

EU-PROJECT:
ELIPSE

Central Fosie

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Mikael Stigendal

Urban Integration

Regional Development Centre, Teacher Education

Malmö University

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INTRODUCTION

First of all, as this report turns to the participants of the Elipse project, I won't write anything about the project as such. I take for granted that everybody who read this report is familiar with the project application and the reason to why this report is written. Moreover, the report doesn't include normal procedures like extensive references and literature.

I will also keep the acknowledgements very short and simply express my gratitude to the Fosie group. I enjoyed our local conference very much and I'm also very happy for the comments on an earlier version of this report. I'll wait with my acknowledgements to the others in the project leadership and the local researchers. The other participants I haven't met yet, but I'm looking forward to seeing you all in Torino.

I have chosen to divide this local report into three chapters. The first chapter describes the area, mostly in quantitative terms. Also, it includes explanations of some important welfare systems and legislations in Sweden. Without such explanations, crucial aspects on social exclusion become impossible to understand.

However, quantitative aspects and so called hard facts don't give the whole picture, in particular not the one of social exclusion. Chapter two builds further on the quantitative description of the area by adding the qualitative assessments of eight persons who in some kind of way work with social exclusion.

Chapter one and two aim at giving a rounded account of social exclusion in the area called Central Fosie, what it means as well as its scope. Such an account is needed in order to understand the examples of good practice. The problems have to be explained before the solutions may be perceived as solutions.

Thus, even if the examples of good practice constitute the essence of this project, I haven't located them in the beginning of my report, but in the third chapter. That makes them more understandable, I think, in particular for an international audience. In this project, the examples of good practice belong to the practitioners that take part in the project. The examples were presented at the second day of our local conference. The practitioners have been given

the opportunity to read an earlier version of this manuscript and thus comment on my representation of their examples.

1. CENTRAL FOSIE – A PART OF MALMÖ

Malmö is the third largest city in Sweden, with a population of 257.574 (1 jan 2000). Once, Malmö was known in Sweden as a model of social democratic prosperity. The city became an incarnation of the industrial society, however organised in a social democratic way. The Swedish Social Democratic Party originated in Malmö in the 1880s. Some other core institutions of the Swedish labour movement originated in Malmö as well.

After the franchise reform in 1919, the party retained power over the local council for an uninterrupted period of 66 years. At the time of the electoral defeat in 1985, Malmö had changed profoundly and become the worst example of segregation in Sweden. It still is, but during the last years the decline has turned into an expansion, fuelled by the international boom and a newly established University. Also, Malmö has gained an international attention by the building of the Öresund Bridge.

Of all inhabitants in Malmö, 23% are born outside Sweden. Around half of the school children have a foreign background. More than 160 languages are spoken in Malmö. The city is highly segregated. The more wealthy inhabitants live in the western, southern and eastern outskirts of Malmö. The problems of social exclusion is concentrated to a quite coherent area east and south of the city centre, covering almost 25% of the whole Malmö population. The size of this area makes Malmö the most segregated city in Sweden. Currently, the Swedish government spends a vast amount of money on this larger area as a part of its Metropolitan policy.

Since the 1 of January 1996, a substantial share of power has been decentralised to 10 local wards, governed by local councils. The social democratic council majority launched the reform after the election victory in 1994 as a response to earlier market solutions implemented by the right-wing city council between 1991-94. Instead of letting market criteria decide, the social democratic councillors wanted to engage citizens in the decision making process by relocating politics into every-day life. The ward reform aimed at strengthening democracy, but also to break down boundaries between council bureaucracies.

The Fosie area

The biggest one of these 10 wards, in terms of inhabitants, is Fosie. At the 1 of January 2000, Fosie had a population of 37.605, which is almost 15% of all the inhabitants in Malmö. Fosie has to be regarded as a rather new part of Malmö. It's not very old. 97% of all the dwellings in the area were built after 1940. 46% were built during the 1960s.

In fact, a walk through the ward, from north to south, illustrates very well the different periods of Swedish post-war housing. The northern part of Fosie, called Augustenborg, was built just after the war. At that time it was regarded as a success. Many social aspects were built in to the area. After its completion in the early 1950s, Augustenborg attracted people from far and near, residents as well as study visitors. Today, it belongs to the area in Fosie regarded as socially excluded, however it benefits from its successful past, not the least in terms of the high housing standard.

During our walk through the ward, housing becomes more and more industrialized, culminating in the south of the ward with the area called Lindängen, which was built as a part of the so called Million dwelling programme during the 60s. In such areas almost no meeting places exist at all. There are no small shops, no restaurants and no pubs. Hence, people easily tend to become isolated, in particular the unemployed and the ones without family relatives in the neighbourhood, for example pensioners.

In contrast, there's no slum to be found in Fosie. The housing standard is generally high. Also, the area has a lot of large fields, quite well managed, green lawns as well as fields covered with bushes and trees.

As we have been walking through the central parts of Fosie, we have also passed through the area associated with social exclusion. It's a coherent area in the central of Fosie, surrounded by wealthier areas in the south, west and east. It consists almost solely of high-rise blocks. Thus, the area is quite coherent and well defined. I will call it Central Fosie.¹

Private landlords own 40% of the dwellings in Central Fosie. The council has a housing company called MKB, which owns further 29% of the dwellings. As a total, 69% of the households rent their dwelling.

¹ . Encompassing the smaller areas Heleneholm, Augustenborg, Almhög, Nydala, Gullviksborg, Hermodsdal och Lindängen.

28% of the dwellings in Central Fosie belong to co-operative housing associations. In Sweden, only members are allowed to live in houses owned by such associations. Vice versa, only those who live in the houses are allowed to be members. Thus, the members of a housing association are those who live in a house owned by it.

In order to move in to a house owned by a co-operative association, you have to buy a share in the association, which equals to the size of the dwelling. Market forces decide about the price for that share. However, no matter its price, the share provides you with one vote at the annual meeting of the association. Every member has one vote, regardless of the price for the share. Moreover, only members are allowed to vote and become elected to the board of the co-operative housing association.

The co-operative housing tenure is big in Sweden. The associations may be small and consist of only 20-30 dwellings. However, much bigger associations exist as well embracing a couple of hundred dwellings. In the whole of Malmö, many co-operative housing associations own together 34% of all dwellings.

Compared to renting and co-operative housing, the sector of owner occupation is rather small. It comprises 15% of the households in Malmö. It exists in Central Fosie as well, however with a tiny share of 3%.

The people in Central Fosie

64% of all the inhabitants in Fosie live in this area, which equals to 9,4% of all the inhabitants in Malmö. The age distribution in Central Fosie accords quite well to the whole of Malmö. No single age group dominate.

However, regarding the distribution of ethnicities, Central Fosie doesn't look at all like a miniature of Malmö. Of all Malmö immigrants (defined as inhabitants borne abroad), 21% live in Fosie, more than in any other of the ten wards. The five biggest minorities originate from former Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Polen, Iraq and Denmark. As a total, 128 ethnic minorities are represented in Fosie.

In Fosie itself, the share of immigrants amounts to 34%. Only the Rosengård ward has a higher share. In the Rosengård ward, 58% are immigrants. However, due to the smaller size of Rosengård, a higher number of immigrants live in Fosie. In Malmö as a whole, 24% are immigrants.

Everyday life in Central Fosie is stricken by unemployment. However, the official figures on unemployment are not really accurate. Only people who have registered themselves as unemployed are included. That excludes a considerable amount of people from the statistics, in particular immigrants. Instead, we have to rely on the figures on gainful employment. 47% of the inhabitants between 20 and 64 years old earn their own living. No difference exists between men and women. The rest (53%) includes not only unemployment but also students and disability pensioners.

However, according to Swedish standards the level of gainful employment in Central Fosie is low. In the whole of Malmö 62% earn their own living. However, there are areas in Malmö with even lower levels of gainful employment than in Central Fosie. In the Rosengård ward, only 31% of the inhabitants (age 20-64) earn their own living. This could be compared with the southern parts of Malmö (Limhamn-Bunkeflo) where 77% of the women and 79% of the men have a gainful employment.

In a research project I led in the mid 90s, 25% of the inhabitants age 18 to 64 in Central Fosie turned out to be unemployed. At the same time, 17% of the same population in the whole of Malmö were unemployed. Since then, unemployment has certainly decreased, but in my view not as much in Central Fosie as in the whole of Malmö.

Unemployment may indicate poverty, but not necessarily. In an international comparison Sweden has a high unemployment benefit. However, people don't qualify automatically to the unemployment benefit (see below). Those who don't qualify have to apply for social assistance, which means a lower benefit. Thus, the level of social assistance is a better indicator on poverty than unemployment.

In Central Fosie, 27% of the households got social assistance in the year 2000. In the whole of Malmö, the same level amounted to 13%. Yet, Central Fosie is certainly not the poorest area in Malmö. In the Rosengård ward, 43% of the households got social assistance. In the research project I led during the mid 90s, referred to above, I classified Central Fosie as the second poorest area in Malmö.

The Fosie ward council

Life conditions in the Central Fosie area is to a substantial extent decided by the ward council. Yet, that doesn't include power over housing, roadwork, electricity or the infrastructure in general. Instead, each one of the ten ward councils in Malmö decides about a lot of human issues, like schools, child care, social benefits, leisure and elderly care.

Responsible for the decisions are the 15 politicians in the ward council. A majority of 8 belong to the social democratic party. The politicians are not elected directly by the citizens, but instead appointed by the councillors in the city council. Indeed, some crucial power has remained with the Malmö city council, perhaps above all taxation. Inhabitants in Sweden pay almost their whole income tax to the local council.

