	-	-	8	11	1.6
Denmark	7	3	7	-	-	7	8	2.7
Netherlands	7	4	6	-	-	13	14	3.5
Slovenia	6	6	6	-	16	4	11	1.8

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Notes: There are no results for Turkey due to filter errors in the Turkish questionnaire; polarisation between service and sales workers and non-skilled workers is measured as percentages of people feeling excluded among non-skilled workers as a multiple of people feeling excluded among the service class, the higher the ratio the more non-skilled workers feel left out compared to the service class; (-) indicates number of cases below 30.

Figure 10 Perceived social exclusion and occupational class



Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001 (Turkey excluded).

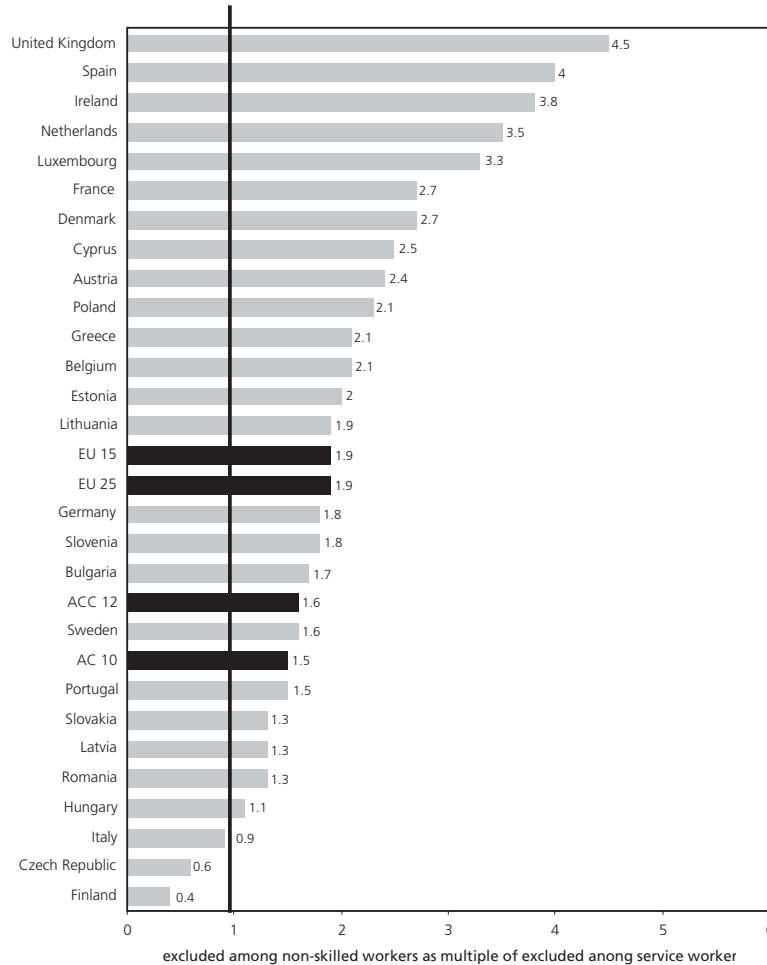
Employment

With the exception of Spain, the unemployed in all countries suffer from the perception of social exclusion more than any other group. In Cyprus, Germany, Turkey, Ireland, Estonia and Bulgaria, more than one third of the respondents report low self-esteem. Employment, on the other hand, promises integration, at least in comparison with precarious working conditions and unemployment. As far as the overall differences between the countries is concerned, perceived social exclusion among the employed varies; for example in Turkey one third of the employed report serious perceived integration deficits, whereas in Slovenia only 6% of the employed feel socially excluded (the figures for Cyprus and Denmark are even lower).

However, it is not only labour market inclusion as such that promises social integration. Obviously, working conditions and employment security are also determinants that bring about affiliation deficits. Insecure and stressful working conditions, measured by self-reported stressful working conditions combined with everyday exhaustion after work and unemployment experience in the last few years, are also connected with the perception of social exclusion: one in four respondents affected by stressful working conditions report negative self-image in Turkey, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Latvia, Lithuania and also in France. Polarisation between the employed and the unemployed is again more strongly accentuated in the Member States, where unemployment rates are

comparatively low or where social security is dependent on labour market integration (especially in Cyprus, Denmark, Ireland, the United Kingdom, Germany, and the Netherlands).⁷ Retired people are out of the labour market as well, but in most countries this does not lead to an above-average feeling of social exclusion. Retired people report a lack of integration less than the unemployed do; the exceptions are Latvia, Lithuania, Portugal and Spain.

Figure 11 Exclusion experiences and polarisation between the service class and non-skilled workers



Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001 (Turkey excluded).

Multiple deprivation

One main characteristic of the debate on social exclusion, which distinguishes the concept from poverty, is the emphasis on multidimensionality. The availability of consumer goods and basic essentials, housing conditions and even health conditions usually serve as non-monetary indicators for measuring precarious living conditions. Unfortunately, the structure of the data set severely limits such an analysis. Information about deprivation and lack of basic essentials is only available for the acceding and candidate countries, and no information at all on housing conditions is included in the survey. Moreover, an analysis of the overlap of serious disadvantages shows a

⁷ It would have been of great value if the working poor could have been identified by the survey data. Unfortunately the relevant information is not available.

very small number of cases. Table 10 and the following figures show the maximum information that can realistically be drawn from the survey data. Three main indicators have been built to capture multiple deprivation: economic strain, the experience of unemployment, and lack of social support.⁸

Table 9 Perceived social exclusion and employment, % of population

	Total population	Employed	Precarious working conditions	Unemployed/ temporarily not working	Retired/unable to work through illness	Polarisation employed vs. unemployed
	% experiencing social exclusion					
Turkey	34	34	42	41	28	1.2
Bulgaria	29	26	25	39	32	1.5
Slovakia	27	27	46	35	27	1.3
ACC 13	23	20	26	32	21	1.6
Latvia	20	15	25	29	32	1.9
Romania	19	13	21	28	19	2.2
Czech Republic	18	16	20	31	26	1.9
Estonia	18	14	24	39	26	2.8
Lithuania	16	14	26	23	23	1.6
France	15	13	28	33	15	2.5
Portugal	15	13	17	16	19	1.2
Italy	14	13	16	26	12	2
United Kingdom	14	7	14	32	16	4.6
Finland	14	13	13	31	14	2.4
AC 10	14	13	17	21	18	1.6
Hungary	13	12	16	19	16	1.6
Malta	13	13	16	37	12	2.8
Cyprus	12	5	6	46	27	9.2
Belgium	12	9	17	26	13	2.9
Germany	12	10	8	42	11	4.2
Greece	12	11	9	17	15	1.5
EU 15	12	10	15	29	13	2.9
EU 25	12	10	15	25	14	2.5
Poland	11	9	9	19	15	2.1
Ireland	10	7	15	40	9	5.7
Austria	10	9	9	32	14	3.6
Luxembourg	9	10	18	25	8	2.5
Spain	8	7	10	4	8	0.6
Sweden	8	7	14	16	7	2.3
Denmark	7	3	9	22	11	7.3
Netherlands	7	5	12	21	8	4.2
Slovenia	6	6	6	9	5	1.5

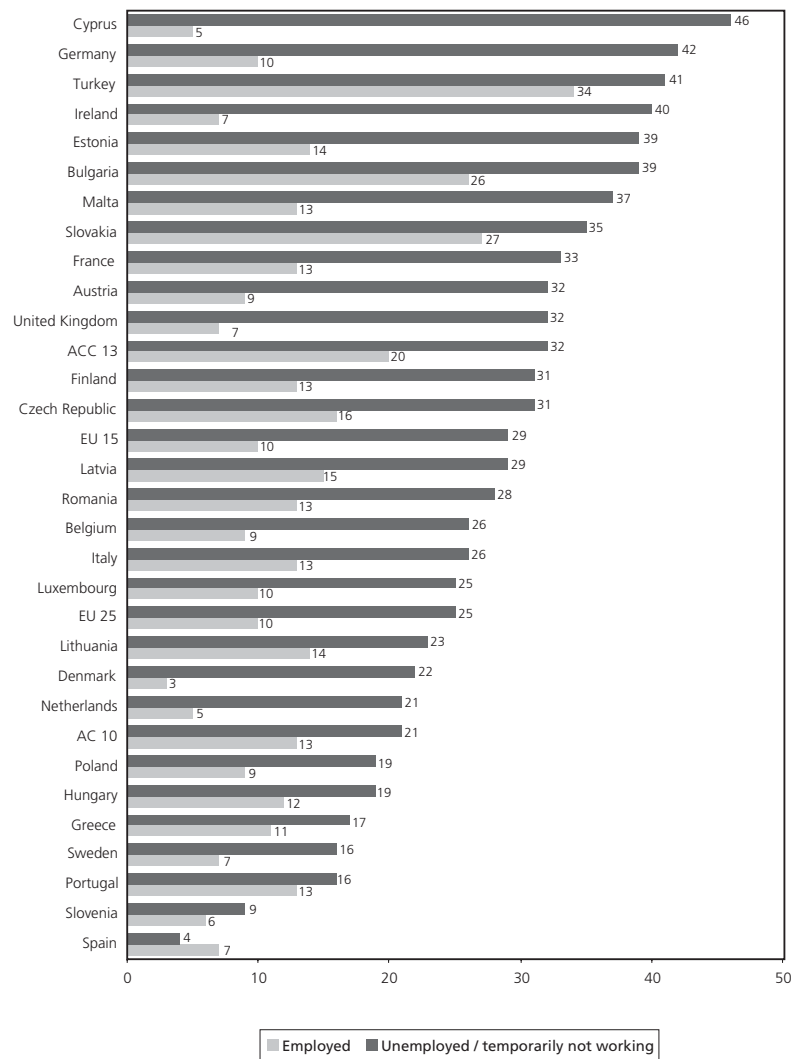
Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Notes: Precarious working conditions are measured as self-reported stressful working conditions (always or often) and coming home from work exhausted (always or often) and experience of unemployment in last five years (periods of up to one year or longer).

The overall impression is that cumulated disadvantages strongly reduce the chances of integration in all the European countries investigated. Respondents who do not have to cope with financial difficulties, who are integrated in the labour market and who can rely on social support are strongly protected from the subjective evaluation that they are on the margins of society. Again, the prevalence of perceived social exclusion in this group follows the overall differences between the 28 countries: Member States are better off than the acceding and candidate countries, and the extremes are again Turkey, on the one hand, and Slovenia, with very low rates, on the other.

⁸ It would have been desirable to extract more precise categories, but the ability to make a calculation is limited by missing information in the dataset and the extremely small number of cases.