The 15 ward politicians decide over a council ward administration, which include 2.500 employees. The biggest department is the child and youth, which include five nine-year so-called ground schools. Sweden has a nine-year compulsory ground school system, starting at the age of seven. No marking exists until year 8, but then marking becomes very important. The marks from year 9 decide about the further opportunities. After the nine-year compulsory ground school, everybody has to continue at a likewise three-year compulsory gymnasium school.

Pupils without an approval from year 9 in the three core subjects (Swedish, English and Mathematics) have to be taught individually at a detention school. The aim is to re-learn the knowledge needed to get prepared for an ordinary three-year compulsory gymnasium school. However, many pupils and parents take the not approved marks from year 9 as an indication of a more general uselessness and a social exclusion. That's also how mass media often reports about it. Pupils without approved marks are associated with uncivilized behaviour.

Thus, school teachers decide about social exclusion. However, that may certainly not be their intention. And indeed, individual teachers haven't had any power over the creation of the marking system. However, they are a part of a system, which in practice decides about social exclusion. Perhaps they lack the appropriate resources. Or they may wonder a lot about the knowledge that the pupils have to learn in order to get their marks. Is it really the right knowledge? Yet, at the end of the year 9, they have to mark

their pupils in accordance with the marking conditions and then in practice confirm but also establish social exclusion.

Another big department in Fosite with an impact on social exclusion is the social service. In Sweden, the social service at the local level is authorized to deal with unemployment. However, some other authorities, also at different levels, deal with unemployment as well. People who become unemployed, contact the employment office. That's part of a government authority called the National Labour Market Board. That board is also responsible for the unemployment benefits. To be sure, unemployment benefit societies associated with the trade unions pay the unemployment benefit, but they are to a high extent funded by and responsible to the National Labour Market Board.

The unemployment benefit depends on previous income records and provides a substitute for a loss of income. It's called the loss of income principle. You get 80% of your previous income with a monthly pre-tax ceiling at 15.510 SEK (1.725 Euros). However, if you don't have any previous income records, you are not entitled to the benefit. Moreover, it has to be a job income with at least a six-month duration and stemming from the last year. Furthermore, you must have been a member of an unemployment benefit society (usually run by a trade union) for at least 12 months.

Thus, youngsters who become unemployed after leaving school are not entitled to the unemployment benefit. They don't fulfil the job condition. Neither do immigrants who arrive to Sweden and become unemployed. As long as you don't fulfil the job and membership conditions, you are not entitled to the unemployment benefit.

Instead, you have to rely upon a means-tested social security on a minimal level at 3.451 SEK (385 Euro) monthly post-tax for a single person, housing allowance not included, administered by the local council authorities. Thus, the social service department in Fosite deals with the long-term unemployed as well as young people and immigrants without any previous income records.

In the last decade, the social service authorities in general have hardened the requirements for getting social security by introducing a job condition. If you don't apply for jobs and take what you get, the authorities won't pay even a social security. That has highlighted and tightened the boundary lines to social exclusion.

Policies

Central Fosie belongs to the area in Malmö targetted by the Government's Metropolitan policy. In Sweden, a unified municipal policy was launched in 1998 by the Bill "Development and justice – A policy for metropolitan areas in the 21st century" (1997/98:165). It's described by the government as "the first step in a process in which central government, the regions, county councils and municipalities work together to create growth in vulnerable metropolitan areas." The municipal policy builds on earlier experiences and recommendations, in particular by the government Commission on Living Conditions in Major Urban Areas (Storstadskommittén), appointed after the social democratic victory in the 1994 general election and delivering its final report in 1997.

This metropolitan policy has two general goals: Firstly to provide the foundations for sustainable growth and secondly to stop social, ethnic and discriminating segregation while working for equality in living conditions. Both have been broken down into more concrete objectives. The first one concerns the strengthening of competitiveness, access to qualified work force, the adaptation of government business sector, measures to the requirements of the respective regions, and the increase in attractiveness of metropolitan regions.

The second goal concerns the raise of employment rates, reduction of benefit dependency, strengthening of Swedish language, improvements in opportunities for school students to reach secondary school attainment levels, the general raise of educational level, safer as well as healthier living conditions in the neighbourhoods, an improvement in public health, and an increase of democratic participation in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

A commission has been established as responsible for the implementation of the policy by entering into agreements with municipalities. As a total, areas in seven municipalities have got an agreement with three years duration. Negotiations with the municipalities started in the spring 1999 and the first agreement, the one with Stockholm, was concluded at the end of October 1999. A couple of months later, Malmö signed a similar agreement with the Government.

The areas selected in Malmö belong to four of the ten city wards. Each one has designed their own proposal. The Fosie proposal includes a wide range of measures focusing on for example nurseries, competence development,

culture, democracy, labour market, integration, meeting places etc. In Fosie, the Government's Metropolitan policy isn't carried out through an independent agency in Fosie. Instead, the ward council has chosen to integrate it in its administration. A local co-ordinator for the Metropolitan policy has been appointed, but he is subordinated to the manager of the administration. Moreover, some projects are financed by both the Metropolitan policy and other funding.

That's the case of the so-called Work and Development Centre. Such centres have been established in all the four wards, targeted by the Government's Metropolitan policy. Each one is staffed with around 20 persons, most from the council but some also from the National Labour Market Board (mentioned above) and the National Health Insurance (also a government authority). Thus, the Work and Development Centre is an attempt to bridge the division between different agencies dealing with unemployment.

Conclusions

A difficult transformation from an old industrial past has made social exclusion a big issue in Malmö. One of the areas, which have become associated with social exclusion, is Central Fosie. However, social exclusion in this area doesn't mean an obsolete and low housing standard. The area is not socially excluded because of slum, neither because of a distorted distribution of ages, nor because of gender divisions. Instead, social exclusion in Central Fosie is associated with poverty, unemployment and a high proportion of immigrants, but also social isolation.

Social exclusion is not inevitable and natural. It's determined socially by for example laws, regulations, the way the welfare systems function, attitudes, norms and cultures. In Fosie, the ward council decides to a substantial extent about social exclusion. The borders between social inclusion and social exclusion are drawn for example at the schools and by the social service.

At the school, the border manifest itself in the amount of not approved pupils. At the social service, social exclusion is determined by the conditions for getting social assistance. The harsher conditions in recent years have increased the responsibility of the individual employee in deciding about where to draw the boundary lines.

The Fosie ward council could be described as responsible for keeping its inhabitants included as well as guarding the boundary lines towards social exclusion. Moreover, supported by the Government's Metropolitan policy, the ward council has launched various measures in order to make the socially excluded to become socially included. For example, at the Work and Development Centre different authorities co-operate in finding appropriate jobs or educations for the unemployed.

2. OUTSIDE SOCIETY?

It's often taken for granted that unemployment and poverty means social exclusion. But why? In order to answer that question we need to explore the definition of social exclusion. What does it mean? And is unemployment and poverty the only indicators of social exclusion? Is it only because they tend to be unemployed that immigrants are associated with social exclusion? Do other expressions of social exclusion exist?

In my view, there's no complete and final definition of social exclusion. It constantly has to be developed, concurrently with the development of society. In such a development of the definition, a dialog with people who work with social exclusion is vital. That's why we have engaged the eight participants in this project. However, that shouldn't be regarded as an argument for a relativist view. Absolutely not. Regardless of what society we live in, I think it's possible to agree about some basic principles in a definition of social exclusion.

Interestingly, the discussion within the EU seems to have reached such an agreement. That's the impression I get when I read one of the latest reports about social exclusion. In this chapter, I will begin by presenting my view on what I think we may and should agree about. Then, I'll present the Fosie focus group and the discussions we had. By analysing that discussion I hope to develop the definition of social exclusion further, at least to the benefit of understanding what it means in Central Fosie.

Social exclusion – what does it mean?

In the agreement with the Government, the Fosie administration explains the reason to why the central part of the ward needs to get funded by the metropolitan policy. According to the introduction, written by the manager of the administration, the reason is the increasing "ethnic and social exclusion". The situation is described by references to figures on health, election turnout, mobility of inhabitants, employment, number of beneficiaries and integration. Thus, the administration uses a multi-dimensional view on social exclusion.

The multi-dimensional view seems to have become increasingly common in recent years. Not only does it permeate the Swedish metropolitan policy. The EU adopts such a view in the Joint Report on Social Inclusion. The earlier one-dimensional restrictions to low income solely, has to be replaced by a multi-dimensional approach which certainly includes income but “in order to measure and analyse this phenomenon more completely, it would be necessary to take into account other equally relevant aspects such as access to employment, education, housing, healthcare, the degree of satisfaction of basic needs and the ability to participate fully in society.”

The Joint Report on Social Inclusion identifies some key risk factors. That includes long-term dependence on low/inadequate income, long-term unemployment, persistent low quality employment (working poor), poor qualifications and low level of education, growing up in a family vulnerable to social exclusion, disability, poor health, drug abuse and alcoholism, living in an area of multiple disadvantage, precarious housing conditions and ethnic background. A person who fits in with one or more of these factors runs the risk of being socially excluded.

However, when do these risks become a real state of social exclusion? What are the conditions for social exclusion to become real from being a risk? For example, should a long-term unemployed be regarded as socially excluded or “only” as running the risk? The report doesn’t answer such questions, deliberately. That’s because it builds on a relative notion of poverty and social exclusion. Not an absolute one.

The report defines poverty and social exclusion “in relation to the general level of prosperity in a given country and point in time.” That means, firstly, the existence of differences between countries. For example, to what extent long-term unemployment should be regarded as social exclusion couldn’t be taken for granted but has to be studied.

Secondly, the definition relates social exclusion to a given society at a particular time: “Throughout this report the terms poverty and social exclusion refer to when people are prevented from participating fully in economic, social and civil life and/or when their access to income and other resources (personal, family, social and cultural) is so inadequate as to exclude them from enjoying a standard of living and quality of life that is regarded as acceptable by the society in which they live.” The definition makes clear that social exclusion doesn’t mean misery in general, but an exclusion from society and a particular one.

Thus, social exclusion has to be understood from a multi-dimensional perspective in relation to a particular society. As a consequence, such an understanding requires knowledge about that society in terms of its laws, systems, institutions, cultures, attitudes and so forth. It's in relation to all these aspects of society that social exclusion becomes visible. Where do we find all that knowledge? How do we get it?

Some knowledge may be easy to get hold of. For example, the manager of the Fosie ward uses some knowledge in his introduction to the agreement with the Government. Among else, he refers to the lower mortality rate in Fosie. In average, men in Fosie live until the age of 72.5 years and women until 79.6 years. That's certainly lower than the average in Sweden of 75.5 years and 80.8 years. It indicates health problems among men in particular.

A lot of statistics exist which may be useful in measuring social exclusion, its extent as well as depth. However, statistics doesn't cover everything. Above all, statistics have to be interpreted. What does it mean? What does it say about social exclusion? It doesn't speak for itself. Moreover, statistics is marked by the people who have constructed it, their interests and objectives, not necessarily to the benefit of the people who live in social exclusion or work with it. That's why I think studies of social exclusion have to be both quantitative and qualitative.

The Fosie focus group

It's the idea behind this project to combine more quantitative data with the more qualitative experience that people who work with social exclusion possesses. That's why we have recruited 8 participants who in one way or the other work with social exclusion in Fosie. All of them have a lot of experience. But more than that, it's a reflected experience. In my view, that makes it countable as knowledge.

Such knowledge may be limited. It may be unconsciously imbued by a particular perception or perspective. Perhaps the participants express professional prejudices more than personal reflections. However, social scientists do that too. Whether it's a matter of experiences, data, statistics or even knowledge itself, it has to be reflected. Otherwise it doesn't qualify as knowledge.

It's the idea of this project to reflect together in open discussions. 20 indicators have been chosen as the basis of reflection. 8 of them stem from the Joint Report on Social Inclusion. By choosing them we will be able to try out and perhaps develop further the ideas of that report. The other 12 indicators have been chosen for the sake of achieving a more comprehensive view of the area. Above else, the choice of 20 indicators doesn't only cover misery, but also potentials. And in discussions about social exclusion it's important not to forget the potentials alongside the misery.

In accordance with the proposal, the recruited participants represent social workers, teachers (kids 12-15 of age), assistant nurses, pre-school teachers, employees at a development agency, youth leaders, voluntary workers (associational life) and politicians. By selecting these representatives, we were hoping to gather a broad scope of knowledge about social exclusion in Central Fosite. Also, we expected differences to become visible and possible to discuss.

Before I analyse the discussions, I'll start by presenting the participants and the knowledge they represent. Ronny Hallberg works for a youth organisation called the Brewery (explained below). In his every-day life he meets young people with both potentials and problems. He gets to know about very difficult life situations, but also about abilities to do something. Another important part of his every-day experience concerns authorities of different kinds, council at different levels as well as national. He learns a lot about the difficulties in co-operating.

Barbro Hansson is a teacher at one of the schools in Central Fosite. She works with children at the ages of 13-16 who for one or another reason can't follow the normal courses as they are presented. She enjoys taking part in this project because, as she says, "it deals with an important issue, how to make it possible for a person to be an active and respected part of the society he lives in regardless of his shortcomings. As a teacher I have met many youngsters who at an early age consider themselves to be excluded from the society since they can't achieve the results that are expected of them."

Alvar Norén worked with counselling service for drug addicts in Malmö during most of the seventies and eighties. Since the mid-seventies he has taken part in several case studies about drug addicts in Malmö, some of them initiated by the Swedish Government. During the 90s, he has worked with hiv/aids prevention. In the late nineties he was involved in a EU-project concerning drug addicts in several EU-countries. Since the year 2000, he is

employed by the Fosie ward. The focus of his work, as he explains it, is to “avoid coercive actions by the society against compulsory addicts and instead try to find solutions based on voluntariness and cooperation between the drug addicts and society.”

Mia Johansson has worked as a pre-school teacher since 1979. She works in a kind of nursery, in Sweden called open. This means that the visitors may change from day to day. Also, she doesn't only meet the children, but whole families. She describes the open nursery as a “melting pot’ for preschool children together with their mothers (sometime fathers).”

Lotta Palmqvist is a social worker. She works at the Work and Development Centre. In her work, she assists unemployed adults in finding a job or an education. Last year she worked with establishing a different kind of school, called Second Chance School (presented below). This school tries to make it possible for socially excluded young adults to get an upper secondary school education.

Richard Richardson works for the Fosie ward council at a recreation centre in the south of Fosie. He is a recreation leader for teenagers. Most of them have a background in divorced families, drug problems and criminal behaviour. In his daily life, he learns a lot about drug problems and crime among young people.

Christer Brandt calls himself painter in the telephone directory and, indeed, he works in the painting business, but only 50% part time. He is more known as a politician and he devotes a lot of time to politics in the social democratic party. He is the chairman of the Fosie ward council, member of the city council, group leader for the social democrats in the city council and also member of the city council's executive committee.

Siv Köhler did also take part in the local conference. However, she hasn't presented herself at the web-board so I can't present her here. Unfortunately.

At day 1 of the local conference, we discussed the profile of Central Fosie and in what senses social exclusion characterizes the area. We went through the indicators, one by one. Hence, we discussed analytically, isolating one aspect at a time. In social science, that supposes to be a normal procedure. Yet, it may be hard to achieve. It's so tempting to incorporate other aspects. Reality doesn't consist of single aspects, but a variety of aspects intertwined.

Sometimes in our discussions, it proved to be difficult to keep the different aspects apart from each other. My role was to maintain the analytical

perspective. Also, I was responsible for maintaining the relation to society. As a whole, I think we succeeded very well. Each one of the indicators were discussed in isolation from each other, to the extent it was relevant and possible. Also, they were interpreted in the societal context.

I wont present all the indicators in the same order as we discussed them. Working with empiri is one thing and presenting the result another. Presenting needs to be done in a way, which makes it interesting to read. However, first of all the presentation has to make conclusions possible.

Social exclusion in Central Fosite

We started by discussing long-term dependence on low income. That doesn't have to mean exclusion in Sweden, Christer stated. At least not automatically. Mia agreed. It's certainly a risk, but not necessarily a fact. Still, individually we may regard ourselves as excluded when the money won't last out for a holiday, a car or a summerhouse.

But should that really be regarded as social exclusion, I asked? For example, even a low income makes you qualified for the benefit system. Yet, Kenneth persisted in regarding long-term dependence on low income as social exclusion. "You may not take the family in the car and drive to the wood. You may not drive to one of the supermarkets outside Malmö. Not even to the cheap supermarket at Bo Ohlsson in Tomelilla."

Who is right? That depends on what we mean by society. The notion used in this project and explained in an earlier chapter relates social exclusion to society. Thus, it's not a matter of our own values in the first place.

At that time in the discussion it became necessary for me to clarify my conception of society. Society doesn't necessarily correspond to a geographical area. The Swedish society doesn't necessarily comprise everything included within the borders of the country known as Sweden. The principal borders of a society are social, not geographical. People related to each other through structures, systems, institutions, laws, norms and cultures makes a society. Society is a kind of a totality, however often very contradictory, shaky and flawed. In contrast to the notion of social exclusion, we may call society a form of social inclusion.

Hence, people who don't fit into the social inclusion of society become socially excluded, regardless if they live within the borders of the same

country. Regardless if they live within the same city. We belong to the social inclusion of society by taking part. To the extent we don't, we are socially excluded.

Then, a crucial question arises: How are the social borders of a society created and maintained? Who or what are responsible for creating them? In our discussion at the conference, I exemplified by laws. Also, public opinion has a determinative force in the creation of social borders.

In the sociological tradition, law represents system integration. Society is integrated systematically by for example laws. However, society needs to be integrated in another way as well and that's usually called social integration. Public opinion is a good example. In a society, system and social integration presuppose each other. Thus, laws are bound to be supported by a public opinion.

Several of the participants didn't agree. That's not always the case, they claimed. Only sometimes. Barbro referred to lobbying where "very strong economic wills claim their rights, despite the fact that a majority may perhaps be against it." Also, she mentioned the debate on drugs. "A legalisation is discussed because nobody knows how to get rid of drugs. Then it's not a matter of a popular will, but resignation."

I tried to reassert my point. Society in the shape of for example its legislative instances takes stands. We may certainly discuss the legitimacy and on what grounds, but the instances of society take stands and in that way maintain the boundaries. That's my point.

Yet, Ronny objected and pointed at other possible reasons to legislation than popular will. "Perhaps if there is a lack of police in order to solve all these drugrelated crimes, we may choose to legislate instead and make it legal." Then, law is not caused by popular opinion, but a lack of resources. Such a reason sounds similar to what Barbro above called resignation.