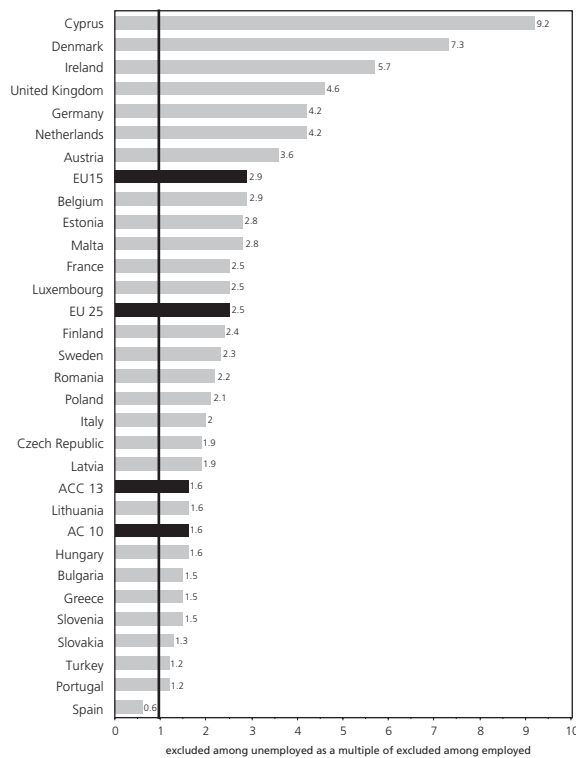
Figure 12 Perceived social exclusion and employment in 28 European countries



Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

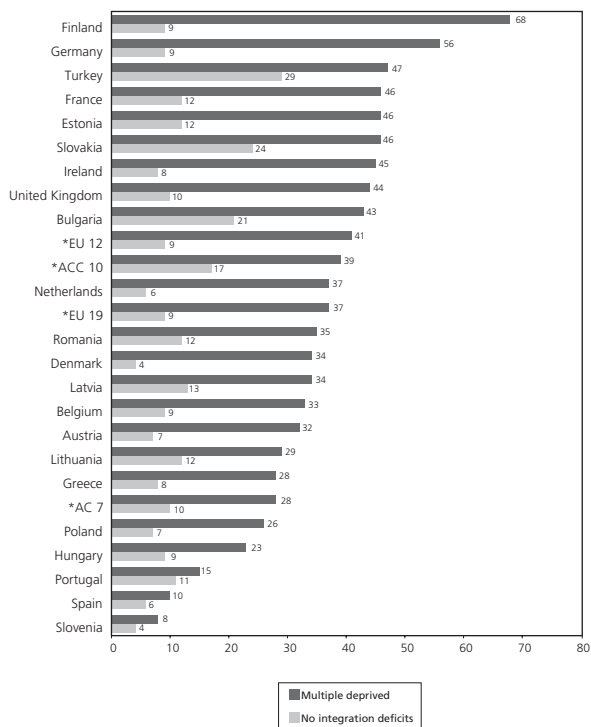
The combination of financial restrictions with unemployment (as opposed to financial difficulties only) severely limits chances of participation and feelings of belonging. If severely deprived people also lack social support outside the family, the risk that they will feel that they are on the margins of society is even higher. In Finland, Germany, Turkey and Slovakia, about every second person who is unemployed and experiencing financial difficulties reports a perception of alienation, worthlessness and of being left out of society. Again, the above-mentioned pattern is confirmed: Deprived people suffer most in countries where the overall level of prosperity is relatively high, where unemployment and poverty is not widespread. Polarisation between the non-deprived and the deprived is highest in Finland, Germany, Ireland, Denmark and the Netherlands. Generally, people in the Member States are much more affected by this gap between insiders and outsiders in relation to multiple deprivation than those in the acceding and candidate countries, where the level of perceived social exclusion is generally higher, but less concentrated at the bottom of society.

Figure 13 Exclusion experiences and polarisation between the employed and unemployed



Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Figure 14 Perceived social exclusion and multiple deprivation



Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

*Note: no data available for Czech Republic, Italy, Malta, Cyprus, Luxembourg, and Sweden.

Table 10 Perceived social exclusion and multiple deprivation, % of population

	Total population	No integration deficits ¹	Financial difficulties ²	Financial difficulties and unemployment experience ³	Financial difficulties and lack of social support ⁴	Polarisation between non-deprived and multiply deprived
Turkey	34	29	39	47	48	1.6
Bulgaria	30	21	34	43	49	2
Slovakia	27	24	33	46	-	1.9
ACC 13	23	17	29	39	44	2.3
Latvia	20	13	28	34	32	2.6
Romania	19	12	24	35	37	2.9
Czech Republic	18	15	25	-	-	-
Estonia	18	12	25	46	42	3.8
Lithuania	16	12	23	29	35	2.4
France	15	12	24	46	-	3.8
Portugal	15	11	21	15	34	1.4
Italy	14	11	21	-	-	-
United Kingdom	14	10	26	44	-	4.4
Finland	14	9	39	68	-	7.6
AC 10	14	10	20	28	37	2.8
Hungary	13	9	18	23	42	2.6
Malta	13	13	12	-	-	-
Cyprus	12	8	21	-	32	-
Belgium	12	9	23	33	24	3.7
Germany	12	9	24	56	39	6.2
Greece	12	8	18	28	26	3.5
EU 25	12	9	21	37	34	4.1
EU 15	12	9	22	41	33	4.6
Poland	11	7	17	26	35	3.7
Austria	11	7	26	32	-	4.6
Ireland	10	8	22	45	-	5.6
Luxembourg	9	8	12	-	-	-
Spain	8	6	15	10	-	1.7
Sweden	8	7	13	-	-	-
Denmark	7	4	14	34	-	8.5
Netherlands	7	6	14	37	-	6.2
Slovenia	6	4	10	8	-	2

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

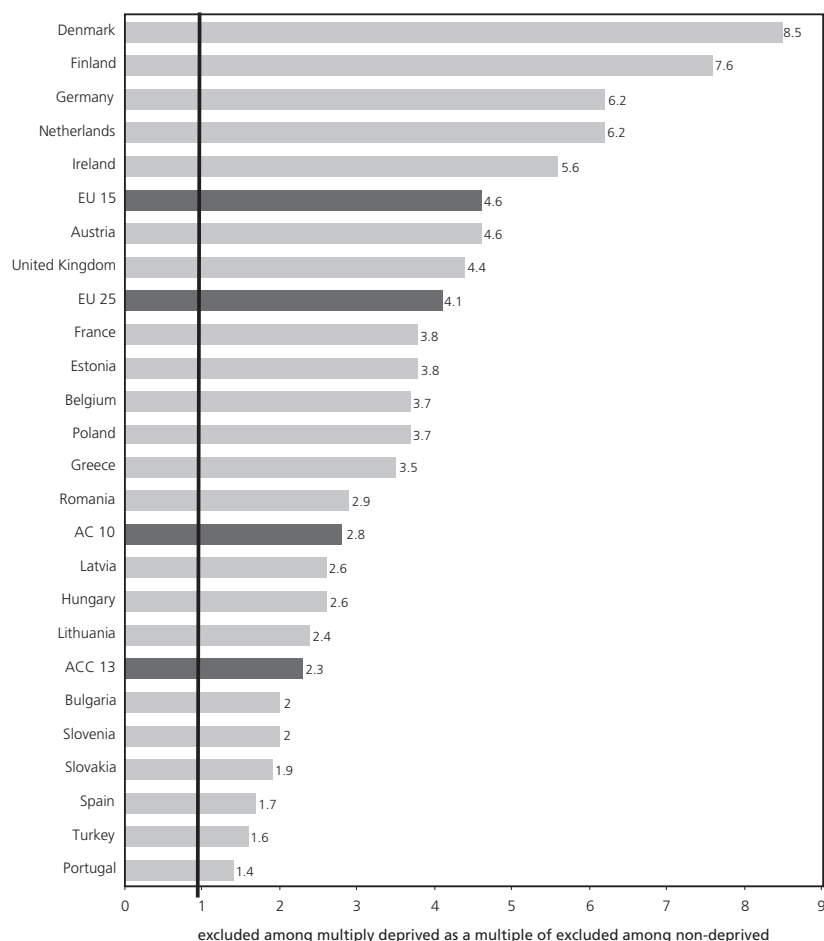
¹no integration deficits (no financial difficulties, no unemployment experience, social support available) ²Financial difficulties (low income quartile or self-reported long-term deprived living conditions); ³unemployment experiences (currently unemployed or more than two years of unemployment experience during the last five years); ⁴lack of social support (help from outside the household in difficult situations not available); weight by weight2 for country group analysis, weight by weight3 for country specific analysis.

Multivariate analysis: determinants of perceived social exclusion

The descriptive results so far have revealed the above-average prevalence of perceived integration deficits in certain population groups, which are – across country borders – non-skilled workers, the poor, the unemployed and the multiply deprived. A multivariate analysis will give a more accurate picture by considering a wide range of factors at the same time. Determinants of perceived social exclusion can be calculated independently of their mutual interacting and overlap, e.g. it is possible to find out if unemployment as such is a predictor of perceived social exclusion or if its explanatory value vanishes when income level is controlled for. It might turn out that unemployment and low income are interrelated, but the most decisive factor in predicting perceived social exclusion is low income. Moreover, it is interesting to examine whether the risk of

perceived social exclusion is linked to certain socio-demographic aspects like age, gender or occupational class position, even when other determinants are considered.⁹

Figure 15 Exclusion experiences and polarisation between multiply deprived and non-deprived



Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

First, two main group models are calculated for the acceding countries and the Member States. Then separate models are calculated for six countries, which are quite different in terms of perceived social exclusion and in terms of their welfare state regime characteristics. The models include a range of explanatory variables for characterising socio-demographic and socio-economic aspects. Marital status, age, gender, household size and illness are considered as important socio-demographic variables. Unfortunately information on household composition is missing, although this information would have been very useful in order to check if, for example, single parent households or households with many children have an above average risk of social exclusion. In addition, the model integrates variables on employment and resources (education, occupational

⁹ The dependent variable is the perception of social exclusion, measured as the agreement with at least two out of four statements indicating lack of recognition, perceived uselessness and inferiority (see Figure 2 for its distribution). The calculation is done with a logistic regression model, because the dependent variable is coded binary (perceived exclusion or not) expelling exp(b) coefficients, which indicate the odds ratio of the risk of becoming socially excluded in relation to the reference category of each independent variable.

class, employment status, income information for the household measured in quartiles, long-term household financial difficulties as assessed by the respondent, and the duration of the respondent's unemployment experience in the last five years). Finally, an indicator of multiple deprivation is included – this measures the overlap of financial difficulties and unemployment experience in order to explore whether there are countries where the overlap itself is the main characteristic of the social exclusion risk, as is often assumed in the social exclusion policy debate.

There is a general difference between Member States and the acceding and candidate countries. The experience of social exclusion, which is much more common among the acceding and candidate countries, is closely related to multiple deprivation and long-term financial difficulties. In the Member States, the risk of feeling like an outsider is also strongly connected with these severe disadvantages, but belonging is also dependent on labour market integration and higher education. Obviously, social integration in the acceding and candidate countries means first of all ensuring sufficient basic essentials; whereas people in the Member States, which have a higher standard of living, see labour market attachment and a certain level of education as prerequisites for recognition and a feeling of affiliation.

Occupational class position is no longer significant when multiple deprivation, low income and unemployment are integrated in the model; this is because they are closely interrelated, and the position at the lower end of the social hierarchy is not sufficient to promote a feeling of exclusion. Moreover, it is clear that unmarried and divorced people in the Member States suffer from alienation, too. This highlights the fact that not only are material and financial resources important factors determining integration, but that social and emotional factors are also important. Marriage seems to help integration, at least in the Member States.

Of course, these rough calculations hide major country specifics. The analysis run separately for at least six countries reveals that the following determinants are significant, independent of other interactions (see Table A5 in the appendix):

- Turkey: young age, low education, long-term unemployment experience, living alone, low income, long-term financial difficulties, illness
- Estonia: skilled worker, multiple deprivation, illness
- Hungary: multiple deprivation, illness, long-term financial difficulties
- Italy: unmarried, long-term financial difficulties
- Germany: divorce, young age, unemployment, retired, low income, long-term financial difficulties
- Sweden: multiple deprivation

Table 11 Determinants of the exposure to perceived social exclusion, logistic regression models (exp(b)) acceding countries and Member States compared

	AC 10	EU 15
Marital status (ref.: married)		
Unmarried	,869	1,317
Divorced/separated	1,275	1,572
Widowed	1,017	1,028
Age (ref. 15-24)		
25-39	1,019	,941
40-54	1,180	,952
55+	,812	,702
Women (ref: men)		
	,828	,869
Education (ref.: secondary level)		
Primary (up to 15 years)	,940	1,035
Tertiary (20+)	,976	,824
Still studying	1,005	,575
Occupational class (ref.: service workers)		
Clerks	,936	,988
Technicians and associate professionals	,857	,964
Farmers	,817	,798
Skilled workers	,868	,976
Non-skilled workers	1,072	1,046
Never did any paid work	1,306	1,208
Employment status, current (ref.: employed)		
Unemployed/not working	,927	1,629
Retired/illness	1,278	1,573
Unemployment experience in last five years (ref.: no unemployment)		
Less than 2 years	1,473	1,288
2 years and more	1,362	1,449
Multiple deprivation (ref: no integration deficits)		
	2,213	1,427
Household size (ref.: two persons)		
One-person household	1,165	
Three persons and more	,849	
Illness (ref. healthy)		
	1,578	
Income quartiles (ref.: highest)		
3	1,107	,914
2	1,204	1,261
lowest	1,435	1,589
Long term economic strain (ref.: no financial difficulties)		
Difficulties up to 2 years	2,006	2,453
2-5 years	1,772	3,015
6 years and longer	1,682	2,661
Constant	,078	,69
Total number	8900	15886
Chi square	202,341	1479,980
df	39	33
McFadden's R ²	0,07	0,10

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Notes: Logistic regression models (exp(b)) accession countries and Member States compared; no information on household size and illness available in the Member States.

Despite the unsatisfactory explanatory value of the models as such, long-term economic strain and labour market exclusion seem to be the most decisive factors independent of country specifics. The overlap of both disadvantages is more decisive, but it is clear that social exclusion experiences are also connected with disadvantages when either income or employment are considered separately; both are necessary prerequisites for a decent standard of living. It is interesting that despite different welfare regime characteristics, occupational class position and educational level lose their explanatory power when integrated in a model with income and employment. It can be assumed, though, that disadvantaged living conditions and material shortcomings are concentrated at the lower end of the social ladder, but that low occupational class position is not sufficient to promote social exclusion. Illness is another factor that diminishes integration chances regardless of country. On the other hand, there are interesting country specifics. For example, the youngest age group (15-24) in Turkey and in Germany have a higher risk of perceived social exclusion. The reason in Germany might be a worse labour market entry situation for young cohorts, and, linked to this, widespread pessimism concerning the future in general. In Italy unmarried people experience a lack of belonging and acceptance compared to married people, and in Germany there is a high risk that divorced people will feel left out. This, again, points to family integration as another important factor that could deepen understanding of social exclusion processes. Social participation, network support and family integration are important sources that provide overall well-being and protection from social exclusion. The next chapters will explore these aspects in detail.

Conclusion

Some general observations can be made about the distribution of perceived social exclusion: First, the perception of social exclusion, that is, alienation, perceived powerlessness and inferiority, is strongly connected with the experience of unemployment and severe financial difficulties, regardless of country. Respondents who have to cope with serious solvency problems report above-average feelings of marginalisation, and multiple deprivation increases the risk of social exclusion even more. Second, exclusion from the labour market seems to promote the perception of marginalisation to a greater extent in the Member States. For EU citizens, access to the labour market, which usually also means access to social protection systems in order to safeguard a certain standard of living, is fundamental for the provision of integration and life chances.

Generally, the results shown here imply that the higher the welfare level of a country, the more people in the severely materially disadvantaged group suffer from the perception that they are outsiders. In relatively affluent societies such as Finland, France, United Kingdom and Germany, nearly half of all respondents associate the experience of acute poverty or unemployment with perceived social exclusion; this exceeds the average level of perceived social exclusion in these countries many times. Therefore, comparisons and reference groups may be relevant when the evaluation of personal precariousness is concerned. Becoming unemployed might be less of a personal failure if the general level of unemployment in a country is high; and personal responsibility for poverty might be felt to be weaker when the standard of living is low nationwide. It is evident that the gap between insiders and outsiders is most prevalent in countries that are accustomed to a relatively high standard of living, where unemployment and poverty have only recently been perceived as threats to the normal level of social security and political stability. The specifics of the welfare mixes, and particularly the high value of family solidarity might also be important when the key determinants of social exclusion processes are explored. It is obvious that in Portugal, Italy, Greece and especially in Spain, poverty and unemployment have less severe consequences than in the Member States situated in central Europe, and do not inevitably induce desperation, alienation and personal failure.

Other subjectively perceived integration deficits

To get a clearer picture of the consequences of economic strain or precarious labour market attachment for the perception of social integration in general, it is important to look at dimensions other than alienation, uselessness and lack of recognition by society. The questionnaire also provides information on the perception of how the family, social networks and social life in general (all of which are important providers of social support) are affected when living conditions are seriously disadvantaged. Family, social network support and social participation are indisputably of major importance in providing integration. This can be seen by the empirical fact that one in three people in the enlarged Europe believe that family break-ups bring about social exclusion, and that living with a partner and seeing friends regularly are necessities of a good life (see Tables 3 and 5). The comparative survey data enables us to analyse whether deficits concerning family and social network integration are distributed and determined in the same way as the perception of social exclusion. Are there group-specific risks when emotional support is lacking? As a next step, the importance of these integration domains in mitigating the consequences of disadvantages and shortcomings like deprivation, poverty and unemployment will be seen.

Family integration

Lack of family integration is measured with a very strong indicator, which picks out those who report a feeling of exclusion from their family, and which might transcend integration deficits and indicate the total absence of family support. The only alternative indicator is satisfaction with family life, which does not prove to be very selective. Bearing this restriction in mind, the results show that lack of family integration is distributed quite differently in Europe. Six per cent of the population in both the acceding and candidate countries and Member States feel left out of their family. However, country specific analysis reveals huge differences in risk exposure. The prevalence ranges from 14% in Slovakia to 3% in Slovenia on the one hand, from 13% in France to 3% in Spain on the other. There is no visible pattern that distinguishes acceding and candidate countries from Member States where lack of family support does not seem to follow vast cultural or economic differences.

Generally, the risk of losing family support is slightly higher in the low-income groups and increases where the unemployed and the multiply deprived are concerned. This is particularly true for the Member States. In the Member States family integration is most threatened in the case of cumulated disadvantages when basic essentials are lacking and access to the labour market is hampered. Unemployment itself does not in every case induce a higher risk of deterioration of family ties. There is no big difference between the employed and the unemployed in Slovakia, France, Portugal, Turkey and Spain; this is especially true in Spain and also in Slovakia, where the unemployed report less problems with family integration than either the employed or the population as a whole. Polarisation between high and low income groups concerning lack of family integration is more evident, especially in the acceding countries group; all in all, there is no clear cut pattern for the acceding and candidate countries and the Member States.

Table 12 Lack of family integration, % of population and ratios

	Total	Unemployed	Polarisation employed/ unemployed	Low income	Polarisation high/low income	Multiple deprivation
Slovakia	14	10	0.8	28	4.7	17
France	13	16	1.2	23	4.6	26
Portugal	13	17	1.3	23	2.1	25
Turkey	10	13	1.4	13	2.6	12
Czech Republic	8	12	1.7	15	3	-
Luxembourg	8	-	-	13	3.3	-
Finland	8	12	1.5	22	4.4	42
Lithuania	7	10	1.7	9	2.3	10
Belgium	7	13	2.6	15	3.8	17
United Kingdom	7	17	4.3	14	2.3	21
Latvia	6	9	2.3	13	4.3	9
EU 15	6	12	2.4	13	4.3	17
EU 25	6	12	2.4	12	4	16
ACC 13	6	10	2	11	3.7	11
Estonia	5	10	2.5	9	4.5	9
Malta	5	-	-	8	4	-
Germany	5	16	4	10	5	26
Netherlands	5	9	2.3	7	7	24
AC 10	5	9	2.3	11	5.5	11
Poland	4	8	8	9	4.5	9
Denmark	4	9	4.5	7	3.5	23
Greece	4	4	2	10	10	2
Italy	4	9	2.3	8	2.7	-
Ireland	4	7	1.8	11	3.7	24
Austria	4	13	3.3	11	5.5	17
Bulgaria	3	3	1.5	10	10	4
Cyprus	3	9	3	8	8	-
Hungary	3	8	4	5	5	6
Romania	3	4	2	6	6	4
Slovenia	3	6	3	9	4.5	10
Spain	3	1	0.5	9	4.5	7
Sweden	3	5	2.5	7	7	-

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Notes: 'Lack of family integration' is measured as agreement (strongly agree or agree) with the statement 'I feel left out of my family'. Reading example: in Slovakia: 14 % of the total population report that they feel left out of their family. One out of ten unemployed Slovaks lacks family support and the differences between employed and unemployed is not pronounced. Low income instead is closely associated with lack of family integration: 25% of the poor report feelings of family exclusion, and low income is nearly five times higher associated with lack of family integration than high income.

Multivariate analysis shows that long-term financial difficulties, indicating a severe lack of material resources, are particularly connected with lack of family back-up in both country groups, the acceding countries and the Member States (Table 13). Another shared determinant is divorce (and in the acceding countries also widowhood), which can be easily explained by the obvious loss of established familiar networks and solidarity. In the acceding group illness is also connected with a lack of family integration; this indicator is unfortunately not available for the Member States. Again, risk factors are more diverse in the Member States: low income, experience of unemployment and multiple deprivation determine family break-up. Moreover retired and unmarried people and academics face a higher risk of losing family integration.