The discussion showed very well the complexity of society. Different forces in society may contradict each other in claiming the boundaries. Systems within a society include their own logic which may engender changes of the boundaries. However, a democratic society won't manage without popular will, at least not to some extent.

At this time, the discussion became a bit confused. Somebody wanted to know if we were talking about society as a whole or the situation in Central Fosie. I tried to explain: We were talking about Central Fosie but in its

relation to society as a whole. Certainly, society manifests itself in Central Fosite, but not in all the activity, relations, attitudes, living conditions and beliefs. To some extent, life in Central Fosite doesn't fit in with society, as we know it. That's why we associate Central Fosite with social exclusion.

But what kind of life in Fosite doesn't fit in with society, as we know it? That's the issue, which we have to deal with. And the first one to discuss was long-term dependence on low income. It turned to be difficult to solve. I guess it depends on the sources of the income. If it's a wage, it's not a very low income because incomes are not that low in Sweden, determined as they are by collective agreements. However, if it's a matter of long-term unemployment, it's another case. So let's turn to long-term unemployment.

There was a general agreement of regarding long-term unemployment as not just a risk but a fact. If you are long-term unemployed, you are definitely outside the Swedish society. To Barbro, long-term unemployment means social exclusion. It's not just a risk, but also a fact. And the reason is the change of power relations. "Society controls my life. And that makes me outside, I think. I have to go to different officials who circumscribe my life. I can't go on holiday. I have to be at the disposal of the labour market and take the jobs offered."

All the others agreed with this motivation. In fact, Barbro revealed an important meaning of social exclusion. Social exclusion is not only about the decrease in power of the individual. Also, it's about the increased power of societal institutions in relation to the individual. "In such situations people often are unable to fully access their fundamental rights", the Joint Report states. However, it's the other way around as well. Society becomes more than able to increase its rights concerning the individual.

"But if a high concentration of long-term unemployed live in Fosite", Ronny suggested, "that may also be a reason for not becoming excluded, simply because they are many. They sense a certain social inclusion because they are so many in the same situation." I definitely agree. A social inclusion may emerge among socially excluded people. However, such forms of social inclusion shouldn't be mixed up with society. Probably, many different forms of social inclusion exist. Society is one, however an extremely complex form.

Ronny had another example. That led to a discussion, which I will quote in its full length:

Ronny: I've got a friend who has been registered as unemployed for 5-6 years. But he lives a very good life. He hasn't got any time to do paid work. He has so much to do. But he is taking part in society, to the highest degree, in many different ways.

Christer: But society doesn't see it like that.

Ronny: It depends on what you mean by society. Do you mean the authorities?

Christer: No, but it is a normal way of behaviour in society?

Rickard: But what's normal then?

Christer: Well, thank goodness it's a fact that the majority in this country work for a wage.

Ronny: But he works as well and he has not a problem of being fully occupied. On the contrary, he has a hell of a problem to find enough time. And he makes great contributions to society, on many different levels, despite being unemployed, per definition.

Christer: Himself he thinks that he takes part in the societal community. We don't think so. That's where the difference is.

Ronny: Well, I don't know. He is a chairman in an association with around 600-700 members. And he handles everything.

Christer: He may be accepted in the association but not by society.

Barbro: But who provides for him?

Ronny: He has an unemployment benefit and probably also some contribution from the association.

Barbro: But if that support is choked, he will be finished.

Ronny: Yes, and in that way he is dependent on some kind of kindness from the authorities.

Barbro: But you are critical against him?

Ronny: No, actually not, because I think he makes a contribution to society that corresponds to a full-time employment. For that he certainly receives a payment. Yet, I see a point in that.

Kenneth: But strictly speaking he gets his support in a way, which is not accepted by society.

Ronny: Yes, that's probably the right way to put it. But personally I can accept it. No, I'm not critical.

The discussion shows the varieties in how to be socially included, but also the priorities. Everybody probably agrees with Ronny in his view on the voluntary work. Such a work belongs to society. The social inclusion of society consists of much more than paid work and market relations. However, it's the relation between voluntary and paid work that becomes problematic. Nobody is allowed to work voluntarily at the expense of paid work. The Swedish society gives priority to paid work. In fact, paid work means so much in the Swedish society.

Ronny is prepared to tamper with that prioritisation. The others argue against him. I think the others are much more representative of the Swedish society than Ronny. His view isn't really a part of social inclusion. However, at the moment voluntary work gains an increasing attention, for example in the discussions about the so-called social economy. Thus, in a little longer run Ronny's view may become more accepted and thus socially included.

Next, we discussed what it means to be a working poor in the Swedish society. As Alvar said, a persistent low quality employment doesn't automatically mean social exclusion. "If you have a bad job, there are certain risks, but you won't automatically become excluded." Mia called attention to the fact that "some actually choose such an unqualified job during a period of life and that's certainly accepted." Barbro agreed: "You take a responsibility for society by paying tax. That makes you socially included."

Lotta reminded us about the strong relation in the Swedish society between identities and professions. To a high extent, you are what you do professionally. And if you don't do anything, professionally, you are almost nothing. Thus, it's much more accepted to have a low quality employment than to be long-term unemployed.

Christer expressed a similar opinion: "It's commonly accepted that some earns a little and some earns a lot. We have established a threshold and that's the social allowance. We call that the subsistence level. Nobody should fall underneath that. That's the level of society. However, if you are just above it, it's totally accepted."

Kenneth didn't fully agree. He still thinks it's a risk to have a persistent low quality employment. Social exclusion may not be a fact, but it's a risk. "The subsistence level is certainly the lower limit, but there are so many other norms. There is so much to miss out on which the average Swede (medelsvensson) holds normal."

"But that's up to the view of the individual", Christer stated. "We have to focus on the view of society." Yet, Kenneth objected to that statement as well. He points to the public opinion as an example. That's also a part of the society. "And if you can't afford to do some shopping at Bo Ohlsson in Tomelilla (the cheap supermarket 50 kilometres outside Malmö) you dare not to tell you neighbours."

I don't think the others fully supported Kenneth on that. The working poor in Sweden may be poor, but not socially excluded. Neither do they run the risk of becoming socially excluded. That seemed to be the general opinion in the group. As Siv interposed, "the staff club arranges cheap journeys to Bo Ohlsson in Tomelilla."

I may add that the labour market still includes many regulations, which counteract the risk of becoming socially excluded as a working poor in Sweden. Long-term unemployment is another case. The difference between working poor and long-term unemployment illustrates the border between social inclusion and exclusion.

Besides long-term unemployment, the group agreed on regarding school failure, drug abuse, crime and homelessness as social exclusion. Long-term unemployed, pupils who fail at school, drug addicts, criminals and homeless are socially excluded. The group agreed about that.

To start with the school failures, "it depend on the context", Ronny claimed. "It also depends on your situation as a whole, for example if you grow up in an affluent family." "I read interviews in the paper with pupils at the Individual Programme and they rather don't want to talk about it. Because it's a failure not to become accepted at the National Programmes. And in itself it may cause a social exclusion." As Kenneth said, "society doesn't accept it."

Barbro associated it with our generation: "I think it's our generation that makes this judgement about failure and social exclusion. In the rising generation, so many will have the experience of a failure in school. Thus, they won't see it in the same way. But to us it's much more traumatic."

Barbro's argument shows how the borders of society may change due to changing experiences and not necessarily intentionally. Yet, in contemporary society the not approved mark means a lot.

That seems to be consistent with the view on poor qualifications and low level of education. Nobody in the group wanted to equal that with social exclusion, yet it certainly means a risk. "When you have a low level of education, you are still accepted by society", Mia maintained. "Indeed, you are not socially excluded by society because of a low level of education." But for sure, it's a risk. And as Barbro claimed, to some extent it's associated with the prospects of getting along in contemporary society. Above else, a reading ability is required. "If you don't have that, you are handicapped. But still, you are hold responsibility if you have done wrong."

Thus, poor qualifications and low level of education doesn't necessarily mean social exclusion. But failure in school does, according to the Fosie group. The difference probably depends very much on the new marking system, introduced in the mid 90s, which has literally confirmed the social exclusion of an increasing share of pupils. But does failure in school belong to the core characteristics of social exclusion in Central Fosie? No, it doesn't, the group states unanimously. The concentrations of pupils who fail in school exceed the average in Malmö, but just.

That seems to be a little underestimation. There are four ground schools covering Central Fosie. At these four schools together, 28% didn't get an approved mark in at least one of the core subjects. That confirms quite well the view of the group, because the share of not approved amounted to 21% in the whole of Malmö. However, at the biggest school in Central Fosie (Hermodsdalsskolan), 41% didn't get an approval. In the whole of Malmö, only three schools, the highest with 57%, exceeded that.

What about the social exclusion of being a drug addict, then? The group was very uncertain about the extent to which it characterizes Central Fosie. The high share of ethnic minorities may indicate a low concentration of drug addicts. In Sweden, drugs don't exist to the same extent among ethnic minorities as it does among people with a Swedish background.

However, Rickard had another opinion. In his everyday work at the leisure centre he meets so many youngsters who abuse drugs. From his point of view, Central Fosie seems to have the biggest concentrations of drug addicts in Malmö. Nobody else supported him fully. Central Fosie has among the next to highest concentration, but not the highest. That seemed to be the general

opinion. Nor does Central Fosite have the highest concentration of long-term unemployed, but among the next to highest.

In terms of crime, Kenneth referred to statistics. Fosite has the highest concentration of juvenile crime in Malmö. Rickard confirmed, supported by experiences. He hears about juvenile robberies every day. Often, it takes place during daytime at for example school breaks.