Table 13 Determinants of the exposure to lack of family integration, logistic regression models (exp(b)) acceding countries and Member States compared

	AC 10	EU 15
Marital status (ref.: married)		
Unmarried	1,328	1,616
Divorced/separated	2,992	2,273
Widowed	1,896	1,216
Age (ref. 15-24)		
25-39	,656	,843
40-54	1,080	,905
55+	,912	,857
Women (ref : men)	,964	1,192
Education (ref.: secondary level)		
Primary (up to 15 years)	,873	,936
Tertiary (20+)	1,155	1,233
Still studying	,926	,670
Occupational class (ref.: service class)		
Clerks	1,166	1,162
Technicians and associate professionals	1,214	,739
Farmers	1,119	,759
Skilled workers	,870	1,115
Non-skilled workers	1,118	,865
Never did any paid work	1,784	1,274
Employment status, actual (ref.: employed)		
Unemployed/not working	,942	1,026
Retired/illness	,699	1,384
Unemployment experience in last five years (ref.: no unemployment)		
Less than 2 years	1,094	1,206
2 years and more	1,086	,963
Multiple deprivation (ref: no integration deficits)	1,840	1,748
Household size (ref.: two persons)		
One person household	1,605	
Three persons and more	,566	
Illness (ref. healthy)	1,772	
Income quartiles (ref.: highest)		
3	1,104	1,322
2	1,482	1,336
lowest	1,835	2,115
Long term financial difficulties (ref.: no financial difficulties)		
Difficulties up to 2 years	2,491	2,906
2-5 years	1,983	2,778
6 years and longer	2,121	1,915
Constant	,014	,019
Total number	9103	15800
Chi square	167,647	798,307
df	39	33
McFadden's R²	0,12	0,08

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Notes: logistic regression models (exp(b)) acceding countries and Member States compared; no information on household size and health available in the Member States

Social support network

Lack of social support means that assistance and moral support is missing when people face difficult life situations such as depression or short-term financial emergency. One in ten citizens of the enlarged Europe lacks such support outside the household. Member State citizens, particularly from the Scandinavian countries, are better off in this respect. Again, there is a wide range of country specific distribution: the highest rates are in Cyprus and Turkey (24%), and the lowest in Denmark, Ireland and Sweden (4%). Low income and unemployment increase the risk of losing social support outside the household. Almost every second unemployed person in Cyprus must do without social support, as must around 40% of those with low income in Cyprus, Turkey and Greece. However, there are countries where social support does not diminish in cases of disadvantaged living conditions: Sweden, Ireland, Denmark, Netherlands, Spain, Finland, Italy, Slovenia and Hungary are countries where the needy can generally count on help from outside their own household, at least to the same extent as the rest of the population can.

Table 14 Lack of social network support, % of population and ratios

	Total	Unemployed	Polarisation employed/ unemployed	Low income	Polarisation high/low income
Cyprus	24	46	2.4	40	5.7
Turkey	24	29	1.3	42	3.8
Greece	22	29	1.7	40	4.4
Bulgaria	20	30	2.1	29	1.9
Latvia	20	26	1.4	22	1.7
Romania	19	24	1.5	26	1.4
ACC 13	18	25	1.7	31	3.1
Lithuania	17	22	1.7	26	3.3
Belgium	16	13	1	26	2.6
Germany	16	18	1.2	23	2.3
Hungary	13	13	1.3	16	2.9
Malta	13	-	-	14	2.3
Slovenia	13	14	1.6	15	1.7
Poland	12	20	2	25	5
AC 10	12	18	1.8	20	4
Estonia	11	11	0.9	21	3.5
Portugal	11	17	1.7	20	4
Austria	11	19	2.4	24	2.4
EU 25	11	14	1.6	16	2.3
EU 15	10	13	1.4	15	2.1
Italy	9	4	0.4	11	1.2
France	9	13	1.9	12	1.5
Luxembourg	9	-	-	14	2.8
United Kingdom	9	19	2.4	12	2
Czech Republic	8	16	2.3	12	2.4
Slovakia	7	12	2	15	7.5
Finland	7	7	1	10	1.7
Spain	5	7	1.4	9	4.5
Netherlands	5	4	1	2	1
Denmark	4	2	0.7	6	2
Ireland	4	7	2.3	2	2
Sweden	4	2	0.7	5	2.5

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Notes: (-) number of cases below 30. 'Lack of social support networks' is measured as self-reported lack of help from outside the household in case of depression and limited finances.

Table 15 Determinants of the exposure to lack of social support, logistic regression models (exp(b)) acceding countries and Member States compared

	AC 10	EU 15
Marital status (ref.: married)		
Unmarried	1,228	,896
Divorced/separated	1,508	1,230
Widowed	1,251	1,370
Age (ref. 15-24)		
25-39	1,743	1,118
40-54	2,342	1,247
55+	3,234	1,452
Women (ref : men)	,603	,607
Education (ref.: secondary level)		
Primary (up to 15 years)	1,203	1,163
Tertiary (20+)	,795	,866
Still studying	,844	,885
Occupational class (ref.: service class)		
Clerks	1,090	1,240
Technicians and associate professionals	1,240	,901
Farmers	,969	1,069
Skilled workers	1,049	1,387
Non-skilled workers	1,470	1,322
Never did any paid work	,963	,941
Employment status, actual (ref.: employed)		
Unemployed/not working	1,260	1,118
Retired/illness	,893	1,156
Unemployment experience in last five years (ref.: no unemployment)		
Less than 2 years	1,301	1,216
2 years and more	1,496	1,069
Household size (ref.: two persons)		
One person household	,673	
Three persons and more	1,080	
Illness (ref. healthy)	1,273	
Income quartiles (ref.: highest)		
3	1,668	1,118
2	1,553	1,540
lowest	2,696	1,379
Long term economic strain (ref.: no financial difficulties)		
Difficulties up to 2 years	1,642	1,209
2-5 years	1,734	1,506
6 years and longer	2,209	1,798
Constant	,019	,058
Total number	7915	14134
Chi square	191,802	526,254
df	37	31
McFadden's R²	0,08	0,04

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Notes: logistic regression models (exp(b)) acceding countries and Member States compared; no information on household size and health available in the Member States; multiple deprivation is excluded from the analysis, because it would overlap with the dependent variable.

Multivariate analysis reveals an inconsistent picture. Low income and long-term economic strain are important factors which increase the risk of losing social support in the acceding countries as well as in the Member States. Other risk groups in the Member States are: divorced and widowed people compared to married people, older compared to younger age groups, the highly educated compared to those with low levels of education, and workers compared to service workers. In the acceding countries older people are at a higher risk of losing social support than are younger people. In both Member States and acceding countries women have better access to social networks than men.

Participation in social life

Another highly valued aspect of social integration is participation in a general sense: this encompasses political participation as in the right to vote, to be a member of a political party or generally to influence the shaping of public opinion. It also refers to voluntary membership and involvement in organisations such as trade unions, action groups or even sports clubs. Finally, it also means having the opportunity to take advantage of cultural opportunities and to contact other people and foster social networks. There are important studies which explore the relationship between material shortcomings, disadvantaged living conditions and social relationships; they often come to the conclusion that the connection between both domains is surprisingly weak.

Our survey data do not provide sufficient information to capture this domain in a comprehensive manner with the available indicators. For example, there is no information on political and cultural integration, questions about membership in organisations were only asked in the acceding and candidate countries, and social relationships as such were not central to the questionnaire. As a compromise, and in order to grasp at least some information about the connection between social participation and overall integration, an indicator was built which paraphrases *chances to participate in social life*. Self-reported loneliness and dissatisfaction with social life are put together to build this variable in order to focus on those who feel that they are on their own and have little prospect of participating in social life.

Participation deficits in such a sense are unevenly distributed throughout Europe. The acceding and candidate countries, in particular Turkey, Latvia, Bulgaria, Estonia and Romania suffer most in this respect; more than 15% of the population in these countries complain that their social life is unsatisfactory and that they are lonely. In the Member States, those reporting limited opportunities to participate range from 12% of the population in Greece to 3% of the Danish population; again, the Scandinavian Member States report only low levels. Unemployment, low income and multiple deprivation considerably diminish the quality of social life in almost every country. Weak participation is most marked amongst the unemployed in Turkey, Lithuania, the Czech Republic, Italy and Luxembourg. It prevails in the low income group in Latvia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Portugal and Poland, and it is highest among the multiply deprived in Estonia and in the majority of the Member States, namely Greece, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Finland, Germany, France, Ireland, Netherlands, Austria and Denmark.

Multivariate analysis adds some more information (Table 17, p.44). In both the acceding countries and Member States the risk of having limited chances to participate in social life is connected with multiple deprivation and long-term financial difficulties. Moreover, whereas married people are

Other subjectively perceived integration deficits

more or less assured of participation, divorced and widowed people complain about a dissatisfying social life, regardless of their income level and employment status. Differences between old and new EU Member States are related to unemployment and low income, which both have an influence on weak social participation. In the acceding countries, however, these disadvantages do not have consequences for social participation; this again shows the connection between the overall level of living in a country and the relative relevance of disadvantage to social integration. In the Member States younger age groups compared to older age groups, and men compared to women do not feel that their chance to participate is limited. Illness, again, is a predictor of limited participation in the acceding countries, and most probably in the Member States as well, but the respective variable is not available for this calculation.

Table 16 Limited opportunities to participate in social life, % of population and ratios

	Total	Unemployed	Polarisation employed/ unemployed	Low income	Polarisation high/low income	Multiple deprivation
Turkey	20	30	1.4	26	1.7	28
Latvia	18	28	2.5	38	7.6	26
Bulgaria	17	25	3.6	46	15.3	27
Estonia	15	35	2.7	24	3.4	44
Romania	15	13	1.3	29	3.2	18
Lithuania	14	25	2.5	18	3	23
ACC 13	14	22	2	25	2.8	22
Greece	12	22	2.8	31	7.8	35
Czech Republic	11	23	2.6	17	4.3	-
Cyprus	10	25	5	21	7	-
Hungary	10	11	1.8	24	4	10
Italy	10	19	2.1	17	2.4	-
Slovakia	9	13	1.9	21	4.2	13
United Kingdom	9	21	4.2	17	2.4	22
AC 10	9	13	2.2	19	1.6	14
Belgium	8	20	4	16	8	32
Portugal	8	8	1.1	19	6.3	18
Finland	8	22	3.7	20	20	31
EU 25	8	17	3.4	17	4.3	23
Poland	7	11	2.8	16	5.3	11
Sweden	7	9	1.8	14	3.5	-
EU 15	7	18	3.6	16	4	26
Malta	6	-	-	14	14	-
Germany	6	18	6	15	7.5	28
France	6	18	3.6	17	17	36
Ireland	6	22	7.3	24	12	34
Spain	5	12	2.4	12	4	-
Luxembourg	5	33	6.6	6	1.5	-
Netherlands	5	8	4	14	4.7	21
Austria	5	25	8.3	18	18	32
Slovenia	4	3	1	12	6	5
Denmark	3	10	5	7	7	12

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Notes: (-) number of cases below 30. 'limited opportunities to participate in social life' are measured as self-reported loneliness and dissatisfaction with social life.

Table 17 Determinants of the exposure to limited opportunities of participation, logistic regression models (exp(b)) acceding countries and Member States compared

	AC 10	EU 15
Marital status (ref.: married)		
Unmarried	1,663	1,551
Divorced/separated	4,504	2,052
widowed	4,054	2,277
Age (ref. 15-24)		
25-39	1,819	1,224
40-54	2,159	1,383
55+	2,030	1,349
Women (ref : men)		
Education (ref.: secondary level)		
Primary (up to 15 years)	,543	1,218
Tertiary (20+)	,962	1,183
Still studying	,573	,843
Occupational class (ref.: service class)		
Clerks	1,324	,996
Technicians and associate professionals	1,038	,578
Farmers	2,249	,743
Skilled workers	1,261	,934
Non-skilled workers	2,089	1,033
Never did any paid work	1,963	1,267
Employment status, actual		
(ref.: employed)		
Unemployed/not working	,968	1,537
Retired/illness	,983	1,143
Unemployment experience in last five years		
(ref.: no unemployment)		
Less than 2 years	1,402	1,166
2 years and more	,748	1,147
Multiple deprivation (ref: no integration deficits)		
Household size (ref.: two persons)		
One person household	1,362	
Three persons and more	,784	
Illness (ref. healthy)	1,905	
Income quartiles (ref.: highest)		
3	1,034	1,126
2	1,216	,994
lowest	,991	2,007
Long term financial difficulties		
(ref.: no financial difficulties)		
Difficulties up to 2 years	2,708	3,196
2-5 years	3,040	3,026
6 years and longer	2,342	4,331
Constant		
		,015
Total number	8500	15684
Chi square	306,265	1350,338
df	39	33
McFadden's R²	0,18	0,14

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Notes: logistic regression models (exp(b)) acceding countries and Member States compared; no information on household size and health available in the Member States.

Conclusion

Lack of financial resources and restricted access to the labour market are associated with deteriorating support from family, friends and social networks. Financial resources and labour market attachment are, however, not sufficient to provide social integration; it is illness, divorce and widowhood that determine limited chances to participate and lack of social networks independently of lack of financial resources. There are differences between the acceding countries and the Member States when they are treated as two country groups, as well as country-specific relationships between precarious living conditions and social integration. Generally, social integration deficits concerning networks and friends are less widespread in the Member States and at the same time more strongly associated with precarious living conditions than in the acceding countries. Family break-ups are more or less equally distributed between acceding countries and Member States, although again they are, besides the determinants of divorce and illness, more closely connected to multiple deprivation, unemployment and low income in the Member States. Country-specific analysis reveals that the Scandinavians and also people in the Member States to the south can count on solidarity within their social environment when facing precarious living conditions.

Relationship between precarious living conditions and perceived social exclusion

In the enlarged Europe a considerable part of the population is affected by precarious living conditions; about 27% have to cope with circumstances impaired by economic strain or unemployment.¹⁰ As the previous analysis has shown, these shortcomings influence the degree of social integration to a large extent, whether it be family integration and social support or overall recognition and alienation. Nevertheless, the connection between precarious living conditions and perceived social exclusion is not linear and unavoidable in every case. Country comparisons have shown that whereas in some countries the connection is rather strong, in others protection mechanisms that prevent precarious living conditions from resulting in the perception that people are on the margins of society, are active.

In the social reporting research tradition a fourfold table which distinguishes ideal types of quality of life and which refers to the overlap of objective living conditions and their subjective evaluation has been established by Wolfgang Zapf (1984: 25, see Table 18). This schema can be adopted for the field of social integration and exclusion, and distinguish people who do not suffer from precarious living conditions (such as unemployment or a lack of financial resources) and who at the same time perceive themselves to be well integrated and highly-valued members of society. The aim of policy makers, of course, is to expand this type of quality of life denoted as 'well-being' as effectively as possible. Two out of three Europeans in the enlarged Europe belong to this trouble-free category. In the acceding and candidate countries percentages are lower, with half of the population in the acceding group and less than half of the population (42%) of the candidate countries sharing such carefree living conditions (Table 19).

Table 18 Types of quality of life

		INTEGRATION OBJECTIVE	
		Yes	No
INTEGRATION SUBJECTIVE	Yes	Well-being	Adaptation/Protection
	No	Dissonance	Deprivation/Exclusion

Source: Zapf 1984, p.25, with minor alterations.

Another type of quality of life is illustrated by those who perceive that their opportunity to participate and be an accepted member of society is severely limited, but who do not suffer from a precarious life situation because of their financial resources and labour market attachment. This 'dissonant' type of quality of life is, according to Zapf, likely to be a source of protest and social change (Zapf 1984: 26). From the empirical results so far, it seems more likely that it is, for example, illness, divorce and widowhood which are the decisive criteria in promoting negative self-esteem even when financial resources are assured. Only around 6% of the European population falls into this category.

¹⁰ In the following analysis precarious living conditions refer to either unemployment, low income or self-reported long-term financial difficulties. Due to the data structure it is not possible to select the disadvantaged groups more precisely (because of the small number of cases in some countries and the way the questions about income and unemployment were formulated).

Far more interesting for the research are those who experience precarious living conditions: for some people the result of deprivation is perceived alienation (deprivation or exclusion type), but others do not feel alienated, despite the fact that they are deprived in objective terms. Wolfgang Zapf called this latter type ‘adaptation’ and referred to the fact that people belonging to this category might have given up, feeling powerless to change their living conditions. If this is related to the acceding and candidate countries and the results shown so far, it can also be said that this group might have adapted to precarious living conditions because of a general low level of prosperity, and because of reference groups experiencing precariousness as well. Another more positive explanation points to possibly active mechanisms of protection: the aim is to explore the role of family and social support with regard to their effectiveness in stopping precarious living conditions from resulting in perceived social exclusion. What causes the difference between adaptation and exclusion? ¹¹

Table 19 Integration objective (distributive) and subjective (evaluative), % of population aged 15 to 65

EU 15		objective		EU 25		objective	
		Yes	No			Yes	No
subjective	Yes	67	19	subjective	Yes	66	21
	No	7	6		No	6	6
ACC 13		objective		AC 10		objective	
		Yes	No			Yes	No
subjective	Yes	42	35	subjective	Yes	51	35
	No	9	15		No	6	8

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Notes: Integration in objective terms is measured as neither experiencing unemployment or insufficient income; integration in subjective terms is measured with the self-reported evaluation of belonging: feeling integrated or excluded.

Overall, only a minority of people experiences precarious living conditions and feels as an outsider at the same time. Only 6% of the enlarged European population aged 15 to 65 suffer from financial problems and unemployment and perceive themselves to be socially excluded. Country-specific distributions of the four types of quality of life reveal extreme differences between individual countries. Precarious living conditions are far more widespread in the acceding and candidate countries; however, they are more strongly connected with the perception of social exclusion in the Member States. As a consequence the ‘adapted/protected’ group is larger in the candidate and acceding group (see tables A10 and A11 in the appendix).

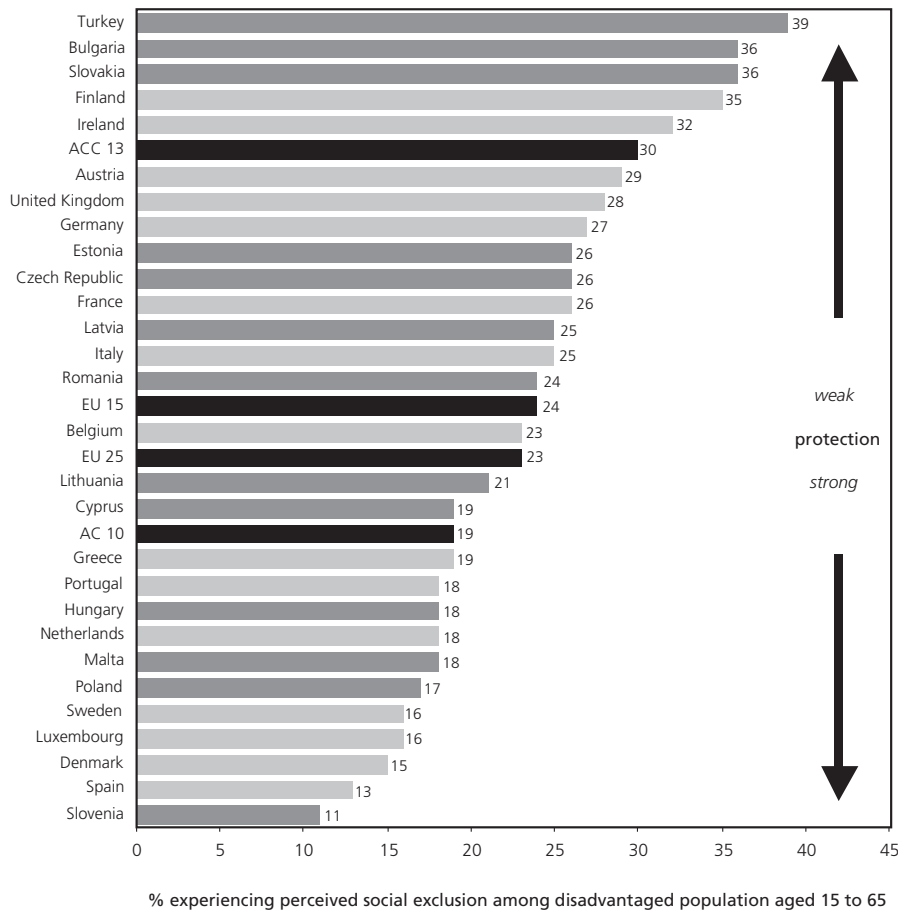
Country-specific results show that the ‘excluded’ (overlap objective and subjective integration deficits) range from around 20% in Bulgaria and Turkey to 5% or less in Slovenia, Cyprus and Malta. Variation in the Member States is less accentuated; percentages range from 8% in Finland to 3% in Sweden, the Netherlands, Spain and Luxembourg. The protected part of the population under 65 is most pronounced in Hungary and Romania, with levels of more than 40%. Of the

¹¹ Of course, there is another conceivable explanation, which is dependent on the data structure; since our indicators for precarious living conditions are not very precise, living conditions might simply not be precarious enough to end up in perceived marginalisation.

Member States, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Italy and France reveal the highest proportions of protected population.

Additionally, Figure 16 shows the ranking of countries according to their protection level. In Turkey, Bulgaria and Slovakia every third person living in precarious circumstances feels socially excluded. However, acceding countries are on average better protected than the Member States. This might stem from the problem of reference groups and personal responsibility for precarious living conditions in countries with different levels of economic prosperity. The distribution of protection in the Member States is polarised; on the one hand there is a group consisting of Finland, Ireland, Austria, United Kingdom and Germany, where protection is relatively weak and where between 26% and 34% of the disadvantaged population perceive themselves as worthless, inferior and not belonging. On the other hand a mixture of Scandinavian and southern European countries show a relatively high level of protection, and only around 15% of the disadvantaged population lacks a feeling of affiliation.