In contrast, homelessness doesn't seem to be a big problem in Central Fosite. Not many inhabitants are homeless. Central Fosite doesn't exceed the average concentration of homelessness people in Malmö. Instead, the homeless are concentrated to the central parts of Malmö. Thus, even if homelessness represents a definite social exclusion, it doesn't characterize the social exclusion of Central Fosite to a high extent.

Nor does precarious housing. As I see it, it doesn't really exist in Sweden to a high extent. That's because of the quite strong tenure rights. In Sweden, renting implies quite strong rights. Market forces don't decide about the rents. Instead, landlords are forced to negotiate with the national tenants organisation. In the first place, the public housing sector (companies owned by the local councils) has to get agreements with the national tenants organisation. Then, the negotiations with the private landlords starts, but restricted by the results of the agreements with the public housing sector.

As a tenant in Sweden you are not subjected to the pure arbitrariness of the landlord. A lot of regulations exist. For example, the landlord may not cancel a contract without presenting any acceptable reasons. However, the situation changes a lot if you rent on the basis of a second hand contract. Then, you may perhaps not have any rights at all. Yet, even if I don't know any figures, I think the second hand contracts in Central Fosite are confined to a quite minor extent. Nevertheless, we didn't discuss it at the local conference.

Thus, the most obvious expressions of social exclusion in Central Fosite seem to be long-term unemployment, crime and drug abuse. School failure and homelessness doesn't belong to the core characteristics due to lower concentrations. Also, long-term dependence on low/inadequate income and persistent low quality employment (working poor) means a risk of social exclusion, but not necessarily a fact.

Poor health means a risk as well and not necessarily a fact. Yet, it may become a fact. Siv mentioned long-term illness. People who get ill for a long time tend to be very excluded. All agreed about that. In Sweden at the

moment, that kind of social exclusion is increasing very rapidly, for example burnt out. The Government has targetted long-term illness in general as one of their priorities during the next term of office.

However, different kind of poor health means a difference, Lotta maintained. "If you have MS, you are inside, but if you have schizophrenia, you are outside. There are certain diseases you may have and still remain socially included." A difference still exists between what use to be called poor man's poor health and rich man's poor health. Rickard finds poor health quite acceptable today. The public acceptance has increased, he claimed. Accordingly, poor health doesn't make you excluded. At least not necessarily. The group seemed to agree about that. It may be a risk of social exclusion, but not in general and it's definitely not a fact.

The group found it easier to decide about disabilities. As Christer said, "it's actually commonly accepted to be handicapped. We bring it out and make it visible. In the old society, it was supposed to be hidden." Mia agrees: "Society actually accepts the handicapped." Siv hesitated, but yet she agreed in terms of legislation, which is very clear. Lotta reminded about the ombudsmen that exists in favour of the handicapped. Thus, disabilities don't make people excluded and, moreover, the concentration in Central Fosie doesn't exceed the Malmö average.

It wasn't difficult to decide about single parents either. "Society accepts that there are single mothers", Mia maintained. Yet, the authorities sometimes treat single mothers very disrespectfully. Kenneth called attention to that. However, his remark didn't change the general opinion in the group. Single parents certainly run the risk of becoming socially excluded, but it's not necessarily a fact. Moreover, not a high concentration of single parents live in Central Fosie, but just above the Malmö average. Thus, single parents don't belong to the core characteristics of social exclusion in Central Fosie.

What about the ethnic minorities in Central Fosie? Are they inside or outside? In terms of system integration, that's first of all a matter of citizenship. In an international perspective, the Swedish citizenship law has to be regarded as quite generous. Citizenship can be applied for by immigrants who have proved their identity, turned 18, stayed at least 5 years in the country and lead a respectable life. On certain conditions, the authorities may grant a citizenship even without the fulfilment of the last three requirements.

However, other systems in the Swedish society may include mechanisms that tend to exclude immigrants. In the political debate, it has been referred to as 'structural racism'. That's one of the reason to why the extent of social exclusion varies between different ethnic minorities. As Barbro said "the English are hardly regarded as an ethnic minority." But those with a Somalian background certainly are, I may add.

Also, social exclusion depends on the popular opinion and, thus, social integration. Even if politicians legislate in favour of ethnic integration, popular opinions may prevent it from becoming realized. Yet, that's not really the case in Sweden. No popular opinion against immigrants seems to exist. According to a survey recently presented, the reluctance to accept refugees has decreased all the time since 1993.² Moreover, all the political parties in the parliament argue in favour of immigrant rights, without any hesitation. Thus, even if 'structural racism' certainly exists, it's debated and combated.

The support for ethnic integration was very clear in the group at the local conference. The group expressed an anxiety about the increasing xenophobia in Europa, manifested by the success in recent years of xenophobic political parties like the ones of Haider in Austria, Le Pen in France and Pia Kjersgaard in Denmark. As Christer said: "When the Danish government introduces a legislation which makes your social benefit dependent on where you come from as well as your age and even prevents you from getting married, that makes me very worried."

The case of ethnic minorities shows how social exclusion may depend on both the function of systems and popular opinions. In sociological terms, it depends on both the system and social integration of society. However, in the end it all depends on individual activities. Adults have to go to work and do their duties. Taxes have to be paid. Food has to be bought. Kids have to be reared. Without all these activities, society won't exist.

One of these activities is the participation in the election. The democratic society would disintegrate if nobody took part in the elections and elected politicians. In Central Fosie 58% took part in the 1998 elections, a striking decrease from 72% in the 1994 elections. 62% voted for the social democrats. In the whole of Malmö, 73% participated in the 1998 elections.

². AB, 16 June.

But what does it mean to abstain from voting? Does it imply social exclusion? “It’s definitely not an indicator of social exclusion”, Christer asserts. “As politicians, we may regard it as negative, those of us who think that it’s important to exercise our democratic rights. But in society generally, it’s not regarded as a problem to abstain from voting. Unfortunately, but that’s how Sweden has developed. The rights that we fought for 100 years ago don’t seem to be so important any longer.”

Mia confirmed: “Even if one may regard it as a problem, it doesn’t mean that you become socially excluded.” Ronny agreed. Christer continued and pointed to how it has become accepted: “You will not be declared an idiot publicly if you say that you will abstain from voting.” The public opinion seems to have accepted the abstaining from voting. In the public opinion it doesn’t indicate a social exclusion. Yet, as Ronny said, “for the individual it has to indicate some kind of social exclusion. You feel that it’s no use. It’s got nothing to do with me. It’s so far away.”

Lotta found it important to regard the abstaining from voting as a message. People who don’t vote signals that they don’t want to take part. As Siv said, “from the society point of view, it means social inclusion, but from the individual point of view, it means social exclusion.”

I agree, but yet not fully. The difference between perspectives seems important, but I suggest a difference between three perspectives instead. The society perspective needs to be divided in line with the distinction between system and social integration, mentioned above. From the perspective of the individual, abstaining from voting signals a feeling of social exclusion. I agree about that. Also, from the perspective of social integration in the sense of public opinion, it’s accepted as a normal behaviour and thus part of social inclusion. However, from the perspective of system integration, it’s impossible to accept. The system integration of society depends on the participation in elections. It’s a necessary condition of society.

But a crucial question remains to be answered: Where is the limit for the necessity? How low level of participation will society be able to endure before it disintegrates? Nobody knows for sure, but we do know that the limits come closer as long as the turnout continues to decrease.

Conclusions

Long-term unemployment, crime and drug abuse seems to be the core characteristics of social exclusion in Central Fosite. Also, the group classifies school failure and homelessness as social exclusion, but not belonging to the core characteristics in Central Fosite, due to not so high concentrations.

Long-term dependence on low/inadequate income is a risk of social exclusion, but not necessarily a fact. In Sweden, it's subordinated to long-term unemployment. It's because of long-term unemployment that low/inadequate income exists in Sweden, neither because of the relations at the labour market nor because of a low unemployment benefit. Due to the system of collective agreements, wages are not that low in Sweden. And in an international comparison, the unemployment benefit is quite high. However, people who don't qualify have to rely on social assistance, which certainly means a low/inadequate income.

Persistent low quality employment (working poor) means a risk of social exclusion, but not necessarily a fact. Laws and labour market relations (between unions and employers) maintain the regulations relatively high. Similarly, the Fosite focus group regards precarious housing, poor health, disabilities and single parents as a risk, but not necessarily a fact. It's not a rule that for example people with poor health become socially excluded. The Swedish society contains a lot of support and legitimacy. Yet, it's certainly a risk.

The Fosite focus group found it even more difficult to decide about ethnic minorities. In general, ethnic minorities are not excluded systematically, but 'structural racism' may engender an exclusion of certain groups. Social exclusion may also depend on popular opinion, but that doesn't exist to a high extent in Sweden, the group maintained.

Abstaining from voting may be an important indicator of social exclusion. However, the meaning of it depends on the perspective adopted. From the perspective of the individual, it signals a feeling of social exclusion. From the perspective of social integration in the sense of public opinion, it's accepted as a normal behaviour and thus part of social inclusion. However, from the perspective of system integration, it's a necessary condition of society. The group agreed about that.

3. GOOD EXAMPLES

Each one of the eight participants in the Fosie focus group was asked to bring one example of good practice to the local conference. We devoted the second day of the conference to the presentations and discussions of these examples. Each participant was assigned around 15 minutes for the presentation. Then, we discussed the example for around a further 15 minutes. In that way, the examples were in a way put to trial and validated.