Figure 16 Degree of protection in European countries: the perception of social exclusion among disadvantaged people



Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Notes: The analysis is restricted to people aged 15-65. Disadvantages are referred to as unemployment or economic strain; % indicate how many of the so-measured disadvantaged population perceive themselves as socially excluded; the lower the percentage, the higher the level of protection from social exclusion when experiencing precarious living conditions

Table 20 The impact of social support on the protection from social exclusion, logistic regression model

	AC 10	EU 15	Turkey	Finland
Marital status (ref.: married)				
Unmarried	,543	1,149	0,557	2,899
Divorced/separated	,870	1,141	1,109	2,078
Widowed	,539	1,066	(,145)	(1,142)
Age (ref. 15-24)				
25-39	,834	1,041	,837	4,247
40-54	,966	1,099	,924	5,445
55+	,758	1,051	,911	3,427
Women (ref : men)				
	,832	,850	,782	0,619
Education (ref.: secondary level)				
Primary (up to 15 years)	1,422	,809	1,295	2,424
Tertiary (20+)	1,159	,610	1,189	1,052
Still studying	,693	,294	,746	0,606
Loneliness and dissatisfaction with social life				
(ref. no respective problems)	3,170	5,002	2,982	10,048
Feeling left out of family				
(ref.: no respective problems)	4,951	6,310	8,157	3,720
Dissatisfied with family life				
(ref.: satisfied with family life)	1,303	1,389	1,221	2,296
Lack of social network support				
(ref. No respective problems)	1,690	1,266	1,361	1,963
Living in a poor area				
(ref.: no respective problems)	,935	2,131	2,820	2,535
Illness (ref. healthy)	1,057		,895	
Having children (ref. no children)	,527		,597	
Future expectations				
(ref.: trying to improve standard of living)				
Cannot do anything to improve my standard of living	1,145		1,063	
No need to improve my standard of living	,702		,565	
Household size (ref.: two persons)				
One-person household	,996		5,551	
Three persons and more	1,114		1,486	
Constant	,304	,153	,270	,037
Total number	2291	3193	857	223
Chi square	561,218	979,663	204,516	102,387
df	30	21	28	20
-2 log-likelihood	3280,967	3762,416	204,516	185,729
McFadden's R²	0,14	0,20	0,18	0,34

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Notes: Logistic regression model restricted to disadvantaged population, in Member States, acceding countries, Turkey and Finland. Analysis is restricted to disadvantaged population (experiencing economic strain or unemployment), dependent variable is the perception of social exclusion.

In order to gain a more precise and statistically sound picture, multivariate analysis is again carried out for the acceding countries and the Member States. In addition, a country-specific analysis is carried out for Turkey and Finland as representatives of countries where the disadvantaged are most likely to perceive social exclusion. The model is calculated for 15- to 65-year-olds facing precarious living conditions, which are again measured in terms of economic strain or unemployment. The aim is to explain the role social support plays in preventing the disadvantaged from feeling like outsiders. Thus, analysis is restricted to the disadvantaged population and the

dependent variable is the perception of social exclusion. Consequently, besides some demographic variables like gender, education and age, family and social integration are highlighted as explanatory mechanisms. The explanatory variables are marital status, social participation, family integration, social network support and living in a poor area. For the acceding countries the model can also be calculated using further information on household size, having children, future expectations about the improvement of the current situation, and illness. It is estimated that the weaker family and social support are in precarious life situations, the more likely it is that people will suffer from the perception that they are marginalised.

Generally, this assumption holds true for the acceding group as well as for the Member States: loneliness and the lack of family integration promote feelings of social exclusion if at the same time living conditions are influenced by financial hardship or unemployment. Moreover, having children significantly reduces the descent into perceived worthlessness, as the model calculated for the acceding country reveals. In addition, it can be seen that a low level of education has a significant impact on perceived social exclusion when people are living in precarious circumstances, at least in the acceding group. In the Member States the picture concerning level of education is inconsistent; both those who finished their education at the primary level as well as those who finished at tertiary level are better off than those who finished at secondary level as far as perceived social exclusion is concerned. Instead, area deprivation is of importance when reasons for weak protection from social exclusion are sought. Disadvantaged people who also live in a poor area are more likely to feel like outsiders. The models calculated for disadvantaged people in Turkey and Finland reveal country-specific characteristics. In Turkey, the impact of living alone on feelings of alienation is relatively high among the deprived. In Finland, limited opportunities to participate, loneliness and dissatisfaction with social life explain much of the reason for the exposure of the disadvantaged population to perceived social exclusion.

Family support and economic resources

This leads to the general question of whether different integration patterns predominate across Europe. The analysis confirmed five important domains as providers for social integration; family integration, social network support, participation chances, labour market attachment and basic financial resources.¹² Now the impact of these different domains on the perception of exclusion or integration will be explored. The previous analysis leads us to expect a general consensus about the importance of these main fields of social integration, and, as Table 5 (p.13) shows, slight variations across the 28 countries as far as different levels of importance of the family domain (not only between acceding countries and Member States, but also within the Member State group) are concerned.

Table 21 Different integration patterns across Europe

ACC 13	AC 10	Correlation coefficient	EU 15	EU 25
		◀ ,32 ▶		
		◀ ,31 ▶		
PARTICIPATION		◀ ,30 ▶		
		◀ ,29 ▶	PARTICIPATION	
FAMILY		◀ ,28 ▶		PARTICIPATION
	FAMILY	◀ ,27 ▶		
		◀ ,26 ▶	FAMILY	FAMILY
		◀ ,25 ▶		
		◀ ,24 ▶		
		◀ ,23 ▶		
		◀ ,22 ▶		
		◀ ,21 ▶		
	PARTICIPATION	◀ ,20 ▶		
		◀ ,19 ▶		
		◀ ,18 ▶		
		◀ ,17 ▶		
		◀ ,16 ▶		
		◀ ,15 ▶		
		◀ ,14 ▶		
		◀ ,13 ▶		
	SUPPORT	◀ ,12 ▶		
		◀ ,11 ▶	JOB	
SUPPORT		◀ ,10 ▶	INCOME	JOB
INCOME	INCOME	◀ ,09 ▶		INCOME
		◀ ,08 ▶		SUPPORT
		◀ ,07 ▶	SUPPORT	
JOB		◀ ,06 ▶		
		◀ ,05 ▶		
		◀ ,04 ▶		
		◀ ,03 ▶		
26% explained variance	19%		25%	24%

Source: European Commission, Eurobarometer CC EB 2002 and EB 56.1 Sept-Oct 2001.

Notes: Multiple Regression Analysis is restricted to 15-65 years old. The dependent variable is the index on social exclusion ranging from 0 indicating no perceived integration deficits to 4 indicating agreement with four related statements, see table 5 for its distribution); Measurement of the explanatory variables is as follows: Family: feeling left out of family; Participation: felt lonely during last two weeks and dissatisfied with social life; Support: cannot rely on social support outside the household in case of depression and lack of money; Income: experiencing serious solvency problems; Job: unemployed or temporarily not working.

¹² Health is another important domain, which cannot be integrated in the analysis because of the structure of the available data.

For this purpose simple multiple regression models with dichotomous variables for each domain were calculated. The dependent variable is the perception of social exclusion (see Table 6 for its distribution); thus, results show the independent impact of five integration domains on the perception of being an insider or an outsider. When interpreting the results, it is important to note the following restriction, which is due to the data structure of the survey: the income and labour market domains do not focus very precisely on that part of the population suffering from the most deprived living conditions. Because a clear-cut poverty indicator that relies on income data is lacking, self-reported solvency problems are used as an alternative. The unemployed cannot be distinguished from those temporarily not working, and additionally information about the length of any periods of unemployment is not available. Indicators that measure precarious living conditions by income level and labour market attachment, are therefore very broad and might not measure deprivation precisely. On the other hand, the indicator that measures family integration focuses on the feeling of being left out of the family; this is quite a strong measurement and brings about high correlations.¹³

Family integration (family) and chances to participate in social life (participation) are highly appreciated values for establishing an overall feeling of belonging and social integration. Losing such social back-up causes a perception of alienation independently of precarious living conditions like poverty or unemployment throughout Europe (Table 21). Solvency problems and unemployment are of lower importance for the perception of integration when family support and social networks are available. This is especially true for the candidate countries; in the acceding countries, employment status is not even significant anymore. This might be explained by the widespread experience of unemployment in these countries and the pronounced black market economy. In the Member States unemployment and poverty have an influence on social integration and exclusion independently of familial and social support.

This general pattern is still visible when the results of the country-specific regression models are considered. In only five of 13 acceding and candidate countries, but in nine of the 15 Member States, does employment status play a significant role in determining the perception of being an outsider independently of social and familial background. Perceived social exclusion is closely related to the experience of unemployment, particularly in Germany and Ireland. For the population of France, the Netherlands and Denmark, a precarious financial situation has a relatively high impact on perceived integration deficits. Portugal, Spain and Greece, as well as Sweden, are the exceptions: family integration and social support are the dominant providers of social integration. Unemployment itself is of minor relevance for the subjective evaluation of belonging and affiliation.

In the acceding and candidate countries the explained variance of the regression models is lower, which confirms the above-mentioned assumption that the selected indicators might not be precise enough to identify risk groups in countries where economic prosperity is weak and the prevalence of poverty and precarious labour market access is quite common. The relevance of this assumption is underlined by the fact that the explanatory power of the chosen variables is higher for Cyprus and Malta, comparatively affluent and prosperous countries, than for the acceding countries. In

¹³ We calculated the models with 'dissatisfaction with family life' instead and got lower correlation coefficients, but at the same time the explained variance of the models declined significantly. The overall pattern, however, remained the same.

general the impact of familial and social support by far exceeds the influence of precarious material living conditions in the acceding and candidate countries. Of course, poverty and restricted access to the labour market are objective social exclusion risks in the acceding and candidate countries as well. However, the perception of social exclusion, and the evaluation that precarious personal living conditions decreases the feeling of belonging, is not an absolute, but a strongly relative phenomenon; it has to be interpreted in relation to the overall economic performance of a country, its experiences of recent social changes and its common social protection structure, institutionally as well as individually.

The focus of this report was Europeans' perceptions of social integration and social exclusion and the way in which their views depend on precarious living conditions such as unemployment or economic strain. The perception of social exclusion was measured as a lack of recognition, and feeling useless, inferior and left out of society, and thus refers to an overall feeling of alienation. The preconditions of social integration and the perceived reasons for social exclusion were viewed, then we explored how the perception of social exclusion varies between countries and examined the determinants of negative self-esteem. Five main providers of social integration have been selected: economic resources, labour market attachment, family integration, social networks and opportunities to participate in social life.

The first conclusion that can be drawn from the results is that the notion that social exclusion is predominantly dependent on unemployment and economic strain must be expanded; the role family and social support play in preventing social exclusion has been severely underestimated in the recent debate. Second, like the notion of poverty, the perception of social exclusion is a largely relative phenomenon, dependent on a country's level of economic prosperity and employment opportunities, as well as on general institutional and cultural settings. Nevertheless, and this is the third lesson that can be learned, the approach to social exclusion is absolute in that the prerequisites of social integration are quite similar, with only slight deviations, across the 28 countries.

Injustice in society is reported to be the main reason that people live in need throughout Europe. This is a challenge to policymakers and should appeal to their sense of responsibility in the fight against social exclusion. However, this structural explanation for social exclusion processes is more prevalent in the acceding and candidate countries, where approximately every second respondent, and even more of those living in poverty, share this view. Respondents in the Member States stress individual responsibility as well, although this pattern is only valid as far as the overall population is concerned; it does not hold true for the poor in the Member States. When the specific reasons for social exclusion are investigated, respondents in the ACC 13, and to a lesser extent the EU 15, mention long-term unemployment and social welfare cuts. However, respondents also believe that alcoholism, sickness and family break-ups play a key role in triggering social exclusion processes. Personal failure is less accentuated by the poor who believe that social welfare cuts, having too many children and living in a poor area are more important factors in social exclusion.