Second chance school

The Second chance school project was started at the Fosie Work and development centre in 2000. For more than a year Lotta was the leader of the project. Now, she has chosen to present it as her good example. She is not sure about how good it is. However, the project generated a lot of important learnings. In that sense it may be regarded as a good example.

In the second half of the 90s, unemployment in Malmö decreased. However, the boom didn't favour every category. Unemployment didn't decrease among young people without an approved fulfilment of the compulsory school. That was paid attention to by the Work and Development centre in Fosie.

The staff at the centre decided to design an education for this category. The aim was to offer a tailor-made fulfilment of the compulsory school education and make the students reach an approval. The project became a part of the Second chance school framework in Europe. 19 such schools exist.

The school turned to people aged between 20 and 30 without an approved fulfilment of the compulsory school. 250 interviews were made. Those with a known drug abuse were dropped, but also those who seemed to be fit for taking part in the ordinary education system. The project selected a group of 51. A majority of 65% were men. Just a few belonged to a minority ethnic background. The project didn't include an education in Swedish. Instead, a language competence in Swedish was regarded as a precondition for taking part.

Many of the participants lived in precarious housing conditions, often in a drug environment. Some were revealed to be drug addicts themselves and they had to quit. 14 of the participants had been sentenced for a criminal background. The group included both robbers and a murderer. Almost half of them went to see a psychologist regularly. Almost half had some kind of physical problems.

The project staff included both teachers and social workers. They started very ambitiously by urging the students to learn about New Zealand. For two weeks they learned everything about New Zealand. It went all to blazes. The students didn't bother at all. They didn't want to learn anything about New Zealand. The staff had to ask the students what they wanted to learn. Indeed, the students didn't want to fulfil the compulsory school. The studies were supposed to be combined with practice, but they were not interested in that either. Many of them had already practiced a lot and were fed up with it.

A café, located in the school localities, saved the project from total collapse. The man in charge of the café turned out to be very experienced. He engaged the students in taking care of the café. Lotta regards that as a true success factor. Besides the café activity, the staff started to divide the students into groups and assign a mentor to everybody. That became a success factor as well.

According to Lotta, the biggest problem was the unawareness among the staff about the starting-point of the project. The staff wasn't aware about the lack of motivation among the students. Moreover, the staff wasn't really aware about their real level of attainment. The level was supposed to be superior to the nine-year compulsory school. The Second chance school project was supposed to make the students fulfil the education after the nine-year. A level of attainment that corresponded to a successful fulfilment of the nine-year compulsory school was regarded as a precondition for the project.

However, that precondition turned out to be very unrealistic. At a closer look, some students revealed a level of attainment that corresponded to only year five or six of the nine-year compulsory school. Thus, the Second chance school had to reconsider its starting point. Another kind of problem occurred in the relation between teachers and social workers. Generally, teachers and social workers in Sweden are not used to collaborate. Thus, there was a lack of tradition and experience to build upon. Instead, the special preserves were

too often guarded. That circumscribed the social workers in the first place because teachers have a stronger professional identity.

Lotta doesn't know to what extent the project may be regarded as successful. However, she's quite pleased with the fact that 10 of the students managed to get an approval and that 8 of them have got a job. Rather many have been sent back to the social services because of drug abuse, but that doesn't necessarily indicate a failure, Lotta maintains. Instead, the discovery of drug abuse and associated health problems makes a new beginning for them possible.

To conclude, the project points to the difficulties associated with educating young adults who have failed in the ordinary school system. It's very important with awareness about the real starting points in terms of motivation and level of attainment. It's also important to engage different professionals, however not by taking the collaboration for granted. Time and resources have to be assigned in order to achieve a successful collaboration.

The City project

Alvar had chosen to present the Cityproject. It doesn't exist any longer, but to Alvar it still stands out as an important example of good practice. The Cityproject started in 1993 and continued for four years. The aim was to reduce the dependence on social welfare among people with a lingering but yet not too heavy drug abuse. The clients lived in Fosie, but the project was on purpose located in the central part of Malmö. Thus, the clients were forced to use public transports every day, which contributed to a re-socialisation.

During three months, a group of 6 to 8 clients spent every weekday between 8 and 3 in the localities. They took part in a lot of activities, like baking buns, cooking, putting together information, arranging conferences and making jewellery. Two half days every week were devoted at studies. The clients were offered support from a psychologist and sometimes a priest attended. Discussions on progress were held regularly.

Alvar visited the Cityproject several times and got a very pleasant impression. No big differences were made between the staff and the clients. They tried to work together as a team. Everybody did the same job as well as cooperated. There was a space for all. Everybody was seen and listened to.

That was the impression Alvar got. That was also a conclusion drawn in the evaluation of the project.

Alvar regards the concordance among the staff as a very important success factor. The staff were united in their views on the clients and the objectives. The integration of the clients in the everyday activity was also very important. However, those success factors were gradually undermined after a couple of years. People with heavier drug problems were selected and that changed the character of the Cityproject. The staff had to devote more time to inquiries and it became more difficult to integrate the clients in the every day activity. Eventually, the changes brought the project to a close in December 1997.

Café for elderly

In Central Fosie, a kind of social exclusion exists among elderly, particularly those people that live in ordinary housing blocks, mixed with other age groups. Many elderly live alone and becomes very lonely. The homehelp service and health care becomes the only social contact. Unfortunately, such contacts often have tight restrictions in time due to public sector cuts. The growing share of elderly makes the problems of social exclusion worse.

Siv works with health care among elderly in Fosie. Recently, a café activity was started by two staff teams within the homehelp service. That's the good example that Siv wants to present. It's not a project, Siv underlines, but more an initiative on the regular basis. She describes it as an attempt to develop a new working method.

Twice a week the staff team invites the elderly to a meeting place where coffee is served. It sounds as a quite simple measure, but Siv assures that it means a lot to many elderly. Besides the coffee invitations, the staff teams arrange lunch at special occasions like Easter and Christmas. Also, the arrange excursions and picnics. Many elderly take the invitations very seriously. They go to see the hairdresser and make themselves nice. Some elderly takes part in the preparations by for example laying the tables. The café activity has become a very important community.

The success of the café activity has inspired the health care to improve the social opportunities further. There is a need of strengthening the social networks among elderly in Fosie. Perhaps the homehelp service and health

care could contribute by establishing meeting places. At the moment, such a discussion takes place in Fosie.

To conclude, this good example highlights the social exclusion that exists among elderly. It shows how a good example may be possible to achieve by changing working methods. Additional funding is not always necessary. On the contrary, Siv underlines, the café activity will save money. If elderly get opportunities to meet and talk, the health situation will be improved.

The regeneration of Nydala

URBAN was a EU programme, run in 118 European cities. Sweden got funded for one such programme and that was located to an area in Malmö with approximately 22.000 residents, covering parts of the two wards Södra Innerstaden and Fosie. Around half of what we now have called Central Fosie, belonged to the URBAN area.

The programme in Malmö lasted for 3,5 years, from January 1997 to June 2000. The quantified objectives were almost only job-related, but more generally the programme also aimed at developing the local democracy, strengthening social networks and improving community health. When the programme finished, 69 projects of various kinds had been funded. After the completion of the URBAN programme, the same area has become a part of the national metropolitan policy.

Christer has chosen an area within Central Fosie called Nydala as his good example. Nydala has been a part of both the URBAN programme and the national metropolitan policy. In the mid 90s, Nydala was a depressive part of Malmö with a lot of drug abuse and health problems. A tragic murder highlighted the situation. It was revealed that the murderer belonged to the group of youngsters called the Nydala gang.

Christer got himself acquainted with the youngsters in order to understand the context. He learned a lot about the area and its life conditions. The murder led to various kinds of activity. Associations as Boende i Nydala (Living at Nydala) was established. That coincided with the launching of the URBAN programme, which made it possible to get funded. Subsequently, the national metropolitan policy has continued to support the regeneration of Nydala.

Christer has followed the changes. Before many didn't dare to go out. The area was deserted, in particular the central square. Now, it's a living square

with a lot of activity, also in the surrounding houses, attracting for example the elderly. The changes at Nydala have established cooperation between the social services, the police, the landlords and the inhabitants. However, without the activity of the inhabitants, the changes hadn't been possible to achieve. Christer is convinced about that.

In his view, the most successful change concerns networking, in particular formal networks which have developed much more than expected. The regeneration has also become particularly successful in dealing with long-term unemployment, working poor and poor health. Today, the council housing company MKB has no longer any empty flats. That's a success indicator, Christer suggests. In contrast, the local schools hasn't become successfully involved in the regeneration of Nydala. That's the main failure, according to Christer.

The regeneration of Nydala is well known among the participants in the ELIPSE group. Lotta has even had seminars with enthusiasts who live there. According to Lotta, the enthusiasts wouldn't fully accept the view presented by Christer. Their main criticism concerns the housing company MKB, which they are not so pleased with. However, they are very pleased with having been taken seriously. And the regeneration has been successful in crucial aspects. Thus, to a high extent it's possible to agree with Christer in his judgement. Mia supports his judgement as well. She has worked in the neighbourhood area for many years and noticed the dramatic change of the bad reputation that Nydala had earlier.

However, besides the lack of school involvement, everybody seems to agree about another failure. The regeneration of Nydala hasn't been able to engage immigrants successfully. To a high extent, the regeneration has been a concern for ethnic Swedes. That's a failure which it's necessary to learn from.

To conclude: Even a very depressed area is possible to regenerate. That's what the regeneration of Nydala shows. However, it has to build on not only the wishes but also the activity of the inhabitants. Moreover, it's necessary to establish cooperation between different interests, like authorities at different levels, inhabitants and landlords.

Comrade supporters

The Lindängen school is one of 5 nine-year compulsory schools in Fosie, all owned by the Fosie council. In 1997, the situation at the school was alarming. A lot of vandalism occurred and drug abuse increased. The police visited the school often and there was a close contact with the social service. One of the teachers suggested a contact with an organization, known for its successful implementation of an idea called comrade supporting. That's how the project with comrade supporters started at the Lindängen School.

Now, five years have passed and the comrade supporters have become an integral part of every-day life at the school. The success has made Barbro to choose it as her good example.

Currently, the comrade supporters at the Lindängen School consist of 24 engaged pupils. They have applied for it and then been selected. It's become very popular at the school and many applies. In the selection process, efforts are made to achieve an image of the school as it is. Thus, different nationalities are represented within the group of 24 comrade supporters. It includes pupils with both good and bad reputations. It's not a matter of favouring elitisms, but instead establishing a group which may be representative for the school.

After being selected as a comrade supporter, the pupils are sent away for a couple of days in order to get a particular education. That includes information about what it means to be a comrade supporter, but also discussions about the impact of living conditions, who decides about one's life and how to increase control of life choices. Moreover, the education take moral issues into consideration and includes discussions about what it means to be a good model. The comrade supporters learn to know and trust each other. They also learn how to handle conflicts.

At the end of the education, the comrade supporters have to sign a contract. By doing that, they promise to serve as a good model. That includes treating others, as they themselves want to be treated. They also have to help and support by daring to speak out. Finally, they have to take a firm stand against tobacco, alcohol and other drugs. If somebody breaks a contract, a relevant measure will be discussed in the group of comrade supporters.

Back at the school, the function includes supporting other pupils with problem, taking stands, serving as a good model, becoming a mentor for younger pupils and representing the right values. All the comrade supporters

have a personal tutor. The tutor has to offer support, but also be very clear about the limits. The school doesn't want to foster a secret police. That's why the tutor has such an important role. However, if the comrade supporters get to know anything about for example drug abuse, they have to tell the tutor. Then, professional expertise will become involved.

A network has been created in order to support the comrade supporters. It consists of the police, teachers, the school headmaster, employees at the recreation centre, social service and school nurse. The tutors are recruited from this network and may consist of, for example, employees at the recreation centre. Barbro describes this network as natural because it involves forces which work with the same groups of youngsters. However, in spite of its natural character, it has not been very easy to create. The comrade supporters project made such a network creation possible.

To conclude, the comrade supporter project shows the possibility of solving problems of disorder at a multiethnic school by engaging the pupils. Instead of treating pupils as objects, subjected to the plans of authorities, the pupils are treated seriously as subjects with a capacity to take part in a solution process. By applying, the individual pupils choose themselves whether to take part or not. The contract gives an authority to the individual pupil, but at the same time confirms the authority of others to take measures if the contract is broken.

The recreation centre

The Swedish recreation centres stem from the post-war concerns about juvenile disorder. The first recreation centre opened just after the war. At that time it was called youth centre and run by a youth organisation, but supported financially by the City council. In the 50s and 60s, the city council started many youth centres of their own. The social democratic council leadership saw it as a vital part of welfare development.

Gradually, the centres became places not only for youngsters, but for a variety of people, ages and activities. In order to adhere to this diversification, the name was changed to recreation centres in the early 70s. During that decade, the most dramatic increase took place.

Since then, a lot has changed. When the city council went into its first economic crisis in the early 80s, the recreation centres were among the first

council institutions to be affected by cuts. The number of centres decreased dramatically during the 80s and 90s. Also, some of the centres were transferred to voluntary organisations.

Thus, the recreation centre is not something new in Sweden. And it's not a project. Still, Rickard has chosen it as his good example and that's for two reasons. Firstly, he thinks it should be presented for an international audience because recreation centres doesn't seem to be common in other countries, at least not ones run by local city councils. Secondly, the local councils are not forced by legislation to establish and run recreation centres. Instead, the existence of recreation centres depends on city council policies.

In Malmö, the policies encompass three objectives. Firstly, to let the youngsters take a responsibility to a higher extent. Secondly, to cross the ethnical borders. Thirdly, to engage the parents. The recreation centre is generally open but turns to youngsters in particular. It offers a secure haven and a drug free alternative.

The Lindängen recreation centre is divided into open and group activities. The open activities include games, multimedia, pool and table tennis. The centre arranges tournaments in games like rounder and beach-tennis. However, the youngsters are also welcome to just being at the centre and perhaps watch TV. All the time, the adults who work at the centre has to act as role models. That's most important, Rickard states.

The group activity may address issues on sex, drugs, ethics and moral, discussed by boys and girls in separate groups. In the international group youngsters of different ethnic backgrounds meet and discuss across the borders. There is also a group for parents, called "roots and wings".

The recreation centre was the most controversial example of good practice, presented at the Fosie local conference. Not because the choice of it as a good example. There was a general support for that. The controversy concerned how to change it. Everybody agreed about the need for a change. The recreation centre has to be restructured. But how? Fewer and larger centres? Or more and smaller? And what about the role of voluntary associations?

To conclude, the recreation centre has proved to be a very successful way of making youngsters rear themselves. It offers an alternative to drugs and violence where youngsters may socialize and learn how to become responsibility citizens. However, in its present structure, the recreation

centre has become a little obsolete. The discussion proceeds about how to modernize it.

The baby café

In Sweden, children starts school at the age of six with a pre-school year, called year zero because of its preparatory character. Then, year 1 of the nine nine-year compulsory school starts at the age of seven. Before the pre-school year zero, many children spend the days at a nursery.

It's an important part of government family and gender policy to facilitate for parents to leave the children at nurseries. The government wants both parents to be able to work at the labour market. The policies favour paid work at the expense of domestic. Thus, nurseries in general are heavy subsidised, but the charge also depend on family income. Most of the nurseries belong to the council, but some private alternatives exist.

Parents have to apply for a nursery and then sign a contract. That makes the child registered and liable to turn up every day between some agreed hours. Thus, the nursery employees work with the same group of children and only the children. The parents are not really involved. They leave the children in the morning and pick them up in the afternoon.

However, another form of nurseries exists as well. They are called open nurseries because parents don't have to apply and sign a contract. Nor do they have to pay. Moreover, not simply the children visits open nurseries, but the parents as well, often the mothers. Thus, in contrast to ordinary nurseries, open nurseries function as meeting arenas for families.

Mia works at an open nursery. In fact, she started the first open nursery in Malmö, 22 years ago. The open nursery that she works at belongs to the Fosie city council. She and her colleagues offer a lot of activity for the visiting families. They may give advice and counselling about many issues. There is always someone to talk to at the open nursery. Also, the staff represents a continuity in the life of people who have perhaps moved a lot and left a lot behind. As most important, Mia regards the task to build bridges between different people and cultures.

In the early 90s, Mia and her colleagues had realised the difficulties with one particular group of families. Regardless of ethnic background, the first families with still small babies didn't turn up at the open nursery. That group

of families has become very vulnerable in the modern Swedish society. Mia describes them as having an inbuilt social exclusion. In the earlier society, the first families were supported by older family generations. Such family and neighbourhood bounds has to a high extent been broken due to immigration and migration within Sweden, but also the entry of women at the labour market. In general, family generations live apart. That has made the first families very vulnerable, which lead to a lot of uncertainties, conflicts and divorces.

In order to address this problem, Mia and her colleagues started what they called a baby-café in the autumn 1992. It still exists, now as a vital part of the open nursery. It turns to families with children less than 1 year old. Nobody has to pay. Nobody becomes registered. They are just welcome to visit. Mia describes it as a 'melting-pot', because people with so many different backgrounds meet. It's become a social platform for first families.

Mia and her colleagues try to get them engaged in networks and establish new ones. Her idea is to build on the very natural interests that arise among parents. In general, the birth of the first child makes the parents very eager to improve living conditions. However, in an isolated situation the parents may run themselves down. Mia and her colleagues want to prevent that and build on the parental self-force while it still exists. Indeed, many networks have been created. Many families keep in touch and support each other.

To conclude, the good example that Mia has presented highlights a problem that may emerge in a society with a lot of migration, where the bonds between generations have weakened and domestic work become professionalised. It's possible to recreate such earlier bonds between generations within a family with networks in the neighbourhood. That's what the good example shows. Also, it shows the importance of staff attitudes, working methods and self-help forces in order to become successful. And it doesn't have to be expensive.

The Puck project

In the early 90s, the last remaining brewery in Malmö was closed. However, the old brewery building has become a skating centre and now accommodates an indoor skate park, probably the largest in Europe. It's open everyday for everyone who wants to do some skating or just meet like-minded. The association that runs the skate park consists of almost 1.000

individual members. The membership costs 300 SEK (33 Euro) and then you pay 20 SEK (2,25 Euro) for a day session. Without being a member, you may still visit the Brewery, but then you have to pay 50 SEK (5,50 Euros) for a whole day session.

The pre-history of the Brewery goes back to the 80s and the raise of interest in skating. When the trend was reversed at the end of the 90s many left skating, but a core of skaters retained their interest. However, they lacked somewhere to do the skating. No decent skate ramp existed. The skaters turned to the authorities in order to get support, but were advised to organise themselves. They became members of a youth organisation that belongs to the labour movement, the Young Eagles (Unga Örnar), and started a subsection called Aggro Kult. An outside ramp was built by financial support from the Young Eagles, the authorities and some co-operative housing associations.