This result is in accordance with what people perceive as the necessities of a good life; economic resources and employment are nowadays seen as the most important factors generating social integration and a good life. Respondents in the acceding and candidate countries stress family integration quite strongly as well, whereas the Member States also emphasise social support and participation outside the family as an important factor. However, there are nonetheless differences within the EU, especially if the high value of family integration in the southern European countries is considered. All in all, there is a European consensus about what the important providers of social integration are: labour market attachment, education and material resources are regarded as important preconditions of a basic standard of living. In addition, family integration and social support are also seen as important forces that protect people from being left out of society. Differences primarily concern the different value family integration has in different parts of Europe. This points to the possibility of different integration patterns with regard to the interplay of state, market and family.

In conclusion, the majority of European citizens perceive themselves to be socially integrated. Integration deficits manifested as perceived alienation are more prevalent in the acceding and candidate countries, especially in Turkey, Bulgaria and Slovakia. In Poland, Cyprus and Malta this feeling of marginalisation is less widespread and even below the EU average. Although it is at a comparatively lower level, the perception of social exclusion varies in the Member States as well, with low prevalence in Denmark and the Netherlands and high levels of concern in Portugal and France.

How can these differences in perceived alienation throughout Europe be explained? There is a general pattern in the overall levels of social exclusion in European countries: the lower the GDP per capita, the higher the unemployment rate, and the more widespread poverty is in a country, the more people are affected by the perception of social exclusion. Country-specific analysis revealed that social exclusion experiences are strongly connected with individual precarious living conditions such as the experience of unemployment and economic strain, regardless of country; and multiple deprivation increases the risk of feeling left out of society. Social groups at high risk are non-skilled workers, those with low levels of education, the retired and the sick. Nevertheless there are pronounced country-specific differences. Generally, the perception of social exclusion seems to be more closely connected with unemployment and poverty when the overall level of welfare in a country is high, and the affected groups might see unemployment or deprivation as personal failure. In the Member States, citizens' access to the labour market is fundamental to integration and life chances, far more so than in the acceding and candidate countries (where economic strain is more decisive than having a job, perhaps because many jobs are low paid and do not meet a minimum standard of living).

Family integration, social support networks outside the household and chances to participate in social life are also dependent on economic resources and labour market attachment, but are also connected to illness, divorce and widowhood independently of material shortcomings. In general, social support is easier to attain in the Member States than in the acceding and candidate countries, but it is also more strongly connected with economic strain and unemployment in the Member States. This is especially true for the Member States of central Europe. In southern and Scandinavian Europe unemployment and poverty have less severe consequences for the perception of integration and exclusion, which might be explained by the fact that the disadvantaged can rely on family solidarity and stable social environments.

The weaker family integration and social support are in precarious life situations, the more likely people are to suffer from the perception that they are marginalised. Generally, social support mitigates the consequences of financial hardship or denied labour market access for personal self-esteem; family integration and children do obviously have a positive effect on self-image and the feeling of belonging to society.

Although these results might not be very surprising at first sight, they have important policy implications: combating social exclusion means the reduction of unemployment and poverty, but policy interventions have to be closely connected with family policy in order to facilitate and strengthen social support and solidarity. The results also show that policy interventions which prevent precarious living conditions from becoming long-term are required. Living in a poor area, which suggests spatial segregation of the poor, contributes to feelings of alienation when people live

in precarious circumstances, as the analysis shows. Therefore it can be concluded that housing policy is a decisive factor to be taken into account in the fight against social exclusion.

All in all, policy interventions which aim to prevent social exclusion must not concentrate solely on reducing unemployment, but should establish links with other important and related policy domains. Moreover, the country-specific results ask for country-specific policy interventions. The concentration on unemployment seems reasonable in the Member States of central Europe, but in the acceding and candidate countries other interventions, which aim at increasing the overall level of economic prosperity, social security and political stability, are required. Combating social exclusion in the the acceding and candidate countries means assuring a basic standard of living and the urgent prevention of acute poverty.

From a research point of view, subjective indicators proved to be very useful for gaining an insight into the consequences of precarious living conditions for subjective well-being in different countries. Asking for determinants of alienation and deteriorating self-esteem helped to differentiate relations between several integration domains and related fields of policy interventions.

Bibliography

- Abrahamson, P., 'Combating poverty and social exclusion in Europe', in Beck, W., van der Maesen, W., and Walker, A. (eds.) *The social quality of Europe*, Bristol, The Policy Press, pp. 145-75, 1998.
- Allardt, E., 'Having, loving, being: an alternative to the Swedish model of welfare research', in Nussbaum, M., and Sen, A. (eds.) *The quality of life*, Oxford, pp. 88-94, 1993.
- Atkinson, T., Cantillon, B., Marlier, E., and Nolan, B., *Social indicators: the EU and social inclusion*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Barnes, M., Heady, C., Middleton, S., Millar, J., Papadopoulos, F., Room, G., and Tsakloglou, P., *Poverty and social exclusion in Europe*, Cheltenham, Edward Elgar Publishing, 2002.
- Burchardt, T., 'Social exclusion: concepts and evidence', in Gordon, D., and Townsend, P. (eds) *Breadline Europe. the measurement of poverty*, Bristol, The Policy Press, pp. 385-405, 2000.
- Dahrendorf, R., *The modern social conflict: an essay on the politics of liberty*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1988.
- Delhey, J., *Subjective quality of life and life satisfaction in an enlarging Europe*, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (ed.), Dublin, draft version, 2003.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, *Monitoring quality of life in Europe*, Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Commission, 2003.
- Gallie, D., Gershuny, J., and Vogler, C., 'Unemployment, the household, and social networks', in Gallie, D., Marsh, C., and Vogler, C. (eds) *Social change and the experience of unemployment*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Gallie, D., Kostova, D., and Kuchar, P., 'Social consequences of unemployment: an East-West comparison', *Journal of European Social Policy*, Vol. 1, No. 11, pp. 39-54, 2001.
- Gallie, D., and Paugam, S., *Welfare regimes and the experience of unemployment in Europe*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Kronauer, M., "'Social exclusion" and "underclass"' – new concepts for the analysis of poverty' in Andreß, H.-J. (ed.) *Empirical poverty research in a comparative perspective*, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 51-75, 1998.
- Littlewood, P., Herkommer, S., Identifying social exclusion: some problems of meaning, in Littlewood, P. (ed.) *Social exclusion in Europe*, Aldershot, Ashgate, pp. 1-21, 1999.
- Marshall, T. H., *Citizenship and social class*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1950.
- Nauenburg, R., Böhnke, P., Delhey, J., Keck, W., and Fliegner, F., *Quality of life in the European Union and the acceding and candidate countries: Description of the data*, European Foundation for Living and Working Conditions, Dublin, draft version, 2003.
- Paugam, S., 'Poverty and social disqualification: a comparative analysis of cumulative social disadvantages in Europe', *Journal of European Social Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 287-303, 1996.
- Room, G., 'Poverty and social exclusion: The new European Agenda for policy and research', in Room, G., *Beyond the Threshold. The Measurement and Analysis of Social Exclusion*, Bristol, Policy Press, pp. 1-9, 1995.
- Room, G., 'Social Quality in Europe: perspectives on social exclusion', in Beck, W., van der Maesen, L., and Walker, A. *The social quality of Europe*, Bristol, The Policy Press, pp. 289-97 1998.
- Sen, A., *Social exclusion: concept, application, and scrutiny*. social development Papers No. 1, Manila, Office of Environment and Social Development, Asian Development Bank, 2000.
- Sen, A., *Development as Freedom*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999.

Silver, H., 'Social Exclusion and Social Solidarity: Three Paradigms', in *International Labour Review*, Vol. 133, No. 5-6, pp. 531-78, 1994.

Townsend, P., *Poverty in the United Kingdom: a survey of household resources and standard of living*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1979.

Townsend, P., 'Deprivation', in *Journal of Social Policy*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 125-46, 1987.

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

Perceptions of social integration and exclusion in an enlarged Europe

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

2004 – viii, 62 p. – 21 x 29.7 cm

ISBN 92-897-0246-X

Venta • Salg • Verkauf • Πωλήσεις • Sales • Vente • Vendita • Verkoop • Venda • Myynti • Försäljning
<http://eur-op.eu.int/general/en/s-ad.htm>

BELGIQUE/BELGIË

Jean De Lannoy
Avenue du Roi 202/Koningslaan 202
B-1190 Bruxelles/Brussel
Tél. (32-2) 538 43 08
Fax (32-2) 538 08 41
E-mail: jean.de.lannoy@infoboard.be
URL: <http://www.jean-de-lannoy.be>

**La librairie européenne/
De Europese Boekhandel**

Rue de la Loi 244/Wetstraat 244
B-1040 Bruxelles/Brussel
Tél. (32-2) 295 26 39
Fax (32-2) 735 08 60
E-mail: mail@libeurop.be
URL: <http://www.libeurop.be>

Moniteur belge/Belgisch Staatsblad

Rue de Louvain 40-42/Leuvenseweg 40-42
B-1000 Bruxelles/Brussel
Tél. (32-2) 552 22 11
Fax (32-2) 511 01 84
E-mail: eusates@just.fgov.be

DANMARK

J. H. Schultz Information A/S

Herstedvang 12
DK-2620 Albertslund
Tlf. (45) 43 63 23 00
Fax (45) 43 63 19 69
E-mail: schultz@schultz.dk
URL: <http://www.schultz.dk>

DEUTSCHLAND

Bundesanzeiger Verlag GmbH

Vertriebsabteilung
Amsterdamer Straße 192
D-50735 Köln
Tel. (49-221) 97 66 80
Fax (49-221) 97 66 82 78
E-Mail: vertrieb@bundesanzeiger.de
URL: <http://www.bundesanzeiger.de>

ΕΛΛΑΔΑ/GREECE

G. C. Eleftheroudakis SA

International Bookstore
Panepistimiou 17
GR-10564 Athina
Tel. (30-1) 331 41 80/112/3/4/5
Fax (30-1) 325 84 99
E-mail: elebooks@netor.gr
URL: <http://www.hellasnet.gr>

ESPAÑA

Boletín Oficial del Estado

Trafalgar, 27
E-28071 Madrid
Tel. (34) 915 38 21 11 (libros)
913 84 17 15 (suscripción)
Fax (34) 915 38 21 21 (libros),
913 84 17 14 (suscripción)
E-mail: clientes@com.boe.es
URL: <http://www.boe.es>

Mundi Prensa Libros, SA

Castelló, 37
E-28001 Madrid
Tel. (34) 914 36 37 00
Fax (34) 915 75 39 98
E-mail: libreria@mundiprensa.es
URL: <http://www.mundiprensa.com>

FRANCE

Journal officiel

Service des publications des CE
26, rue Desaix
F-75727 Paris Cedex 15
Tél. (33) 140 58 77 31
Fax (33) 140 58 77 00
E-mail: europublications@journal-officiel.gouv.fr
URL: <http://www.journal-officiel.gouv.fr>

IRELAND

Aian Hanna's Bookshop

270 Lower Rathmines Road
Dublin 6
Tel. (353-1) 496 73 98
Fax (353-1) 496 02 28
E-mail: hannaas@iol.ie

ITALIA

Licosa SpA

Via Duca di Calabria, 1/1
Casella postale 552
I-50125 Firenze
Tel. (39) 055 64 83 1
Fax (39) 055 64 12 57
E-mail: licosa@licosa.com
URL: <http://www.licosa.com>

LUXEMBOURG

Messageries du livre SARL

5, rue Raiffeisen
L-2411 Luxembourg
Tél. (352) 40 10 20
Fax (352) 49 06 61
E-mail: mail@mdl.lu
URL: <http://www.mdl.lu>

NEDERLAND

SDU Servicecentrum Uitgevers

Christoffel Plantijnstraat 2
Postbus 20014
2500 EA Den Haag
Tel. (31-70) 378 98 80
Fax (31-70) 378 97 83
E-mail: sdu@sdu.nl
URL: <http://www.sdu.nl>

PORTUGAL

Distribuidora de Livros Bertrand Ld.ª

Grupo Bertrand, SA
Rua das Terras dos Vales, 4-A
Apartado 60037
P-2700 Amadora
Tel. (351) 214 95 87 87
Fax (351) 214 96 02 55
E-mail: dlb@ip.pt

Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, SA

Sector de Publicações Oficiais
Rua da Escola Politécnica, 135
P-1250-100 Lisboa Codex
Tel. (351) 213 94 57 00
Fax (351) 213 94 57 50
E-mail: spoce@incm.pt
URL: <http://www.incm.pt>

SUOMI/FINLAND

**Akateeminen Kirjakauppa/
Akademiska Bokhandeln**

Keskuskatu 1/Centralgatan 1
PL/PB 128
FIN-00101 Helsinki/Helsingfors
P./tfn (358-9) 121 44 18
F./fax (358-9) 121 44 35
Sähköposti: sps@akateeminen.com
URL: <http://www.akateeminen.com>

SVERIGE

BTJ AB

Traktorvägen 11-13
S-221 82 Lund
Tlf. (46-46) 18 00 00
Fax (46-46) 30 79 47
E-post: btjeu-pub@btj.se
URL: <http://www.btj.se>

UNITED KINGDOM

The Stationery Office Ltd

Customer Services
PO Box 29
Norwich NR3 1GN
Tel. (44) 870 60 05-522
Fax (44) 870 60 05-533
E-mail: book.orders@theso.co.uk
URL: <http://www.itsofficial.net>

ÍSLAND

Bokabud Larusar Blöndal

Skólavörðustíg, 2
IS-101 Reykjavík
Tel. (354) 552 55 40
Fax (354) 552 55 60
E-mail: bokabud@simnet.is

SCHWEIZ/SUISSE/SVIZZERA

Euro Info Center Schweiz

c/o OSEC Business Network Switzerland
Stampfenbachstraße 85
PF 492
CH-8035 Zürich
Tel. (41-1) 365 53 15
Fax (41-1) 365 54 11
E-mail: eics@osec.ch
URL: <http://www.osec.ch/eics>

BĂLGARIJA

Europress Euromedia Ltd

59, blvd Vitoshka
BG-1000 Sofia
Tel. (359-2) 980 37 66
Fax (359-2) 980 42 30
E-mail: Milena@mbox.cit.bg
URL: <http://www.europress.bg>

CYPRUS

Cyprus Chamber of Commerce and Industry

PO Box 21455
CY-1509 Nicosia
Tel. (357-2) 88 97 52
Fax (357-2) 66 10 44
E-mail: demetrap@ccci.org.cy

EESTI

Eesti Kaubandus-Tööstuskoda

(Estonian Chamber of Commerce and Industry)
Toom-Kooli 17
EE-10130 Tallinn
Tel. (372) 646 02 44
Fax (372) 646 02 45
E-mail: einfo@koda.ee
URL: <http://www.koda.ee>

HRVATSKA

Mediatrade Ltd

Pavla Hatza 1
HR-10000 Zagreb
Tel. (385-1) 481 94 11
Fax (385-1) 481 94 11

MAGYARORSZÁG

Euro Info Service

Szt. István krt.12
III emelet 1/A
PO Box 1039
H-1137 Budapest
Tel. (36-1) 329 21 70
Fax (36-1) 349 20 53
E-mail: euroinfo@euroinfo.hu
URL: <http://www.euroinfo.hu>

MALTA

Miller Distributors Ltd

Malta International Airport
PO Box 25
Luqa LQA 05
Tel. (356) 66 44 88
Fax (356) 67 67 99
E-mail: gwirth@usa.net

NORGE

Swets Blackwell AS

Hans Nielsen Hauges gt. 39
Boks 4901 Nydalen
N-0423 Oslo
Tel. (47) 23 40 00 00
Fax (47) 23 40 00 01
E-mail: info@no.swetsblackwell.com
URL: <http://www.swetsblackwell.com.no>

POLSKA

Ars Polona

Krakowskie Przedmiescie 7
Skr. pocztowa 1001
PL-00-950 Warszawa
Tel. (48-22) 826 12 01
Fax (48-22) 826 62 40
E-mail: books119@arspolona.com.pl

ROMÂNIA

Euromedia

Str.Dionisie Lupu nr. 65, sector 1
RO-70184 Bucuresti
Tel. (40-1) 315 44 03
Fax (40-1) 312 96 46
E-mail: euromedia@mailcity.com

SLOVAKIA

Centrum VTI SR

Nám. Slobody, 19
SK-81223 Bratislava
Tel. (421-7) 54 41 83 64
Fax (421-7) 54 41 83 64
E-mail: europ@tbb1.sltk.stuba.sk
URL: <http://www.sltk.stuba.sk>

SLOVENIJA

GV Založba

Dunajska cesta 5
SLO-1000 Ljubljana
Tel. (386) 613 09 1804
Fax (386) 613 09 1805
E-mail: europ@gvestnik.si
URL: <http://www.gvzaložba.si>

TÜRKIYE

Dünya Infotel AS

100, Yil Mahallesi 34440
TR-80050 Bagcilar-Istanbul
Tel. (90-212) 629 46 89
Fax (90-212) 629 46 27
E-mail: aktuel.info@dunya.com

ARGENTINA

World Publications SA

Av. Cordoba 1877
C1120 AAA Buenos Aires
Tel. (54-11) 48 15 81 56
Fax (54-11) 48 15 81 56
E-mail: wpbooks@infovia.com.ar
URL: <http://www.wpbooks.com.ar>

AUSTRALIA

Hunter Publications

PO Box 404
Abbotsford, Victoria 3067
Tel. (61-3) 94 17 53 61
Fax (61-3) 94 19 71 54
E-mail: jpdavies@ozemail.com.au

BRESIL

Livraria Camões

Rua Bittencourt da Silva, 12 C
CEP
20043-900 Rio de Janeiro
Tel. (55-21) 262 47 76
Fax (55-21) 262 47 76
E-mail: livraria.camoes@incm.com.br
URL: <http://www.incm.com.br>

CANADA

Les éditions La Liberté Inc.

3020, chemin Sainte-Foy
Sainte-Foy, Québec G1X 3V6
Tel. (1-418) 658 37 63
Fax (1-800) 567 54 49
E-mail: liberte@mediom.qc.ca

Renouf Publishing Co. Ltd

5369 Chemin Canotek Road, Unit 1
Ottawa, Ontario K1J 9J3
Tel. (1-613) 745 26 65
Fax (1-613) 745 76 60
E-mail: order.dept@renoufbooks.com
URL: <http://www.renoufbooks.com>

EGYPT

The Middle East Observer

41 Sherif Street
Cairo
Tel. (20-2) 392 69 19
Fax (20-2) 393 97 32
E-mail: inquiry@meobserver.com
URL: <http://www.meobserver.com.eg>

MALAYSIA

EBIC Malaysia

Suite 45.02, Level 45
Plaza MBf (Letter Box 45)
8 Jalan Yap Kwan Seng
50450 Kuala Lumpur
Tel. (60-3) 21 62 92 98
Fax (60-3) 21 62 61 98
E-mail: ebic@tm.net.my

MÉXICO

Mundi Prensa México, SA de CV

Río Pánuco, 141
Colonia Cuauhtémoc
MX-06500 México, DF
Tel. (52-5) 533 56 58
Fax (52-5) 514 67 99
E-mail: 101545.2361@compuserve.com

SOUTH AFRICA

Eurochamber of Commerce in South Africa

PO Box 781738
2146 Sandton
Tel. (27-11) 884 39 52
Fax (27-11) 883 55 73
E-mail: info@eurochamber.co.za

SOUTH KOREA

**The European Union Chamber of
Commerce in Korea**

5th Fl, The Shilla Hotel
202, Jungchung-dong 2 Ga, Chung-ku
Seoul 100-392
Tel. (82-2) 22 53-5631/4
Fax (82-2) 22 53-5635/6
E-mail: eucck@eucck.org
URL: <http://www.eucck.org>

SRI LANKA

EBIC Sri Lanka

Trans Asia Hotel
115 Sir Chittampalam
A. Gardiner Mawatha
Colombo 2
Tel. (94-1) 074 71 50 78
Fax (94-1) 44 87 79
E-mail: ebicsl@slnet.lk

T'AI-WAN

Tycoon Information Inc

PO Box 81-466
105 Taipei
Tel. (886-2) 87 12 88 86
Fax (886-2) 87 12 47 47
E-mail: euitupe@ms21.hinet.net

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Bernan Associates

4611-F Assembly Drive
Lanham MD 20706-4391
Tel. (1-800) 274 44 47 (toll free telephone)
Fax (1-800) 865 34 50 (toll free fax)
E-mail: query@bernan.com
URL: <http://www.bernan.com>

ANDERE LÄNDER
OTHER COUNTRIES
AUTRES PAYS

**Bitte wenden Sie sich an ein Büro Ihrer
Wahl/Please contact the sales office of
your choice/Veuillez vous adresser au
bureau de vente de votre choix**

Office for Official Publications of the European
Communities
2, rue Mercier
L-2985 Luxembourg
Tel. (352) 29 29-42455
Fax (352) 29 29-42758
E-mail: info-info-opoce@cec.eu.int
URL: publications.eu.int

Since Maastricht, the fight against poverty and social exclusion has been high on the social policy agenda in the European Union. The Lisbon summit in 2000 emphasised the need to improve knowledge and understanding of social exclusion in order to develop policies to promote a more inclusive society. This report views social exclusion and social integration as two sides of one coin. Drawing on the results of Eurobarometer surveys carried out in the EU and the 13 acceding and candidate countries, it takes a comparative and multi-dimensional approach to the topic. It looks at the reasons behind social exclusion, examining precarious living conditions such as long-term unemployment, poverty or multiple deprivation in terms of the risks they pose to achieving social integration. Above all, it highlights five essential factors necessary for successful social integration: economic resources, employment situation, family support, social networks and a fulfilling social life.

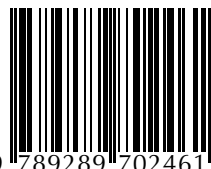
The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions is a tripartite EU body, whose role is to provide key actors in social policymaking with findings, knowledge and advice drawn from comparative research. The Foundation was established in 1975 by Council Regulation EEC No 1365/75 of 26 May 1975.



Publications Office

Publications.eu.int

ISBN 92-897-0246-X



9 789289 702461