After a lot of use the ramp needed a renovation, but the skaters didn't manage to get funded for that. Thus, the ramp started to fall into decay. It finally ceased to exist when a dog got stuck under the ramp and the fire brigade had to smash the ramp in order to release the dog. Instead, the skaters went skating in a large garage, situated near the centre of Malmö. The local business complained and the skaters were made to appear as a problem. When the local press wrote about it, politicians and administrators started to react. Finally, the old and empty brewery building was made available.

A new association called The Brewery was founded in the autumn 1997 by three organisations: Young Eagles, KFUM (the YMCA) and Aggro Kult (the skaters subsection of the Young Eagles). Its members started to build the indoor skate park. The skaters both designed and built the skate park themselves. Around 25 skaters, aged between 15 and 30, took part in the work which lasted for around a year and in September 1998 the whole skate park was inaugurated.

Financially, the Brewery association has been supported by council subsidies, labour market measures and the URBAN programme. It's also sponsored by four companies: Skandia (the biggest Swedish insurance company), Ericsson, McDonalds and Kvällsposten (a local evening paper). Moreover, money is gained by entrance fees and sales. The Brewery association has managed to make business of its acquired competence.

Ramps has been designed and built by the Brewery in Ängelholm and Norrköping (cities in Sweden), but also in Oslo.

Since August 2000, the Brewery runs a school for pupils who haven't qualified to enter the secondary school. Funding has also been secured by different projects, which members of the Brewery organisation have engaged themselves in. The total amount of funding attracted covers the employment of 5 skaters (working with maintenance and development), 3.5 teachers and 1 neighbourhood manager. The board consists of representatives for the three founding organisations, but also of representatives for Malmö City Council (Fritid Malmö) and the Malmö Council Housing Company (MKB), which owns 14% of all the dwellings in Malmö. However, the decisive decisions are taken at regular Tuesday meetings which representatives for the core skaters, the KFUM (the YMCA) and the Young Eagles (Unga Örnar) take part in.

As an average, the Brewery has around 1.000 visitors every week (except for the summer months). During daytime, many schools and administrations make study visits. Above the skateboard ramps, a cafeteria has been built, containing a small library and an exhibition site. In other parts, media facilities are established. In the longer run, the Brewery wants to develop the whole site into a "European youth gallery". Behind all the skating, the Brewery contains a vision about how to develop democracy and give young people opportunities to speak for themselves.

Ronny Hallberg works as neighbourhood manager at the Brewery. He has chosen to present a project called the Puck project as his good example. The abbreviation Puck stands for Personal development and communication (Personlig Utveckling och Kommunikation). It existed for one year in 1999-2000 and was financed by the URBAN programme.³

The Puck project turned to long-term unemployed young adults and aimed at helping them to design their own education. Only quite a loose framework was decided beforehand. The students were allowed to decide about both the content and the forms to a high extent. What do you need and want to learn in order to be able to get away from long-term unemployment?

The students decided that they wanted to learn about leadership. Then, they were confronted with the next question: How do you want to learn about

³ . Information about the Malmö URBAN programme, see the good example above "URBAN regeneration of Nydala".

that? The students decided that they wanted to meet persons in leadership positions. Thus, they had to put together a list of candidates, make phone calls and write letters. They also had to learn how to make interviews. Indeed, several interviews were made.

Sometimes, everything became very messy. Several students quit the project and the group was reduced. Finally, the group consisted of 10 students, however with a very strong spirit of community. The last months became very successful, Ronny remembers. Given the anarchistic circumstances, he regards it as a very successful project. It succeeded more than expected in terms of reducing long-term unemployment and raising the level of education.

To conclude, the PUCK project shows the possibilities of reducing long-term unemployment among young adults by letting them decide about their own education. The students are made responsible for deciding about both what to learn and how to learn it. The staff concentrates on helping the students to carry out their decisions. The PUCK project indicates the limits of such a responsibility. Some students may find it too heavy. Indeed, several students quit. However, for students that manage to handle such a heavy responsibility, a project like PUCK may result in a very fruitful personal development.

The Sesam family centre

The Sesam family centre is located in the Rosengård area, not in Fosie. Yet, we have chosen to include it in the ELIPSE project because it deals with similar life situations as in Central Fosie. Also, it's such a good example. A similar project doesn't exist in Fosie. However, the success of Sesam has attracted a wider attention and in Fosie serious discussions take place about funding one.

Sesam started as a project in December 1996. The aim was to improve the cooperation between authorities and professionals serving families with small kids. The need for such an improvement had been recognized, but no real solutions existed. A group of public employees representing different professions took the initiative and managed to get funded. Thus, Sesam grew from below. Currently, Sesam integrates health care, an open nursery, social counselling, a language nursery, teaching in Swedish and supportive action towards women with small kids. In sum, Sesam has ten employees.

One of them is Karin Lind. She serves as one of two child health nurses and has belonged to Sesam from the start. Now, she may look back at more than five successful years. In an evaluation made last year, Sesam came out very well. The evaluation referred to Sesam as a “very successful organization of public resources.”

Karin refers to a particular view, shared by all the professionals, as one of the main reasons to success. It’s certainly a holistic view. Instead of treating symptoms separately, everybody tries to deal with the family situation as a whole. “How will we be able to make it possible for the families to function in the Swedish society? How will it be possible for them to bring up their children and live in a society which they don’t know about?”

Yet, the holistic view doesn’t mean that everybody has to do everything. On the contrary. The holistic view makes it possible to specialize. In her earlier post at a care centre, Karin was confronted with questions which she really couldn’t answer properly, for example about child care, language and social counselling. Yet, in the absence of other types of professionals at the care centre, she was forced to try to answer herself. In a way, the needs of the families forced her to become holistic without being really able to it. Also, it deprived her of time for practicing her own skill.

In contrast, at Sesam there are other professionals in the same localities to ask. Different professionals cooperate, each one recognizing the particular skill of the others. Thus, Sesam strengthens the professional roles and makes a better use of each one’s skill. However, a holistic view, shared by all the employees, is a necessary precondition. That view includes a will to cooperate and a belief in the self-help capacities of the families. Solutions have to grow from below. The staff at Sesam attaches great importance to the reception of visitors. Every single meeting is very important. Everybody has to be seen and taken seriously.

Currently, Sesam serves around 550 families and 1000 children annually, representing more than 40 ethnic backgrounds. The families live in the Örtagården part of Rosengård, an area built during the 60s, where 93% of the 4.800 inhabitants (1 jan 2000) have a minority background (either immigrants or at least one parent born abroad). Thus, to strengthen integration has become an important objective at Sesam. In order to achieve that, the staff tries to work a lot with groups and mix mothers (and it’s usually the mothers who visit Sesam) with different languages. Also, the staff makes a lot of home visits.

The Sesam family centre still operates as a project and the funding will soon expire. The staff wants it to become a permanent institution, hence permanenting a change in the treatment of families with small children. The evaluation of Sesam supports such a wish and, indeed, propose the establishment of several family centres, yet close to where the families live.

To conclude, the Sesam family centre shows how public resources may be used more effectively when different professionals cooperate. However, the professionals need to share a holistic view of the families and their life situations. That makes it possible for them to specialize in their own skill, while at the same time relying on the expertise of their colleges. Also, the success of Sesam shows the importance of growing from below.

Conclusions

By analysing the good examples, I have been able to discern some principles, which seem to have a general validity. These principles are frequently recurring in the examples. They seem possible to build further on in the forthcoming battle against social exclusion.

After the presentations, we spent the last hour of the conference by discussing some of these principles. That discussion generated some more principles. Thus, this conclusion builds both on the presentation of good examples and the discussions about principles afterwards:

1. It's important to treat people affected by social exclusion as subjects and not as objects, subjected to the good will of others. Everybody have to be seen and listened to. The battle against social exclusion has to build on the wishes, self-help, social networks and already existing activity of the people concerned.
2. It's important to engage different kind of professionals and establish constructive collaborations. Yet, such collaboration couldn't be taken for granted. It has to be created very carefully and that may take a lot of time because of traditional barriers. The collaboration has to involve a concordance in attitudes and joint understanding about aims.
3. It's important to establish collaborations between different interests, not only within the council sector but also with associations in the voluntary sector. Again, such collaborations have to be created very carefully based on an open dialog.

4. It's important to explore the starting points of the battles against social exclusion, regardless of its form (for example measure, project or institutional changes). The knowledge that such an exploration results in needs to be shared by the people involved in order for everybody to know the starting levels of for example motivation and attainment.
5. It's important to develop and try different working methods. The best option shouldn't be taken for granted. Instead, it should be allowed to find out by trial and error. It should be allowed to make mistakes. As one of the participants said, "it should be allowed to went to blazes."
6. It's important to create positive alternatives, but that requires better evaluations, involved already at the start. Without high quality evaluations, nobody knows to what extent the alternatives may be regarded as positive. High quality evaluations makes it possible to highlight the positive alternatives in order for others to be inspired and learn.
7. It's important to establish much better relations between the battles against social exclusion and the institutions. For example, council institutions have to improve their ability to learn from the good examples and perhaps change. The new forms developed in the battle against social exclusion should perhaps be made permanent and institutionalised.
8. It's important to develop the capacity for solving social problems, an ability to solve the problems before they have grown too big. Such a capacity needs to involve all the players concerned. It also needs to involve preventive measures and an ability to envisage consequences.